

INTERPOL/IOM AKOMA PROJECT 2015

“Combating Child Trafficking in the Cocoa Industry and Other Vulnerable Sectors in Ghana and Côte d’Ivoire”

FINAL REPORT

GIULIA CASENTINI, Consultant

JULY 2015

SUMMARY

LIST OF ACRONYMS.....	4
I. INTRODUCTION	5
II. CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK AND PRESENTATION OF THE RESEARCH	8
1. CONTEXT.....	8
2. OBJECTIVES.....	10
3. METHODOLOGY.....	10
4. DEFINITION OF CHILD TRAFFICKING AND CHILD LABOUR.....	11
5. DEFINITION OF Worst Forms of Child Labour (WFCL) IN THE COCOA SECTOR	13
III. GENERAL CONTEXT	15
1. POLITICAL, SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC BACKGROUND OF GHANA.....	16
1.1 Political and Social conditions	16
1.2 Economic situation	18
1.3 Cocoa sector	19
2. POLITICAL, SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC BACKGROUND OF <i>COTE D'IVOIRE</i>	20
2.1 Political and Social conditions	20
2.2 Economic situation	20
2.3 Cocoa sector	22
IV. NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL LEGAL FRAMEWORK ON CHILD PROTECTION AND HUMAN TRAFFICKING	24
1. GENERAL OBSERVATIONS.....	24
2. GHANA.....	24
3. CHILD TRAFFICKING IN GHANA	25
4. <i>COTE D'IVOIRE</i>	27
5. CHILD TRAFFICKING IN <i>COTE D'IVOIRE</i>	27
V. CHILD TRAFFICKING IN THE COCOA SECTOR IN GHANA AND <i>COTE D'IVOIRE</i>. EVIDENCES FROM THE FIELD.	29
1. GENERAL OBSERVATIONS FOR BOTH COUNTRIES	29
1.1 Child work, child labour and child trafficking. Local perceptions.....	29
1.2 Migrant communities	31
2 GHANA.....	32
2.2 General remarks and strategy adopted to combat child trafficking in the cocoa sector.....	32
2.3 The profile of vulnerable children	332
2.4 Where do the children come from?	333

2.5	Who is the recruiter?.....	343
2.6	Trafficking networks	343
3	<i>COTE D’IVOIRE</i>	35
3.2	General remarks and strategy adopted to combat child trafficking in the cocoa sector.....	35
3.3	Definition of the profile of vulnerable children.....	365
3.4	<i>“La forêt classé</i>	366
3.5	Where do the children come from?	37
3.6	Who is the recruiter?.....	387
3.7	Trafficking networks	387
VI.	CHALLENGES AND SOLUTIONS IN COMBATING CHILD TRAFFICKING IN THE COCOA SECTOR IN GHANA AND CÔTE D’IVOIRE	39
1.	PREVENTION	39
2.	IDENTIFICATION OF VICTIMS, PROTECTION AND ASSISTANCE	410
3.	PROSECUTION.....	410
VII.	RECOMMENDATIONS	421
	ANNEX 1: Stakeholders interviewed, divided by country and region	443
	ANNEX 2: References	476

LIST OF ACRONYMS

ASA Afrique Secours et Assistance

BICE Bureau International Catholique pour les Enfants

CCC Conseil Café Cacao

CCPC Child Community Protection Committee

CLCCG The Child Labour Cocoa Coordinating Group

COCOBOD Ghana Cocoa Board

CODAPEC Cocoa Diseases and Pests Control Exercise Committee

DCPD District Child Protection Committee

GDP Gross Domestic Product

GLSS Ghana Living Standards Survey

ICCO International Cocoa Organization

ILO International Labour Organization

IOM International Organization for Migration

IPEC International Program on the Elimination of Child Labour

JHS Junior High School

NGO Non-Governmental Organization

NPECLC National Program for the Elimination of the Worst Forms of Child Labour in Cocoa

SOSTECI Système d'observation et de suivi du travail des enfants en *Cote d'Ivoire*

WFCL Worst Forms of Child Labour

WCF World Cocoa Foundation

I. INTRODUCTION

Ghana and Côte d'Ivoire are two neighbouring countries situated in West Africa, facing the Atlantic Ocean. They represent today the biggest production of cocoa in the world, due to the hospitable climate and the significant efforts of the colonial powers before (British in Ghana, French in Côte d'Ivoire) and the independent governments today, to invest in this sector.

Cocoa, indeed, is not an indigenous crop¹. Basel Missionaries, who worked under the aegis of the Danish government, first introduced cocoa in the forest areas of Gold Coast (present day **Ghana**) in 1857, while cocoa farming in **Côte d'Ivoire** began in the southeast of the country in the early 20th century.²

Cocoa spread fast and easily in the forest areas of the two countries, giving rise to a **movement of workers** directed (seasonally or permanently) to the cocoa producing areas. These workers came especially from northern areas, where the climate is more severe and dry, and where colonial powers decided not to invest in development and infrastructures. Southern regions, indeed, were richer in natural resources (especially gold and fertile land), thus attracting colonial interests and investments. North-South migration became a prominent phenomenon during colonial times, both in present day Ghana and Côte d'Ivoire, and represents also today the main trajectory for human mobility.

West Africa accounts for more than 70% of world cocoa production (Côte d'Ivoire 38%, Ghana 21%, Cameroon 5% and Nigeria 5%). Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana are the world's two largest producers, representing 80% of total West African production. Cocoa is the region's main agricultural export, accounting for nearly half of total earnings (46% of USD 4 billion in 2006).³

Ghana and Côte d'Ivoire were impacted in the last years by strong growth in cocoa production: between 2008/9 and 2013/14 harvest seasons, production increases more than 40% in Côte d'Ivoire and more than 30% in Ghana.⁴

In this context, **a large number of children are involved in cocoa production at various level**. Children work in pre-harvest activities (land preparation, planting and farm maintenance), harvest activities and post-harvest activities (drying, transport, storage and shipment).

According to the Tulane University's final report, in 2013/14 2.26 million children were working in cocoa production, 2.12 million children were engaged in child labour activities in cocoa production and 2.03 million children were involved in hazardous work in cocoa production in Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana combined (ref). Between the two Tulane's survey years (2009/9 and 2013/14), the percentages of children in agricultural households in each

¹ Boas M. and Hauser A., 2006, 'Child Labour and cocoa production in West Africa', Fafo Report 522.

² Grossman-Greene, S. & Bayer C., 'A brief History of Cocoa in Ghana and Cote d'Ivoire', Tulane University, Payson Center for International Development, 2009.

³ SWAC/OECD, 'Emerging good practice in combating the worst forms of child labour in West African cocoa growing communities', 2011, p. 15-16.

⁴ Tulane University Final Report, '2013/14 Survey Research on Child Labor in West African Cocoa Growing Areas', School of Public Health and Tropical Medicine, Tulane University, July 30, 2015, p. 4.

of these categories rose: 19% for children working in cocoa, 16% for child labourers in cocoa, and 13% for children in hazardous activities in cocoa.⁵

Child trafficking is also present in cocoa growing areas, with different trends and changes in the last years. This report is focused on the discussion and evaluation of this aspect.

Figure 1: Cocoa growing areas in West Africa (Source: CIRAD 2007)



⁵ Ibidem, p. 4.

Figure 2: Evolution of cocoa growing areas in Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana, 1930s, 1960s, 2007
(Source: CIRAD 2007)

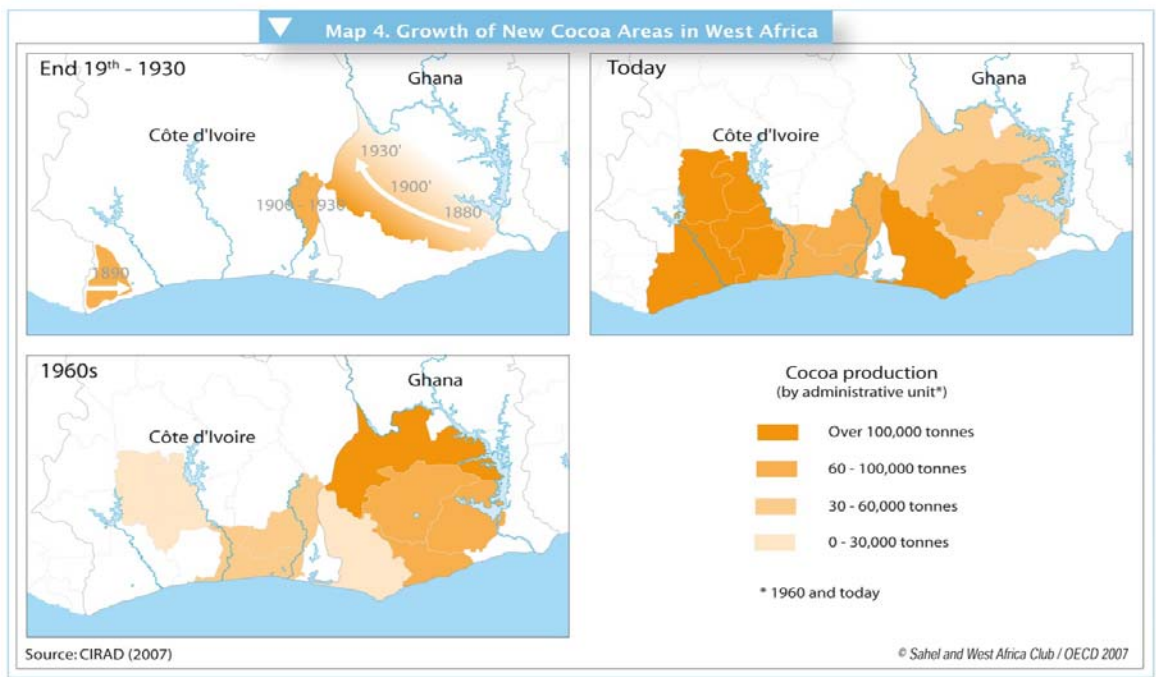
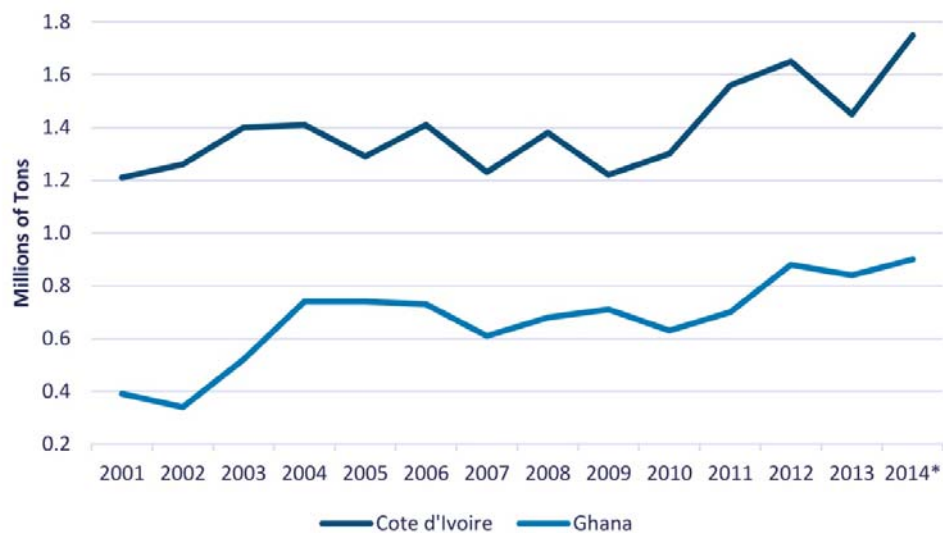


Figure 3: Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana cocoa production per year (Source : Tulane University Report 2015)



II. CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK AND PRESENTATION OF THE RESEARCH

This study is an assessment on the **current situation on child trafficking in the cocoa sector** in two key countries, **Ghana** and **Côte d'Ivoire**. This study aims to give an updated overview of the topic, through the analysis of existing reports and through fieldwork conducted in the cocoa production areas. The living conditions of cocoa workers, their access to facilities for themselves and their children, an analysis of the police perspective and the current legal framework will be discussed.

The first section (Introduction) presents briefly the context of cocoa production; the second section (II) shows the context and the condition of the present research; the third section (III) focuses on the general background of the two countries analysed; the fourth section (IV) describes the national and international legal framework on child protection and human trafficking; the fifth section (V) reports and discusses evidences from the fieldwork; the sixth section (VI) illustrates solutions and challenges in combating child trafficking in the cocoa sector in the two countries considered, and the seventh (VII) includes recommendations.

1. CONTEXT

This **first part** of the research has been conducted in the capital cities of the two countries concerned, Abidjan (Côte d'Ivoire) and Accra (Ghana). The first month (April – May 2015) has been dedicated to meeting and interviewing various stakeholders interested and involved in the topic at the national level: Ministries, NGOs, Shelters, Local Police and INTERPOL Units, National Central Bureaus, International Organizations, University Research, Industries (Representatives of distribution and transformation).

The **second phase** of the fieldwork (May – June – 2015) has been focused in the areas of Ghana and *Cote d'Ivoire*, where the cocoa production is significant, where there is attraction of workers and seasonal workers, and where there could be child labour and trafficking.

Figure 4: Fieldwork areas and the itinerary followed by the researcher moving westwards.

