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## **Child labour in the cocoa producing area of Gomoa Ofaso, Winneba District, Ghana, 1874-1940**

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156

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-ADM23/1/207

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-Adwoa Ahima, 75 years old, personal interview, on her husband's farm at Gomoa Ofaso, Central Region, March 9, 2017.

-Adwoa Amuna, 79 years old, personal interview, in her residence at Gomoa Ofaso, Central Region, June 13, 2019.

-Adwoa Beyeako, 75 years old, personal interview, in her residence at Gomoa

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- Adwoa Kentenma, 85 years old, personal interview, in her residence at Gomoa Ofaso, Central Region, June 12, 2019.
- Adwoa Nsafoa, 75 years old, personal interview, on her husband's farm at Gomoa Ofaso, Central Region, March 9, 2017.
- Adwoa Tima, 80 years old, personal interview, in her residence at Gomoa Ofaso, Central Region, June 13, 2019.
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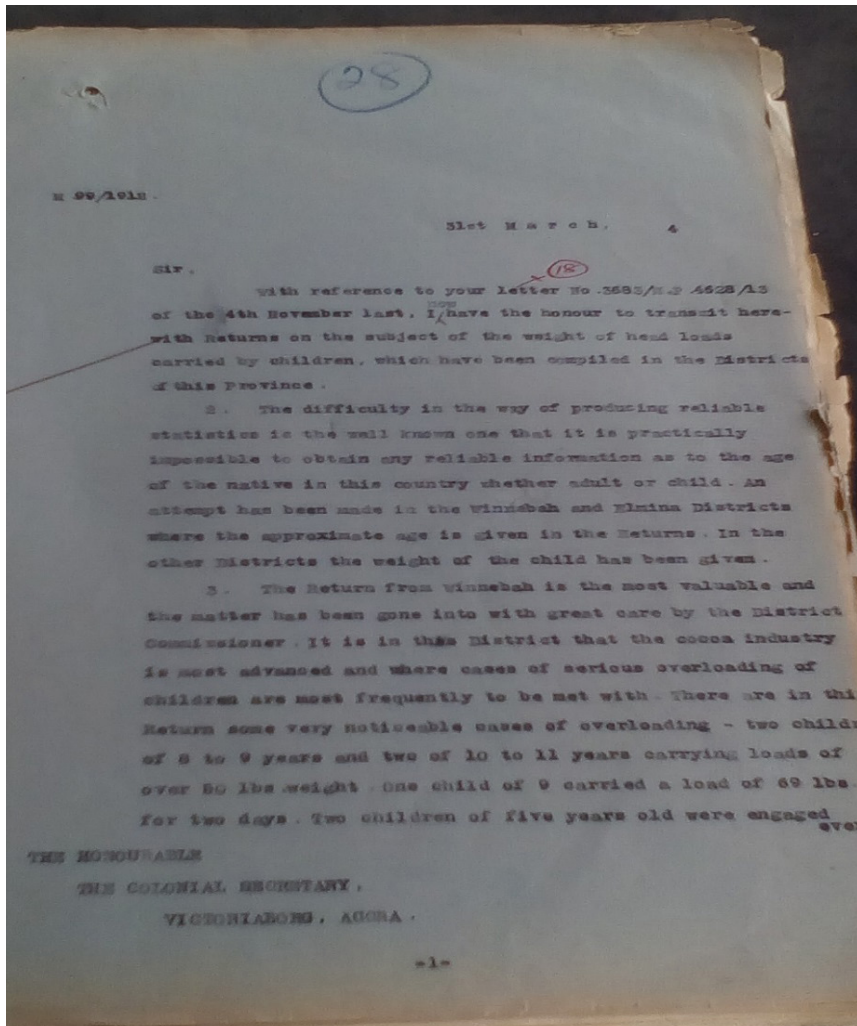
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## APPENDICES

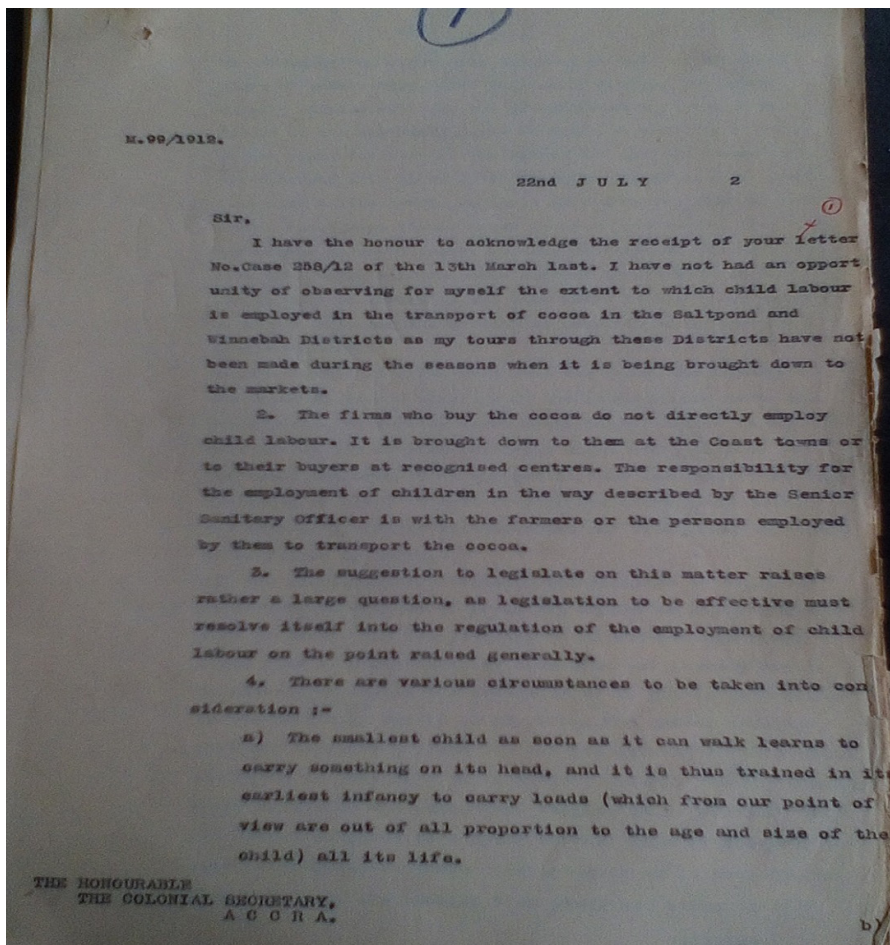
## APPENDIX A

## A.1 Child labour, Winneba District



Source: RAAD, Cape Coast, ADM23/1/207, Child labour

## A. 2 Child labour



Source: PRAAD, Cape Coast, ADM23/1/207, Child labour



## A. 3 Child labour

3.

scarcity of labour available for transport (of which every cocoa farmer complains) caused by the number of persons engaged on the farms the proportion of children employed in this work is higher than in other branches of transport. It is also more than probable as the Secretary for Native Affairs suggests that the services of the children are not offered voluntarily. They rarely are. It should however be borne in mind that the transport of cocoa is not continuous but only lasts for short periods <sup>of</sup> intervals during the year.

5. I venture the opinion that it is only in the circumstance described in paragraph (d) that any legislative enactment is really seriously called for. It might take the form of prohibiting under penalty the employment of a child of a certain age to carry a load of more than a certain weight. The scale to be fixed after careful enquiry, taking into consideration their naturally acquired ability to carry head loads and the variation in the physical development of children of the same age.

