Recruitment & Labor Dynamics of Migrant Workers in the Cocoa Sector of Ghana

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Table of Contents

Acknowledgements **2**

Table of Contents **3**

List of Tables **5**

List of Figures **7**

Executive Summary **9**

Summary of Key Findings 10

Introduction and Sector Overview **17**

Sector Context 17

Migrant Workers 18

Labor Dynamics in Cocoa 19

Gender Roles in Cocoa Farming 19

Field Research Methodology **21**

Research Objectives 21

Methods Overview 22

Sampling 22

Data Collection 23

Personnel 24

Sample Size 24

Limitations 24

Demographic Characteristics of the Respondents 25

Conceptual Framework **29**

Ghana Labor Law 29

ARS-1000 Sustainable Cocoa Standard 32

ILO General Principles and operational guidelines for fair recruitment 34

Findings **36**

Type of Employment 36

Labor Recruitment 37

Overview of Recruitment Mechanisms 37
Costs of Recruitment and Employment 39
Debt 40
Labor Agents and Subagents 41
Contracts 42
Transparency in Recruitment 43
Gendered Dynamics of Recruitment 45
Employment Conditions 47
Working Hours 47
Payment and Wages 49
Health and Safety 50
Discipline and abuse of workers 52
Living Conditions 53
Freedom of Movement 54
Ability to terminate contract 55
Dispute Resolution 57
Gender Dynamics of Employment Conditions 58
Family Participation in Cocoa Farming 59
Conclusion and Recommendations 62
Recommendations 63
Recommendations for Businesses Sourcing Cocoa from Ghana: 63
Recommendations for Government: 64
Appendix 1: Tables 66
Endnotes 74

List of Tables

Table 1: Qualitative Analysis of Key Findings, Recruitment, & Employment Risks for Migrant Workers 13

Table 2: Quantitative Analysis of Key Findings, Recruitment & Employment Risks for Migrant Workers 14

Table 3: Types of workers 37

Table 4: Original employers of cocoa farm workers 39

Table 5: Changes in the tasks agreed 44

Table 6: Proportion of workers involved in domestic work 46

Table 7: Migrant worker vulnerability summary: labor recruitment 46

Table 8: Average hours worked on the farm per day and by type of worker and gender 47

Table 9: Proportion of workers who worked overtime for particular reasons 48

Table 10: Forms of payment by gender and type of workers 50

Table 11 : Provision of safety tools by types of workers. 51

Table 12: Proportion of workers reporting what would make them lose what they were owed..... 51

Table 13: Paying for the cost of medical attention in the event of an accident or medical emergency by type of worker..... 54

Table 14: Proportion of workers who could quit and return home at any time without facing any consequences by type of worker..... 56

Table 15: Proportion of workers who could complain about working conditions or quit at any time without repercussions 57

Table 16: Summary of migrant vulnerability: employment conditions 59

Table 17: Risks to which children under 18 years were exposed to while working on the farm (multiple response) 61
Table 18: Forced labor indicators vulnerability: Child labor 61
Table 19: Age categories of farmers and workers (quantitative) 66
Table 20: Marital status of farmers and workers (quantitative) 66
Table 21: Nationality of farmers and workers (quantitative) 67
Table 22: Education of farmers and workers (quantitative) 67
Table 23: Literacy of farmers and workers (quantitative) 68
Table 24: Migration status of farmers and workers (quantitative) 68
Table 25: Number of years stayed in the community – farmers and workers (quantitative) 68
Table 26: Number of years working in the cocoa sector – farmers and workers (quantitative) 69
Table 27: Total number of workers who usually work on the farm by gender of the respondent (quantitative) 69
Table 28: Estimated farm size of the cocoa farms in acres (quantitative) 70
Table 29: Kinds of tasks undertaken by workers 70
Table 30: Forms of Recruitment fees paid 71
Table 31: Sources of loans 71
Table 32: Incidence of having part or all wages being delayed 71
Table 33: Work completion before leaving job 72
Table 34: Proportion of workers who had to ask someone for permission to leave the farm 72
Table 35: Proportion of workers who had rights or privileges taken away 72
Table 36: Proportion of workers with school aged children who attended school 73
Table 37: Ages of children who had ever been seen working on the farm 73

List of Figures

Figure 1: Cocoa productivity by region, 2024/2025 17

Figure 2: Source of information in finding out about the job on the farm 38

Figure 3: Source of finance for travel to the destination 40

Figure 4: Travel arrangements for migrant workers 41

Figure 5: Proportion of workers who received a formal agreement to work on the farm 42

Figure 6: Form of agreement you received 43

Figure 7: Proportion of workers Who did non-cocoa related work for employer 45

Figure 8: Average minutes of rest for workers per day during working hours by type of worker and gender 48

Figure 9: Proportion of workers who felt free to enter and leave the farm whenever they wanted 55

Executive Summary

Executive Summary

Verité is implementing the *Protecting Migrant Workers in the Cocoa Sector of Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana* project with support from the Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation (SDC), aiming to strengthen protections for migrant workers from labor rights violations. As part of this initiative, Verité commissioned the Regional Institute for Population Studies (RIPS) at the University of Ghana to conduct field research focused on the recruitment and employment-related risks facing migrant workers in Ghana's cocoa sector. This research explores the experiences of both internal and international migrant workers—including their demographic profiles, recruitment processes, working conditions, and labor dynamics—to provide stakeholders with a clearer understanding of the unique vulnerabilities migrant workers face. The overarching goal is to equip stakeholders with the information needed to identify, assess, and address these risks through more effective human rights due diligence processes and targeted policy and programmatic interventions. For more information on Verité's project and publicly available tools, see Verité's Farm Labor Due Diligence Initiative (FLDDI).

A combination of qualitative and quantitative research methods was employed for collecting the data, including interviews, focus group discussions, and surveys in the Eastern and Western North regions of Ghana. A total of 265 migrant workers and 75 farmers participated in the study. The majority of both farmers and workers were internal migrants from other regions of Ghana. A small percentage were immigrants from Ghana's neighboring countries. The focus of the study on recently arrived migrants provides insights into the migration journey and initial experiences of the workers.

Summary of Key Findings

Several key themes emerged from the study:

Dependency on employers: Whether transnational or internal migrants, migrant workers in the cocoa sector often live apart from their families and support networks. This increases their dependence on employers for housing, income, and pathways to more stable work. This dependency can make it more difficult for migrant workers than for local workers to express and resolve grievances about poor working conditions.

Informal recruitment: Recruitment primarily occurs through informal social networks, with most workers relying on word-of-mouth referrals from family and friends. Although rare among those interviewed, some migrant workers were recruited through labor agents or brokers.

Costs associated with travel and recruitment: Many migrants, particularly those with fewer resources, incur costs associated with travel (about GHS 435 or USD 28 on average) and recruitment sometimes incurs debt that may limit their mobility. Average travel costs represented more than half a month's anticipated wages. A lack of transparency around these costs exacerbates risks as debt can compel workers to remain in unfair conditions when no alternative income is available. Some interviewees reported borrowing money from personal contacts to cover these expenses.

Lack of clarity around employment terms and conditions: Working agreements for migrant workers are often characterized by verbal rather than written contracts, although written contracts are legally required for work lasting six months or longer. In many cases there are protective factors, including multiple witnesses to these verbal agreements; however, it was not uncommon for workers to report discrepancies between their expected and actual working conditions and compensation. Approximately 14 percent of the interviewees reported that their tasks on the cocoa farm were not what they were initially promised.

Inconsistent wages: Wages are sometimes inconsistent, especially among sharecroppers who share sales from proceeds. Although the proportions are agreed beforehand, their earnings are inconsistent because of the unpredictability of cocoa harvests.

Long hours: About nine percent of interviewees reported that their working hours frequently exceeded the legal limit of eight hours per day, with no overtime compensation.

Health and safety: Migrant workers face health and safety risks related to exposure to pesticides, tools, and animals, with insufficient protective equipment. About 80 percent of interviewees reported that they had not been provided with free and adequate Personal Protective Equipment (PPE), a legal requirement for hazardous work. Further, approximately 14 percent of the interviewees reported that they could not decline work because of negative consequences if they felt it would not be safe.

Abuse and harassment: Abuse and harassment were not reported by interviewees as a common phenomenon. However, nine percent reported that someone they know had experienced threats, violence, or abuse while working in the cocoa sector.

Gender dynamics: Gender significantly shapes labor roles, with men typically undertaking physically demanding tasks while women are relegated to roles with lower compensation. Women's labor is often undervalued and not fully captured in labor statistics. Moreover, significant income disparities between men and women workers were reported. The findings of the study indicated a considerable presence of women in all aspects of cocoa farming (about 41 percent of workers interviewed were women), particularly in the Western North Region.

Involvement of children: Child involvement in cocoa production persisted in some communities, with approximately 41 percent of workers indicating that they had observed children under the age of 18 years engaged in cocoa-related activities, both in the past and at present.

Migration patterns: The majority of both farmers (74 percent) and workers (87 percent) are migrants who have relocated from other regions of Ghana other than where they were located and interviewed with about 52 percent coming from Northern Ghana. A small percentage are immigrants from neighboring countries. The focus of the study on recently arrived migrants provides insights into the migration journey and initial experiences of workers.

TABLE 1: Qualitative Analysis of Key Findings, Recruitment, & Employment Risks for Migrant Workers

# Respondents	Recruitment and/or Employment Risk
Many reported	Working in hazardous conditions that they did not have adequate information about prior to beginning work.
Some reported	Being required to work for a longer period of time than was communicated before beginning work.
	No means to end their work agreements without consequences.
	Working significant compulsory overtime, which was not communicated prior to beginning work.
	Changes in the nature or conditions of their job for the worse since they were recruited.
	Not receiving wages or benefits promised.
Few reported	Being required to work for another employer (other than the employer who initially engaged them)
	Extremely low wages
	Living conditions far below typical standards
	No freedom of movement
	Debt related to their employment
	Threats or violence against themselves or their contacts
	Vulnerability and/or dependence on their employer which contributed to dynamics in which they were exploited

TABLE 2: Quantitative Analysis of Key Findings, Recruitment & Employment Risks for Migrant Workers

	Percent		Percent
Interviewed workers reporting significant change in the tasks they performed on the cocoa farm compared to what they were told at the time of recruitment	14%	Interviewed workers who reported they or their co-workers had received threats or had been subjected to violence or abuse while working in the cocoa sector	9%
Interviewed workers reporting being ordered to work overtime (more than 8 hours a day or 40 hours a week)	5.9%	Interviewed workers who did not feel free to enter and leave the farm whenever they wanted.	11.4%
Interviewed workers reporting that they were not provided with free Personal Protective Equipment or work equipment necessary to safely complete their job	80%	Percent of interviewed workers who reported they needed to ask someone permission to leave the farm	22.8%
		Percent of interviewed workers who reported they had ever had part of all of their wages withheld.	3%
Interviewed workers who felt they received less in earnings compared to workers performing the same tasks	12.6%	Percent of interviewed workers who reported that their employer or recruiter asked for their identity documents and kept them against the workers' wishes.	1.8%
Interviewed workers who reported they could not refuse to work in unsafe or hazardous conditions without consequences	13.8%	Percent of interviewed workers reporting that a right or privilege they had been given or promised (such as food, accommodation, transportation, the right to work overtime, etc.) was ever taken away or threatened with being taken away.	4.8%
Interviewed workers who reported worse employment conditions than promised.	14.4%		
Interviewed workers who reported they could not quit and return home at any time without facing consequences.	7.2%		

This report provides key recommendations for both the private sector and the Government of Ghana to address the unique vulnerabilities of migrant workers in the cocoa sector. For businesses sourcing cocoa from Ghana, RIPS and Verité recommend alignment with the ARS-1000 sustainability standard, strengthening human rights due diligence (HRDD) at the farm level, and promoting the use of written employment contracts to reduce labor-related risks and disputes.