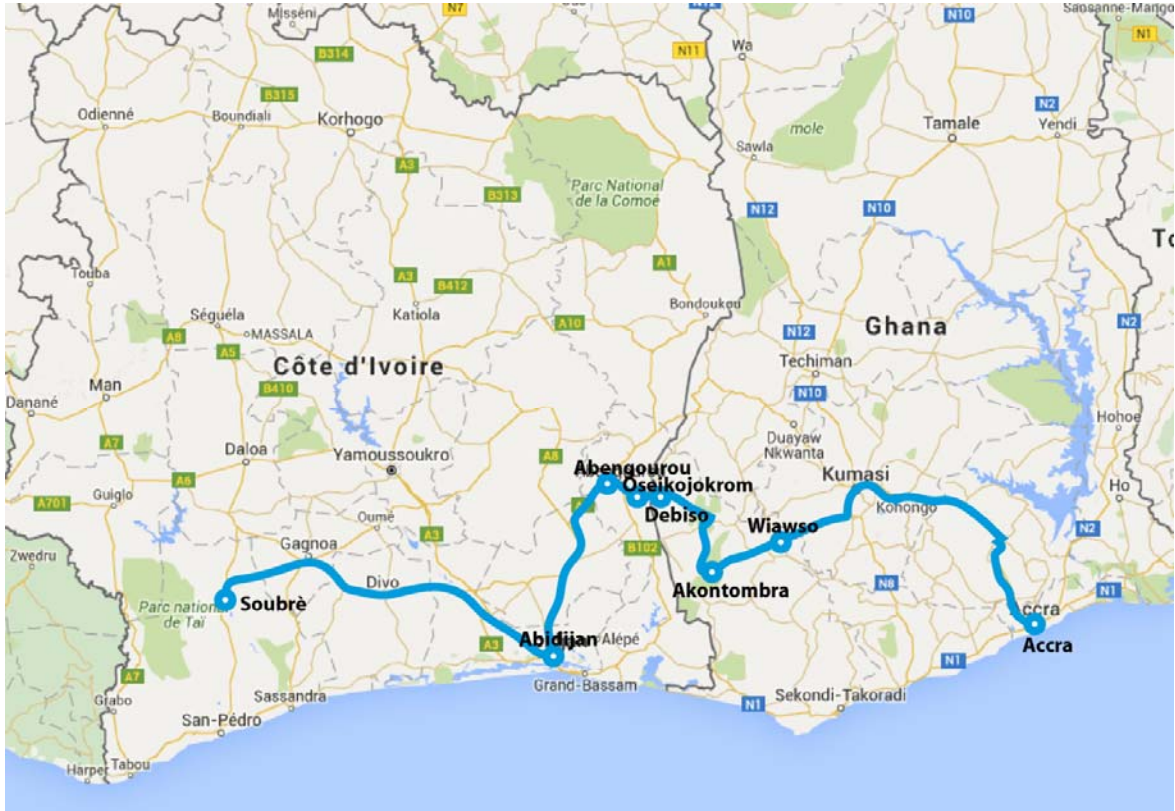
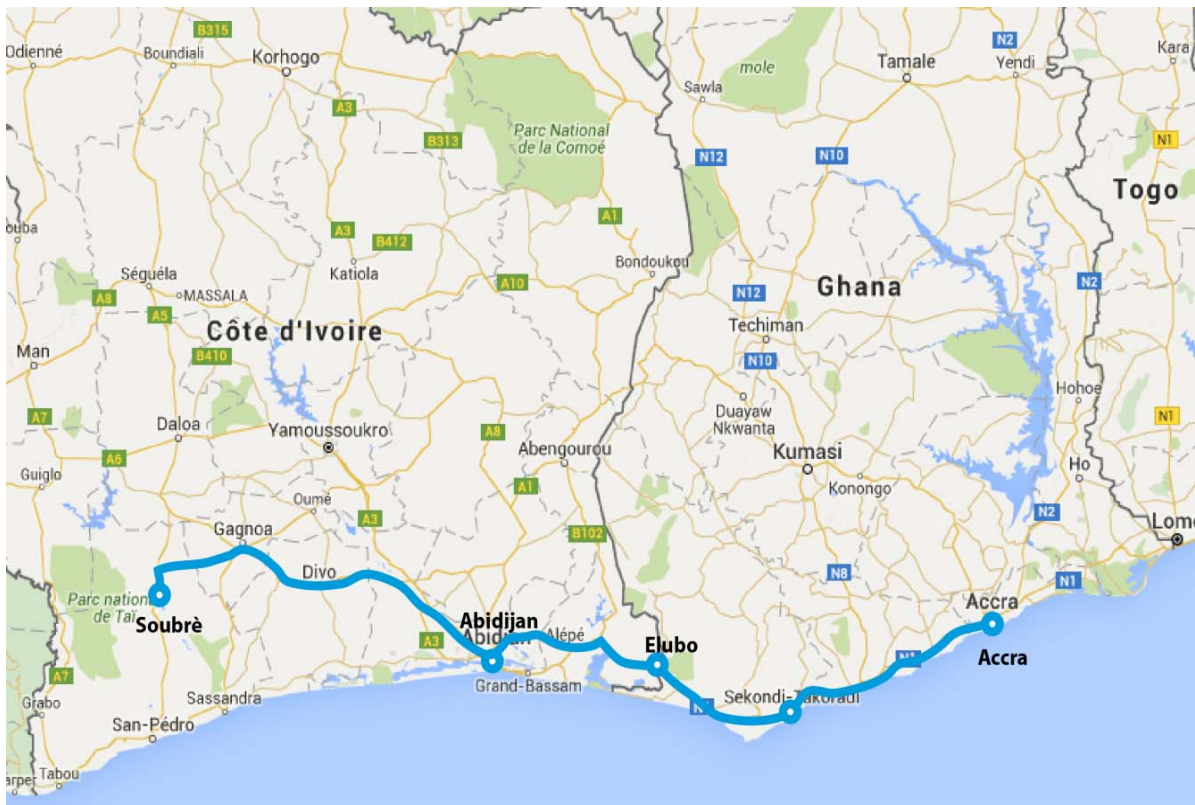


Figure 5: Fieldwork areas and the itinerary followed by the researcher moving eastwards.



The researcher has chosen to work in villages close to main towns, and consequently close to schools, facilities and easier to be controlled by Police services, but also in remote villages with lack of facilities (water and electricity). The latter are usually surrounded by fields where isolated hamlets (called *cottages* in Ghana, and *campements* in *Cote d'Ivoire*) can be found, and where many farmers' families reside with children.

In **Ghana** the research has been conducted in the Western Region, particularly in the Districts of Sefwi Wiawso, Akontombra, Bia. The latter, Bia, is also a border district, where the activity of the local police towards border control has been observed. The same border observation has been conducted in the town of Elubo (Jomoro District).

In **Cote d'Ivoire**, two regions were chosen: the Indenie Region, in particular Abengourou and Agnibilekrou Prefectures (located at the border with Ghana), which was one of the most productive areas in the past, and still maintains a strong linkage with Ghana production **especially through smuggling of cocoa beans and** the flow of labourers along the border; the Nawa Region, in particular Soubré Prefecture (located in the western area of the country), which is today one of the most important areas for cocoa production.

2. OBJECTIVES

Objective no. 1: Understand and define the socio-cultural context that allows child trafficking/child labour to take place, the major challenges to stop these forms of exploitation, and the actual *modus operandi* of recruiters and middlemen.

Objective no. 2: Identify the most affected regions of Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana where child trafficking and exploitation take place, and the regions/countries of origins of trafficked children.

Objective no. 3: Comprehend and analyse the policy framework and the legislation adopted by Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana in tackling the issue of child trafficking in the cocoa and other sectors of production.

3. METHODOLOGY

1. **Bibliographic research** has been conducted focusing on the few fieldwork studies already carried out and taking into account the current challenges faced by the two countries in cocoa production and the market. This part of the research has been crucial to understand the current living conditions of the farmers in the two countries and to comprehend the role played by children in their local economy (See Annex 2: References). Tulane University reports have been particularly useful to understand the current condition of child labour in the cocoa sector.
2. **Fieldwork** has been the core of this research framework, through a series of **interviews** (33) differentiated per typology of stakeholder. Semi-structured interviews allowed the researcher to keep the discussion open and gave the stakeholder an opportunity to bring various topics to the conversation (See Annex 3). Institutional stakeholders (District Assemblies, Police, Departments of Education, etc.) have been addressed through

individual interviews, while **focus group discussions** (45) have been carried out with farmers and teachers in the villages.

3. **Observation of the context** has proven to be a very good, analytical tool to highlight problems and contradictions in the current discourse about child labour and trafficking.
4. **Limitations of methodology:** as with any research, this study faced several challenges and potential limitations:
 - a. The topic of child trafficking and exploitation in the cocoa sector has proved to be **particularly sensitive**, due mainly to the importance of the sector for the local and national economy;
 - b. A foreign researcher asking questions about this issue is generally perceived with suspect, and local actors normally tried to protect themselves and their sectors from possible misinterpretations. This aspect has been partially overcome through the selection of **local assistants and interpreters**, who proved to be viable interlocutors both for the researcher and local communities, but also **involving local stakeholders** in finding a shared explanation of the issue and shared solutions to be presented in this research.
 - c. Focus group dynamics have been particularly interesting: the eventual prominence of one dominant person's viewpoint has been very useful to determine the **power dynamics** always present in the communities, helping the researcher to better define the level of interconnection between the socio-economic condition and the incidence of child exploitation/trafficking.

4. DEFINITION OF CHILD TRAFFICKING AND CHILD LABOUR

As underlined by ILO, “**not all work done by children should be classified as child labour that is to be targeted for elimination**. Children's or adolescents' participation in work that does not affect their health and personal development or interfere with their schooling, is generally regarded as being something positive. This includes activities such as helping their parents around the home, assisting in a family business or earning pocket money outside school hours and during school holidays. These kinds of activities contribute to children's development and to the welfare of their families; they provide them with skills and experience and help to prepare them to be productive members of society during their adult life”.⁶

Following the definition provided by ILO, the term “**child labour**” is often defined as work that deprives children of their childhood, their potential and their dignity, and that is harmful to physical and mental development.

It refers to work that:

- is mentally, physically, socially or morally dangerous and harmful to children; and
- interferes with their schooling by:
 - depriving them of the opportunity to attend school;

⁶ www.ilo.org

- obliging them to leave school prematurely; or
- requiring them to attempt to combine school attendance with excessively long and heavy work.

In its most extreme forms, child labour involves children being enslaved, separated from their families, exposed to serious hazards and illnesses and/or left to fend for themselves on the streets of large cities – often at a very early age. Whether or not particular forms of “work” can be called “child labour” depends on the child’s age, the type and hours of work performed, the conditions under which it is performed and the objectives pursued by individual countries. The answer varies from country to country, as well as among sectors within countries.⁷

Though **trafficking in human beings** is an age-old phenomenon, it was not until December 2000 that the international community reached a consensus on a common normative definition on trafficking in human beings, in the UN Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children to the UN Convention against Transnational Organized Crime (hereafter called the **Palermo Protocol**)⁸.

For purposes of this research, the definition of trafficking in the Palermo Protocol remains a core reference:

“Trafficking in persons shall mean the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of persons, by means of the threat or use of force or other forms of coercion, of abduction, of fraud, of deception, of the abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability or of the giving or receiving of payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person, for the purpose of exploitation. Exploitation shall include, at a minimum, the exploitation of the prostitution of others or other forms of sexual exploitation, forced labour or services, slavery or practices similar to slavery, servitude or the removal of organs.”

The Palermo Protocol includes a specific definition of **trafficking in children**:

“Trafficking in children shall mean the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of a child for the purpose of exploitation. Exploitation shall include, at a minimum, the exploitation of the prostitution of others or other forms of sexual exploitation, forced labour or services, slavery or practices similar to slavery, servitude or the removal of organs. The provision stresses that the trafficking of a child for exploitative purposes, whatever means are used, should be considered a crime. Although its primary focus is the criminal prosecution of perpetrators of trafficking, the Protocol also addresses the rights and needs of women and children who fall victim to traffickers.”

Child trafficking and child labour present two different dynamics, but they cannot be treated separately. Moreover, these two aspects are very often overlapping, and there is a confusion in definition at the local level and indeed at the international level.

⁷ www.ilo.org

⁸ www.unicef-irc.org/publications/pdf/insight9e.pdf

Trafficking is generally misperceived as the movement of a person from a country of origin to a country of destination, in some circumstances through a transit country. However, the Palermo definition is not limited to cross-border trafficking – between neighbouring States – and can be applied to both internal, regional and intercontinental trafficking. Moreover, trafficking movements are usually complex and can include the transport of persons through several transition phases. International trafficking has been frequently associated with organized crime; therefore, legal instruments have often been focused on organized criminal groups. The Palermo Protocol, however, allows us to consider and prosecute also trafficking executed by non-organized criminal networks, as is often the case in African countries, and also in Ghana and Côte d'Ivoire, as we shall see.

Trafficking and migration are often two linked phenomena. Migrants, indeed, are likely to be more vulnerable to be smuggled across the border, especially when they are moving from one country to another to escape situations of political crisis and instability, or to fight economic pressure. Children, in these cases, can become integral part of the trafficking process, by being sold by their parents or, more likely, being transported in richer areas with the mirage of better conditions and the possibility of attending school.

Through the Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking In Persons, Especially Women and Children, and the Protocol against the Smuggling of Migrants by Land, Sea and Air (2000)⁹, the UN General Assembly shed light on the **difference between trafficking and smuggling**. This is a crucial point, which allows the researcher to deepen the reflection on the human right issue and organized crime implications.¹⁰

Human trafficking involves exploiting men, women and children for the purpose of forced labour or commercial sexual exploitation. In contrast with trafficked persons, smuggled migrants are assumed to be acting voluntarily: human smuggling involves the provision of a financial or other material benefit (transportation, fraudulent documents) to an individual who seeks to illegally enter in a country of which that person is not a national or a permanent resident.¹¹

5. DEFINITION OF Worst Forms of Child Labour (WFCL) IN THE COCOA SECTOR

Following the definition provided by the **ILO convention N° 182** (Concerning the Prohibition and Immediate Action for the Elimination of the Worst Forms of Child Labour) in Article 3, the term **WFCL** comprises:

- All forms of slavery or practiced similar to slavery, such as the **sale and trafficking of children**, debt bondage and serfdom and forced or compulsory labour, including forced or compulsory recruitment of children for use in armed conflict;

⁹ Supplementing the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime.