6. Legislation even to this extent, I venture to think should be cautiously enforced, and only in exaggerated cases where palpable injury to the child might ensue. If every woman who allowed <sup>to</sup> carry a load, perhaps only slightly above the regulated weight were to be constantly prosecuted, I think some trouble might be caused, as it is to be remembered that the market towns and especially those on the Coast are under the present conditions <sup>which</sup> have existed for years entirely dependent on the women from the bush villages who bring the daily supplies to the market, and the least interference with them on the road by the Government causes apprehension and might result in a serious shortage of supplies.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your obedient servant,

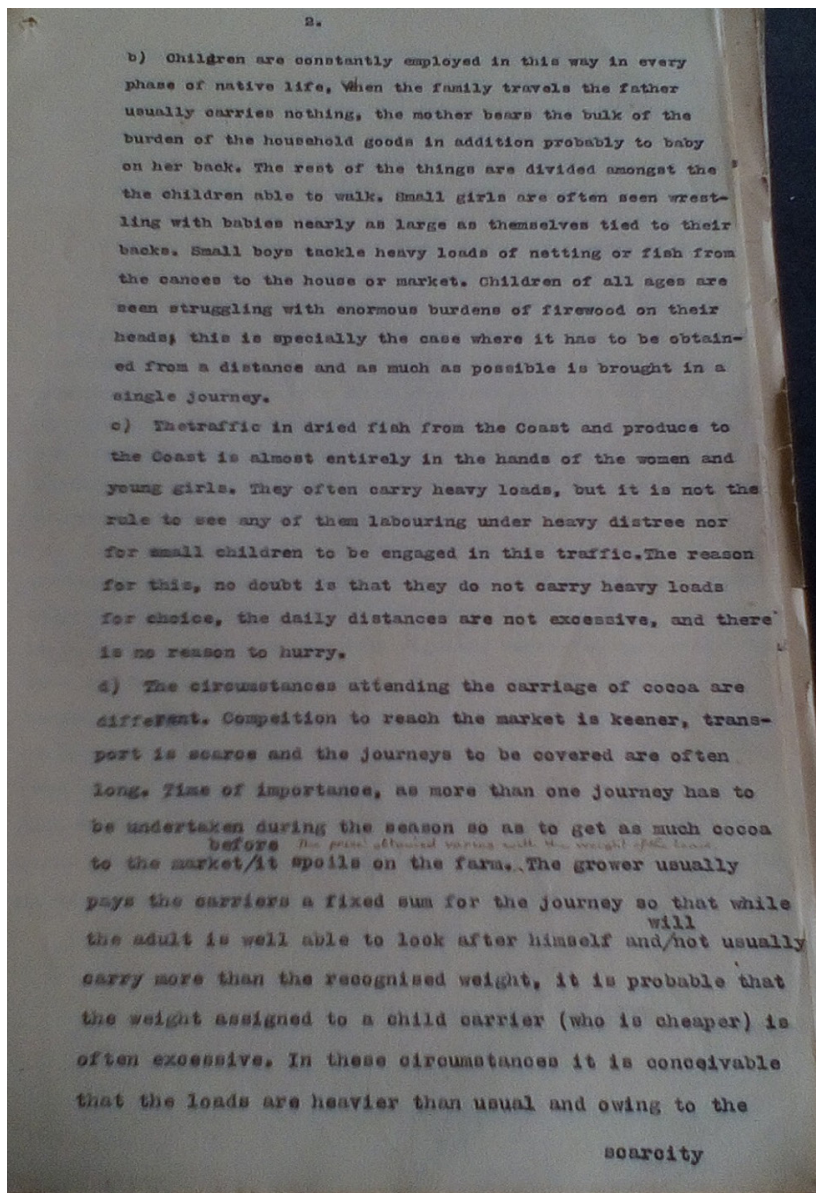
*W. P.*

COMMISSIONER CENTRAL PROVINCE.