For the government, Verité and RIPS have provided recommendations for strengthening labor laws and enforcement, promoting the formalization of employment arrangements, regulating recruitment fees, and enhancing transparency for workers before migration. Additional priorities include strengthening support systems for workers, addressing gender inequalities, strengthening efforts to eliminate child labor, and continuing and expanding training for employers and workers on labor rights. These recommendations aim to improve protection for migrant workers and promote more responsible labor practices for the cocoa sector.

For the full set of recommendations, see the Recommendations section.

Introduction and Sector Overview

Introduction and Sector Overview

Sector Context

Ghana is one of the world's largest producers of cocoa, playing a central role in both the global market and its own national economy.[1] As the second-largest producer and exporter of cocoa after Côte d'Ivoire, Ghana and Côte d'Ivoire contribute over 60 percent of the world's cocoa exports, a significant share in global trade.[2] The cocoa sector has been integral to the country's economic development, contributing approximately three (3) percent to the country's Gross Domestic Product (GDP) and supporting over 800,000 smallholder farmers who cultivate cocoa on an average of two to four hectares.[3] These farmers, mostly residing in the forest districts of Ashanti, Bono, Bono East, Ahafo, Eastern, Volta, Central, and Western North regions, are key players in Ghana's agricultural landscape, with cocoa cultivation spanning between 1.6 and two (2) million hectares.[4] Seasonal fluctuations, driven by the annual harvest cycles and varying climate conditions, significantly influence labor demand, with peak harvest periods running from October to March.

FIGURE 1: Cocoa productivity by region, 2024/2025

Source: U.S. Department of Agriculture, Foreign Agricultural Service 2025[5]

Migrant Workers

Migrant workers, often coming from various regions within Ghana or neighboring countries, constitute a significant proportion of the labor force on cocoa farms, contributing to both production and livelihoods in rural areas.[6] In this report, the term "migrant" is used to refer to both internal migrants from other regions of Ghana as well as transnational migrants.

Migrant labor is essential in Ghana's cocoa farming, particularly for small-scale producers who rely on seasonal workers to meet high demand during peak harvesting period.[7] A significant proportion of workers in sharecropping arrangements in cocoa production are migrant workers. Regions such as Western, Ashanti, and Eastern have a significant concentration of migrants involved in various farm activities.[8] Migration patterns for cocoa labor are driven by rural poverty, limited employment opportunities, and environmental stress in neighboring countries and some regions of Ghana, making cocoa-producing regions in Ghana attractive destinations for migrant laborers.[9] The migration of workers is driven by socio-economic disparities across the regions, with southern areas offering better agricultural conditions compared to the arid north.[10] Migration is historically more prevalent in the cocoa-producing areas, with workers, mainly from Northern Ghana, moving to more fertile southern regions. These migrants seek seasonal work, typically migrating during cocoa harvesting seasons, with many eventually settling and acquiring land for cocoa farming.[11] Additionally, migrants from neighboring countries like Côte d'Ivoire and Burkina Faso also contribute to the cocoa labor force.[12]

Despite their critical contributions, migrant laborers often face poor living and working conditions, long working hours, and low wages. Recruitment and employment-related risks of migrant workers in the cocoa sector are described in detail in the Findings section.

Labor Dynamics in Cocoa

Labor in cocoa farming is characterized by both formal and informal arrangements, including permanent, seasonal, daily (by-day), and sharecropping labor systems. Labor arrangements are summarized below:

Sharecropping labor: A traditional system where tenant farmers cultivate land owned by others in exchange for a proportion of the harvest, commonly seen in Ghana as "Abusa" (⅓ share) or "Abunu" (½ share) arrangements.

Permanent: Workers who receive regular wages and benefits, often employed by large-scale cocoa farms or farm owners.

Seasonal: Workers hired during peak farming periods, such as planting, weeding, and harvesting, without year-round employment security.

Daily informal: Casual laborers, often recruited on a daily basis for specific tasks like pod breaking or drying beans, and typically paid per task or day worked.

Gender Roles in Cocoa Farming

Gender norms play a pivotal role in shaping labor roles in cocoa farming. Men typically perform physically demanding tasks with higher earnings, while women are relegated to less visible and lower-paid roles.[13] While migrant labor is predominantly male, women also contribute significantly to the migrant cocoa labor, often engaging in tasks such as post-harvest processing or working as supporting laborers. Women accompanying male migrant workers frequently participate in farm activities, but their contributions are undervalued and underrepresented in labor statistics.[14] Historically, women's labor has been crucial, especially within family structures where wives and children support the workforce during family migrations, though their efforts have been rarely formally recognized. Women have long faced systemic challenges that prevent them from playing major roles as farm owners, including barriers to land ownership. They also experience income disparities, earning approximately 30 percent less than men.[15]

Field Research Methodology

Field Research Methodology

Research Objectives

The present research explores the experiences of transnational and internal migrant workers in Ghana's cocoa sector, focusing on their recruitment, migration, and working conditions. The goal is to provide a comprehensive understanding of labor conditions in cocoa production, allowing policy makers to better enhance protection for migrant workers in Ghana's cocoa industry.

The research specifically examines:

- Migrant worker characteristics and migration patterns
  - Demographic characteristics of migrant workers in cocoa production
  - Migration routes and corridors
- Recruitment
  - Role of intermediaries in recruitment and transit experiences
  - Lodging and indebtedness related to recruitment or employment
- Working conditions
  - Workplace conditions, including health and safety risks
  - Factors contributing to child labor, forced labor, and other labor risks
- Gendered dynamics of farm labor
  - Differences in labor experiences based on gender
- Recommendations for policy
  - Strategies to reduce vulnerabilities associated with migration
  - Approaches to improve labor conditions and protection for migrant workers

Methods Overview

This study utilized a mixed-methods approach, combining qualitative and quantitative techniques concurrently to gain a comprehensive understanding of the experiences of migrant workers. The research process began with a desk review of relevant literature, which informed the research design and data collection strategy. The preparatory phase also included drafting of qualitative tools: semi-structured interview guides and structured questionnaires to facilitate data collection.

Field research was conducted in the Eastern and Western North regions of Ghana, with one district selected from each: Kwaebibirem Municipal in the Eastern Region and Suaman Dadieso in the Western North Region. A total of 22 communities were selected—seven (7) in the Eastern Region and 15 in the Western North Region. Prior to the data collection, the research instruments were pre-tested in Suhum Municipal (Eastern Region) to ensure their effectiveness in generating the required data. To streamline field activities, the research team was divided into two groups. The data collection lasted for 12 days. The participants included migrant workers, farmers, opinion leaders, and experts, who were engaged through one-on-one in-depth interviews, focus group discussions, and questionnaire administration.

Sampling

Purposive and convenience sampling methods were used to select the 22 communities and all the study participants. A predefined set of criteria guided the selection process. To be included, a community had to be a cocoa production community and have migrant workers working and/or living there at the time of the research or in the recent past. Additionally, cocoa farmers were required to employ either internal or transnational migrant workers.

For migrant workers, the inclusion criteria specified that they must have lived in the community for less than five years. To identify relevant communities, the researchers canvassed areas that met the criteria of having cocoa farmers employing migrant workers.

Purposive and snowball sampling techniques were used to recruit participants for both qualitative and quantitative research components. Using the snowball sampling technique, lead farmers were contacted to guide the research team to the right participants for the study. Upon request, the participants who were interviewed also directed the research team to other eligible participants in the communities. A total of 150 participants took part in qualitative interviews, including 98 workers, 35 farmers, 11 opinion leaders, four (4) experts, and two (2) focus group discussions. The quantitative survey included 206 respondents—167 workers and 39 farmers. For the quantitative aspect of the study, 59.3 percent of the workers were men while 40.7 percent were women. About 69.2 percent of the farmers interviewed were men while 30.8 percent were women.

Data Collection

The research team met with community leaders across all selected communities to formally introduce themselves and the project. Leaders of farmer cooperatives and local government representatives (Assembly Members) were engaged to support the identification of migrant workers and farmers. Data were collected from participants using an interview guide and a structured questionnaire. Qualitative data were collected using a semi-structured interview guide. In-depth responses were audio recorded, and supplementary notes were taken during the interviews. For the quantitative component, a structured questionnaire was administered in paper format to the sampled participants. All interviews were conducted in the local language understood by participants. The majority were carried out in Twi, the predominant local language spoken in cocoa-producing areas and across much of Ghana.

Personnel

The Principal Investigators (PIs) for the research were Professor Delali Margaret Badasu from the Regional Institute for Population Studies and Centre for Migration Studies, University of Ghana; Dr. Johnson Wilson Appiah Kubi, a senior faculty member from the Centre for Migration Studies University of Ghana, and Mr. Abraham Gyimah Bugyei, an international consultant and expert specializing in Ghana's cocoa sector and a doctoral candidate at the Regional Institute for Population Studies. Eight other field enumerators were employed to work as field officers on the project. A minimum qualification of a Master's degree was the requirement for the field workers in addition to their field work experience.

Sample Size

A total of 356 participants contributed both qualitative and quantitative data for the study. For the qualitative component of the research, a total of 150 participants across different stakeholder groups were interviewed. Among this group were 35 farmers (26 men, nine women), 98 migrant workers (54 men, 44 women), 11 opinion leaders (six males, five female), and four experts (three men, one woman). Additionally, two focus group discussions were conducted to further explore key themes. The findings indicate a predominantly male participant composition, particularly among migrant workers. Participants who were recruited in the qualitative sessions were not eligible to respond to the quantitative questionnaire. A total of 39 farmers and 167 workers were surveyed in the quantitative component of the study. The gender distribution among the respondents indicated that 59.3 percent of the workers were men, while 40.7 percent were women. Among the farmers, 69.2 percent were men, whereas 30.8 percent were women.

Limitations

The sample of interviewees in this study is not intended to be representative of the broader population. While this approach does not produce a statistically

representative sample of all cocoa-farming regions in Ghana, it supports the generation of in-depth insights into the specific experiences of migrant workers in the selected communities.

Recruiting transnational migrant workers for the study was challenging, as data collection took place near the end of the agricultural season, when many had already returned to their home countries. These workers are typically seasonal laborers who travel to Ghana between February and August to perform tasks such as weeding, pruning, and spraying in cocoa-producing areas, and depart by October.

Demographic Characteristics of the Respondents

For the purposes of this study, "farmers" were defined as individuals who either own farmland or sharecroppers who have received their allotted portion and operate independently, without supervision. "Workers" included all categories of farm laborers, such as hired laborers, sharecroppers, seasonal workers, and daily wage laborers. While all respondents were at least 18 years old, the cocoa farm workers were, on average, younger than the farmers. A substantial proportion of the farmers (41 percent) were 50 years or older, whereas the highest percentage (34.1 percent) of the workers fell within the 34 – 41 years age range. A smaller percentage of workers (13.8 percent) were aged 50 or older.

Most of the farmers and workers were either married or living with a partner. Approximately 85 percent of farmers (33 farmers) and 85 percent of workers were married or in a consensual union, while about 12 percent of workers had never been married.

All the farmers interviewed in the study were Ghanaian nationals, and the majority of workers also held Ghanaian citizenship. Efforts were made to identify and include migrant workers from other countries. However, foreign nationals employed in the cocoa sector within the two study districts were relatively scarce as the study was conducted outside the season when they come to work in the cocoa sector,

as indicated in an earlier section. Consequently, only eight transnational migrant workers were identified and included in the quantitative survey, representing approximately 4.8 percent of the total worker sample. These individuals originated from neighboring West African countries, including Togo, Burkina Faso, Mali, Niger, Côte d'Ivoire, and Benin.

The farmers and workers in the interview sample had completed relatively low levels of formal education. Both groups showed a similar distribution, with a significant proportion having some primary education, a smaller percentage completing basic education, and a smaller proportion reaching secondary or tertiary levels.[16]

Literacy levels were low among both farmers and workers in the sample, with a significant proportion not able to read or write. The farmers reported slightly higher literacy rates than the workers, but a substantial number in both groups lacked basic reading and writing skills (46.2 of farmers and 62.9 of workers), which may impact their ability to comprehend written employment contracts.