¹⁰ Gallagher A., 'Human Rights and the new UN Protocol on Trafficking and Migrant Smuggling: a Preliminary Analysis', in Human Research Quarterly, Vol. 23, No. 4, 2001, pp. 975-1004.

¹¹ <http://www.state.gov/documents/organization/226276.pdf> 'Human Trafficking vs. Human Smuggling', 1 July 2013.

- The use, procuring or offering of a child for prostitution, for the production of pornography or for pornography performances;
- The use, procuring or offering of a child for illicit activities, in particular for the production and trafficking of drugs as defined in the relevant international treaties;
- **Work which**, by its nature or the circumstances in which is carried out, **is likely to harm the health, safety or morals of children.**

According to further elaborations of the concept of hazardous work included in **ILO Recommendation N° 190**, the following criteria should be taken into account when determining hazardous work conditions of children at the national level:¹²

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

According to the 2008 International Conference of Labour Statisticians, **hazardous occupations for children shall be designated on the basis of national laws or regulations**, where they exist. As we shall see in Section IV, the Governments of Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana have developed and enacted child labour laws and regulations based on the international standards. The Government of Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana both have produced country frameworks that include lists of specific activities considered hazardous for children working in agriculture in the local context.¹³

¹² See Tulane University Final Report, '2013/14 Survey Research on Child Labor in West African Cocoa Growing Areas', School of Public Health and Tropical Medicine, Tulane University, July 30, 2015, p. 12.

¹³ Ibidem, p. 14.

III. GENERAL CONTEXT

Ghana and Côte d'Ivoire have been endowed with a climate that is extremely hospitable to growing cocoa, and they maintain their dominance as the **two leading cocoa producers in the world**¹⁴. These two countries have experienced similar limitations and issues including labour shortages, a diminishing supply of arable land, high rates of deforestation, and to varying degrees, conflict over land and land rights. Additionally, both countries have faced a growing prevalence of crop diseases.

In Ghana, the government has played a strong role, acting as both a buffer and a protector of the cocoa sector.¹⁵ While the government of Côte d'Ivoire has played a similar role to defend the interest of the farmers, especially from the time of independence to the 1980s, it has not matched Ghana in terms of inputs invested into the health of the sector, instead focusing almost exclusively on expansion.¹⁶

It must be underlined, though, that in the recent years the Côte d'Ivoire government has implemented, through the activity of *Conseil Café Cacao* (CCC), a policy of **minimum farmgate price** (750 CFA francs per kilo in 2013/14¹⁷, 850 CFA francs per kilo in 2014/15¹⁸). In Ghana, the Cocobod has raised the 2014/15 farmgate price to GHC (Ghanaian Cedis) 5,520/MT, in an effort to stamp out the smuggling of Ghanaian cocoa beans to Côte d'Ivoire. This price is currently 5.3% higher than the Ivorian price in US dollar terms, which should help reduce the incentive for smuggling. But Ghanaian inflation remains high and Cedi's recent strength is unlikely to last: it is unclear how long Ghanaian farmgate prices will retain a premium over Ivorian prices.¹⁹

In both countries, the cocoa growing areas are dominated by **small farms**. During the 2013/14 cocoa harvest season, the average Ivorian household involved in agriculture reported owning approximately 20 acres of land, while the average Ghanaian household owned 10 acres of land.²⁰

The **cocoa production is divided into two seasons**: the '**main crop**' goes in Côte d'Ivoire from **October to March** and in Ghana from **September to March**, while the second '**mid-crop**' goes in both countries from **May to August**.²¹ The research has been conducted during the mid-crop: it has been possible to interview many farmers who were not in the farms every day; it has been easy to observe the work of the middlemen organizing the smuggling of seasonal workers, and especially the flow of migrant workers abandoning the fields to go back to their countries of origin (especially Togo, Burkina Faso, Mali, Benin), or to go to another field to engage in other agricultural sectors (mainly rubber, tomato, rice).

¹⁴ COCOBOD, 44th Annual Report & Financial Statements for the Year Ended 30th September, 2013.

¹⁵ Grossman-Greene, S. & Bayer C., 'A brief History of Cocoa in Ghana and *Cote d'Ivoire*', Tulane University, Payson Center for International Development, 2009.

¹⁶ Ididem.

¹⁷ Ecobank, 'The impact of reform on Côte d'Ivoire's cocoa grinding sector', 12 June 2014.

¹⁸ www.bloomberg.com

¹⁹ Ecobank, 'Cocoa: Promising outlook for West Africa's 2014/15 season', 30 October 2014.

²⁰ Tulane University Final Report, '2013/14 Survey Research on Child Labor in West African Cocoa Growing Areas', School of Public Health and Tropical Medicine, Tulane University, July 30, 2015, pp. 33-34.

²¹ www.icco.org

Farmers' mobility is a particularly prominent phenomenon in cocoa growing areas. Cocoa farms, indeed, attract many seasonal/permanent migrants who come from neighbouring countries or from northern areas of the target countries. As noted also by the Tulane report, in addition to cross-border migration, internal migration is significant in both countries²².

Non indigenous cocoa farmers can gain access to land mainly through **share cropping**. The two share cropping systems are known locally as **abunu** and **abusa**. Under the *abunu* tenancy, the profits from the harvest may be divided equally between the tenant and the landowner. Before this division, the harvest from cover crops, such as plantain and cocoyam, is shared equally, usually after sales, between the landowner and the farmer. During the division of the proceeds, the landowner has the first choice of the products as divided.

In the case of the *abusa*, the ratio of the tenant farmer's acreage to that of the landowner is two to one. Again, it is the landowner who has first choice, and in a large number of cases he takes care of the farm and harvests the crops himself. In some cases, however, the tenant farmer is employed to harvest the crop and take care of the farm for one-third of the harvest. In other cases, an entirely new person may be hired to take care of the farm under similar terms. These two systems are used in both Ghana and *Cote d'Ivoire*; the *abunu* is the most common, while the *abusa* is used in case of particularly productive and "young" farms.

Villages and **remote hamlets** (*cottage* or *campement*) constitute different inhabiting and working conditions. Farmers who live in the villages are autochthonous, but also migrants who establish themselves as settlers in the community and permanently live there. They are normally tenants of their farms, even if they don't "own" the rights over land.

1. POLITICAL, SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC BACKGROUND OF GHANA

1.1 Political and Social conditions

According to the 2010 Ghana Population Census, Ghana's population is a little over 24.65 million with a population growth rate estimated at 2.19% per annum²³. According to the Ghana Statistical Service fourth to sixth cycle report on Ghana Living Standards Survey (GLSS) 2012/2013 released in September 2013, the population of 15 years and above represents 68.5% of the total population of the country and among them only 1.7% is unemployed²⁴. While poverty levels appear to have been falling, they remain relatively high especially in the three northern regions of Ghana and among some socio-economic groups, while income inequality across regions and between socio-economic groups also remains high.²⁵

²² Tulane University Final Report, '2013/14 Survey Research on Child Labor in West African Cocoa Growing Areas', School of Public Health and Tropical Medicine, Tulane University, July 30, 2015, p. 31.

²³ www.ghanastats.gov.gh

²⁴ GLSS6/LFS 2012/2013, page 4.

²⁵ GSGDA 2005/2006, page 21

Ghana's progress towards democracy and good governance since the end of military rule in 1992 has been impressive and it currently ranks high in all major governance, human rights and rule of law indicators when compared to countries in the region and in Africa generally. With some exceptions, Ghana has a solid legislative framework in place. The 1992 Constitution includes all major democratic principles and a comprehensive Bill of Rights (mostly focused on civil and political rights) and establishes various Independent Constitutional Bodies (ICBs) including the Commission on Human Rights and Administrative Justice (CHRAJ) and the National Commission for Civic Education (NCCE).

Ghana continues to manifest a liberal political economy with vibrant media and is considered to be one of West Africa's most resilient democracies. The year was marked by significant political activities geared towards the 2016 elections by the two main political parties: the National Democratic Congress (NDC) (incumbent) and the New Patriotic Party (NPP). Protests by labour, political parties and other demonstrations have also been evident in 2014, given the prolonged energy crisis, and the impacts of inflation, the rapid depreciation of the cedi, as well as the removal of subsidies on utilities and fuel. Nonetheless, Ghana continues to rank as one of the top 10 African countries in governance according to the Mo Ibrahim Index for 2014. To strengthen further governance and to combat corruption, in November 2014 the government launched the **National Anti-Corruption Action Plan (NACAP)**, which had been under development since 2011. These efforts have led to a gradual reduction in corruption perception as demonstrated by Transparency International's Corruption Perception Index (CPI) for 2013 that moved the country up to 63rd place from 64th in 2012. Nevertheless, corruption perception and public cynicism towards the fight against corruption continue to be high. The media have reported several high level cases of corruption, some of which are currently in court and others are being reviewed by a commission of enquiry set by the president.²⁶

²⁶ Okudzeto E., Mariki W. A., Lal R. and S. Sefakor Senu, 'Ghana 2015', AfDB, OECD, UNDP.

Figure 6: Poverty rate in 2008 of Ghana by region (Source: www.fao.org)



1.2 Economic situation

Although Ghana registered an economic growth in 2014, the economy faced major challenges especially because of a sharp currency depreciation, deepening energy crisis, deteriorating macroeconomic imbalance and rising inflation and interest rates.

Over the medium term, the economy is planned to recover bolstered mainly by higher oil and gas production, combined with increased private sector and public infrastructure investments, as well as an improved macroeconomic framework and political stability. Ghana's economy is expected to slow down for the fourth consecutive year to an estimated 3.9% growth rate in 2015, owing to a severe energy crisis, unsustainable domestic and external debt burdens, and deteriorated macroeconomic and financial imbalances.²⁷

Provisional gross domestic product (GDP) figures issued by the Ghana Statistical Services (GSS) further suggest that the economy expanded by 4.2% in 2014, less than the growth of 7.3% recorded in 2013. The drivers of growth continue to be the service sectors, which constitute 50.2% of the economy, followed by industry and agriculture at 28.4% and 19.9% respectively.²⁸

In 2016 the economy is expected to recover, registering a growth of around 6%, strengthened by an increase in oil and gas production, private sector investment, improved

²⁷ Ibidem.

²⁸ www.statsghana.gov.gh

public infrastructure and the country's political stability. Nonetheless, the prevailing low international oil prices could slow the pace of economic growth in the future.²⁹

Ghana's mining sector accounts for the 5% of the country's GDP and reaches up to 37% exports, of which gold contributes over 90% of total mineral exports³⁰. Ghana is Africa's second largest gold producer, producing 80.5 T in 2008. Ghana is also a major producer of bauxite, manganese and diamonds. The country has 23 large-scale mining companies and there are also over 300 registered small-scale mining groups.³¹

China is one of the largest foreign investors in Ghana, especially on mining sector. The impact of Chinese mining (legal but also illegal) is indeed substantial, not only in economic terms but also in social and political terms, because of the flow of legal and illegal Chinese migrant workers and miners in Ghana.

Ghana's illegal mining sector has multiplied in the past 10-15 years, with the growing of small scale mining populated by one million informal workers who produce over two million ounces of gold annually.³² This small scale operators, however, are generally unsupervised and unregulated, and are popularly referred to as "*galamsey*".

1.3 Cocoa sector

Despite of the general growth registered in the last years (see Figure 3), Ghana's cocoa production is set to fall significantly in the 2014/15 (October-September) season. Ghanaian bean purchases reached 541,000 MT by April 9th 2015, 22% down on the same period last season. Ghana's crop is forecast to rebound in 2015/16 season, to around 800,000 MT, buoyed by and expansion in Cocobod's subsidised fertilisers and spraying programmes³³.

This has led Cocobod to revise its target for the main crop (October to March) to 720,000 MT, down from an initial 780,000 MT earlier in the season.

The sharp drop in output is believed to have been the result of an outbreak of black pod disease that swept the country, following heavy rainfall in the months leading up to the main crop. Losses were high as farmers did not have access to fungicides to treat cocoa trees, while fertiliser usage was low, with few farmers receiving sufficient quantities in time for the 2014/15 harvest.

The drop in use of inputs reflects the difficulty farmers continue to have with raising financing, along with the winding down of Cocobod's subsidised fertiliser scheme, which is being revamped under the World Bank-led ten-year sector strategy. The smuggling of beans to Côte d'Ivoire may also have been a factor in the lower outturn, given that fixed farmgate prices in Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana – which were heavily in Ghana's favour at the start of the season – have reached parity in US dollar terms.

High consumer inflation is also eating into Ghanaian farmer incomes, increasing the incentive for smuggling beans to neighbouring countries. The volume of smuggling should

²⁹ Okudzeto E., Mariki W. A., Lal R. and S. Sefakor Senu, 'Ghana 2015', AfDB, OECD, UNDP.

³⁰ Minerals Commission, www.eservices.gov.gh

³¹ ILO/IPEC, 'Analytical studies on child labour in mining and quarrying in Ghana', May 2013, p. 19.

³² ILO/IPEC, 'Analytical studies on child labour in mining and quarrying in Ghana', May 2013, p. IX.