Source: PRAAD, Cape Coast, ADM23/1/207, Child labour

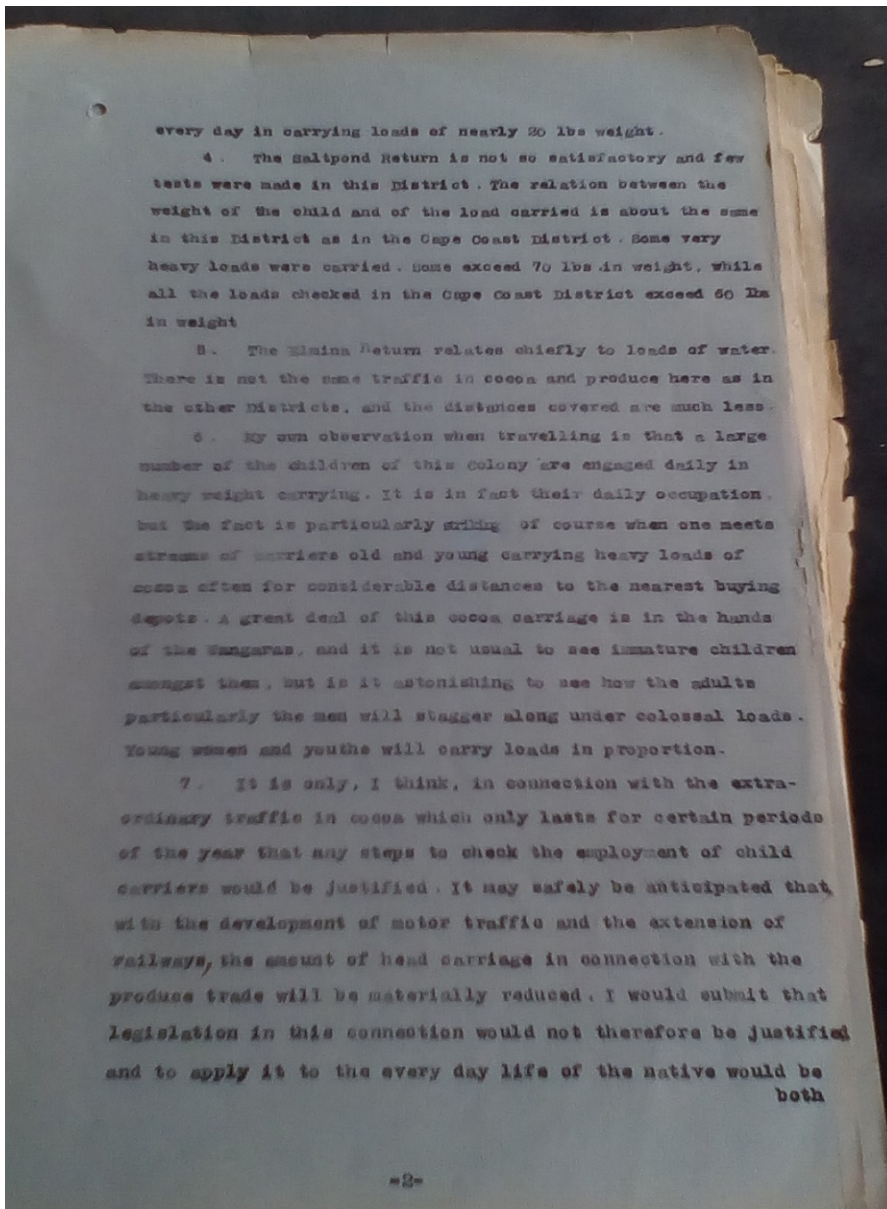


## A. 4 Child labour



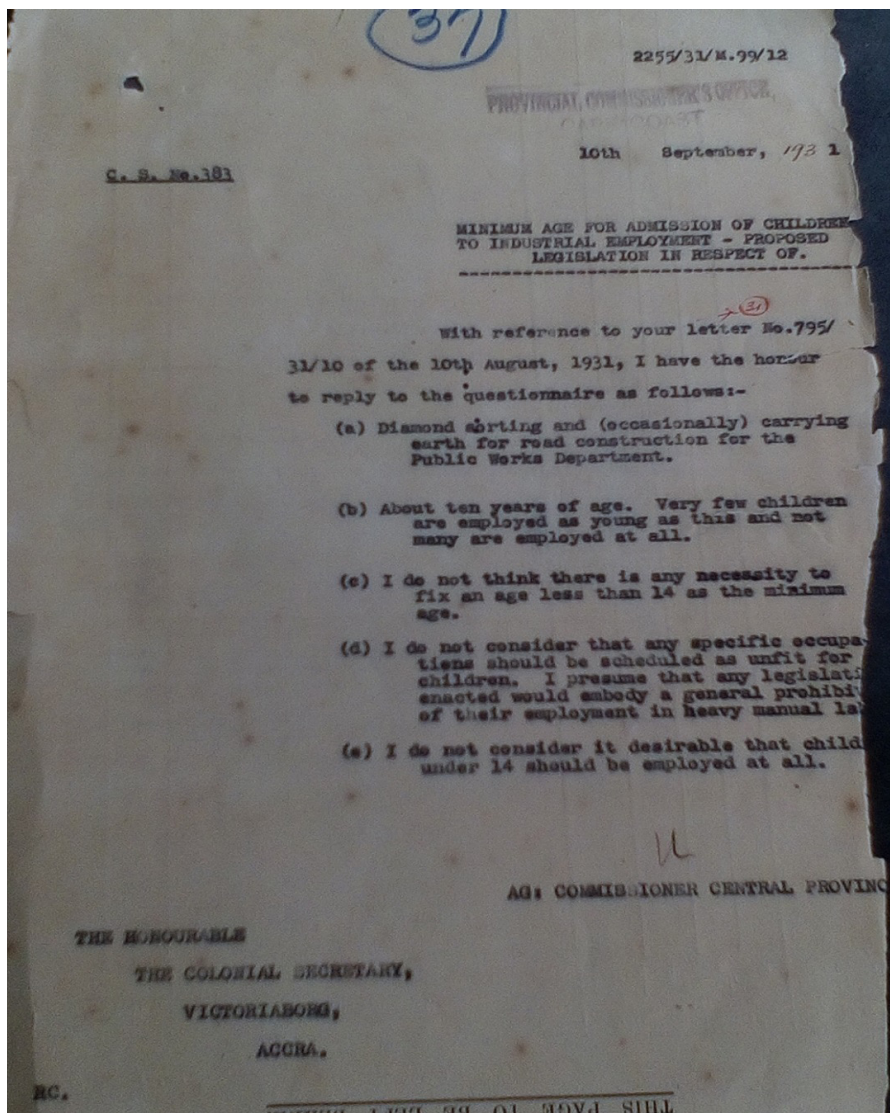
Source: PRAAD, Cape Coast, ADM23/1/207, Child labour

## A. 5 Child labour



Source: PRAAD, Cape Coast, ADM23/1/207, Child labour

## A. 6 Fixing minimum age, 1931



Source: PRAAD, Cape Coast, ADM23/1/207, Child labour



## A. 7 Fixing minimum age, 1931

35

PROVINCIAL COMMISSIONER'S OFFICE,  
CENTRAL PROVINCE I.

Received 24-8-31

Registered No. 2125 Case No. M99/12

No. 834/LN9/20  
District Commissioner's Office,  
Cape Coast,  
24th August, 1931

MINIMUM AGE FOR ADMISSION OF CHILDREN  
TO INDUSTRIAL EMPLOYMENT- PROPOSED  
LEGISLATION IN RESPECT OF.

-----

With reference to your letter No. 32  
2037/31/M. 99/12 of the 13th August, 1931,  
I know of no public or private industrial  
undertaking in this district at the present  
time in which children are employed.

2. Occasionally the Public Works  
Department employ the children of a village  
when cutting or banking work is necessary on  
a road near the village in which the  
children live but this is an infrequent  
occurrence.

3. Children are employed in the cacao  
and lime and fishing industries but these are  
family undertakings.

4. The answers to the questions are  
therefore :-

(a) None  
(b) See (a)  
(c) -do-  
(d) No  
(e) with suitable safeguards there  
is no reason in my opinion why children  
under 14 should not be employed. If  
satisfactory employment could be found  
for ~~them~~ children over 12 would benefit  
by being put to some work, at least  
until the educational facilities of the  
Colony are sufficient to absorb them.  
It is recognised on all sides that at 14  
the average child in this country has  
entered on the adolescent stage.

v J. H. H. H.  
DISTRICT COMMISSIONER.

THE HONOURABLE,  
THE ACTING COMMISSIONER,  
CENTRAL PROVINCE  
CAPE COAST.

CR.

Source: PRAAD, Cape Coast, ADM23/1/207, Child labour

## A. 8 Fixing minimum age, 1931

NO. 20/31/10  
IN REPLY TO THE MINISTER'S OFFICE  
NUMBER, 200 DAYS OF  
YOUR LETTER SHOULD BE  
QUOTED.

31

COLONIAL SECRETARY'S OFFICE,  
VICTORIABORG, ACCRA.

Registered No. 20/31/10. Issue No. 189/12. ANSWERED BY (27) 10 August, 1931.

I am directed by the Governor to inform you that the Secretary of State has directed Colonial Governments to consider the question whether legislation should be enacted to fix the minimum age for admission of children to industrial employment.

I am therefore to ask you to furnish replies, as far as possible, to the following questionnaire on the subject :-

(a) In what forms of gainful occupation are children employed in the Central Province ?

For the purpose of this question "gainful occupation" means any public or private industrial undertaking. It does not include an undertaking in which only members of the same family are employed.

(b) What is the minimum age at which children are so employed ?

(c) If that age is less than 14 is it desirable in view of any peculiar local circumstance that in the event of the proposed legislation being introduced, an age less than 14 should be fixed by law as the minimum age.

(d) Are there any industrial undertakings in the Central Province in which the employment of children should, in your opinion, be prohibited ?

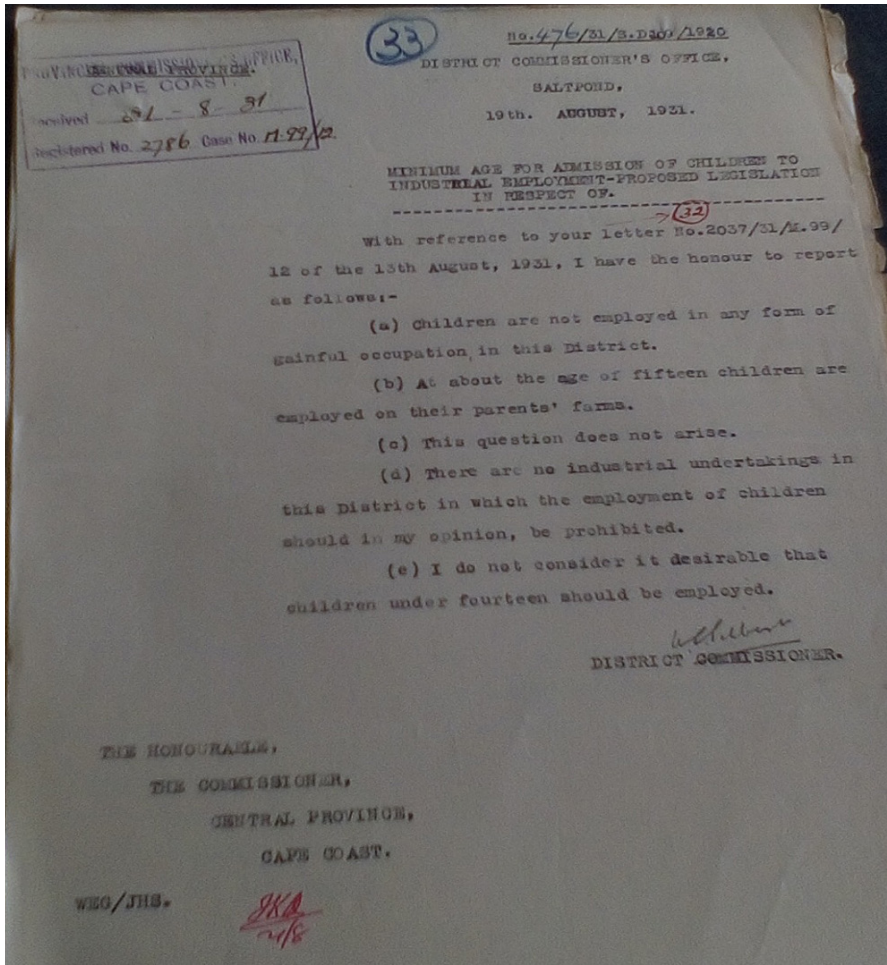
(e) In your opinion, is it desirable that children under fourteen should be employed at all ?