A significant proportion of the farmers (46.2 percent) had resided in their communities for 20 years or more. The study sought to select recently arrived workers (who lived in the area where they were working for less than three years) to capture the experiences of more vulnerable populations. More than half (53.9 percent) of the farmers had extensive experience working on cocoa farms (10+ years), while the majority of workers (65.5 percent) had significantly less experience (under three years). A small proportion (14.4 percent) of workers had more than six years of experience, but this often-included prior work in different locations.

Finding workers with less than five years of residence proved challenging, as most had lived in the area for a longer period of time. The majority of farmers (74.4 percent) and workers (87.4 percent) in the study were internal migrants who had relocated from other regions of Ghana to the communities where they were interviewed. A small percentage (4.8 percent) of the workers were transnational migrants from neighboring countries.

Most Ghanaian cocoa farms are small-scale operations employing or having only a few workers (often just two, a husband and wife). A significant percentage in the sample (46.1 percent) employed only two workers. There is anecdotal evidence suggesting that farmers encouraged unmarried sharecroppers to marry, ensuring a minimum of two workers per farm to enhance productivity. Only a small fraction of farms employed more than ten workers.

The average cocoa farm size of the respondents was nine acres.[17] About 28.2 percent of the farms were four acres or less while about 18 percent of the farms were five to six acres. Eight of the farms (20.5 percent) were seven to nine acres, while another 20.5 percent were 10 to 19 acres. Five of the farms were twenty or more acres. The relatively small sizes of the cocoa farms explain why only a few people are employed usually on the farms. Cocoa farming faces numerous challenges including aging farmer populations, climate change, land degradation, and low productivity.[18]

Conceptual Framework

Conceptual Framework

Ghana's labor laws were consulted as a framework to assess the regulatory environment governing the cocoa farm labor, including assessing the effectiveness of existing labor regulations to identify enforcement and compliance gaps. The analysis shows that limited regulation contributes to worker vulnerability, especially among migrants who often face discrimination and rights violations. The ARS-1000 Sustainable Cocoa Standard—particularly Section 12, which outlines social requirements—was also consulted to analyze labor-related risks to migrant workers. To assess recruitment-related risks, the study draws on the ILO *General Principles and Operational Guidelines for Fair Recruitment* (specifically Section III: General Principles) and Ghana's Labor Act 651.

Ghana Labor Law

The Labor Act of 2003 (Act 651) establishes comprehensive regulations governing employment relationships, including contracts, wages, working hours, and occupational health and safety. While the Act is designed to cover all workers, its enforcement within the informal sector, where a significant portion of agricultural workers are employed, faces considerable challenges. However, as the provisions of the Act are intended to apply to all workers, including those in informal sectors such as agriculture, the Act remains relevant. It should be noted that "casual workers" or those employed for a period of less than six months are exempt from some requirements.

Section 75 of the Ghana Labor Act, 2003 (Act 651) provides guidance on the employment of casual and temporary workers. According to the Act, a casual worker is defined as someone engaged in work that is seasonal or intermittent and does not exceed six months in duration. Similarly, a temporary worker refers to an individual employed for a specific task or to replace a permanent worker for a period not exceeding six months. The law emphasizes that such workers are entitled to basic

employment rights, including rest periods, minimum wage, and protection against unfair dismissal. Furthermore, the Act discourages employers from repeatedly hiring casual workers in a manner that undermines their eligibility for permanent employment status. This provision ensures that the rights and welfare of casual and temporary workers are protected within the framework of fair labor practices.

Under the Ghana Labor Act, cocoa workers employed for at least six months are legally entitled to the following protections:

Contracts and Work Agreements: The Labor Act mandates that employment contracts exceeding six months must be formalized in writing, detailing the rights and obligations of both parties. Written contracts must include key terms such as wages, job descriptions, benefits, working hours, leave entitlements, and conditions for termination. If no written contract exists, the employer is still required to provide a statement of particulars of employment within two months of the start of the employment by the worker.

Minimum Wage: Ghana has established a national daily minimum wage, which applies to all workers. The establishment of the national daily minimum wage is governed by the Labor Act of 2003 (Act 651). Specifically, Section 113 of the Act mandates the formation of the National Tripartite Committee (NTC), which is responsible for determining the national daily minimum wage. The NTC comprises representatives from the government, employers' organizations, and organized labor, and is chaired by the Minister of Employment and Labor Relations. Once the NTC determines the minimum wage, the Minister is required to publish a notice of the national daily minimum wage in the Gazette and other public media as deemed appropriate.[19]

Regularity of Payments: Employers are required to pay workers' remuneration promptly and regularly. While the Act does not prescribe a specific pay interval, it requires that the agreed-upon pay period be adhered to, as stipulated in the employment contract or collective

bargaining agreement. In practice, the payroll cycle in Ghana is typically monthly, with payments made on the same day each month and no later than the last working day of the month.

Form of Payment: All salaries, wages, and allowances are payable in cash rather than in other forms of payment such as “in kind” payment (i.e. the provision of food or other goods in lieu of cash).

Limits on Deductions: The Act outlines specific provisions regarding deductions from workers’ remuneration. Employers are prohibited from making deductions by way of discount, interest, or any similar charge on account of an advance of remuneration made to a worker in anticipation of the regular period of payment. Additionally, employers cannot impose pecuniary penalties upon workers or make deductions from remuneration unless permitted by the Act or any other law. With the consent of the worker, employers may make deductions for Contributions to pension; repayment of financial or loans advanced by the employer at the worker’s written request; recovery of any remuneration paid in error.

Working Hours: The Labor Act specifies a standard work week of 40 hours, with provisions for overtime compensation, typically distributed over five or six days. Eight hours is the daily limit on regular working hours, with provisions for meals and rest breaks. Workers are entitled to at least 48 consecutive hours of rest per week. Overtime is permitted but must be compensated at an increased rate. Night work (between 10pm and 6am) is subject to specific conditions, including additional compensation and rest periods.

Health and Safety: The Labor Act requires employers to ensure safe and healthy working conditions, including access to potable water, sanitation facilities, and protection against occupational hazards. The Act mandates that workplaces must have adequate ventilation, lighting, and first aid

provisions. Workers have the right to be informed about workplace hazards and receive appropriate protective equipment if their job involves risks. Special provisions exist for hazardous work, including handling chemicals or operating machinery, requiring additional safety measures and training. The law includes protections for pregnant and nursing workers, stating they must not be assigned tasks harmful to their health or the health of their child.

While the Labor Act does apply to workers across sectors in Ghana, as stated above, enforcement in informal sectors, particularly in rural agricultural areas is limited. A large percentage of workers in Ghana are engaged in the informal sector and agriculture is highly geographically dispersed in rural areas, making coverage challenging with limited resources.[20] The study revealed that these de jure labor laws and regulations are often not enforced in the cocoa sector.

By comparing field data with existing legal standards, it is possible to identify gaps in the enforcement and adequacy of labor laws, particularly in areas such as the lack of provision of protective clothing and the widespread use of informal labor arrangements.

ARS-1000 Sustainable Cocoa Standard

The African Regional Standard for Sustainable Cocoa (ARS-1000) is a framework developed by the African Regional Organization for Standardization (ARSO) to promote environmental, social, and economic sustainability in African cocoa production. This standard aims to professionalize the cocoa sector by establishing guidelines for farm management systems, cocoa quality, traceability, and certification.

The intended audience for ARS-1000 includes:

Cocoa Farmers and Farmer Groups: The standard seeks to enhance their skills and practices, facilitating a transition from informal to formal operations.

African Governments: ARS-1000 serves as a tool for governments to modernize the cocoa sector and agriculture more broadly, supporting policy development and sector oversight.

Exporters and Private Sector Stakeholders: By aligning with international regulations like the EU Deforestation Regulation (EUDR) and the Corporate Sustainability Due Diligence Directive (CSDDD), the standard can support exporters in ensuring compliance with environmental and social sustainability requirements.

The ARS-1000 framework's social requirements focus on upholding human rights, ensuring fair labor conditions, and promoting the well-being of workers in the cocoa sector. The framework explicitly prohibits forced labor, child labor, and the worst forms of child labor, requiring preventive measures and remediation strategies where violations occur. Discrimination, harassment, and abuse are also prohibited, with entities required to create action plans that foster inclusivity and provide gender-sensitive grievance procedures. The analyses in this report is guided by this framework (12. Requirements related to social aspects).

Gender equality and youth empowerment are central to the framework, requiring organizations to assess and address gender and youth-related issues through action plans. Equal access to training, fair remuneration, and leadership opportunities for women and youth are emphasized. Additionally, child protection measures extend beyond labor concerns to actively encourage education and vocational training for young workers above the legal working age. The standard also enforces fair employment practices, including proper wages, contracts, and working conditions, and mandates occupational health and safety measures to protect workers from hazardous conditions. Finally, it supports workers' rights to social security, collective bargaining, and freedom of association, ensuring they can advocate for fair treatment without fear of retaliation.

ILO General Principles and operational guidelines for fair recruitment

The ILO's general principles for fair recruitment provide broad guidance to ensure ethical and transparent recruitment practices that respect human rights and international labor standards. In particular, section III. General Principles were consulted when analyzing field data as a standard for assessing recruitment-related risks.[21] These principles emphasize the protection of workers' rights, including freedom of association, collective bargaining, and protection against forced labor, child labor, and discrimination. Recruitment should align with labor market needs without undermining existing employment conditions or reducing labor standards. Regulatory mechanisms, including licensing and inspection systems, must be effectively enforced to prevent abusive and fraudulent practices, such as forced labor and human trafficking.

The principles also stress that recruitment, particularly across international borders, should comply with national laws and international standards. Workers should not bear recruitment fees or related costs, and employment terms should be clearly outlined in written contracts, provided in advance in a language they understand. Recruitment must be voluntary, free from deception or coercion, and workers should have access to accurate information about their rights and employment conditions. Additionally, workers' freedom of movement must be respected, and identity documents should not be confiscated. They should have the right to terminate employment and, in the case of migrant workers, return to their home country without requiring employer permission. Access to grievance mechanisms and legal remedies should be ensured for all workers, regardless of their legal status. These principles serve as a foundation for fair recruitment practices that apply to governments, employers, and labor recruiters, promoting decent work and ethical employment.

Findings

Findings

Type of Employment

The study identified several types of employment arrangements for workers within the cocoa industry, including sharecropping, seasonal workers, and daily wage workers. Sharecropping agreements often involved a three-way split of the harvested cocoa among the sharecropper, the landowner, and farm maintenance. Sharecropping took place in two different forms: *Abusa*, taking care of an existing cocoa farm, and *Abunu,* which occurs when a worker takes over land and cultivates and shares the proceeds with the landowner on a 50/50 basis. The other types of employment arrangements included contract work, which itself included performing daily wage labor or as part of a longer contract; and general farming labor. Daily wage workers were paid per day, often negotiating their rate depending on the farm size and the specifics of the job *("For short contract work, I usually bargain with farmers and my charges depend on the size of the farm"*). For more, see Labor Dynamics in Cocoa.

"For short contract work, I usually bargain with farmers and my charges depend on the size of the farm."

The cross-tabulation of worker types and their employment status (temporary or permanent) shows that the majority of workers interviewed were sharecroppers (67.7 percent). Among sharecroppers, 90 percent were hired on a permanent basis, while less than a tenth (8.9 percent) were hired temporarily. Sharecroppers on temporary contracts work for a shorter time, mostly on old farms that used to be managed by other people. For the 24 percent of workers who were hired laborers, 57.5 percent were permanent, and 42.5 percent were temporary. Temporary hired workers are engaged for short periods, typically working on a daily rate referred to as working "by day" or on an activity which could take a few days to complete. All the farm supervisors were employed on a permanent basis. About 16 percent of workers were

temporary workers, mostly, by day workers. Among these temporary workers, about 63 percent were hired laborers while 37 percent were sharecroppers.

The workers reported performing various tasks on the farm. Nearly all the workers interviewed (97 percent) were involved in weeding, while 77.8 percent planted seedlings, and about 70 percent harvested cocoa pods. Pruning was done by 63.5 percent, and 60 percent transported cocoa pods and carried water. Around 53.3 percent carried fermented cocoa beans from the farm and applied pesticides or fungicides. Minor tasks included preparing meals for workers (19.8 percent) and for the farm owner's family (6.6 percent), and 12.6 percent also cared for children.