³³ Ecobank, Mixed Outlook for West Africa's 2015/16 Cocoa Season, 30 September 2015, p. 1.

soon become apparent as Côte d'Ivoire's mid-crop in the east is expected to be poor, so any surge in arrivals will largely result from smuggled beans from Ghana.³⁴

Ghana's grind expanded by 4% in 2013/14, producing a record 234,000 MT of cocoa products. However, Ghana's sector is also facing stagnation owing to high production costs, particularly for electricity, as well as the gradual decline in the light crop, upon whose smaller beans grinders depend to make their margins. Severe power cuts have significantly reduced capacity utilization. Moreover, as Ghana has an extensive replanting programme of cocoa hybrids, which produce fatter beans for export, grinders could face an increasingly reduced supply of smaller beans which are traditionally discounted 20% by Cocobod, making processing in Ghana commercially unviable.³⁵

2. POLITICAL, SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC BACKGROUND OF COTE D'IVOIRE

2.1 Political and Social conditions

According to the *Institut National de la Statistique*, Côte d'Ivoire's population reached 22.67 million in May 2014, with a population growth rate estimated at 2.6% per annum.³⁶

Côte d'Ivoire experienced political violence in 2010-11, following the country's presidential elections and the confirmation of Alassane Ouattara. The political violence caused human suffering and internal and cross-border migration. It also had a negative impact on the education infrastructure including schools and the availability of teachers, particularly in the rural areas of the country.³⁷

Côte d'Ivoire faces large challenges to create a safe and stable country, including the need to process thousands of former combatants through the Disarmament, Demobilization, and Reintegration (DDR) program, continue efforts at **Security Sector Reform (SSR)**, and make enduring progress towards reconciliation and the promotion of human rights.³⁸

In terms of social inclusion, the real challenge shall be the inclusion of rural and peri-urban areas in a long term growth program. Job creation is increasing but remains inadequate especially with regards to young unemployed people. Women, who have long been the main victims of conflict, are further experiencing great difficulties to restart their activities. The importance of empowering local communities is paramount, together with their managerial ability to initiate developmental projects and accelerate the access of local actors to quality services.

2.2 Economic situation

Initiated in 2012, the new economic momentum of Côte d'Ivoire was confirmed in 2014 with a growth rate estimated at 8.3% by Statistical Services of the African Development Bank.

³⁴ Ecobank, Ghana's 2014/15 cocoa production slumps, 17 April 2015.

³⁵ Ecobank, Middle Africa Cocoa Outlook 2015, 26 February, p. 2.

³⁶ www.ins.ci

³⁷ See also Tulane University Final Report, '2013/14 Survey Research on Child Labor in West African Cocoa Growing Areas', School of Public Health and Tropical Medicine, Tulane University, July 30, 2015.

³⁸ www.osac.gov

Following this projection, growth should remain robust in 2015 and 2016. One of the main challenges in making this growth inclusive, depends on the strengthening of the role of local authorities, with the aim at accelerating access to modern services which could accelerate and increase productivity and efficiency.³⁹

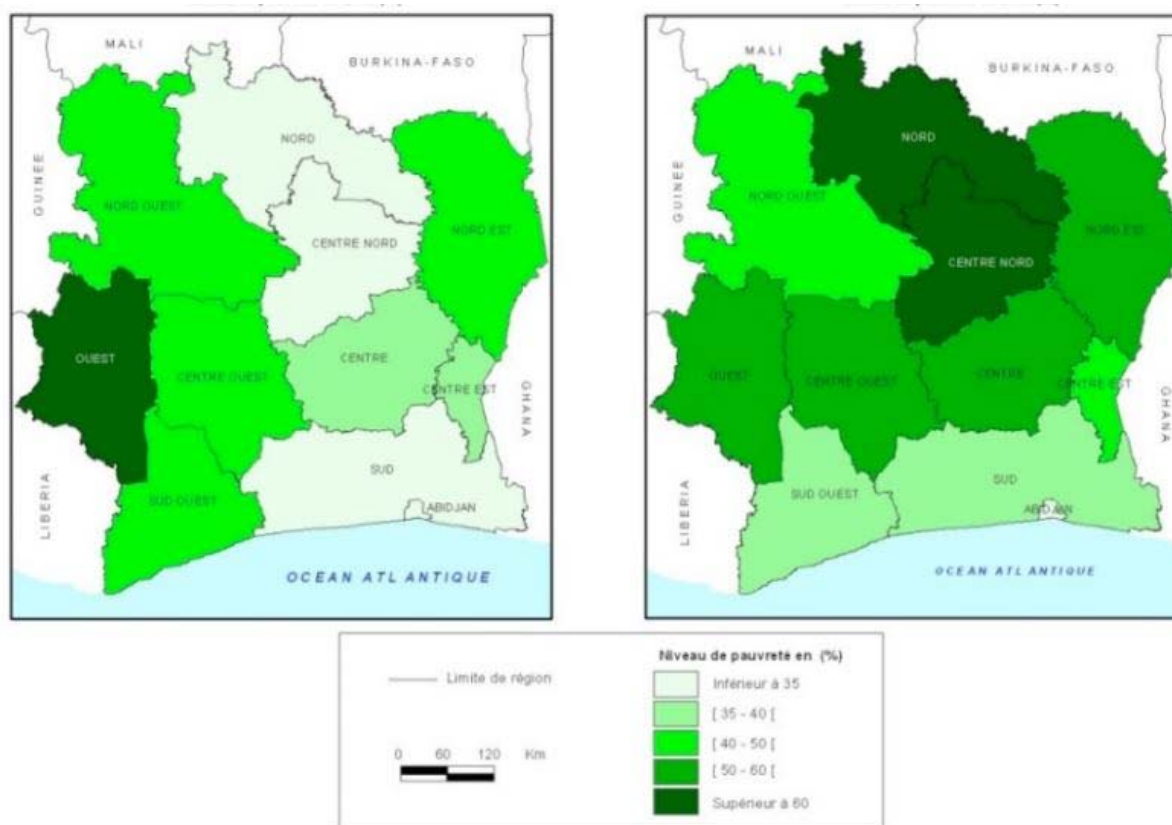
The primary sector remains a key driver of growth, through investments in rural infrastructures, implementation of reforms to improve the farmers' standard of living, as well as important projects for productivity. The increase in production volumes covers all agricultural exportation (cashew, cotton, pineapple, banana, rubber, cocoa and coffee). The development of the primary sector in 2015 and 2016 shall ground on the strength of subsistence farming in the framework of the *Programme national d'investissement agricole* (PNIA). Moreover, the positive aspects of the reform in the cocoa-coffee sector shall be extended to cashew and cotton sectors, which will increase the income of producers and improve their standard of living.

The **mining sector** (gold, manganese and oil) is expanding. With the opening of new mining operations in Agbaou and Ity, gold production reached 18 tons in 2014 (exceeding 2013 production of 15 tons and 2009 production of 7 tons). In total 140 mining permits have been issued in Côte d'Ivoire, including 8 for gold and 3 for manganese. Mining sector employs 6640 people. It generated a turnover of about \$ 580 million (UDS) in the first nine months of 2014.⁴⁰

³⁹ Côte d'Ivoire, in www.africaneconomicoutlook.org

⁴⁰ Ibidem.

Figure 7: Poverty rate in 2002 and 2008 of *Cote d'Ivoire* by region according to the census from the National Statistic Office of *Cote d'Ivoire* (Source: Institute Nationale de la Statistique INS, Division Cartographie)



2.3 Cocoa sector

The pace of Côte d'Ivoire cocoa arrivals has accelerated in the second half of the 2014/15 main crop, overtaking last year's arrivals and easing worries over the health of the crop. Deliveries at Ivorian ports reached 1,188,000 MT by February 22nd 2015, up 4% on the same period last season.

The recovery in production is largely the result of lengthy rains and sunshine that helped pod development earlier in the season. However, it is uncertain if the increase in output will extend into the mid-crop (May-August) which has an uncertain outlook. An initially harsh Harmattan raised fears over a disappointing mid-crop, but it weakened considerably, minimizing its impact. Nonetheless, the slump in bean smuggling from Ghana, thanks to the strengthening Cedi and Cocobod's doubling of the farmgate price, will have an impact, resulting in a mid-crop of around 400,000 MT. Coupled with a main crop of 1.2mn MT, we expect Côte d'Ivoire to produce a total crop of 1.6mn MT in 2014/15.⁴¹

Reforms in the grinding sector have been introduced by the CCC in 2014, with the aim at pivoting the focus away from grinders towards farmers, and ensure farmers to receive at

⁴¹ Ecobank, Middle Africa Cocoa Outlook 2015, 26 February, p. 1.

least 60% of the average price. Another aspect of the reform concerns the shifting from six competing marketing boards, to a single centralised authority (the CCC) which shall ensure a minimum farmgate price, enforced with prosecutions.⁴²

⁴² George, E. 'The impact of reform on *Cote d'Ivoire*'s cocoa grinding sector', Ecobank, 2014.

IV. NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL LEGAL FRAMEWORK ON CHILD PROTECTION AND HUMAN TRAFFICKING

1. GENERAL OBSERVATIONS

In the West African sub-region the phenomenon of trafficking in persons is widespread. Initiatives on combating trafficking in persons have been undertaken on a regional level with the adoption of the **Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS)** Plans of action (2002-2003, which has since been followed by other action plans such as the Plan of action 2008-2011). In 2006, the Member States of the ECOWAS and the Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS) have adopted a joint bi-regional Plan of Action to Combat Trafficking in Persons, especially Women and Children. Moreover, within the sub-region, a multilateral agreement of cooperation on the prevention of human trafficking was signed in July 2005 between nine countries: Benin, Burkina Faso, Côte d'Ivoire, Guinea, Liberia, Mali, Niger, Nigeria and Togo (excluding Ghana).

The **United Nations** have also adopted a series of measures for combating trafficking in persons which have an impact in the region, **ratified** by the countries concerned:

- Resolution 53/111 of 9 December 1998;
- The Palermo Convention and Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, especially Women and Children (also referred to as the Trafficking Protocol), additional to the United Nations Convention on the prevention of organised transnational crime from 2000, entered into force on December 25, 2003.⁴³

At the **international level**, both Ghana and *Cote d'Ivoire* have adopted and ratified several conventions and documents on combating human trafficking and protecting the rights of the child. The most recent and important are:

- United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989);
- the African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child (1990);
- The ILO Convention on the minimum age of admission for employment N° 130 (1993);
- The ILO Convention N° 182 Concerning the Prohibition and Immediate Action for the Elimination of the Worst Forms of Child Labour (1999);
- the Optional Protocol to the Convention on the Rights of the Child on the sale of children, child prostitution and child pornography (2000);
- The Optional Protocol to the Convention on the Rights of the Child on the involvement of children in armed conflict (2000);
- The Protocol to the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa (2003).

2. GHANA:

2.1 At the **national level**, the most recent and important law ratified are:

- **Children Act, 1998 (Act 560)**

⁴³ Niass, S. 'Case Study: West Africa. The role of regional and subregional mechanism in international efforts to counter trafficking in persons, especially women and children', Dakar, OHCHR, 2010.

- **Human Trafficking Act, 2005 (Act 694)**
- **Domestic Violence Act, 2007 (Act 732)**
- **Hazardous Child Labour Activity Framework for the Cocoa Sector in Ghana, by the Ministry of Manpower, Youth and Employment, 2008**

IMPORTANT NOTE: 2015, June 25th: the Minister of Gender, Children and Social Protection, Nana Oye Lithur, has signed with the US Ambassador, Mr. Gene Cretz, a 5 million dollar project on child protection, to be implemented in 5 years. This **Child Protection Compact Partnership (CPCP)** has been launched to fight against child trafficking in Ghana⁴⁴. During this occasion, the Minister announced the **promulgation of the Legislative Instrument (L.I.) for the Act 694.**

3. CHILD TRAFFICKING IN GHANA

According to the 2015 Trafficking in Persons Report prepared by the US Department of State, Ghana is a source, transit and destination country for men, women and children subjected to forced labour and sex trafficking.⁴⁵

Ghana has been placed in **Tier 2 Watch List** in 2015, while in 2014 the country was better ranked (Tier 2, see TIP Report 2014). As underlined in TIP 2015, indeed, the government of Ghana did not demonstrate overall increasing anti-trafficking efforts compared to the previous reporting period. The failure to provide operating budgets for law enforcement and protection agencies hampered the government's anti-trafficking efforts. Although the Anti-Human Trafficking Unit (AHTU) of the Ghana Police Service (GPS) continued law enforcement efforts, it once again relied heavily on foreign donors and NGOs. Additionally, the government did not provide anti-trafficking training, nor did it provide any funding to the human trafficking fund for victim services or its two shelters, which remained unable to provide basic services.⁴⁶

The TIP Report underlines also that the trafficking of Ghanaians, particularly children, within the country, is more prevalent than the transnational trafficking of foreign migrants. This aspect has been confirmed by this research's fieldwork, as we shall see in the following lines.

Moreover, Ghanaian boys and girls are subjected to forced labour within the country in **fishing, domestic services, street hawking, begging, portering, artisanal gold mining, agriculture and sexual exploitation**⁴⁷. Therefore, according both to the TIP Report and to the fieldwork carried out for this research, **there are other sectors that today are prominently touched by child trafficking, possibly more prominently than cocoa.**

Child trafficking in Ghana in the cocoa sector is especially internal. The general picture about child trafficking provided by evidences from fieldwork conducted between April and June 2015, shows that the vast majority of children trafficked in the cocoa sector,

⁴⁴ (source: www.ghana.gov.gh)

⁴⁵ United States of America, Department of State, 'Trafficking in Persons Report', 2015, p. 171.

⁴⁶ Ibidem, P. 170-171.

⁴⁷ Ibidem.

but also in mining and street hawking, originate from the Northern part of the country (Northern, Upper West and Upper East Regions).