2. I am to request you to treat this matter as pressing and to furnish your reply with the least possible delay.

*James Lamb*  
COLONIAL SECRETARY.

THE HONOURABLE  
THE ACTING COMMISSIONER  
OF THE CENTRAL PROVINCE,  
CAPE COAST.

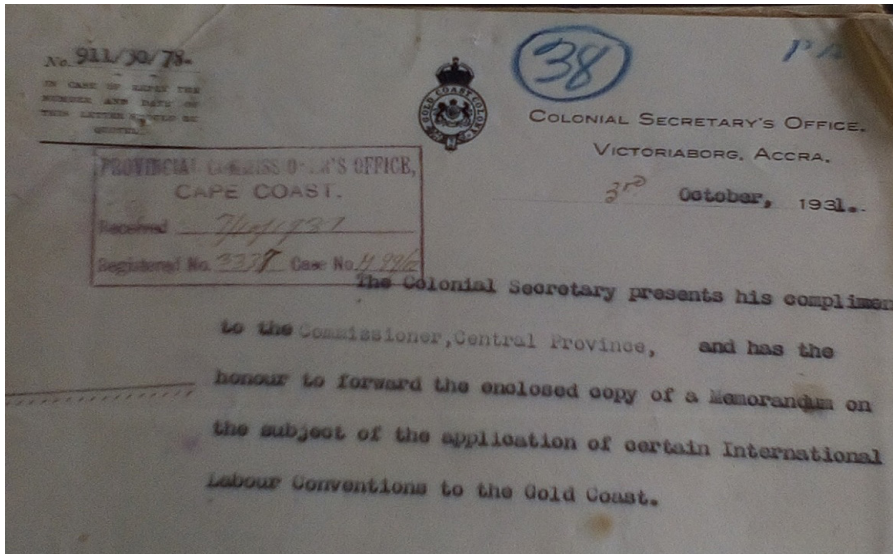
## A. 9 Fixing minimum age, 1931



Source: PRAAD, Cape Coast, ADM23/1/207, Child labour



A. 10 International Labour Organisation Convention, 1931



Source: PRAAD, Cape Coast, ADM23/1/207, Child labour

## APPENDIX B

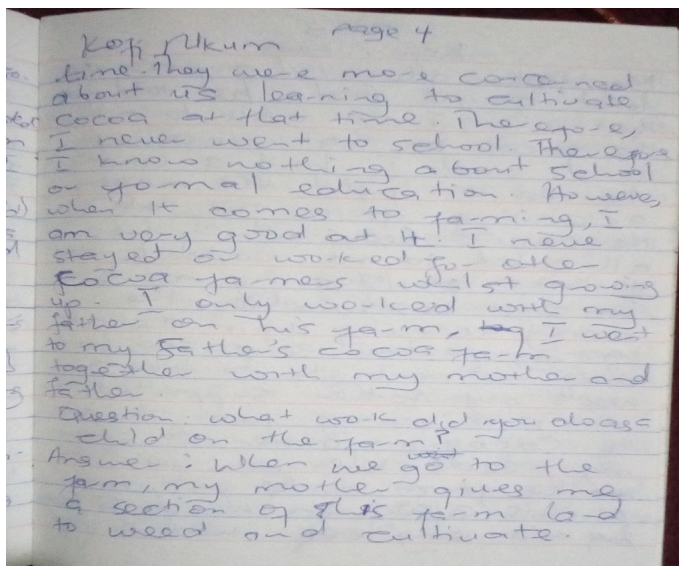
### B. 1 Life story, Kofi Nkum

Kofi Nkum Page 3  
 Interview Paper  
 I am a true native of Gomoa Ofaso.  
 Yes, I was born in Gomoa Ofaso.  
 I have worked on cocoa o- culture  
 cocoa for many years. That is from  
 childhood. I was a child when I  
 began working with my father  
 on his farm. I was a boy (child)  
 when I started working on  
 farm. In fact, before I could  
 tell wrong from right (o- side) I  
 had was already being sent to  
 the farm. As babies our mother  
 carried us on their backs to  
 the farm (on the side, off ones  
 So by the time you started work  
 you were already playing out  
 helping your ~~little~~ parents to  
 do little things on the farm.  
 Both of my Parents are dead.  
 Education o- school was not a  
 priority to my Parents at that

Source: Kofi Nkum, 82 years old, personal interview in series of life stories of child labourers, in his residence at Gomoa Ofaso, Central Region, November 29, 2022.

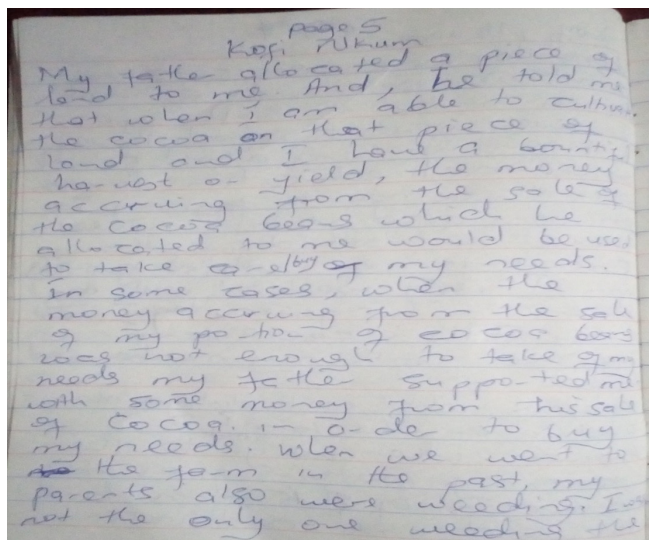


## B. 2 Life Story, Kofi Nkum



Source: Kofi Nkum, 82 years old, personal interview in series of life stories of child labourers, in his residence at Gomoa Ofaso, Central Region, November 29, 2022.

## B. 3 Life Story, Kofi Nkum



Source: Kofi Nkum, 82 years old, personal interview in series of life stories of child labourers, in his residence at Gomoa Ofaso, Central Region, November 29, 2022.

## B. 4 Life Story, Kwesi Dabah

Page 2  
 Kwesi Dabah 70ys  
 Early morning or at dawn our Pa  
 woke us up to go to the farm.  
 The cocoa farm was very far  
 from home, so we left home  
 very early (ie together with my  
 siblings and parents). When we  
 get to the farm. My father then  
 allocated pieces of land for  
 each of us to weed or work  
 on. While working, my mother  
 put / began to cook the food  
 for the day. So that once we  
 finished with our work for  
 the day we will have food to  
 eat. While I was very young/  
 as a child I once told my  
 father that I wanted to go to  
 school. At that time they were  
 divorced. Then my father said  
 he could not afford to send my  
 siblings and I to school because

Source: Kwesi Dabah, 70 years old, personal interview in series of life stories of child labourers, in his residence at Gomoa Ofaso, Central Region, November 29, 2022.