TABLE 3: Types of workers

	Temporary	Permanent	Non paid contributing family worker	Total
I am a hired laborer on farm	42.5	57.5	0.0	100
Contributing family worker	0.0	80.0	20.0	100
Farm supervisor	0.0	100.0	0.0	100
Sharecropper but do not hire labour	8.9	90.3	0.9	100
Total	16.2	82.0	1.8	100

Labor Recruitment

Overview of Recruitment Mechanisms

Recruitment of migrant workers in the cocoa sector was found to be highly informal, relying primarily on word-of-mouth information. Among the interviewed migrant workers, 91 percent learned of job opportunities through informal networks—family members, friends, or community members—either in their home region or at the destination. In contrast, only 6.6 percent received information directly from farm owners. Workers frequently cited learning about jobs from relatives, such as "my husband's friends," "my brother," or "my siblings."

This word-of-mouth recruitment method was confirmed by farmers and experts. One farmer explained, "Usually, I get [migrant workers] through recommendations from the laborers I already work with." Experts further noted that migrant workers are typically brought in by a relative, friend, or recruiter, with terms and conditions usually discussed before work begins.

"Usually, I get [migrant workers] through recommendations from the laborers I already work with."

In nearly all cases, the farm owner serves as the primary employer. Among workers interviewed, 95 percent were employed by farm owners (98 percent of men and 90 percent of women). Additionally, some female workers—4.4 percent of those interviewed—were hired by sharecroppers, often their husbands, compared to just 1 percent of male workers hired this way.

Travelling to these areas often involves long journeys, described as arduous by interviewees. They typically require multiple modes of transportation and transfers, which sometimes result in challenges such as vehicle breakdowns and lack of funds for food and other necessities. These challenges are exacerbated for parents traveling with their children, a phenomenon which was observed among the interviewed population.

FIGURE 2: Source of information in finding out about the job on the farm

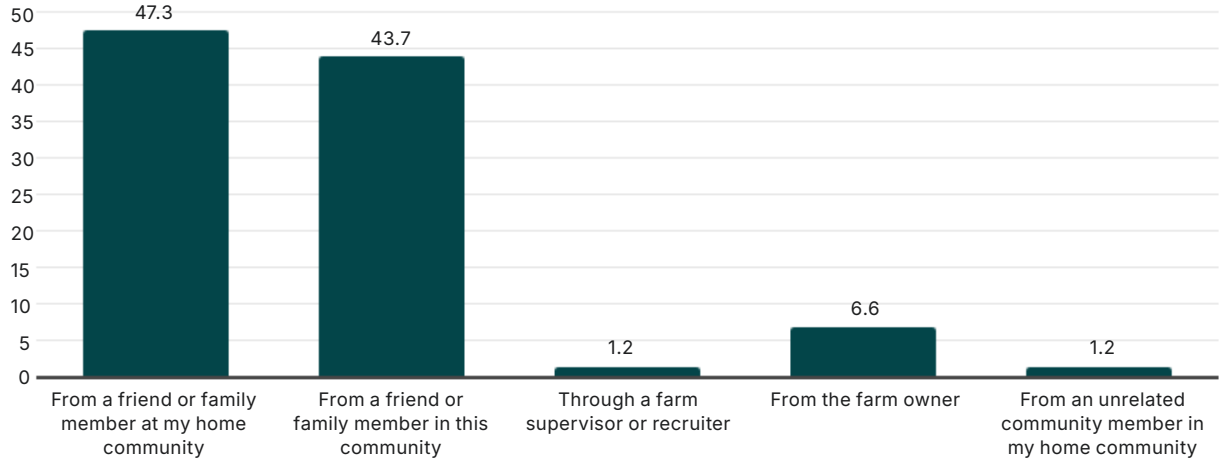


TABLE 4: Original employers of cocoa farm workers

	Male	Female	Total
Farm owner	98.0	89.7	94.6
Sharecropper	1.0	4.4	2.4
A farm supervisor or manager	0.0	2.9	1.2
A labor recruiter/contractor	1.0	2.9	1.8
Total	100	100	100
Pearson chi2(3) = 5.9877 Pr = 0.112			

Costs of Recruitment and Employment

Although most workers did not report paying fees to a recruiter (approximately seven percent reported paying a recruiter), many of the workers incurred travel costs. Some financed their travel through savings or loans, while others received financial assistance. One worker stated, for example, "I saved money for my travel arrangement, nobody helped me, it was out of my pocket," while another shared, "I borrowed money for my travel arrangement from a friend."

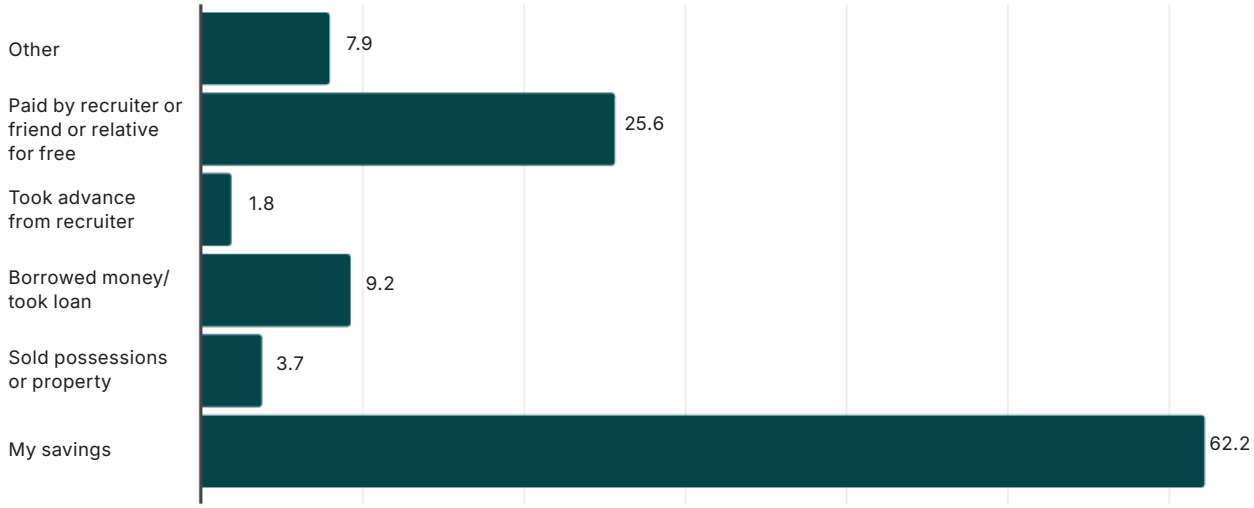
The cost of travel varied widely, ranging from GHS 120 to GHS 750 (USD 11.70-73.25). One woman worker reported spending GHS 750 (USD 73.25) for her and her husband's journey, while a male worker stated, "It cost me GHS 350 to travel here to engage in cocoa production." The maximum observed transport cost is less than the estimated average monthly wages for the quantitative sample for the workers (about GHS 926, or USD 90.50).

The majority (62.2 percent) of the workers relied on personal savings to cover travel expenses or cost. About 25.6 percent had their travel costs paid by a recruiter, friend, or relative. Meanwhile, 9.2 percent took out loans or borrowed money for travel, leading to indebtedness for some. A few workers (4%) sold some possessions to pay for travel costs.

Beyond travel expenses, workers were asked if they paid other fees related to recruitment. Most did not, but seven percent paid money to a recruiter, 3.8 percent paid additional charges, and three percent had to pay fees to pass a checkpoint.

Workers reported paying about GHS 435 or USD 28 in recruitment costs on average, with travel representing most or all of the reported costs. This amount was equivalent to approximately 22 percent of one month of wages at the legal minimum rate.

FIGURE 3: Source of finance for travel to the destination



However, the study revealed that in a few instances the farmers supported the transportation cost of the migrant workers. An opinion leader shared, “In some cases, the farmer who needs their services funds all transportation expenses and also sometimes provides accommodation for them.”

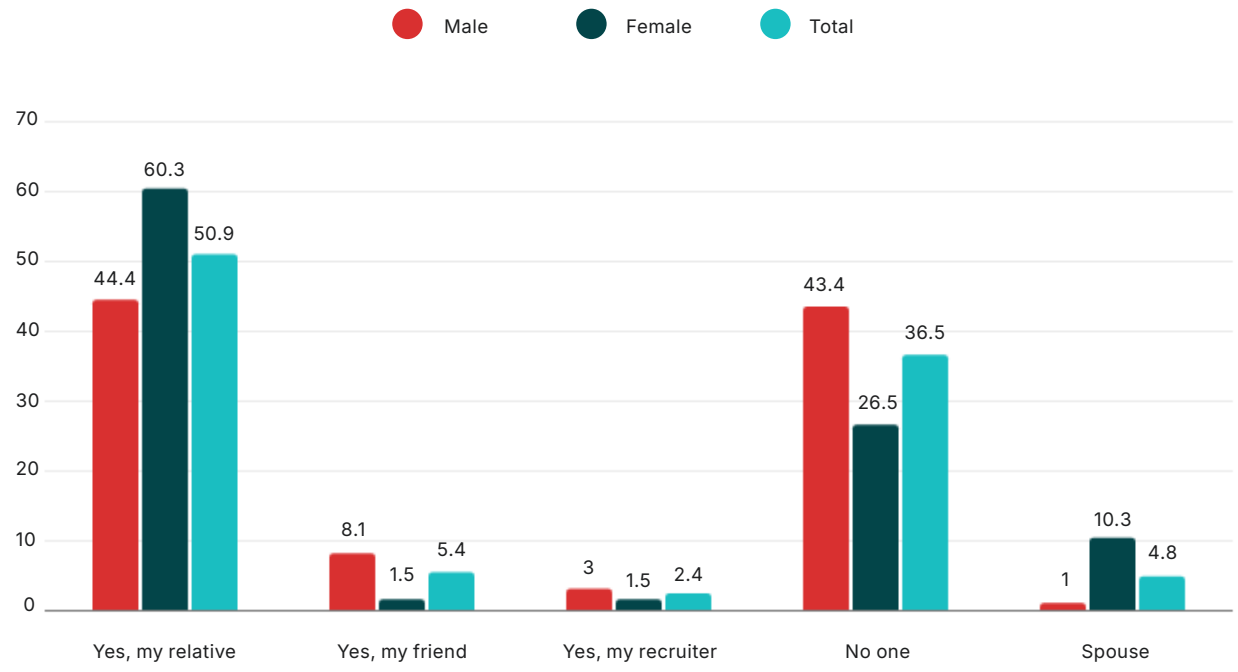
Debt

Slightly more than a tenth (11 percent) of respondents reported that they had taken a loan from family or friends to cover travel costs from their origins to the cocoa farms; about a tenth (9.2 percent) of respondents had borrowed money or taken a loan while 1.8 percent had taken an advance from their recruiter. For the workers who incurred debt, the existence of this debt may make it more challenging for them to leave their employment or express grievances, particularly when combined with the phenomenon of late or withheld wages.

Labor Agents and Subagents

Other third-party recruiters include labor agents who help in facilitating the migration of workers from different regions into cocoa-producing areas. The workers were asked in the survey whether someone else arranged for their travel to the destination. A little more than half (50.9 percent) of the workers reported that a relative helped to arrange for their travel. More than a third (35.5 percent) of the workers made their own travel arrangements while friends arranged for the travel of as low as 5.4 percent of the workers. There is a statistically significant difference between the travel arrangements for men and women (based on a Chi-Square p value of 0.003). About 60.3 percent of the women workers reported that their relatives arranged their travel compared to 44.4 percent of the men. A total of 10.3 percent of the women workers had their husbands arranging their travel compared to one percent for the men. Generally, higher percentage of the women compared to the men had their travel arranged for them.