Neighbouring countries, recognized as source of migrant labour (Burkina Faso, Mali, Guinea Conakry, Togo and Benin) are targeting Côte d'Ivoire more than Ghana as a receiving country. Some interlocutors talk about language barrier as the main reason determining this flux (Burkina Faso, Mali, Guinea, Togo and Benin are francophone like Côte d'Ivoire), however the main reason could rather be the current relatively low productivity of cocoa plantation of Ghana, if compared to the Ivorian production. Children born outside marriages are considered a target by traffickers, due to the vulnerability of their social position in the family. The majority of the stakeholders interviewed during fieldwork recognize that children brought to cocoa areas are not necessarily employed in cocoa sector, but mainly in domestic work, begging and street hawking. In domestic work, children are asked to cook and clean the house and have generally to fetch water as well and get up very early. Therefore they do not have enough time and energy to attend school and study. When they are forced to beg and petty trade, they spend the whole day on the streets, in the traffic. These activities are particularly dangerous and subject to abuse and maltreatment.

With respect to the network followed and the strategy adopted to transfer minors from their areas of residence to cocoa plantations, stakeholders very often noted that **children don't come alone**. The majority of them come with a so called "uncle" (the middleman), who could be part of the extended family or not. When family ties with this uncle are real, he has the right and the support of the family in transferring and taking decisions for the child (see section V).⁴⁸

Middlemen usually come from the areas of origins of the trafficked child (Northern Region, Upper East and Upper West, Brong-Ahafo). They can often be farmers moving to cocoa areas to work with their own families, bringing with them other children too, given by their families to work and attend school in an area that is perceived to offer more possibilities. Ethnic ties are fundamental in supporting child mobility, but they also facilitate child trafficking. Middleman could also be traders, moving to the south due to their activities and bringing children with them to employ them as "assistants" or "apprentices". The **network** followed by middlemen starts from Northern areas, finds a first point of collection and distribution in the town of Techiman (Brong-Ahafo region), and a second one in the city of Kumasi (Ashanti Region). From Kumasi, children are directed to the areas in need of labour.⁴⁹

Given the importance of mining/quarry products for Ghana's GDP and exportations, **mining sector is increasingly under observation**. As noted by ILO, Ghana's illegal mining sector (*galamsey*), employs a large number of child labourers in all activities. The menace of child labour seems to be difficult to eliminate in this sector due to factors including poverty, lucrativeness of mining activity and truancy of children. The activities do not require any

⁴⁸ This information was widely shared by the majority of stakeholders interviewed by the researcher. Teachers, social workers, NGOs workers were particularly conscious of this process.

⁴⁹ Information about trafficking routes were provided mainly by middleman and taxi drivers, and confirmed by social workers and NGOs workers.

specialized skills, informal in nature, attracting large numbers of people including child labourers.⁵⁰

4. COTE D'IVOIRE

3.1 At the **regional level**, Cote d'Ivoire has signed two important agreements:

- Bilateral Cooperation Agreement between Cote d'Ivoire and Mali to combat transnational child trafficking (2000).
- Multilateral Cooperation Agreement to Combat Child Trafficking in West Africa between nine (9) West African countries (Benin, Burkina Faso, Cote d'Ivoire, Guinea, Liberia, Mali, Niger, Nigeria and Togo) (2005)

3.2 At the **national level**, the most recent and important laws ratified are:

- **Law n° 2010-272 “Prohibition of child trafficking and the worst forms of child labor”** (« *Portant l'interdiction de la traite et des pires formes de travail des enfants* »)
- Arrêté n° 009-2012 MEMEASS/CAB (révisant l'arrêté n° 2250-2005) “Determining the list of hazardous work prohibited to children under eighteen years” (« *Portant détermination de la liste des travaux dangereux interdits aux enfants de moins de dix huit ans* »)
- **Decree n° 2007-449 « Determining the creation of the steering committee of the child labour monitoring system in the framework of the cocoa production certification process »** (« *Portant la création du comité de pilotage du système de suivi du travail des enfants dans le cadre de la certification du processus de production du cacao* »)
- **Arrêté n° 309-2005 « Determining the creation of a coordination cell in the fight against child trafficking, labour and the exploitation of children in the cocoa farming and commercial agriculture »** (« *Portant la création d'une cellule focale de coordination de la lutte contre le trafic, le travail et l'exploitation des enfants dans la culture de cacao et dans l'agriculture commerciale* »)

5. CHILD TRAFFICKING IN COTE D'IVOIRE

According to the 2014 Trafficking in Persons Report prepared by the US Department of State, Côte d'Ivoire is a source, transit and destination country for men, women and children subjected to forced labour and sex trafficking.⁵¹

The TIP Report underlines that the majority of trafficked victims that have been identified are children, subjected to forced labour in domestic service, restaurant and to forced prostitution (especially girls), and subjected to forced labour in the agriculture and service sectors (mostly boys).⁵²

⁵⁰ ILO/IPEC, 'Analytical studies on child labour in mining and quarrying in Ghana', May 2013, p. 3.

⁵¹ United States of America, Department of State, 'Trafficking in Persons Report', 2014, p. 145.

⁵² Ibidem.

The TIP Report declares that trafficking within the country is more prevalent than transnational trafficking. However, according to fieldwork carried out for this research, children trafficked in the cocoa sector seem to originate prominently from other **neighbouring countries**, as we shall see in the following lines. According to TIP data, boys from other West African countries, including Ghana, Mali, Burkina Faso, Benin and Togo, are found in Côte d'Ivoire in forced agricultural labour, including on cocoa, coffee, pineapple, and rubber plantations; in the mining sector; and in carpentry and construction.⁵³

Following the evidences from this research's fieldwork, we must note that the vast majority of children trafficked in the cocoa sector partially originates from the Northern part of the country, although some are from neighbouring countries (especially **Burkina Faso, Mali, Togo, Guinea Conakry, Niger**). Migrant farmers come with their families and often bring with them children from their communities, given by their families to work and attend school in the Southern part of the country, which is richer and presents more possibilities.⁵⁴

In the North of Côte d'Ivoire, many schools have been closed during the 2010-2011 political crisis⁵⁵. **Burkinabé and Malians** have an historical relation of dependence with Côte d'Ivoire, representing the main labour force present in cocoa plantations⁵⁶. This is still the case today: many poor families come from low productivity areas (Sahelian region of Burkina Faso and Mali) bringing their children as well as children from their household/village (seasonal migration/long term migration). Many children are employed and often exploited in other agricultural sectors (pineapple, cotton, coffee, palm oil), but also in mining, domestic work and urban informal sector.

The urban sector is believed to be the most attractive and most dangerous one, because children are more prone to incur in violence, sexual abuse, accidents, diseases etc.. Only one child in five is believed to go back to his/her village of origins; the vast majority of minors who eventually go back home are girls in their pregnancy.⁵⁷

Adults are engaged in forced labour in cocoa sector. Many migrants without land and rights (settlers) don't receive any payment or remain underpaid for years, waiting to learn the job and hoping to eventually get the right to own a part of the annual harvest of the plantation they are working for.

Similarly to Ghana, stakeholders often noted that children are accompanied by a middle man. In *Cote d'Ivoire*, an international trafficking network, involving also neighbouring countries (especially Burkina Faso and Mali), is believed to exist and to take place also in the cocoa sector.

⁵³ United States of America, Department of State, 'Trafficking in Persons Report', 2014, p. 146.

⁵⁴ This information was widely shared by the majority of stakeholders interviewed by the researcher. Especially community members and leaders, farmers, NGOs workers and teachers frequently address this topic.

⁵⁵ See also Tulane University Final Report, '2013/14 Survey Research on Child Labor in West African Cocoa Growing Areas', School of Public Health and Tropical Medicine, Tulane University, July 30, 2015, p. 6.

⁵⁶ Chauveau J.P., 'Question foncière et construction nationale en Côte d'Ivoire', in *Politique Africaine*, Vol. 2, No. 78, 2000, pp. 94-125 ; Zongo M, 'La diaspora burkinabé en Côte d'Ivoire : trajectoire historique, recomposition des dynamiques migratoires et rapport avec le pays d'origine', in *African Sociological Review*, Vol. 7, No. 2, 2003, pp. 58-72.

⁵⁷ Bureau International Catholique pour l'Enfant (BICE), Abidjan, 24 April 2015.

Middlemen come usually from the areas of origin of the trafficked minor; they can also be former farmers (settlers) still holding the right to cultivate the farm but in need of low cost labourers, and resorting to engaging in child trafficking and becoming “*passeur*”.

It has been reported that the trafficking network starts from Burkina Faso: middlemen use buses (generally public transport) or trucks to bring children to the South, they pass through Abidjan to recruit other street children and then they move to cocoa farms to find employment for them. Adults declaring to be the parents of the children, thus allowing children to escape police controls travel in these same buses⁵⁸.

⁵⁸ This information has been shared with the researcher mainly by taxi drivers and middleman themselves. Also local NGOs, like BICE and ASA in Abidjan, and CREER in Abengourou, provided some information about routes and trajectories.

V. CHILD TRAFFICKING IN THE COCOA SECTOR IN GHANA AND CÔTE D'IVOIRE. EVIDENCES FROM THE FIELD

1. GENERAL OBSERVATIONS IN BOTH COUNTRIES

1.1 Child work, child labour and child trafficking. Local perceptions.

Child labour remains an issue in the cocoa sector of both countries, however, in Ghana, the phenomenon has decreased in the last years.

As highlighted by Tulane University Report 2015, in 2013/14, 2.26 million children were working in cocoa production, 2.21 million were involved in child labour in cocoa production, and 2.03 million children were working in hazardous conditions in cocoa production in Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana combined.⁵⁹

- In **Côte d'Ivoire** the number of children in hazardous work in cocoa sector **increased by 46%** (from 0.79 million to 1.15 million) between 2008/9 and 2013/14.
- In **Ghana** the number of children in hazardous work in cocoa production **decreased by 6%** (from 0.93 million to 0.88 million) between 2008/9 and 2013/14.⁶⁰

Côte d'Ivoire increasing cocoa production (more than 40% between 2008 and 2014) **reflected a substantial engagement of children** working in the cocoa sector: Tulane Report mentions a 59% increase in the number of children working in cocoa production. In general, however, in the same period, the numbers of Ivorian children working in non-agricultural sectors or agricultural sectors other than cocoa, declined.

On the other hand, **Ghana's** growth in cocoa sector in the same period (more than 30%) **did not impact the number of children** working in the cocoa production, which, in fact decreased by almost 4%. **It must be noted, however, that in Ghana the numbers of children increased in non-agricultural work, and in all categories of work in agriculture other than cocoa.**⁶¹

Is this general trend impacting child trafficking?

In spite the lack of data on trafficking, the local stakeholders impressions, as well as their perception of field should not be underestimated..

In Ghana, the NGOs staff, social workers and teachers interviewed during this fieldwork frequently affirmed that child trafficking in the cocoa industry **has diminished** in the last five years⁶².

⁵⁹ Tulane University Final Report, '2013/14 Survey Research on Child Labor in West African Cocoa Growing Areas', School of Public Health and Tropical Medicine, Tulane University, July 30, 2015, p. 4.

⁶⁰ Ibidem.

⁶¹ Ibidem, p. 37.

⁶² See also Tulane University, Oversight of Public and Private Initiatives to Eliminate the Worst Forms of Child Labour in the Cocoa Sector in Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana (FINAL REPORT), Payson Centre for International Development, March 31, 2011.

On the contrary, in **Côte d'Ivoire** the problem of child trafficking in the cocoa industry is perceived to be **more prominent**. Similarly, here, the NGOs staff, social workers and teachers interviewed during this fieldwork often expressed their concern on this topic, claiming that the rise of cocoa production in the last years coupled with the poor living conditions of farmers led the latter to rely on child exploitation. The majority of the stakeholders interviewed, though, recognized the recent effort of the government in implementing sensitization projects against this phenomenon at the local level.

In the local context of both countries, and also in the legislative frameworks, a specific form of **child work**, called '**socializing work**', is permitted and constitutes an important part of the formation of the children's social identity. Child permitted work takes place when children go to the plantation with their parents, after school or during vacations, and they help in minor non-hazardous activities for less than one hour per day. The child is said to be engaged in permitted work when he/she is not forced to and can choose whether to follow the parents or not.

The **difference between 'permitted child work' and 'child labour'** seems to be very well known in almost all the visited areas. Very often, though, the reality observed was not matching with the common discourses of awareness. Children working on the fields, carrying and using machetes, or carrying heavy loads on their heads can be frequently seen in the areas concerned. This aspect leads the observer to two different but correlated conclusions:

1. Sensitization on this topic by the government is still ongoing and must be understood as a long work in progress, which needs time to be translated from the abstract knowledge to the everyday practice;
2. At the local level, there is still a misconception about what really a child can and cannot do in a cocoa plantation, and very often the precarious living condition of the farmer forces him to involve children in farm labour to sustain the family.

Farmers who live in remote hamlets are predominantly migrants, and normally work as caretakers for somebody else's farm. **Child exploitation and trafficking are more pronounced in hamlets**, where there are no schools and police control is almost absent. Also, in most cases, the process of sensitization carried out by the government has not reached these hamlets, that are perceived as places where the common social rule of the village is suspended. Farmers who live in hamlets generally experience very precarious living/working conditions; they give birth to many children and often host "their relatives' children". Very often, especially in *Côte d'Ivoire*, these latter children are victims of trafficking.

The active presence of the extended family in the personal growth of the child implies that the future of a boy/girl can be decided by the patrilineal uncle. The consequence is that the fact that a child can travel with the uncle, or another member of his/her extended family, is part of a common practice. Therefore, controls by the police on the identity of these "uncles" are not very frequent, leaving a lot of space of action to alleged "uncles" not really related to the family, who can exploit vulnerable children and their families.