## B. 5 Life Story, Kwesi Dabah

Page 3 Kwesi Dabah  
 my mother was not available to help / support him with his farm work to be able to send us to school. So from that time until about 15 yrs I had not seen my mother due to their divorce. So as a child I continued to work with my father on his farm without going to school. I worked on my father's farm until I became an adult to own my personal farm. So it was due to my parents divorce that I never went to school. So cocoa farming has been my occupation throughout my life. I got a piece of land and I began to cultivate cocoa besides that of my father. We were very happy about going to work on my father's farm when we were

Source: Kwesi Dabah, 70 years old, personal interview in series of life stories of child labourers, in his residence at Gomoa Ofaso, Central Region, November 29, 2022.

## B. 6 Life Story, Kwesi Dabah

Page 4  
 Kwesi Dabah  
 children. Sometimes when we went  
 to my father's farm we caught  
 had snails on the farm.  
 These times that we caught the  
 grasscutter (kusi) in the bush  
 when we went to work on the  
 farm and we were very happy  
 when we had snails or grasscutter  
 which was used in preparing  
 food/meals for us. So by the  
 time we came from the farm  
 we were always satisfied  
 with food whereas those we  
 did not join us to work on  
 the farm went hungry because  
 they had no food to eat at  
 home. The same applied to the  
 children we went to school  
 at the time, those children  
 had no food to eat like those  
 of us who went to the farm

Source: Kwesi Dabah, 70 years old, personal interview in series of life stories of child  
 labourers, in his residence at Gomoa Ofaso, Central Region, November 29, 2022.



## B. 7 Life Story, Kwame Baah

Page 2  
 Kwame Baah  
 my father on the farm. My father  
 had five children, I am the  
 third (3<sup>rd</sup>) child of my father.  
 All of us did not go school until  
 we were a little old. On the side:  
 In our time before you went to  
 class 1, you were already mature.  
 I did not attain a higher level  
 in education. However, by 1990  
 I had stopped schooling.  
 My father had large acres of  
 cocoa farm. On ~~days~~ harvest  
 days, none of us went to  
 school. We all went to help  
 in plucking the ripe cocoa  
 on my father's farm together  
 with my siblings. When I was  
 very young we removed fresh cocoa  
 beans from cocoa pods.  
 In my case, I also helped  
 to work on the <sup>cocoa</sup> farms of our

Source: Kwame Baah, 62 years old, personal interview in series of life stories of child labourers, in his residence at Gomoa Ofaso, Central Region, November 29, 2022.

## B. 8 Life Story, Kwame Baah

Page 3  
 Kwame Baah  
 neighbours. Usually, a day was set  
 aside to help each cocoa farmer  
 to harvest and remove the fresh  
 cocoa beans. So we moved  
 or worked on one cocoa farm  
 to another cocoa farm until  
 all the farmer's removed all  
 their fresh cocoa beans for the  
 season. The elderly broke the  
 cocoa pods with cutlasses,  
 while we (children very young)  
 removed the fresh cocoa beans.  
 Unlike Otta, in my case, child  
 of about (10yrs) on the side could  
 break cocoa pods too. Before  
 we start breaking the pods, the  
 farmer may remove a few  
 fresh cocoa beans from selected  
 cocoa pods and fill them with  
 sand after cutting a small section  
 of the cocoa pods. In that case

Source: Kwame Baah, 62 years old, personal interview in series of life stories of child  
 labourers, in his residence at Gomoa Ofaso, Central Region, November 29, 2022.

## B. 9 Life Story, Kwame Baah

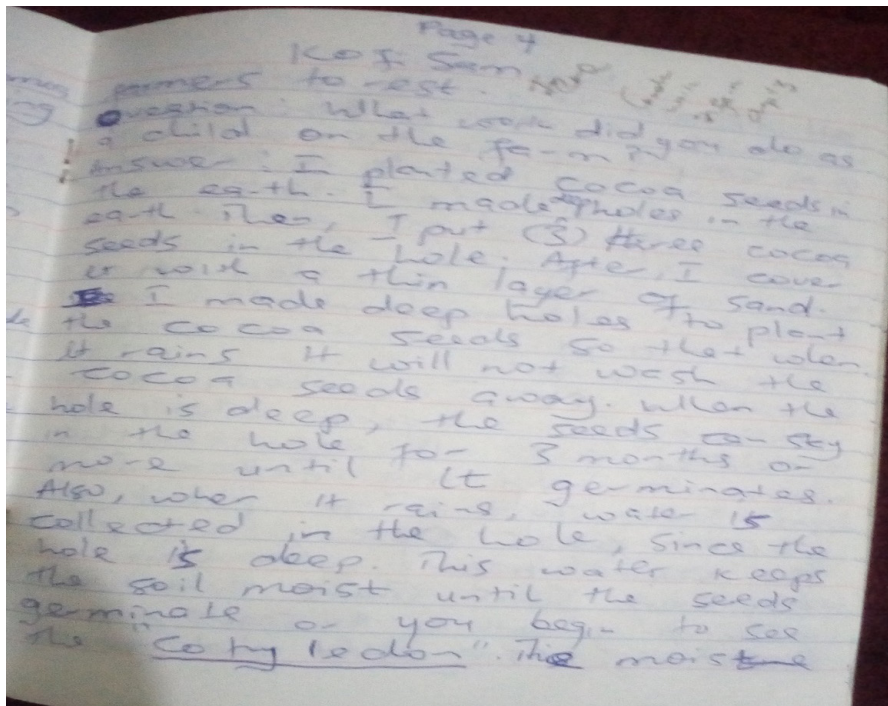
Page 4

Kwame Baah

you picked the pod filled with seed  
 unknowingly and struck the  
 cutlass to break it but found  
 sand in it, all the people  
 present on the farm ~~hosted~~<sup>houted</sup>  
 at you. This was how we  
 had fun on the farm. Also,  
 we ate yam on the farm.  
 The yam was harvested ~~from~~  
 beneath the cocoa trees. Toms  
 cultivated beneath cocoa trees  
 were very delicious. ~~The excitement~~<sup>At the time</sup>  
 or fun we had on the farm  
 together with the food we  
 had to eat on the farm we  
 did not want to go to school.  
 My parents and his colleagues  
 profited from the sale of  
 cocoa. They built houses from  
 the money accruing from the  
 sale of cocoa. So I only

Source: Kwame Baah, 62 years old, personal interview in series of life stories of child labourers, in his residence at Gomoa Ofaso, Central Region, November 29, 2022.

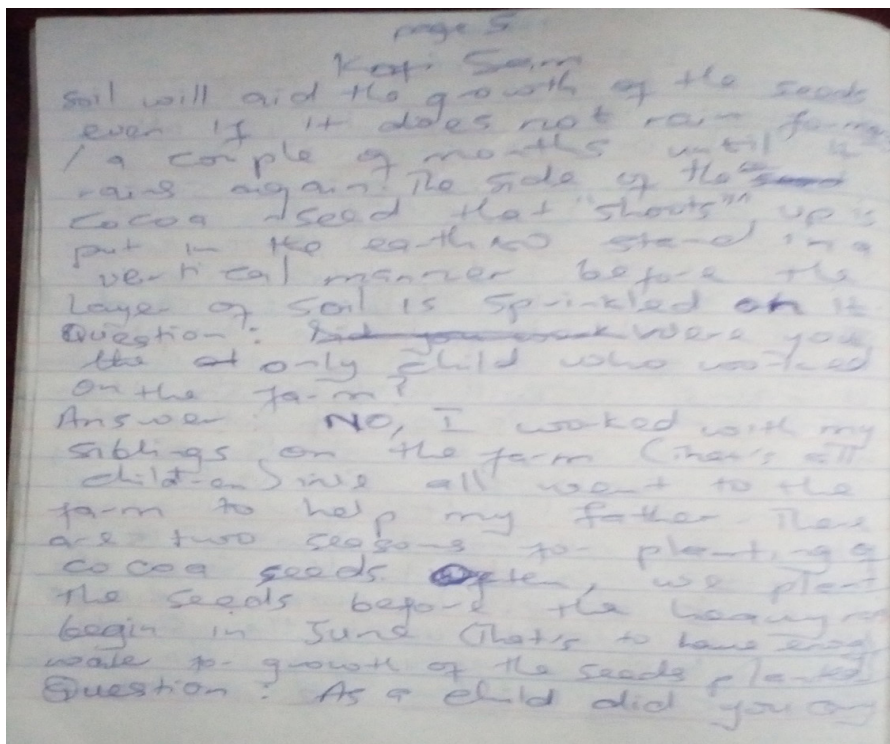
## B. 10 Life Story, Kofi Sam



Source: Kofi Sam, 70 years old, personal interview in series of life stories of child labourers, in his residence at Gomoa Ofaso, Central Region, November 29, 2022.