FIGURE 4: Travel arrangements for migrant workers

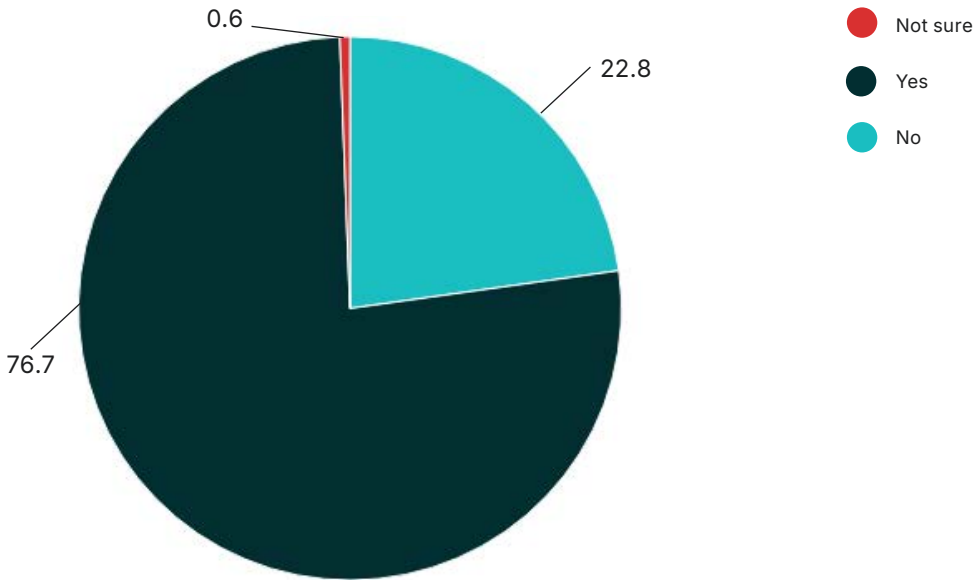


Contracts

Over 77 percent of migrant workers reported having some sort of work agreement prior to commencing work, whether a written or verbal agreement. Employment arrangements in the cocoa industry primarily consist of verbal agreements with witnesses. Of workers who reported a worker agreement, approximately 57 percent reported that it was verbal while approximately 37 percent reported that it was written. The language used in these agreements is predominantly Twi. In cases where agreements are verbal, witnesses are used to help document the agreement; in some cases, up to five witnesses were reported. Interviewee statements affirmed that having witnesses to agreements were the most important component of securing an agreement. When they do exist, agreements reportedly cover various aspects of work such as payment, work tasks, working conditions, and job responsibilities.

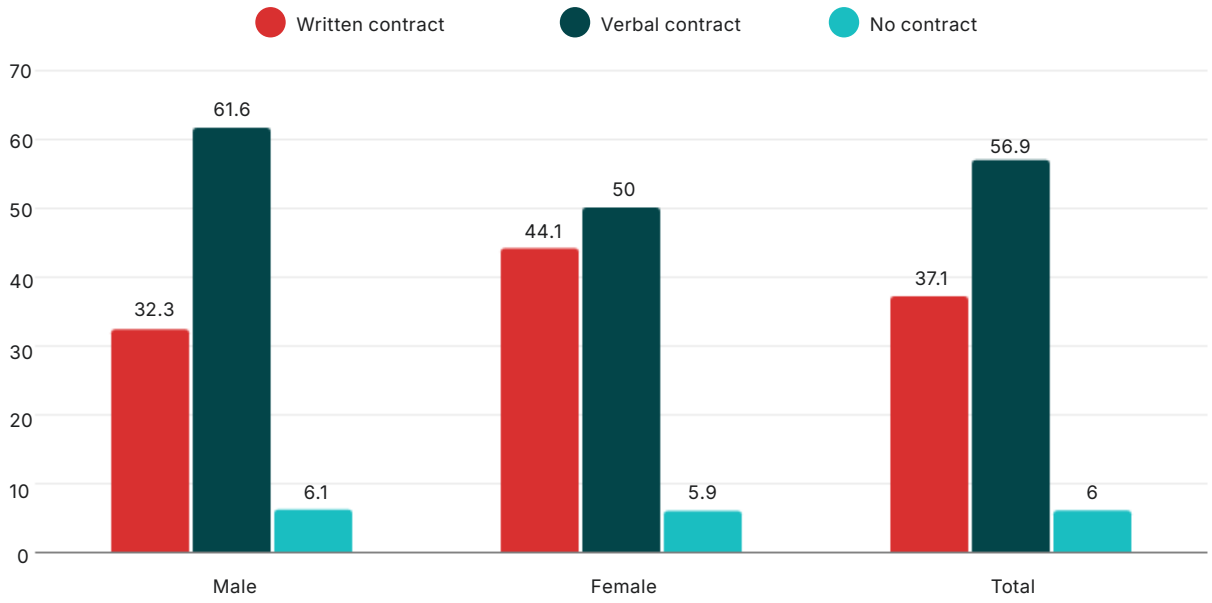
However, about 23 percent of the interviewees reported that they did not have any work agreement, including a verbal agreement, prior to commencing work. Most workers (85.6 percent) received information about their cocoa farm employment from farm owners, supervisors, managers, or recruiters.

FIGURE 5: Proportion of workers who received a formal agreement to work on the farm



Verbal contracts are a common and widely accepted practice in the cocoa sector. However, they pose some risks, as employment conditions and wage structures could differ from initial agreements. While written contracts provide greater clarity and security for both parties and should be encouraged, verbal agreements remain prevalent. This reliance on informal agreements can make it more challenging to ensure consistent enforcement of labor rights. Without formal written contracts, workers may have limited protection in disputes over wages and working conditions.

FIGURE 6: Form of agreement you received



Transparency in Recruitment

The research suggested a lack of transparency regarding working conditions, including wages at the recruitment stage. Some participants expressed discrepancies between their expectations at the time of recruitment and the actual working conditions or compensation they received. In multiple instances the workers were promised enticing incentives and working conditions before they started the work, but the farm owners did not honor these promises. For example, one sharecropper reported that the farm owner promised to supply inputs, but once on the farm, the sharecropper was told that the farm owner would not provide

money for inputs up front and would instead "refund" the money after the sale of cocoa beans at the end of the season. Another worker recounted an experience in which his employer initially promised to cover all costs associated with the contract documentation. However, the employer later reneged on this commitment, insisting that the worker bear the expenses instead. The employer stated that failure to do so would result in no contract being issued.

The workers who participated in this research were asked whether their employers significantly changed the tasks they had to perform on the cocoa farm compared to what they were told at the time of recruitment or hiring. More than a tenth (14.4 percent) affirmed that they experienced significant changes in their assigned tasks compared to what they were told during recruitment or hiring. A higher percentage of the male workers reported this discrepancy: 18.2 percent of the men reported such changes compared to 8.8 percent of the women. In some instances, the farmers insisted that the workers pay for the contract paperwork before they make the contract binding: "He says when I pay the money for the paperwork, he will get it done for me. I am working on the farm so when I get some money, I will give it to him." When workers confronted their farmers about such changes, some were threatened with termination of employment. In one instance, the farmer insisted the worker pay for the paperwork before they make the contract binding.

TABLE 5 : Changes in the tasks agreed

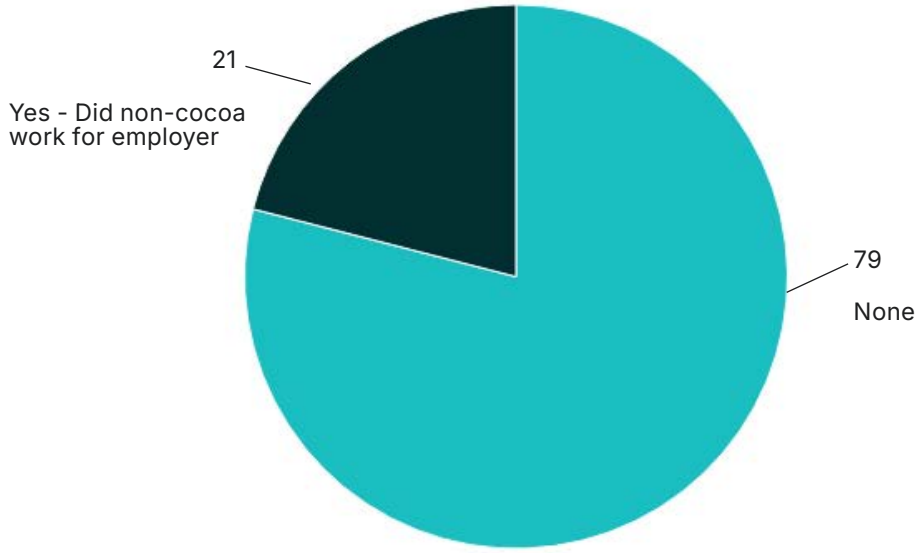
	Male	Female	Total
Yes	18.2	8.8	14.4
No	81.8	91.2	85.6
Total	100	100	100

Pearson chi2(1) = 2.8688 Pr = 0.090

About 21 percent of workers reported being asked to perform non-cocoa-related work for their employers. A slightly higher proportion of women (23.5 percent) compared to men (19.2 percent) indicated this, although the difference was not statistically significant. Among workers with family members with them, only three

percent reported that their family members were also required, pressured, or forced to work for the employer. This was reported by a higher percentage of women (5.9 percent) than men (one percent).

FIGURE 7: Proportion of workers Who did non-cocoa related work for employer



Gendered Dynamics of Recruitment

Women in the study were more likely to be engaged in temporary work than men. More than half (57.4 percent) of the workers who were recruited as hired laborers for seasonal and daily work were women. Additionally, 59.3 percent of the workers who described themselves as temporary workers were women.

The study also showed that some women, especially married women, were unpaid workers who supported their husbands to work on their farms. One woman explained, “My father didn’t enroll me in school or put me in a trade so when I married the man who was into cocoa farming, I had to assist him so that we could support the children. One male worker said, “If I am harvesting the cocoa, she (my wife) gathers them together to help me.”

Approximately 33.5 percent of the respondents were required to perform domestic chores such as cooking, taking care of children, washing and running errands for their farm owners. A far higher proportion of women (47.1 percent) engaged in domestic chores compared to men (24.2 percent). Among contributing family workers, 60 percent performed domestic chores, as they were part of the household. Additionally, 45 percent of hired workers also carried out domestic work for their employers.

TABLE 6: Proportion of workers involved in domestic work

	Male	Female	Average
I am a hired laborer on farm	41.2	47.8	45.0
Contributing family worker	0.0	75.0	60.0
Farm supervisor	50.0	0.0	25.0
Total	24.2	47.1	33.5

TABLE 7: Migrant worker vulnerability summary: labor recruitment

Vulnerability	Finding	Vulnerability Level
Recruitment Fees & Indebtedness	The costs associated with recruitment, including expenses for transportation, often require workers to take out loans, creating a risk of indebtedness, particularly for those with limited financial resources.	High
Restriction of Movement (Indirect)	Debt incurred during recruitment can indirectly restrict workers' freedom of movement, as the obligation to repay lenders may compel them to continue working, even in the absence of explicit coercion.	Moderate
Lack of Transparency	Recruitment often occurs through informal channels with limited access to transparent, reliable information about working conditions, increasing the risk of exploitation through deception about wages and other terms of employment.	High

Employment Conditions

Working Hours

Working hours in the cocoa industry, like other farming activities, are typically long, often exceeding eight hours daily and six days a week, with minimal to no overtime pay reported. The data reveal highly variable working hours. Workers reported working anywhere from seven to nine hours a day and four to six days a week; "I work about nine hours daily (6am–2pm) for six days per week,"; "About nine hours daily (7am–5pm) and for five days per week,". Overtime is typically not compensated; "No, our agreement doesn't have overtime."