Fieldwork also showed that in Ivory Coast, **boys are more involved in child labour and trafficking in the cocoa sector than girls**. Normally girls are exploited in domestic work and restaurant services, but also in street hawking and forced prostitution.

1.2 Migrant communities (internal and international) are the target group of this research. Historically, cocoa producing regions have received (seasonally or permanently) a large number of migrants coming from other West African regions and countries (especially from the Northern areas of Ghana and *Cote d'Ivoire*, where the dry season is longer and permits only one harvest per year), but also from Burkina Faso, Mali, Togo, Benin, Guinea Conakry, Niger.

Originally, these migrant communities moved southwards to work on cocoa plantations, while today they migrate to work also in other sectors, especially in the urban context. Very often, migrants bring their children, as well as their relatives' children with them and, due to their destitute and disadvantaged conditions, they often engage their children in labour activities, which are often exploitative and result in trafficking. Trafficked children are mainly not autochthonous, and the trafficker is normally a person who has the same geographic origin of the trafficked child. However, it must be noticed that many indigenous children are victims of labour exploitation too, and that the recruitment chain very often comprises a "local agent" (normally he is a farmer) who demand for minors to work in his plantation.

1.3 The lack of shelters in the areas of cocoa production has been defined as one of the major problems in effectively fighting against child trafficking, but also in understanding the dimension of the problem. In the case of a rescued child, the community, local authorities, or the police have no real place where to take care of him/her. As a consequence, the police may not be able to intercept victims because of lack of facilities for referral. All the institutional actors interviewed in towns and village claim that in absence of a proper centre designated to host, protect the victim, and eventually search for his/her family, the child will be forced to go back to exploitation.

Ghana has few government shelters in the capital city of Accra (the existing ones are located in the areas of Osu and Madina), others in fishing areas (in the towns of Krachi, Volta Region, and Winneba, Central Region), but no shelters can be found in cocoa producing regions. The absence of shelters in the plantation areas determines the impossibility for local stakeholders (local government, ngos, police) to rescue a victim or a suspected victim, who is normally hidden and transferred elsewhere by middlemen as soon as institutions show concern/interest on him/her.

In **Côte d'Ivoire**, Abidjan has different shelters (BICE in the area of Yopougon, Akwaba, Don Bosco, Marie Dominique, Centre Amigo), but they cannot absorb the high request for assistance for children abused and trafficked in the urban sector. There are no proper shelters for trafficked children in cocoa areas of *Cote d'Ivoire*: few rescued children are brought to local "*centre social*", where there is no proper assistance and recovering structures. In the area of Soubré a shelter for trafficked children is going to be established in the future, through the activity of the Cabinet of the First Lady.

2 GHANA

2.2 General remarks and strategy adopted to counter child trafficking in the cocoa sector:

The Government of Ghana, together with the private sector and the support of international organizations, has carried out quite extensive programs on the elimination of worst forms of child labour in cocoa sector, especially under NPECLC. Ghana has taken concrete steps towards the establishment of community based activities under NPECLC, which are the CCPC and the Child Panel. The CCPC has been created to raise awareness in the community on child labour issues and community bylaws, and to sensitize the community on the need to send children to school and register them. The CCPCs report to the District Child Protection Committee (DCPDs), which are part of District Assemblies, through the district social welfare officer. Only in the case of an official complaint in a criminal issue, the CCPCs report the case to the Police. The Child Panel is a separate committee, appointed by the District Assembly, and it is mandated by Ghana's Children Act of 1998 (Act 560)⁶³. It is specifically responsible for handling problems of the community, and settling disputes concerning children. It also adjudicates minor civil cases. These Committees are still present, but stakeholders report that they have not been receiving funds by the government or other organizations since 2012. The lack of funding for structures that are already in place and that provided an active fight against child exploitation is perceived as a serious issue with negative consequences, first amongst which the possibility that child trafficking will become again a substantial problem in the area.

2.3 The profile of vulnerable children: Child trafficking is believed to have considerably diminished in the last five years, due to the above mentioned activities of awareness and prevention, for example supporting the families in sending children to school, implementing of the school feeding program and building schools in remote villages (activity financed also by COCOBOD). Nevertheless, it is possible to observe children working in the fields and helping their parents in selling goods during market days (which are also school days). These are not believed to be victims of trafficking, but victims of child labour. Children of migrant workers living in remote hamlets are even more vulnerable to exploitation: teachers report that even if they are registered at school, they come only 2-3 days per week as they help their family in the fields. Vulnerable local children can be orphans and children born outside marriage, children who live only with their mothers, or who generally cannot go regularly to school (due to destitute conditions of their parents). Another category of vulnerable children is that of 13-14 years old boys who have finished the free primary school and who decide not to continue schooling. They have no alternatives (laboratories of apprentice, vocational centres) and they engage in child labour and WFCL and/or become victims of trafficking.

2.4 Where do the children come from?: Children and their families are mainly from Brong-Ahafo Region, Northern Region, Upper East and Upper West Regions (Ghana). Few are from Burkina Faso and Togo. In the past (until late 1990s), migrants were coming more

⁶³ Tulane University, Fourth Annual Report. Oversight of Public and Private Initiatives to Eliminate the Worst Forms of Child Labour in the Cocoa Sector in Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana, Payson Center for International Development, September 30, 2010.

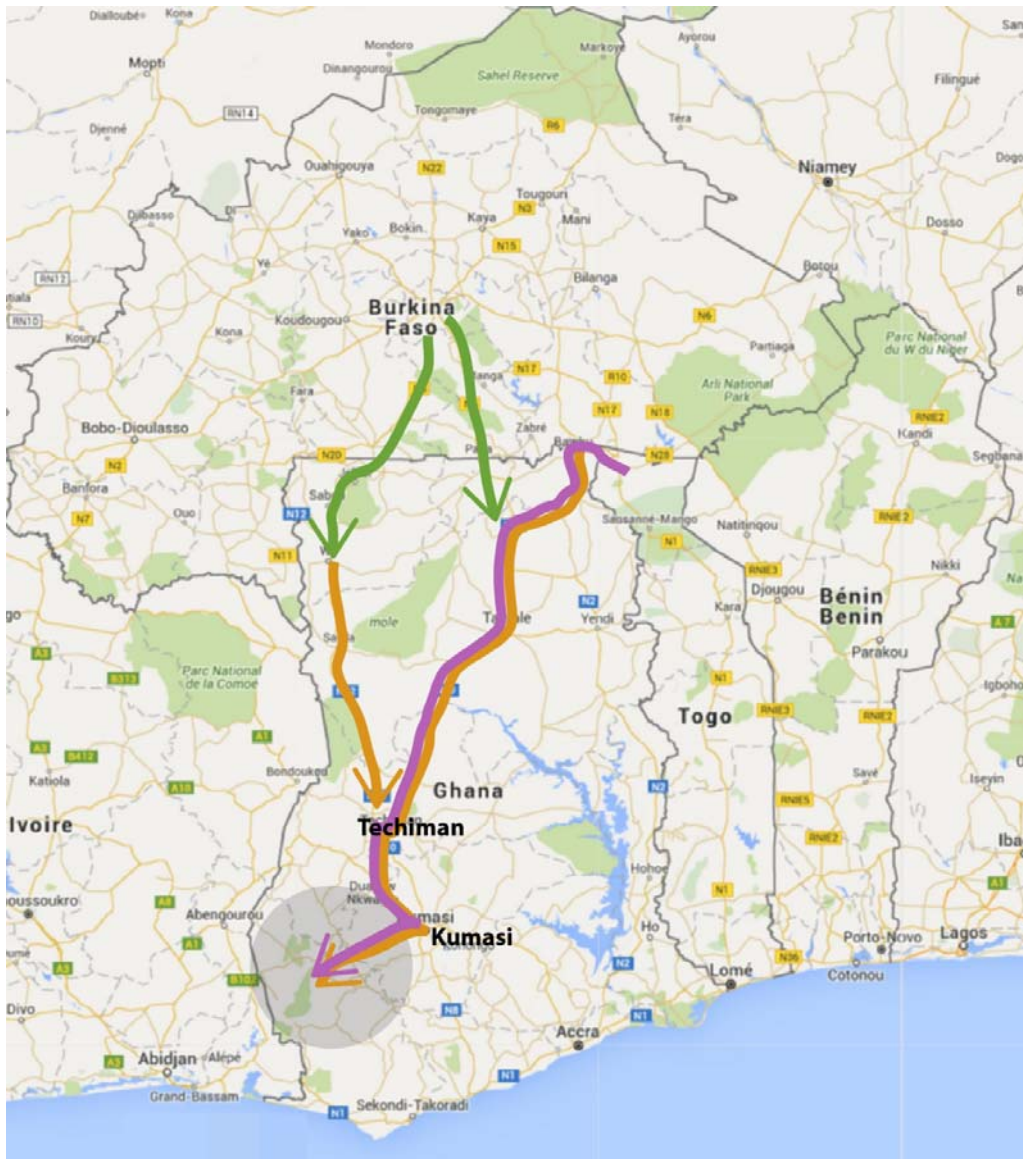
frequently, also from abroad, to settle in the cocoa areas of Ghana. Today the cocoa production is decreasing (Ecobank estimates a decrease of 22% in the 2015 season compared to the last 2014 harvest), attracting less workers. Local currency's (Cedi) constant devaluation in the last 7 years represents another factor of non-attraction. Many interlocutors indicate that other sectors are more affected by trafficking in children. Mining, fishing, domestic and urban sectors are today seriously challenged by the presence of trafficked children. Nevertheless, child labour is still an issue in the cocoa sector, also because of the dramatic decrease in the offer of adult workers. Migrant communities living in remote hamlets declare to host seasonally their relatives and their relatives' children who come to help in cocoa harvest (especially the big one). 15-16 years old boys are still brought from Northern areas of Ghana to work, especially seasonally, in cocoa plantations. They are often victims of exploitation because their negotiation power is lower than adult workers: they cannot move freely to search for other jobs because they are minor, and the recruiter can take advantage of this vulnerability until they reach majority.

2.5 Who is the recruiter? The figure of the middleman is crucial in the provision of labour to cocoa areas. Today, middlemen claim to facilitate the transit of adults (above 18 years old) only, also because work in the cocoa sector is heavy and requires physical strength. However, it is believed that they also facilitate the transit of children, 14 years old and above. The middleman generally comes from the same area of the workers he provides (he is often a migrant himself, or better understood locally as a “settler”, who established himself in that area long before).

2.6 Trafficking networks: following the information provided by the NGO PROMAG⁶⁴, in 2005-2006, they rescued 120 children victims of trafficking in four Districts (Akontombra, Aowinso, Enchi, Wiawso). Children were coming from the Upper East Region of Ghana (Bawku), following the road to Tamale, Kumasi and Wiawso. Kumasi is believed to be also today an important hub for child trafficking in Ghana, together with Techiman. It is there that children are sorted out and sent to the areas where they are more requested, including cocoa plantations.

⁶⁴ Projects Planning & Management (PROMAG) Network is a social development non-governmental organization involved primarily in research, poverty reduction, reproductive health, rural development, capacity building and developing networks. The organisation was formed by engineers, development planners, sociologists and health experts in 1996 to respond to issues that affect the socio-economic development of rural and emerging urban communities in Ghana. PROMAG's operational areas include Sefwi Wiawso, Akontombra, Aowin, Suaman, Bia East and Bia West districts. (www.ibisghana.org)

Figure 8: Trafficking networks in Ghana. In orange, internal routes. In violet, route from Togo. In green, route from Burkina Faso.



3 COTE D'IVOIRE

3.2 General remarks and strategy adopted to counter child trafficking in the cocoa sector:

Since the promulgation of the Law n°2010-272 (Prohibition of Child Trafficking and Worst Forms of Child Labour), the government prioritized “child trafficking and worst forms of child labour”. Local NGOs and relevant authorities recognize the government’s engagement, especially the activities of the First Lady’s Office, the creation of SOSTECI at the Prefecture level and *Comités de Suivi*, at the village level. Despite this strong political pressure, which lead to a diffused sensitization at all levels, stakeholders report lack of means and coordination to really activate programs. Sensitization projects are evident at all levels: signboards addressing the need to stop child exploitation in the cocoa sector are present in