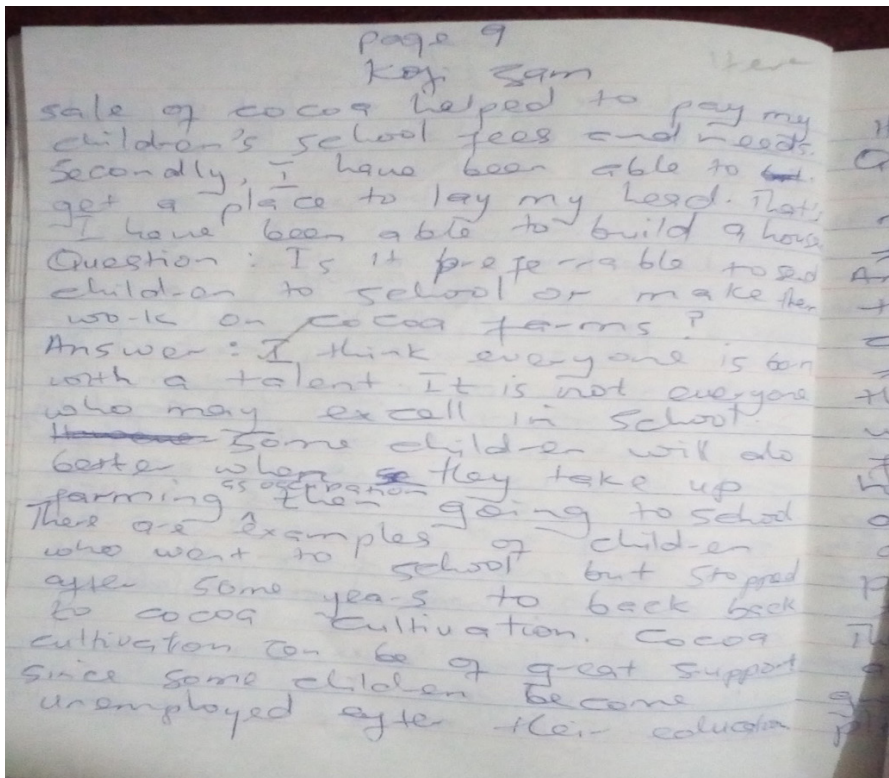


## B. 11 Life Story, Kofi Sam



Source: Kofi Sam, 70 years old, personal interview in series of life stories of child labourers, in his residence at Gomoa Ofaso, Central Region, November 29, 2022.

## B. 12 Life Story, Kofi Sam



Source: Kofi Sam, 70 years old, personal interview in series of life stories of child labourers, in his residence at Gomoa Ofaso, Central Region, November 29, 2022.

## B. 13 Life Story, Peter Nyarko

boys Peter Nyarko, teacher  
 "children developed <sup>hernia</sup> ~~hernia~~. The  
 heavy load made the boys  
 develop <sup>hernia</sup> ~~hernia~~. Recently,  
 some government officials came  
 to conduct medical exams  
 and realised that <sup>many</sup> ~~many~~ of  
 the boys who carried heavy  
 loads of cocoa had developed  
<sup>hernia</sup> ~~hernia~~. However, some farms  
 actually allocated large  
 portions of cocoa farms  
 for the children to weed  
 before they were (children) given  
 food to eat for that day.  
 However, we have some companies  
 that come around to educate  
 us on the dangers of using  
 children on cocoa farms ~~and~~  
 inspite of that child labour  
 still persists. If you are  
 found to be using child

Source: Peter Nyarko, 69 years old, personal interview in series of life stories of child labourers, in his residence at Gomoa Ofaso, Central Region, November 29, 2022.

## B. 14 Life Story, Peter Nyarko

Peter Nyarko Teacher  
 on your farm, you could be  
 arrested and imprisoned. In  
 some cases, the distance that  
 the child travelled from the  
 farm to the house with the  
 heavy load of cocoa was  
 about 2 to 3 kilometres.  
 Also, some children develop  
 spinal injuries and pain  
 with time, after carrying  
 very heavy loads of cocoa  
 for many years. Other children  
 also develop waist pain.  
 Other children develop rib  
 pain. Some children are bitten  
 by reptiles while weeding.  
 For example, you can never  
 tell whether the portion of  
 cocoa tree to the child to  
 weed had snake or not  
 beneath the weed or not.

Source: Peter Nyarko, 69 years old, personal interview in series of life stories of child labourers, in his residence at Gomoa Ofaso, Central Region, November 29, 2022.

## B. 15 Life Story, Peter Nyarko

page 8.

Peter Nyarko Teacher

In the past it was common for children to be bitten by reptiles especially snake but not very common these days. Although, there are reported cases of a few children being bitten by snakes. In some cases, some children have died from snake bite. Some herbs or leaves found on the bush was sometimes used as "first aid" on the farm to neutralise the effect of snake bite on the farm but <sup>it's</sup> not all children who survive snake bite on the farm.

Source: Peter Nyarko, 69 years old, personal interview in series of life stories of child labourers, in his residence at Gomoa Ofaso, Central Region, November 29, 2022.



## APPENDIX C

### C.1 Gomoa Ofaso history

Page 2      March / February / 2022  
 Eric Kwame Mensah  
 Oboasi people to farm. Kobina Kumah  
 was a farmer while he lived in  
 Nta ni Nta. So because he found  
 that the land at Gomoa Ofaso was  
 good for farming, he went back to  
 Nta ni Nta to bring his younger  
 brother by the name Nana Ahimako  
 My great grandmother by the name  
Mina Nukumah who was Opanyin  
Kobina Kumah's <sup>niece</sup> ~~nephew~~. Being  
 a woman, Mina Nukumah was  
 brought to Gomoa Ofaso to cook  
 for them (ie Nana Ahimako and  
 Kobina Kumah). Gomoa Ofaso was  
 then a bush. At that time they  
 planted a lot of yam. People came  
 from Swedru and other places  
 to purchase the yam cultivated in  
 Gomoa Ofaso. Gomoa Ofaso was  
 nicknamed "Obu pong" that is the  
 sound of the yam when broken into

Source: Eric Kwame Mensah, 45 years old, personal interview, telephone interview, February 22, 2022.

## C. 2 Gomoa Ofaso history

page 3  
 Eric Kwame Mensah here  
 because of the yam that was  
 cultivated at Gomoa Ofaso. That  
 refers to the sand of the yam  
 when broken but the name of this  
 village was Gomoa Ofaso. Because  
 he was the first to settle in  
 Gomoa Ofaso, Kobina Kumah  
 was the first to be installed as  
 the chief of Gomoa Ofaso. After  
 his death, his younger brother,  
 Nana Ahimako took/succeeded  
 him. Since then, the chief  
 installed at Gomoa Ofaso had  
 been picked from the family line  
 of Kobina Kumah or Nana  
 Ahimako. You can not be installed  
 or be enthroned as chief of  
 Gomoa Ofaso if you are not  
 from these family lines. There was  
 one Abusua person (a recent times)  
 who enthroned a woman as

Source: Eric Kwame Mensah, 45 years old, personal interview, telephone interview, February 22, 2022.