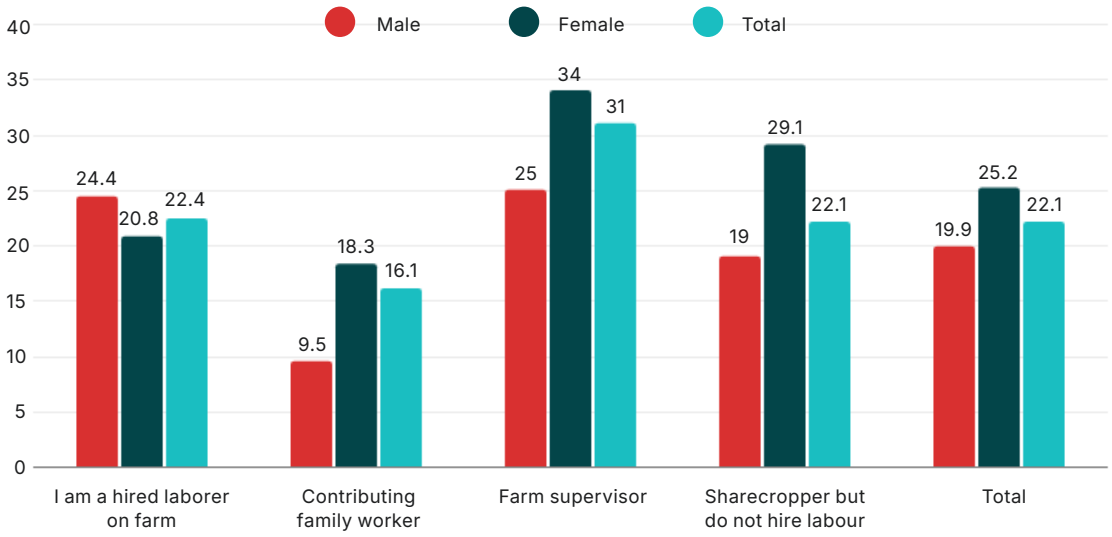
The average daily hours worked by each worker, categorized by type of worker, are presented in Table 8. On average, workers worked 5.9 hours per day. Men worked slightly more hours on average (6.5 hours) compared to women (5.1 hours). Farm supervisors worked the most hours on average, with 6.3 hours per day, followed by sharecroppers at six hours per day, and hired laborers at 5.9 hours per day.

TABLE 8: Average hours worked on the farm per day and by type of worker and gender

	Male	Female	Total
Laborer	6.5	5.4	5.9
Contributing family worker	5.5	5.6	5.6
Farm supervisor	5.0	7.5	6.3
Sharecropper who does not hire labor	6.6	4.7	6.0
Total	6.5	5.1	5.9

The average daily work break for the surveyed workers was 22 minutes. Women workers received longer breaks (25.2 minutes) than male workers (20 minutes), while farm supervisors received the longest break (31 minutes). Contributing family workers reported the shortest breaks (16.1 minutes), significantly shorter than those of hired workers (22.4 minutes) and sharecroppers (22.1 minutes).

FIGURE 8: Average minutes of rest for workers per day during working hours by type of worker and gender



Approximately 25.5 percent of workers reported working overtime, defined as exceeding eight hours per day or 40 hours per week. Among those, 19 percent indicated they did so to meet quotas or targets, while 5.9 percent cited directives from a farm owner, manager, or labor contractor.

TABLE 9: Proportion of workers who worked overtime for particular reasons

	Frequency	% of cases
By orders of the farm owner, manager, or labor contractor	9	5.9
To meet a quota or target	29	19
To earn the minimum wage	2	1.3
To earn enough to survive	3	2
Because they would not give overtime in the future	1	0.7
Due to fines or deductions	1	0.7
None	114	74.5

Payment and Wages

Wage structures varied but were primarily based on sharing proceeds from cocoa sales. Payments were often inconsistent and sometimes delayed. Deductions from wages were common, particularly for food or tools provided by the employer, though these deductions were not always clearly explained or justified.

Payment methods and timing also differed. One sharecropper stated, "I'm paid after every harvest and yes, it's consistent," while a contract worker reported, "Payments are received as soon as I complete the work we agreed on." Among shared sharecroppers, deductions for food were frequently mentioned.

The frequency, justification, and clarity of these deductions varied across interviews, suggesting inconsistent employment practices, legal noncompliance, and the potential for exploitation. For workers with limited financial resources, even minor deductions or delayed payments can result in economic hardship and pressure to remain in unfavorable working conditions.

The quantitative data analysis indicated that the form of payment varied by type of worker. Table 10 reports the payment options by type of worker and gender. The majority of workers were paid either by piece rate (58.1 percent, by weight of cocoa harvested) or through in-kind arrangements (14.4 percent, with cocoa beans harvested). Some of the workers performed other tasks on other people's farms for a daily rate (popularly known as "by day", about nine percent of workers). These people were hired on a daily basis by all farmers when extra hands are needed on the farm. They are used mostly for weeding and clearing the land. Women workers were more likely to work by day than male workers.

About 7.2 percent of workers were not paid. These were mostly contributing family workers, who were members of the household of the farmer or sharecropper. Some of the unpaid workers were sharecroppers maintaining young cocoa farms that were still several years away from producing harvestable pods. To support themselves in the meantime, some of these sharecroppers took on daily wage labor, such as weeding on other farms, while continuing to work on their own sharecrop plots. Women were more likely to be unpaid compared to men.

The workers reported whether all or part of their wages were ever delayed. More than nine in every 10 workers (92.2 percent) reporting never experiencing delayed wages. A small proportion had either all their wages delayed (3.6 percent) or part of the wages delayed (4.2 percent). This affected mostly hired laborers: about 12.5 percent had all wages delayed while 10 percent had part of their wages delayed.

TABLE 10: Forms of payment by gender and type of workers

Forms of Payment	Male	Female	Hired worker	Contributory family worker	Farm supervisor	Sharecropper
Piece rate	67.7	44.1	30.0	50.0	100.0	67.3
By day	4.0	16.2	32.5	0.0	0.0	1.8
By task	7.1	7.4	17.5	0.0	0.0	4.4
in-kind	10.1	20.6	2.5	30.0	0.0	17.7
I am not paid	5.1	10.3	2.5	20.0	0.0	8.0
Monthly	3.0	1.5	7.5	0.0	0.0	0.9
Annually	3.0	0.0	7.5	0.0	0.0	0.0
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
Pearson chi2	*17.5641 Pr = 0.007*		*75.1963 Pr = 0.000*			

Health and Safety

Workers face significant health and safety risks, including exposure to pesticides, cutlasses, and venomous animals. Protective equipment is often insufficient or is absent. The workers highlighted various health and safety concerns, such as exposure to cutlass wounds, falling cocoa pods, and snake bites,. The provision of protective equipment was inconsistent (“He only advised us to wear protective equipment,”; “He provides only boots to me occasionally”).

Workers were asked if they have been provided with free personal protective equipment (boots, gloves, hats, goggles, respirators, masks, hand sanitizer, etc.) or work equipment necessary to protect them from health and safety risks. The results are presented in Table 11. A little more than one in every five (20.4 percent) of the workers were provided with such personal protective equipment (PPE). It is

surprising to note that none of the farm supervisors reported being given such PPE. Half of the contributing family workers were provided with PPE. Only 12.4 percent of sharecroppers and 37.5 percent of the hired laborers were provided PPE.

TABLE 11 : Provision of safety tools by types of workers.

	Yes	No	Total
I am a hired laborer on farm	37.5	62.5	100
Contributing family worker	50.0	50.0	100
Farm supervisor	0.0	100.0	100
Sharecropper but do not hire labour	12.4	87.6	100
Total	20.4	79.6	100
Pearson chi2(3) = 18.1159 Pr = 0.000			

TABLE 12: Proportion of workers reporting what would make them lose what they were owed

	Frequency	% of cases
Leaving the job without permission	32	23.9
Leaving before the contract ends	69	51.5
Leaving before the end of the harvest	79	59.0
Leaving before paying off your debts	6	4.5
Total	186	138.8

Discipline and abuse of workers

While physical abuse was not explicitly reported by farmers and workers, the study indicates some potential for verbal abuse and unfair practices related to payment and working conditions.

Accounts from both workers and farmers primarily described verbal reprimands from employers, with no detailed reports of physical or sexual abuse. As one worker stated, *"For him, he will tell you plainly that he is not happy with what you did."* Qualitative information from interviews suggest that a key source of labor-related grievances stems from farm owners attempting to manipulate payment structures, potentially creating conditions of economic dependency for workers. The risk of wage withholding, combined with the absence of formal mechanisms for addressing grievances, highlights a system where workers are vulnerable to exploitation with limited avenues for redress. Additionally, some workers shared strategies they employ to manage conflicts with their employers. One worker stated, "When I notice that my employer has a difficult temperament and the argument is escalating, I choose to disengage and focus on my work."

While there was no direct evidence of widespread or systemic sexual violence, past cases were reported which indicate that such incidents may have occurred, albeit underreported.

Approximately one in three (32.3 percent) workers interviewed reported they had to work for a certain amount of time or finish a task (e.g., harvest) before they were allowed to leave the farm. This proportion was higher for women (38.2 percent) than men (28.3 percent), although the difference was not statistically significant. About nine percent, primarily hired laborers and sharecroppers, had experienced or witnessed receiving threats, violence, or abuse while working in the cocoa sector.

In the quantitative survey for workers, only three workers, including one Ghanaian worker and two foreign workers (one from Togo and one from Côte d'Ivoire), reported that their employer or a recruiter asked for their identity documents to keep against the worker's wishes.

Some of the workers were promised or given privileges such as food, accommodation, transportation, and others reported cases of privileges being taken away or threatened to be taken away. Only a few of the workers experienced the loss of such privileges (4.8 percent). The proportion reporting such a loss was relatively higher for contributing family workers (10 percent).

Some opinion leaders and experts expressed concerns about cases of sexual and physical abuse among workers. They indicated that women workers, including children, are particularly vulnerable to sexual violence, such as rape, harassment, and other abuse. Additionally, verbal abuse was also identified as a common issue faced by these workers.

Living Conditions

The study indicates that workers were generally responsible for their own medical bills, housing and food, although some farm owners provided basic housing or supplemental food.

Workers often provided their own housing and food. Some farm owners offered accommodation, or supplemental food items at certain times, like holidays.

The survey data corroborated that medical emergencies or accidents are risks on farms, prompting workers to identify who would bear the associated costs if such incidents occurred. The findings indicate that in most cases, responsibility falls on the worker, with 82 percent reporting that they would personally cover these expenses. Only 12 percent stated that the farm owner would cover the costs without deducting from their earnings, while 2.4 percent reported that the employer would contribute to the expenses. Notably, hired laborers were more likely to report that the farm owner would assume full financial responsibility for such expenses (35 percent) compared to other types of workers.

TABLE 13: Paying for the cost of medical attention in the event of an accident or medical emergency by type of worker.