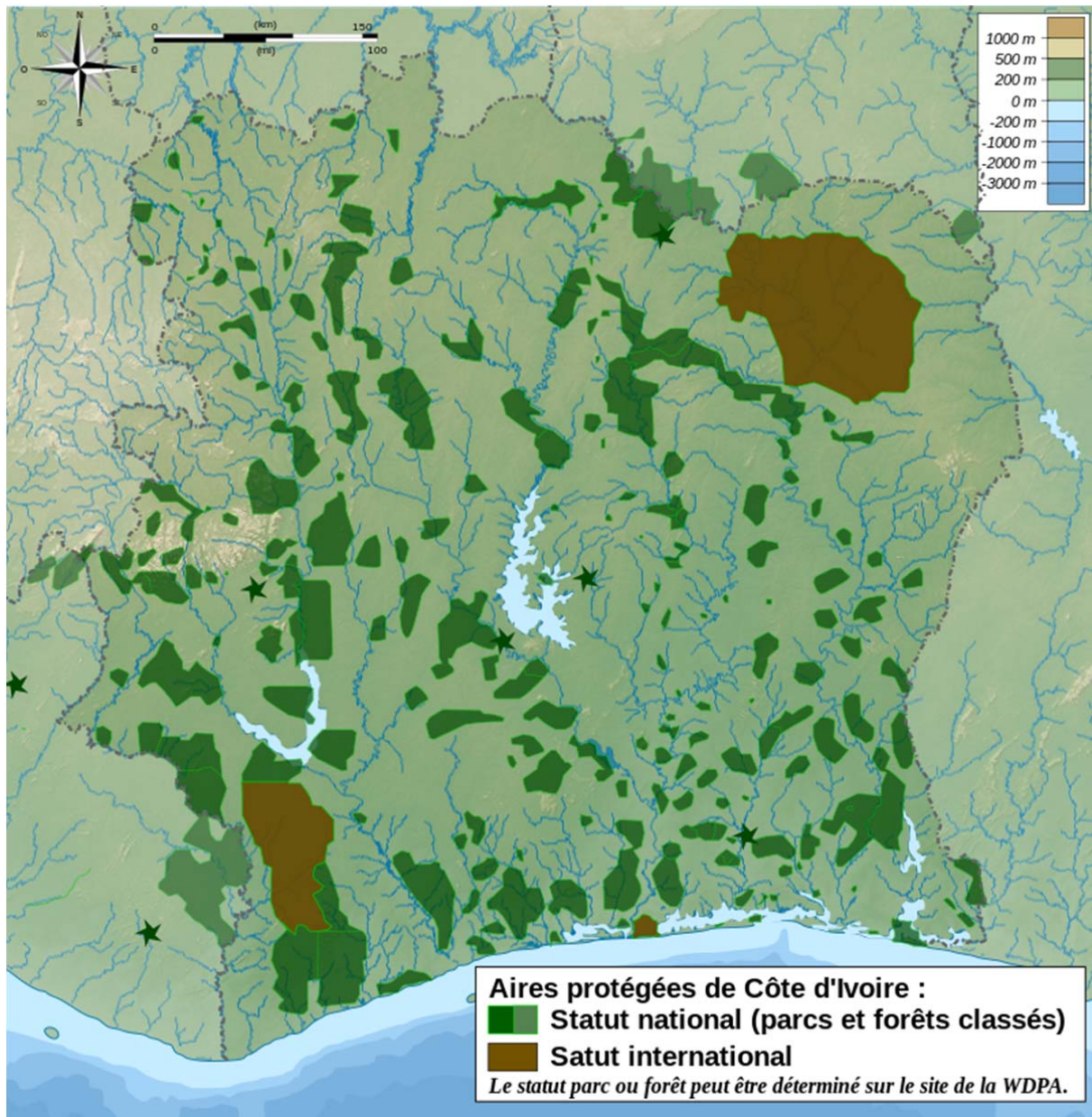
every village visited over the course of this research, and there is a shared knowledge that child trafficking and labour in cocoa plantations is forbidden by law. However, child labour as well as WFCL and trafficking are still present in almost all the communities consulted, even though it is a very sensitive issue and it is not easy to find stakeholders ready to openly confront this challenge.

3.3 Definition of the profile of vulnerable children: generally, autochthonous farmers send their children to school regularly; they normally live in villages where education facilities are accessible. Their children can help in farms after school or during holidays, engaging in permitted work under the supervision of their parents. Similarly to what was noted in Ghana, vulnerable local children are orphans and children born outside marriage, children in female single headed households, or who generally are not allowed to go regularly to school (due to the destitute conditions of their parents). Migrant communities are more vulnerable, because they frequently live in *campements* where schools are not present, and they are not registered by their parents at birth. Lack of regular birth documents is a serious issue in Côte d'Ivoire, because it prevents the child from attending school and exposes him/her to exploitation. These children are believed to be numerous in Côte d'Ivoire; The Sant'Egidio community⁶⁵ estimates that circa 4 million children live in these condition. They are referred to as "phantom children". 13-14 years old boys who have finished the free primary school and who decide not to continue schooling constitute a further category of vulnerable children.

3.4 "La forêt classé": A number of the interlocutors contacted during this research reported that the protected forest areas ("*forêt classé*") are partially illegally occupied and cultivated by a variety of individuals, ex-combatants among them. There, children are believed to be in high demand: their recruitment process is more expensive (drivers services are needed and police officers need to be bribed to avoid control), but on the long term their employment/exploitation results more convenient as they are not paid for their work in the plantation, and they generally don't take the initiative to leave.

⁶⁵ The Community of Sant'Egidio is a Christian community that is officially recognized by the Catholic Church as a "Church public lay association". It claims 50,000 members in more than 70 countries. It is present in Côte d'Ivoire in the capital city of Abidjan but also in other rural areas where cocoa is produced (like Soubré and San Pédro). They engage in social activities and particularly in child protection (www.santegidio.org)

Figure 9: Protected forestall areas (“*forêt classé*”) in Côte d’Ivoire. (Source: Bourrichon – GFDL <http://www.gnu.org/copyleft/fdl.html>)



3.5 Where do children come from? : Currently, In the Eastern area (**Abengourou**), the main new migrant farmer community comes from Togo. This community used to be engaged in seasonal agricultural work in Ghana. However, for the past few years it have preferred to work in *Cote d'Ivoire*, because of the stability of the Franc CFA compared to the Ghanaian Cedi. Migrants come mainly from the North of Togo, where the dry season is longer and the poverty rate is very high. They are mainly seasonal workers, who go back to Togo in between the two cocoa seasons. They frequently bring children to employ them in the cocoa sector and other agricultural works (rice, tomato, rubber). Very frequently, Togolese children, and also Togolese adult workers have no identification documents and cross the border illegally in the Oseikojokrom-Niablé area, avoiding immigration control and passing

through tracks in the bush. Other migrant communities from Burkina Faso and Mali have been settled for decades in the area. They were engaged in child trafficking in the past, but this has decreased nowadays. The president of the Malian community addressed the need for more control at the Northern border, because even if Malian children are no more massively involved in cocoa sector, there is still an important request for Malian children in petty trade and domestic labour. In the Western area, (**Soubré**) trafficked children are mainly from Burkina Faso and Mali. They live in the same precarious conditions of the Togolese children previously mentioned, have no identification or travel documents and live in remote areas far from schools and facilities. They live with members of their extended family, or they are brought by a member of the family to some *campements* where there is need of cheap labour.

3.6 Who is the recruiter? : The recruiter is normally a farmer, already settled in *Cote d'Ivoire*, of the same origin of the trafficked child. He has a good knowledge of both contexts, the Ivorian and the context of origin. He has contacts with poor and destitute families in Togo, Burkina Faso or Mali, where he recruits children for seasonal or permanent work in the plantations. Normally, an 11-12 year old child is recruited seasonally (he goes back to his family after the harvest), while a 14-15 year old child is recruited to move permanently in the *campement* in *Cote d'Ivoire*, at least until he reaches the adult age. At that point, the boy usually leaves the *campement* and his condition of exploitation, to search for better working conditions. The recruiter pays the family of the child, who normally doesn't receive any money for his service. The recruiter can be also an indigenous farmer, who searches for cheap labour from other non-indigenous farmers or who searched for local vulnerable minors to employ in his farm. In this case, the indigenous farmer acts as the first link in the supply chain of exploited children.

3.7 Trafficking networks: The network coming **from Togo** passes through Dapaong (Togo), Bawku, Bolgatanga, Tamale, Kumasi (Ghana), to arrive in Niablé and reach Abengourou. A second network passes through Tamale, Sunyani, Techiman (Ghana) to arrive in Agnibilekru (*Cote d'Ivoire*). A third one uses Bondoukou as a crossing point to *Cote d'Ivoire*. A fourth one doesn't pass through Ghana (which is believed to have more strict police control at the borders) but uses Burkina Faso's networks.

The network coming **from Burkina Faso** passes through Ouagadougou, Gaoua (Burkina), Bouna, Bondoudkou (*Cote d'Ivoire*), another one through Bobo Dioulasso (Burkina), Kaouara, Ferkessedougou, Korhogo, Bouake (*Cote d'Ivoire*). Please see map below.

Figure 10: Trafficking networks in Côte d'Ivoire. In orange, internal routes. In violet, routes from Togo. In green, routes from Burkina Faso. In blue, route from Mali.



VI. CHALLENGES AND SOLUTIONS TO COMBATING CHILD TRAFFICKING IN THE COCOA SECTOR IN GHANA AND CÔTE D'IVOIRE

1. PREVENTION

(a) The stakeholder interviewed during this field work mentioned the urgent need in **Ghana**, to improve **access to school** as well as **farmers' living conditions** as the two necessary steps against child exploitation. Very poor families living in remote villages or in hamlets declare not to have enough money to provide books, uniform, shoes and food for their children to allow them to attend school.

Parents are generally aware of the importance of education and of the negative aspects of exposing their children to labour and trafficking. The fact the children do indeed become victims of exploitation and trafficking, is a direct result of an increased vulnerability and destitution of the children's family.

Primary school attendance in Ghana is compulsory and the vast majority of children actually go to school, even if often only for 2-3 days a week. This aspect is described as very negative though by teachers, who struggle to keep students at pace with the teaching program. Often, 13-14 years old children leave the school to help their parents in the farms. The absence of a **viable alternative** (vocational schools, training colleges) doesn't give any chance to the child who leave school, and who often ends up involved in child labour and WFCL. **Teachers' working conditions** are reported to be very challenging too, especially with respect to low salaries and long distances to walk between school.

With regards to child trafficking, Ghana has proven to have successfully established numerous **control structures at local level** (CCPC, Child Panels). However, the current lack of funding and the consequent stagnation of these structures represent serious challenge to continued efforts to counter trafficking and exploitation and increases children vulnerability to exploitation..

(b) **Access to school** and to **better living conditions** are fundamental needs addressed by farmer communities.

Schools are often too far away from *campements* and remote villages and children cannot access them. In Ceda, for example, 6 year old children living in hamlets have to walk 14 km per day to reach the school and go back home (7 km each way). Others have to cross a river without bridge , which can be extremely dangerous, especially during rainy season. **Access to school** is actually free, but there are additional expenses that cannot be borne by families (books, clothes, shoes, food). There is often a monthly fee to be paid for teachers' extra work: since classes are too crowded (50-60 students per class), teachers work also in the afternoon and on Saturdays to follow all their pupils. The monthly fee frequently comprehends also maintenance work for school buildings, which are often in precarious conditions.

Farmers denounce their unsustainable **precarious conditions**: the price of cocoa is not stable during the year, and even if now it is regulated by CCC, it continues to fluctuate from the first to the second harvest. This hinders expenses planning, and schooling for their

children suffers as a consequence. The fluctuating cocoa price, the recurrent cocoa trees' sickness and the **lack of pesticides**, together with the **lack of mechanization** in cocoa plantations are perceived as the most important reasons why farmers are forced to use child labour, which is cheaper than employing an adult. Taking advantage of their children, or of children of the extended family, is still perceived as the only immediate solution to complete the harvest. The **presence of middlemen** in the process of selling cocoa beans is perceived as one of the major causes of farmers' precarious conditions: even if the CCC is working to stabilize the situation, middlemen can still modify the price of cocoa beans and keep the farmer in a subaltern position.

2. IDENTIFICATION OF VICTIMS, PROTECTION AND ASSISTANCE

The process of identifying, protecting and assisting victims is seriously challenged by the **absence of shelters** in the areas of cocoa production in both countries, and the poor conditions of the few shelters present in the capital cities (Accra and Abidjan). **Local NGOs** (mainly PROMAG, Right to be Free, Challenging Heights, in Ghana; CREER, Anni Yakillay, ASA, BICE, Sant'Egidio, in *Côte d'Ivoire*), in addition to IOM and INTERPOL, are the only actors able to provide protection and assistance.

3. PROSECUTION

Police officials interviewed during fieldwork were aware of the challenges posed by child trafficking in their countries and highlighted a number of specific challenges for law enforcement:, outlined below:

Chronic lack of means to tackle the issue: Very often, officers declared not to have enough means to counter child trafficking: this included the lack of cars or motorbikes to reach the remote places where children are forced to work, or especially to patrol borders, where seasonal workers, including children cross illegally. Many migrants reach cocoa areas (especially in *Cote d'Ivoire*) from other neighbouring countries, often without identity documents. Children travelling with them also possess no documents and by crossing the border at informal crossing points. .

Scanty knowledge of current legislation, of their mandate and tasks: officers were aware of their lack of knowledge regarding local legislation. They also, however, showed a degree of misunderstanding of their tasks/duties for example with respect to interacting with the local population: some of them claimed that asking questions to a parent travelling with a child is not well perceived. Moreover, they feel compelled to let a person go, when he/she simply asserts that he is related to the child he/she is travelling with or when he/she is actually able to show supporting documentation. This is often the case of the so called 'uncles' travelling with children to be supplied as labourers to farms.

VII. RECOMMENDATIONS

- (a) This research indicates that one of the group that appear to be most vulnerable to trafficking in the cocoa sector is made up of boys, especially those who are 14 years old and above. **The creation of valuable employment or training alternatives for these children could constitute a viable way to reduce their vulnerability.** These could include the creation of vocational centres or apprentice opportunities in their areas of origins..
- (b) **This research also shows that the construction of shelters focused on the assistance of victims of trafficking is a major necessity.** Centres of primary care (with the constant support of a social assistant) can represent, especially in the villages in the cocoa production areas where exploitation is massive, a good instrument to fight trafficking but also to understand the current dimension of the problem and constantly monitoring the situation.
- (c) **The need for continued support or reinforcement of existing structures as well as projects already in place.** Several NGOs which were contacted during this fieldwork have long term activities focused on child protection. Governmental activities are also present, especially in Ghana (see NPECLC). Their projects must be economically sustained and monitored.
- (d) **Improving access to school has been indicated as essential by most interlocutors in this research, to fight child trafficking and exploitation.** In Ghana, farmers should be supported to bear the associated costs of schooling (to buy uniforms, books and feeding program); in *Cote d'Ivoire*, more schools should be built, especially in remote areas (*campements*) and families should be supported economically. Teachers must also be motivated and helped in covering remote and destitute areas.
- (e) **In Côte d'Ivoire, it is recommended that the system of birth registration is improved.** Families living in remote *campements* should be followed and helped to reach the nearest *Préfecture* to register their children. Similarly, migrants should be facilitated in registering their children as soon as they arrive in the country.
- (f) **Improvements along the cocoa supply chain** must be pursued: chocolate industries and local control organism (for example Cocobod and CCC) should be constantly engaged in improving working conditions in their respective countries. The Chocolate industry shall put into practice a commitment to corporate social responsibility.
- (g) **Reinforcing police activity and knowledge, by increasing their mobility to patrol the informal border crossing points.** Local police must be assisted in setting up a common strategy to monitoring and regularly controlling informal border crossing points. Governments must support local police quarters by providing means of transportations and patrol, and especially by creating constant dialogue with their government/police partners at the border.