## C. 3 Gomoa Ofaso history

Page 4

Eric Kwame Mensah here  
 The chief of Gomoa Ofaso, The abusu  
 pangin claimed that the woman was  
 from the Troidan family. The  
 woman is now ~~deceased~~ <sup>deceased</sup>. Now we do  
 not have a chief. So I manage  
 the palace together with the  
 abusu pangin.

My full name is Eric Kwame  
Mensah.

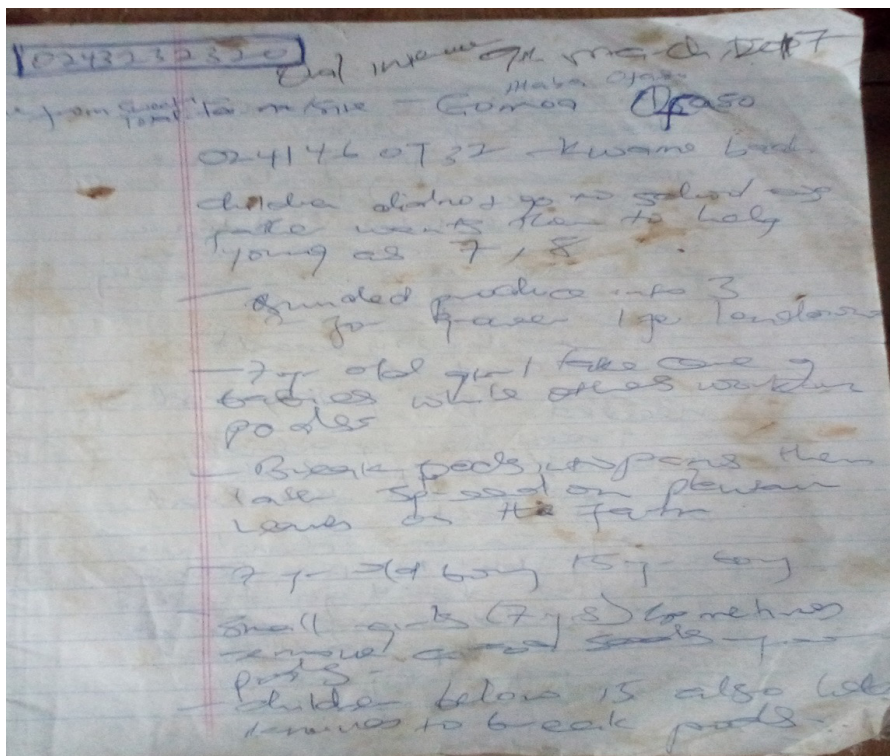
Now a lot of people have migrated to  
 other places to settle in Gomoa Ofaso.  
 So Kobina Kumah was a farmer  
 and continued to farm in Gomoa  
 Ofaso. Kobina Kumah cultivated  
 both cocoa and ~~other~~ <sup>other crops</sup>  
 such as yam. Kobina Kumah had  
 eight girls/women with his wife.  
 Kobina Kumah did not have a  
 male child. After the death of Kobina  
 Kumah and Nana Alimoko, there  
 was no male to inherit the throne.

Source: Eric Kwame Mensah, 45 years old, personal interview, telephone interview, February 22, 2022.



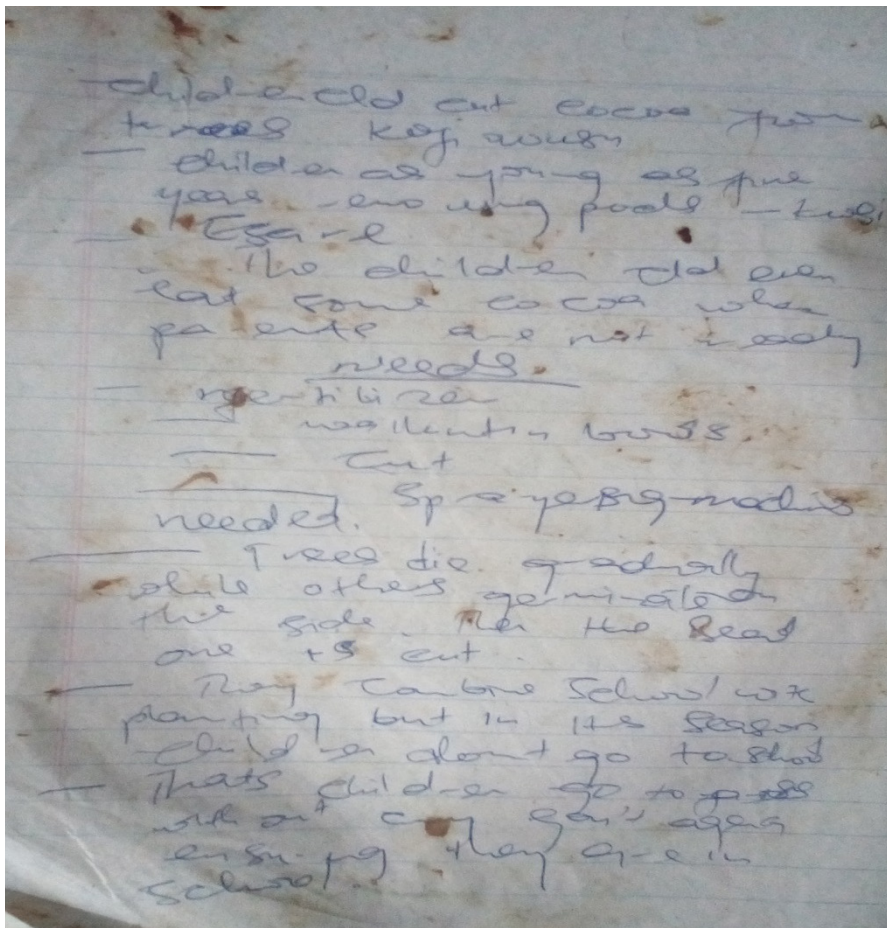
## APPENDIX D

## D.1 Cocoa production and export



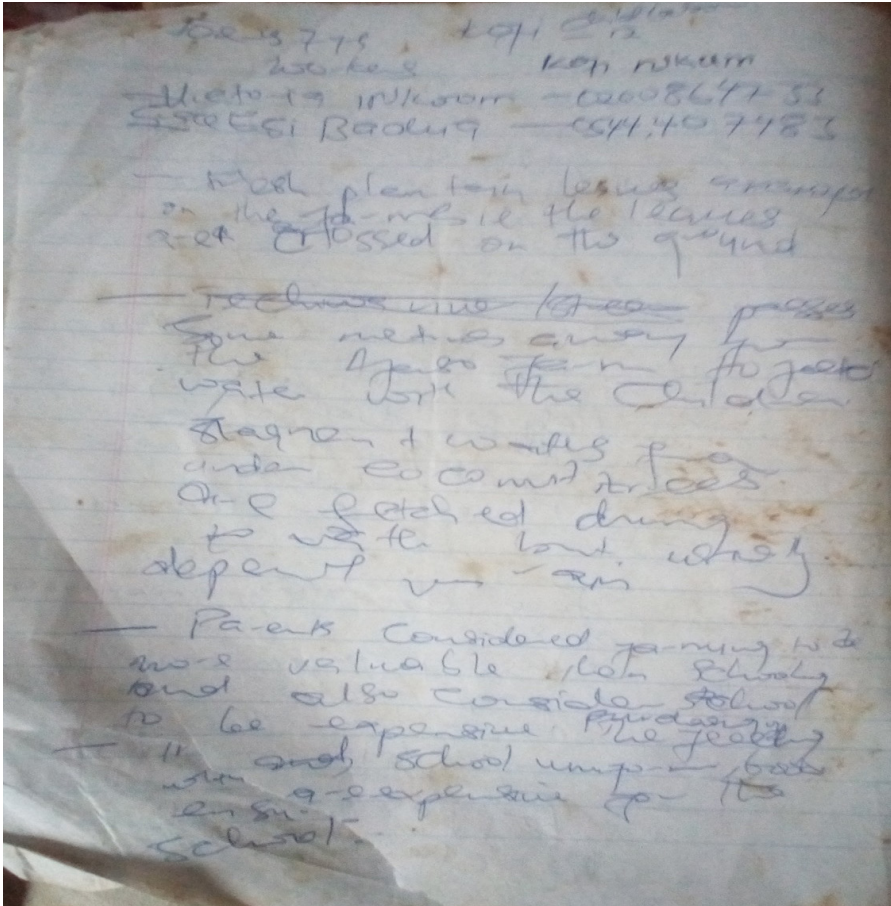
Source: Group discussion notes, personal interview, on Kwame Baah's cocoa farm at Gomoa Ofaso, Central Region, March 9, 2017.