	Hired laborer	Contributing family worker	Farm supervisor	Sharecropper but do not hire	All
Myself, out of pocket	60	80	100	89.4	82
Myself, through an advance from my employer	2.5	0	0	1.8	1.8
My employer, out of their own pocket with no deduction from my wages	35	20	0	3.5	12
My relative	2.5	0	0	1.8	1.8
Employer will pay part	0	0	0	3.5	2.4
Total	100	100	100	100	100
Pearson chi2(12) = 31.3462 Pr = 0.002					

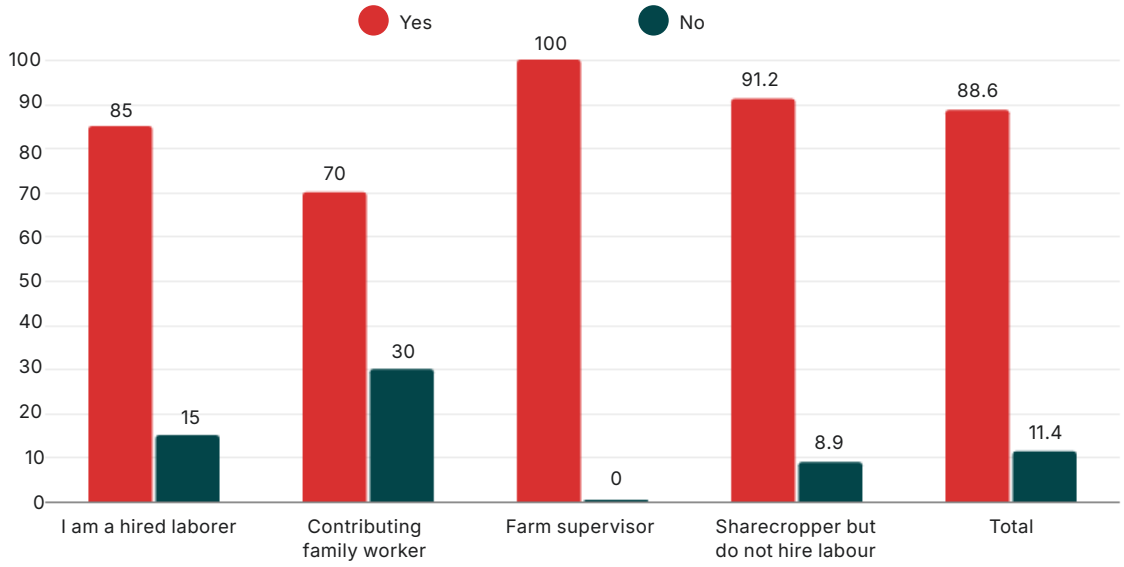
Freedom of Movement

Workers' ability to leave their job was often constrained by debt or fear of retribution, implying limited freedom of movement. The study reveals that many workers felt constrained in their ability to leave their jobs due to debt obligations or fear of losing their livelihood *"Yes, I felt that several times but I have to finish paying my debt before I can make that decision to leave,"; "No, I can't just move, my landowner will sack me".*

The workers reported whether they felt free to leave or enter the farm whenever they wanted. Close to nine out of every 10 (88.6 percent) of the workers felt so, while 11.4 percent of workers felt they could not. Thirty percent of contributing family workers felt they could not while about 15 percent of hired laborers felt the same.

While there were no direct reported cases of seizure of passports or belongings, recruitment and employment strategies create power imbalances that could lead to control over workers' freedom. There were reported cases where migrant workers rely on farm owners for their accommodation and financial assistance in the form of loans, which can hinder the workers' ability to return to their hometown until the loans are paid.

Figure 9: Proportion of workers who felt free to enter and leave the farm whenever they wanted



A similar question was whether the workers had to ask someone for permission to leave the farm. About 22.8 percent of the workers indicated that they had to ask for permission to leave the farm. This was relatively important in the case of hired laborers (37.5 percent) and contributing family workers (30 percent). Some of the hired laborers included “by day” workers who would have to be paid immediately after the day’s work and after the employer has certified that appropriate work has been done.

Ability to terminate contract

While the workers technically had the ability to leave their employment, doing so often meant facing financial penalties or other negative repercussions. In the study, the workers were asked if they could quit and return home at any time without facing any consequences. The workers could generally leave, but doing so could mean loss of compensation and other potential consequences. Some of the workers shared their experiences, saying “Yes, but you won’t be paid if you don’t finish the work.” An opinion leader added, “Yes, the farmer withheld their wages but allowed them to go.”

The survey data also pointed out that about 69 percent of the workers reported that they could quit while 31 percent reported that they could not. About 80 percent of family workers interviewed stated they could quit, as did 75 percent of farm supervisors and 69 percent of sharecroppers. However, when a sharecropper decides to quit and leave a sharecropping arrangement the landowner will receive all the harvest, less expenses to manage until the harvest. In such situations the worker will not be free to leave by choice.

In the survey, workers were asked under what circumstances they might lose wages or not receive the compensation they had earned. Nearly six out of every 10 workers (59 percent) said they would risk losing their earnings if they left before the end of the harvest, and just over half reported the same risk if they left before the end of their contract period. These conditions are intended to deter sharecroppers from leaving without notice while still claiming payment for incomplete work. Farm owners described this as disruptive unless the departing worker arranged for a replacement or reached an alternative agreement.

TABLE 14: Proportion of workers who could quit and return home at any time without facing any consequences by type of worker

	Yes	No	Total
I am a hired laborer	65.0	35.0	100
Contributing family worker	80.0	20.0	100
Farm supervisor	75.0	25.0	100
Sharecropper but do not hire	69.0	31.0	100
Total	68.9	31.1	100
Pearson chi2(3) = 0.9285 Pr = 0.819			

The workers were again asked if they could complain about working conditions or quit their job and return home at any time, including before finishing the agreed working time in their written or verbal contract, without any repercussions. About 7.2 percent of workers reported that they could not quit while the vast majority (91.6 percent) reported that they could quit. Similar proportions were reported by hired laborers (90 percent) and sharecroppers (91.2 percent) for being able to quit.

TABLE 15: Proportion of workers who could complain about working conditions or quit at any time without repercussions

	Yes	No	Prefer not to answer	Total
I am a hired laborer	90.0	7.5	2.5	100
Contributing family worker	100.0	0.0	0.0	100
Farm supervisor	100.0	0.0	0.0	100
Sharecropper but do not hire	91.2	8.0	0.9	100
Total	91.6	7.2	1.2	100
Pearson chi2(6) = 2.0548 Pr = 0.915				

Dispute Resolution

The study revealed the presence of informal mechanisms for resolving disputes within the cocoa farming sector, with community elders frequently playing a central role. When conflicts arose, workers typically sought intervention from these leaders or elders, as reflected in their responses, such as: “I will go home and inform the elders” and “we have to call elders to go and consult.” These informal systems appear to be deeply embedded within the community and serve as the primary means of addressing grievances.

However, the findings also highlighted a notable gap in the availability of formal dispute resolution mechanisms. There were no structured or institutionalized systems within the cocoa farming businesses to handle conflicts, leaving workers to rely heavily on traditional, community-based approaches. This absence of formal mechanisms underscores a significant limitation in the current labor framework, particularly regarding access to equitable and standardized processes for resolving disputes.

Gender Dynamics of Employment Conditions

The findings reveal significant gender disparities in various aspects of employment, including task allocation, compensation, and access to resources. Men predominantly undertake physically demanding tasks and earn significantly more than women, who are often relegated to lower-paid but less strenuous roles. These disparities are deeply rooted in traditional gender norms and societal expectations, impacting women's economic autonomy and overall wellbeing. The division of labor within cocoa farming is heavily shaped by gender. Men are typically assigned physically demanding and technically skilled tasks such as harvesting, pruning, spraying pesticides, and climbing trees. These tasks are often perceived as requiring greater strength and skill, justifying higher wages. Women, conversely, are primarily responsible for tasks like weeding, carrying cocoa pods, drying beans, and other post-harvest processing activities deemed less strenuous and demanding less skilled labor.

While the division of labor and compensation gaps are critical, working conditions further exacerbate gender-based inequalities. Women often experience poor working conditions, long hours, and less access to protective measures, making them more vulnerable to injuries and health risks. The lack of access to resources and the lower pay women receive also influence their access to healthcare, education, and other social services, which contribute to their overall vulnerability and unequal wellbeing.

TABLE 16: Summary of migrant vulnerability: employment conditions

Vulnerability	Finding	Vulnerability Level
Withholding of Wages	Inconsistent, delayed, or withheld wages, combined with the unpredictable nature of income due to fluctuating harvest volumes, create significant financial vulnerability for workers.	Moderate
Excessive Working Hours	Workers often work excessive hours—regularly exceeding eight hours a day and six days a week—with little or no overtime pay, highlighting potential exploitation and negatively impacting their well-being.	Moderate
Lack of Transparency	The absence of formal contracts and reliance on verbal agreements, which often lack clear terms regarding wages, working conditions, and dispute resolution, leaves workers vulnerable to manipulation and exploitation.	High

Family Participation in Cocoa Farming

Child Labor

According to the International Labour Organization (ILO), child labor refers to work that deprives children of their childhood, potential, and dignity, and that is harmful to their physical and mental development. It includes work that is mentally, physically, socially, or morally dangerous and harmful to children or interferes with their schooling.[22] Ghanaian law, in line with ILO standards, sets the minimum age for employment in non-hazardous work at 15, and allows children aged 13 to 15 to engage only in light work that is not harmful to their health or development and does not interfere with their education.[23]

While child labor is illegal as outlined above, some children were reported to be involved in helping on the farms, often performing lighter tasks such as gathering cocoa pods or weeding. Some children under 18 sometimes engaged in farming

activities such as fetching water, weeding and collecting of pods, typically during holidays or after school hours. In many cases, the work described may fall within the scope of permissible light work under Ghanaian law, provided it does not harm the child's wellbeing or education. However, the prevalence and specifics of these activities require further exploration, considering that any child labor violates international standards. The respondents expressed general awareness of child labor regulations.

The tasks performed by children were typically less strenuous than those performed by adults: respondents stated, "Yes, sometimes I see some children doing [informal daily labor] on some farms," and "They mostly gather cocoa pods together for parents to transport". While these observations were not widespread, they point to a risk of child labor.

One form of child labor is when children are made to work without attending school. Workers in the survey were asked if their children who were of school-going age attended school. About 96 percent of the workers reported that they have children of school-going age (93.3 percent for male workers and 100 for women workers). The majority of those school-age children were attending school; these schools were not very far from the community and their farms. Four percent of the respondents reported that a child or children were not attending school.

Workers were asked a general question about whether they had ever seen children under 18 years of age working on cocoa farms. In all, 41.3 percent of workers (36.4 percent of men and 48.5 percent of women) reported that they had seen children under 18 years working on cocoa farms. This response included children who used to work on cocoa farms or who are currently working on cocoa farms. The workers reported the ages of children under the age of 18 years who had been seen working on cocoa farms. A total of 76 percent of the workers who had observed this saw children between 15 and 17 years old. Close to the same proportion of workers (73 percent) also reported seeing children aged seven to 14 years working on such farms. No worker reported seeing a child six years old or younger working on a cocoa farm.

There are many risks on a farm that could affect a child. The interviewees reported a variety of possible risks that could affect such children. About 81 percent of the workers who observed children working on farms mentioned the risk of dangerous animals, such as snakes. As high as 77 percent mentioned the use of sharp tools while 51 percent mentioned the risk of repetitive movements.

The involvement of children in agricultural work, even if not widespread, represents a clear violation of child labor laws and international standards. Children are particularly vulnerable to exploitation due to their age and dependence on their parents.

TABLE 17: Risks to which children under 18 years were exposed to while working on the farm (multiple response)

	Frequency	% of cases
Dangerous animals (that bite, are poisonous, or transmit diseases	73	81.1
Use of sharp tools	69	76.7
Working with heavy machinery or moving parts	20	22.2
Repetitive movements	46	51.1
Manual handling of heavy loads over 15 kilos	19	21.1
Exposure to pesticides, herbicides, chemical fertilizers	26	28.9
Exposure to very high temperatures or the sun for long periods without shade	24	26.7
Exposure to very cold temperatures or rain for long periods	10	11.1
Exposure to loud noises for long periods	2	2.2
Working at heights or very steep areas	5	5.6
Lack of access to drinking water or sanitary facilities at the workplace	5	5.6

TABLE 18: Forced labor indicators vulnerability: Child labor

Indicator	Finding	Vulnerability Level
Child Labor	Children under 18 years engage in farm work, albeit primarily in less strenuous tasks. This still represents a vulnerability and violates labor law.	Moderate

Conclusion and Recommendations

This study reveals systemic issues within Ghana's cocoa sector, highlighting significant vulnerabilities faced by workers, particularly migrant workers.[24] The reliance on informal labor arrangements, coupled with weak enforcement of labor laws and a lack of transparency regarding working conditions and wages, create a climate conducive to exploitation. The findings demonstrate a significant power imbalance between employers and workers, with the latter often facing limitations on their freedom of movement.[25]

Recruitment and migration costs, altered and delayed wage payments, and the prevalence of verbal agreements further exacerbate these vulnerabilities. While the study did not explicitly document physical abuse, the potential for verbal abuse and the lack of formal dispute resolution mechanisms are serious concerns. The presence of child labor, though not pervasive, also remains a significant ethical and legal concern. Overall, the study underscores the urgent need for comprehensive reforms to ensure worker protection and adherence to international labor standards within the Ghanaian cocoa sector. The findings suggest a need to move beyond merely identifying the problem to developing practical solutions.[26]

Recommendations

Based on the research findings, the following recommendations are proposed:

Recommendations for Businesses Sourcing Cocoa from Ghana:

1. **Align with the ARS-1000 Standard on Sustainable Cocoa**
   Companies should adopt and align their operations with the ARS-1000 standard, with particular attention to Section 12: Requirements Related to Social Aspects. This section outlines key expectations on labor rights, working conditions, and community engagement. Policies and procedures should also align with relevant national and international laws and standards.