- (h) **Reinforcing police capacity to act, supporting their activity and knowledge through capacity building programmes.** It is recommended that local police be regularly trained on the current legal framework, through regular seminars.. They should be assisted in the drafting of a shared strategy to act on the ground, in collaboration with the district assemblies (Ghana) and prefectures (Côte d'Ivoire).
- (i) **It is also recommended that capacity building programmes include teachers, social workers, NGOs workers at the local/national level.** Governments, international organizations and NGOs shall develop and **integrated and coordinated approach**, with the aim to identifying good practices and shared learning. Synergies must be fostered to improve time consumption, knowledge sharing, expertise and attract funding sources.
- (j) **The interviewed officers expressed the need for training programmes** to be delivered at the local level not only to improve their understanding of the problem, but also to be better aware of their capacity to act.
- (k) Generally, interlocutors contacted during fieldwork in both countries recommended Governments to be better informed on the issue of trafficking and exploitation of children and to take a leading role in **coordinating stakeholders** involved in fighting child trafficking at the national/local level.

ANNEX 1: Stakeholders interviewed, divided by country and region

GHANA: Stakeholders interviewed in the capital city of Accra

- **Ministries:** Hon. Mark Woyongo, Minister for the Interior; Mr. Alois Mohl, Deputy Director of Department of Social Welfare; Mr. Kenneth Mamudu, Ministry of Employment, Director of NPECLC (National Program for the Elimination of the Worst Forms of Child Labour in Cocoa); Ms Abena Asare, Department of Women and Children Affairs.
- **Interpol, NCB:** Mr. Owusu Donyinah, Head of National Central Bureau.
- **Local Police:** Ms Patience Quaye, Head of the Anti-Trafficking Unit.
- **IOM:** Ms Doris Yiboe, Field Coordinator-Volta Region.
- **NGOs:** Right to be Free; Challenging Heights.
- **University:** Dr. Delali Badasu, CMS (Centre for Migration Studies)
- **Industries:** Mr. E. Tei Quartey, Director of Research, COCOBOD; Mars.

GHANA: Villages visited and stakeholders interviewed in cocoa pproduction areas (Western Region), divided by Districts

Wiawso (Sefwi Wiawso District):

- District Assembly (Social Welfare officer Mr. John Bley; Ms. Gladys Kofi)
- Police Headquarter (Sup. Tenant Victor Oduro Abrokha)
- local ngo PROMAG (Director, Mr. Newman Ofori)
- Department of Education (Director, Mr. Thomas Acheampong)
- Catholic Secretariat (Mr. Samuel Boateng)
- Zongo (migrants' neighborhood)
- Paramount Chief
- Drivers

Akontombra (Akontombra District):

- District Assembly (Mr. Jakob Ackaah)
- Police Headquarter (Tenant Patrick Mensah)
- Department of Education (Deputy Director Supervision and Monitoring, Mr. Paul Affum)
- Circuit Supervisors (Mr. Ernest B. M. Awuku, Mr. Isaac Entsi, Mr. Joseph Aduhene, Mr. Samuel Baido, Mr. Daccosta Aboajje).
- Methodist JHS (Headmaster, Mr. Nicolas Ackaah)
- Public JHS (Headmaster, Mr. Samuel Kwaw Polley)
- Zongo (migrants' neighborhood)

Villages (Sefwi Wiawso district):

- **Nsuansua:** Chief, farmers community, teachers
- **Punikrom:** farmers community, teachers
- **Amenfie:** farmers community, teachers
- **Aboboya:** farmers community, teachers
- **Ntretreso:** Chief, farmers community, teachers

- **Aboduem:** farmers community, teachers
- **Bosomaseu:** Chief, farmers community, teachers

Debiso (Bia district):

- District Assembly (Deputy Coordinator, Mr. Francis Ehwi Armah)
- Police Headquarter (Asp. Daniel Sogah, Crime Officer; Cid. Afatsawu Jehosaphat)
- CODAPEC (Mr. Faisal Kure)
- Middlemen
- Drivers

Oseikojokrom, frontier town (Bia district):

- Police Quarter (Sgt. Wisdom Agbeku)

Elubo, frontier town (Jomoro district):

- Police Station (Constable Dadar Magloire; Chief Inspector R.R. Owusu)
- Drivers
- Petty traders

COTE D'IVOIRE: Stakeholders interviewed in the capital city of Abidjan

- **Ministries** : Dr. Martin Nguettia, Directeur de la Lutte contre le Travail des Enfants (DLTE), Ministere de l'Emploi et des Affaires Sociales ; Mme Sandrine Kraidy, Ministere de la Famille.
- **Interpol, RB**: Mr. Balla Traore, Head of Regional Bureau; Mr. Patrice Kouassi, Specialized Regional Officer.
- **Interpol, NCB**: Mr. Souleymane Camara, Head of National Centre Bureau.
- **IOM**: Laurent Guittey, National Project Officer; Giorgia Cantoni, assistant.
- **NGOs**: Bureau International Catholique pour l'Enfant (BICE) ; Afrique Secour Assistance (ASA)
- **Shelter**: BICE, Yopuogon (Abidjan)
- **Industries**: Conseil Café Cacao (CCC) ; ADM Cocoa
- **UNICEF**

COTE D'IVOIRE: Villages visited and stakeholders interviewed in cocoa production areas (Indenie Region and Nawa Region), divided by Prefectures

Abengourou (Prefecture d'Abengourou)

- Prefecture
- Prefecture de Police (Commissaire Yao Aimé Golli)
- Ministere de l'Education (Mme)
- Local ngo CREER (M. Ibrahima Granbouté)
- International ngo Save the Children (M. Kouassi Bah)
- Malian community (President, Al-Hadj Oumar Maiga)
- Burkinabé community (President, M. Usman Tissologou)

- Togolese community (President, M. Oumar Djababou)
- Drivers

Villages (Prefecture d'Agnibilekru)

- **Dufrebo:** farmers community, teachers

Villages (Prefecture d'Abengourou)

- **Yakassé:** Chief, farmers community, teachers
- **Zinzenou:** Chief, farmers community, teachers
- **Apouesso :** farmers community, teachers
- **Zaranou:** farmers community, teachers

Niablé frontier town (Prefecture d'Abengourou):

- Police (A/C Francis Youboukoua Kouadja)
- Gendarmerie (Mal/C David Martial Acquah)

Soubré (Prefecture de Soubré) :

- Prefecture (Secrétaire General, M. Bonaventure Tiege; Chef de division, M. Brice Brega)
- SOSTECI
- Police (Capt. N'clo Thio, Chef de service)
- Gendarmerie (N'da Bernard Konan)
- Ministère de la Solidarité (M. Doignin Konaté, coordinator of SOSTECI)
- Local ngo Anni Yakillay (M. Diomande Yacou)
- Local ngo ASA (Mme Fabienne Digbeu ; Mme Sonia Lobry)
- Sant'Egidio, Catholic association (M. Alfred Yaa)
- Malian community (President, M. Bamba Yaya ; Secrétaire des affaires sociales, M. Coné Seydou)
- Burkinabe community (President, M. Emile Koita)
- Drivers

Villages (Prefecture de Soubré)

- **Tubadougou:** farmers community, teachers
- **Akomiakro:** Chief, farmers community, teachers
- **Degolkro:** Chief, farmers community, teachers
- **Ceda:** Chief, farmers community, teachers
- **Kaleado:** Chief, farmers community, teachers

Villages (Prefecture de Megui)

- **Krohon:** farmers community, teachers

ANNEX 2: References

- Agro Eco-Louis Bolk Institute, Making Cocoa more Sustainable, Accra, 2012.
- Alongi, T., 'Côte d'Ivoire. The political and social effects of Côte d'Ivoire's Cocoa Sector', Jackson School Focus, Vol. 2, No. 2, 2011.
- Boas M. and Hauser A., 2006, 'Child Labour and cocoa production in West Africa. The case of Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana', Fafo Report 522.
- Boozer, Michael A. and Suri, Tavnet K., 'Child Labour and Schooling Decision in Ghana', Paper for NEUDC Conference, 2001.
- Brusca, Carol S., 'Palermo Protocol: The First Ten Years after Adoption', Global Security Studies, Summer 2011, Volume 2, Issue 3.
- Buono, C., and Babo, A., 'Travail des enfants dans les exploitations de cacao en Côte d'Ivoire. Pour une réconciliation entre normes locales et normes internationales autour du « bic », du balai et de la machette', Mondes en développement, Vol. 3, n° 163, 2013.
- CLCCG 2012 Annual Report, March 2013.
- CLCCG 2013 Annual Report, April 2014.
- COCOBOD, 43rd Annual Report & Financial Statements for the Year Ended, September 2012.
- COCOBOD, 44th Annual Report & Financial Statements for the Year Ended, 30th September, 2013.
- Ecobank, Middle Africa Cocoa Outlook 2015, 26 February 2015.
- Ecobank, Ghana's 2014/15 cocoa production slumps, 17 April 2015.
- FSG, Social Impact Advisors, 'Managing Risk in Côte d'Ivoire's Cocoa Sector', March 3, 2009.
- George, E. 'The impact of reform on Côte d'Ivoire's cocoa grinding sector', Ecobank, 2014.
- Ghana Living Standard Survey Round 6 (GLSS 6), Child Labour, Accra, 2014.
- Grossman-Greene, Sarah and Bayer, Chris, 'A brief History of Cocoa in Ghana and Côte d'Ivoire', Tulane University, November 2009.
- Gueu, Denis, 'Le travail des enfants dans les marchés de nuit d'Abidjan', European Scientific Journal, Vol. 8, No. 2, 2011.
- ILO (IPEC) and Ghana Statistical Service, Ghana Child Labour Survey, Accra, 2003.
- ILO and Direction Générale du Travail, Enquete nationale sur le travail des enfants 2005, Abidjan, 2008.
- ILO (IPEC), Making progress against child labour. Global estimates and trends 2000-2012.
- ILO, Le double défi du travail des enfants et de la marginalisation scolaire dans la région de la CEDEAO, 2014.

Jaquemin, M., 'Travail domestique et travail des enfants, le cas d'Abidjan (Côte d'Ivoire)', Tiers-Monde, tome 43, n°170, 2002.

Kolavalli, S., Vigneri M., Maamah H., and Poku J., 'The Partially Liberalized Cocoa Sector in Ghana. Producer Price Determination, Quality Control and Service Provision', IFPRI (International Food Policy Research Institute) Discussion Paper, 2012.

Kouadjo J. M, Keho Y., Mosso R. A., Toutou K. G., Nkamleu G. B. and Gockowski J., Production et offre du cacao et du café en Côte d'Ivoire. Rapport d'enquête, Abidjan, 2002.

Kwankye, S. O., Anarfi J. K., Addoquaye Tagoe C. and Castaldo A., 'Coping Strategies of Independent Child Migrants from Northern Ghana to Southern Cities', Working Paper T 23, Development Research Centre on Migration, Globalization and Poverty, Univ. of Sussex.

Niass, S. 'Case Study: West Africa. The role of regional and sub regional mechanism in international efforts to counter trafficking in persons, especially women and children', Dakar, OHCHR, 2010.

Okudzeto, E., Mariki W. A., LAL R. and Sefakor Senu S., 'Ghana 2015', (AfDB, OECD, UNDP)

Republique de Côte d'Ivoire, Plan d'action national 2012-2014 de lutte contre la traite, l'exploitation et le travail des enfants.

République de Côte d'Ivoire, Ministère d'Etat, Ministère de l'Emploi, des Affaires Sociales et de la Solidarité, Arrêté N°009 du 19/91/2012, révisant l'arrêté n°2250 du 14 mars 2005 portant détermination de la liste des travaux dangereux interdits aux enfants de moins de dix huit ans.

Sertich, M., and Heemserk, M., 'Ghana's Human Trafficking Act: Successes and Shortcomings in Six Years of Implementation', Human Rights Brief, Volume 19, Issue 1, 2011.

Tulane University, Fourth Annual Report. Oversight of Public and Private Initiatives to Eliminate the Worst Forms of Child Labour in the Cocoa Sector in Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana, Payson Center for International Development, September 30, 2010.

Tulane University, Oversight of Public and Private Initiatives to Eliminate the Worst Forms of Child Labour in the Cocoa Sector in Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana (FINAL REPORT), Payson Center for International Development, March 31, 2011.

United States of America, Department of State, Trafficking In Persons Report 2014.

UNODC, Transnational Organized Crime in the West African Region, New York, 2005.

UN Convention on the Rights of the Child, Consideration of reports submitted by States parties under article 44 of the Convention: Ghana, 6th August 2014.

World Cocoa Foundation, 'Cocoa Market Update', 2012.

Yemblin, P., Traoré, B. And Tassa, C., 'Cote d'Ivoire 2015', (AfDB, OECD, UNDP)