2. **Strengthen Human Rights Due Diligence (HRDD) at the Farm-Level**
   Businesses should improve their Human Rights Due Diligence (HRDD) systems to better identify, assess, and address risks in the cocoa supply chain—especially for migrant workers and sharecroppers, who are particularly vulnerable to labor risks.

   — The Farm Labor Due Diligence Initiative (FLDDI) Toolkit, developed by Verité, can assist in the implementation of key elements of HRDD. Additionally, the First Mile Toolkit offers more detailed guidance for implementing HRDD at the farm level. Tools and guidance can be adapted to the Ghanaian context.

   — The present report is relevant to Element 2: Assess Human Rights Risks and Harms and can be referred to when developing tools for performing risk assessments to align with key risks and vulnerabilities identified in the report.

3. **Encourage the Use of Written Employment Contracts**
   To mitigate potential employment disputes between farmers and workers, a key vulnerability identified in the study, businesses should promote and facilitate the use of written employment contracts between farmers and hired workers. The International Cocoa Initiative (ICI) provides a variety of contract templates, including visual support tools, witness checklists, and other appropriate formats available at https://www.cocoainitiative.org/knowledge-hub/resources/employment-contract-templates-cocoa-farming.

Recommendations for Government:

1. **Strengthen Legal Frameworks and Enforcement**
   Enhance Ghana's labor laws to specifically address the unique challenges faced by migrant workers in the cocoa sector. This includes strengthening provisions related to minimum wages, working hours, safety standards, and dispute resolution mechanisms. Increase enforcement capacity and oversight to ensure compliance with existing and revised regulations.

2. **Promote Formalization of Labor Arrangements**
   Encourage the transition from informal verbal agreements to formal written contracts that clearly outline employment terms, including wages, working hours, and benefits. ICI offers useful contract tools, such as templates and checklists available here. This requires education and support for both employers and workers to understand and utilize formal contracts effectively.

3. **Regulating Recruitment Fees**
   Establish clear guidelines and regulations on recruitment fees, ensuring they are reasonable and transparently disclosed. Develop mechanisms to prevent exploitative recruitment practices, such as through microfinance initiatives or other financial support systems. Emphasize the "Employer Pays Principle," ensuring that employers, not workers, bear the cost of recruitment to prevent situations of indebtedness among the migrant cocoa laborers.

4. **Improve Transparency and Communication Prior to Migration**
   Implement measures to increase transparency regarding working conditions, wages, and benefits. This includes providing workers with clear and accessible information before migration.

5. **Strengthen Worker Support Systems**
   Develop and strengthen worker support systems, including access to legal aid, education, and healthcare (e.g. National Health Insurance Scheme, or NHIS). This may involve partnerships with NGOs, community organizations, and government agencies.

6. **Address Gender Inequalities**
   Develop targeted initiatives to address gender disparities in the cocoa sector. This includes promoting equal pay for equal work, addressing gender-based violence, and ensuring women's access to resources and opportunities including land ownership.

7. **Strengthen National Efforts to Eliminate Child Labor**
   Intensify efforts to eliminate child labor by strengthening enforcement of child labor laws, providing alternative education opportunities for children, and improve education and awareness creation about harmful effects of child labor. The Government of Ghana should also continue to implement and expand national child labor policies, strategies, and systems such as the Ghana Accelerated Action Plan Against Child Labour (GAAPACL), Child Labour Free Zones, and the Social Welfare Information Management System (SWIMS) to support identification, prevention, and remediation efforts.

8. **Capacity Building and Education**
   Continue and expand training programs for employers and workers on labor rights, safe working practices, and dispute resolution mechanisms.

These recommendations, if implemented effectively, can significantly improve the working conditions and well-being of workers in Ghana's cocoa industry, ensuring a more just and sustainable sector.

Appendix 1: Tables

TABLE 19: Age categories of farmers and workers (quantitative)

Age Group	Farmers		Workers	
	Freq.	Percent	Freq.	Percent
18/25yrs			19	11.4
26/33yrs	5	12.8	43	25.8
34/41 yrs	11	28.2	57	34.1
42/49 yrs	7	18.0	25	15.0
50+yrs	16	41.0	23	13.8
Total	39	100	167	100

TABLE 20: Marital status of farmers and workers (quantitative)

Marital Status	Farmers		Workers	
	Freq.	Percent	Freq.	Percent
Never Married	1	2.6	20	12.0
Married/ Consensual Union	33	84.6	142	85.0
Separated	1	2.6	2	1.2
Divorced	1	2.6	3	1.8
Widow/Widower	3	7.7		
Total	39	100	167	100

TABLE 21: Nationality of farmers and workers (quantitative)

Nationality	Farmers		Workers	
	Freq.	Percent	Freq.	Percent
Ghanaian	39	100	159	95.21
Togolese			2	1.2
Burkinabe			2	1.2
Malian			1	0.6
Nigerien			1	0.6
Ivorian			1	0.6
Benin			1	0.6
Total	39	100	167	100

TABLE 22: Education of farmers and workers (quantitative)

School Level	Farmers		Workers	
	Freq.	Percent	Freq.	Percent
Nursery/KG/Primary 1/ Primary 2			5	5.0
Primary 3/Primary 4	4	12.9	12	12.0
Primary 5/Primary 6	5	16.1	17	17.0
JSS1/JSS2/JHS1/JHS2/ middle school form	4	12.9	22	22.0
JHS3/Middle school form 4	9	29.0	26	26.0
SHS1/SHS2/SSS1/2	4	12.9	3	3.0
SHS3/SSS3	5	16.1	13	13.0
First Degree did not complete			1	1.0
Finished First Degree			1	1.0
Total	31	100	100	100

TABLE 23: Literacy of farmers and workers (quantitative)

Literacy- read and or write in any language	Farmers		Workers	
	Freq.	Percent	Freq.	Percent
Yes, very well	9	23.1	20	12.0
Yes, partially.	12	30.8	42	25.2
No	18	46.2	105	62.9
Total	39	100	167	100

TABLE 24: Migration status of farmers and workers (quantitative)

Origin of respondent	Farmers		Workers	
	Freq.	Percent	Freq.	Percent
Another community in this district			7	4.2
Another community in this region	5	12.8	6	3.6
Another region of Ghana	29	74.4	146	87.4
Another country		0.0	8	4.8
This community	4	10.3	0	0
Total	39	100	167	100

TABLE 25: Number of years stayed in the community – farmers and workers (quantitative)

Years here	Farmers		Workers	
	Freq	Percent	Freq.	Percent
0/1.99yrs			20	12.0
2/2.99yrs			75	44.9
3/3.99yrs	3	7.7	54	32.3
4/4.99yrs	2	5.1	18	10.8
6/9.99yrs	4	10.3		
10/19.99yrs	12	30.8		
20+yrs	18	46.2		
Total	39	100	167	100

TABLE 26: Number of years working in the cocoa sector – farmers and workers (quantitative)

Cocoa Years	Farmers		Workers	
	Freq.	Percent	Freq.	Percent
0/1.99yrs			16	9.6
2/2.99yrs			83	49.7
3/3.99yrs	5	12.8	27	16.2
4/4.99yrs	3	7.7	17	10.2
6/9.99yrs	10	25.6	16	9.6
10/19.99yrs	9	23.1	7	4.2
20+yrs	12	30.8	1	0.6
Total	39	100	167	100

TABLE 27: Total number of workers who usually work on the farm by gender of the respondent (quantitative)

Number of workers	Freq			Percent		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
1	12	3	15	12.1	4.4	9.0
2	45	32	77	45.5	47.1	46.1
3	11	9	20	11.1	13.2	12.0
4	7	7	14	7.1	10.3	8.4
5	12	2	14	12.1	2.9	8.4
6	4	2	6	4.0	2.9	3.6
7	2	1	3	2.0	1.5	1.8
8	0	3	3	0.0	4.4	1.8
9	1	3	4	1.0	4.4	2.4
10	5	6	11	5.1	8.8	6.6
Total	99	68	167	100	100	100

TABLE 28: Estimated farm size of the cocoa farms in acres (quantitative)

Acres	Freq.	Percent
2	1	2.56
3	4	10.26
4	6	15.38
5	1	2.56
6	6	15.38
7/9	8	20.51
10/19	8	20.51
20+	5	12.82
Total	39	100

TABLE 29: Kinds of tasks undertaken by workers

	Frequency	% of cases
Pruning	106	63.5
Weeding	162	97
Clearing Land	88	52.7
Grafting	21	12.6
Harvesting cocoa pods	116	69.5
Transporting cocoa Pods	101	60.5
Carrying fermented cocoa pods from the farm	89	53.3
Planting seedlings	130	77.8
Carrying water	100	59.9
Applying pesticides or fungicides	89	53.3
Preparing meals for workers	33	19.8
Preparing meals for the farmer owner's family	11	6.6
Watching or caring for children	21	12.6
Doing laundry	21	12.6
Other	11	6.6

TABLE 30: Forms of Recruitment fees paid

	Frequency	% of cases
Fees to pass checkpoint	5	3.1
Work equipment	1	0.6
Money to recruiter	11	6.9
Money for paperwork	4	2.5
Other related costs or charges	6	3.8
None	136	85

TABLE 31: Sources of loans

	Percent			Frequency		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Friend	7.1	2.9	5.4	7	2	9
Family	7.1	4.4	6	7	3	10
Bank	1	2.9	1.8	1	2	3
Recruiter	2	0	1.2	2	0	2
No loan taken	82.8	89.7	85.6	82	61	143
Total	100	100	100	99	68	167
Pearson chi2(4) = 4.1847 Pr = 0.382						

TABLE 32: Incidence of having part or all wages being delayed

	Yes, all my wages were delayed	Yes, part of my wages were delayed	No	Total
I am a hired laborer	12.5	10	77.5	100
Contributing family worker	0	0	100	100
Farm supervisor	0	0	100	100
Sharecropper but do not hire	0.9	2.7	96.5	100
Total	3.6	4.2	92.2	100
Pearson chi2(6) = 17.3372 Pr = 0.008				

TABLE 33: Work completion before leaving job

	Male	Female	Average
Yes	28.3	38.2	32.3
No	71.7	61.8	67.7
Total	100	100	100
Pearson chi2(1) = 1.8249 Pr = 0.177			

TABLE 34: Proportion of workers who had to ask someone for permission to leave the farm

	Yes	No	Prefer not to answer	Total
I am a hired laborer	37.5	62.5	0	100
Contributing family worker	30.0	70.0	0	100
Farm supervisor	0.0	100.0	0	100
Sharecropper but do not hire	0.9	2.7	96.5	100
Total	22.8	77.3	0	100
Pearson chi2(3) = 8.0681 Pr = 0.045				

TABLE 35: Proportion of workers who had rights or privileges taken away

	Yes	No	Prefer not to answer	Total
I am a hired laborer	2.5	97.5	0	100
Contributing family worker	10.0	90.0	0	100
Farm supervisor	0.0	100.0	0	100
Sharecropper but do not hire	5.3	94.7	0	100
Total	4.8	95.2	0	100
Pearson chi2(3) = 1.3232 Pr = 0.724				

TABLE 36: Proportion of workers with school aged children who attended school

	Male	Female	Total
Yes, near this farm	63.3	72.2	66.7
Yes, in our home community	30.0	27.8	29.2
No, my children do not attend school	6.7	0.0	4.2
Total	100	100	100

TABLE 37: Ages of children who had ever been seen working on the farm

Frequency	Responses	% of cases
6 years or younger	0	0
7-14 years	43	72.9
15-17years	45	76.3

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