## D. 2 Cocoa production and export



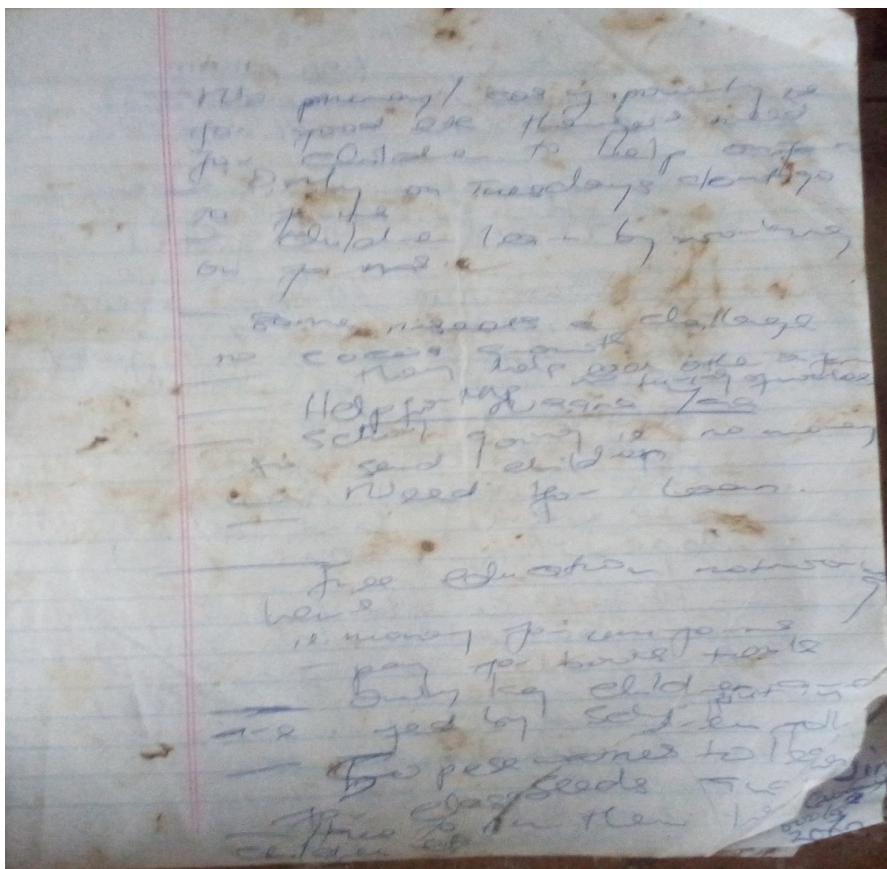
Source: Group discussion notes, personal interview, on Peter Nyarko's cocoa farm at Gomoa Ofaso, Central Region, March 9, 2017.

## D. 3 Cocoa production and export



Source: Group discussion notes, personal interview, in Victoria Inkoom's residence at Gomoa Ofaso, Central Region, March 9, 2017.

## D. 4 Cocoa production and export



Source: Group discussion notes, personal interview, in Victoria Inkoom's residence at Gomoa Ofaso, Central Region, March 9, 2017.



## D. 5 Cocoa production and export

— Even with the govt schools, when there is free education, they often things like books are to be provided by parents & children are considered expensive.

— Children as young as four years take a role to play on the farms.

— Sometimes the young girls about 7 or 8 after removing the pods beans for pods for a while pause to enter to their younger siblings usually babies.

— The work that children performed on farms (eg. sowing for prep-allow of land clearing/weeding) but child 6/10-12 used the farm to use kids for planting seeds & about 3 beads is put in the ground. Children pull the older ones to begin planting of seeds & then pick up from then then.

Source: Group discussion notes, personal interview, in Victoria Inkoom's residence at Gomoa Ofaso, Central Region, March 9, 2017.

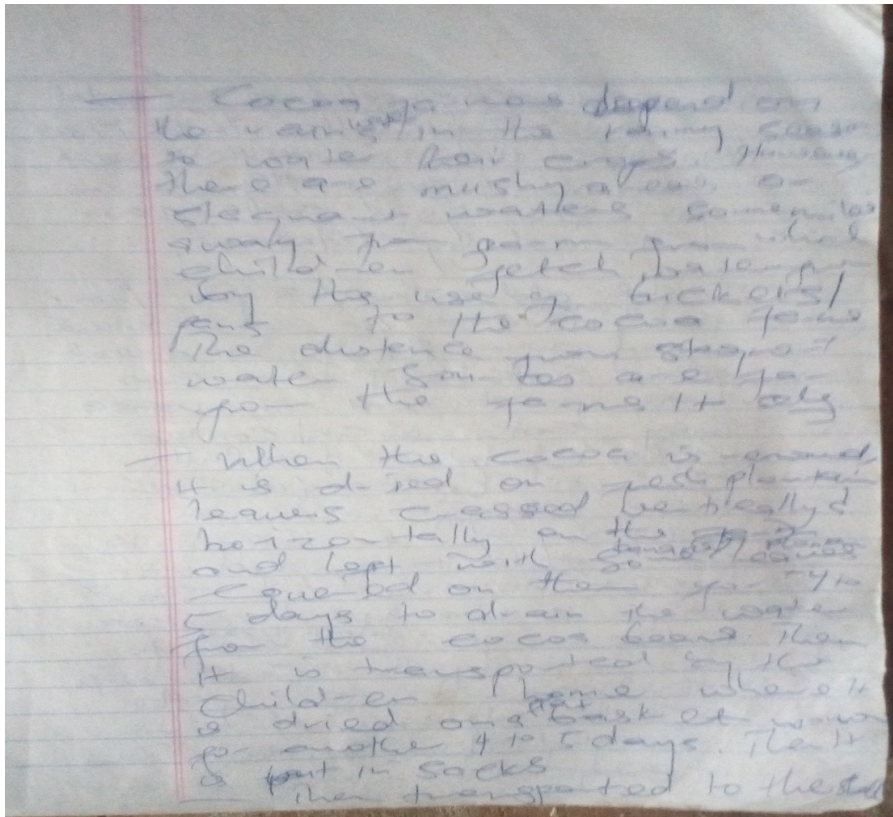
## D. 6 Cocoa production and export

- Also get planting by 9 yrs  
 children on help with planting  
 of cocoa seeds.  
 - children also help with  
 plucking / harvesting of cocoa  
 from cocoa trees.  
 Depending on the height of the  
 child.  
 - Since poverty is a cause  
 to using children, when  
 parents do not have money  
 they are compelled to eat  
 some of the fresh cocoa  
 beans while they remove it  
 from the pods.  
 - After the ripe cocoa is  
 plucked from the trees they  
 are put under the trees  
 for collection to a storage  
 place in the farm. <sup>to be used</sup>  
 Here also, child <sup>to be used</sup>  
 cocoa pods under the trees  
 goes to the storage place.  
 - The children use an axe  
 or handle knives /  
 cutlasses in breaking the  
 pods to remove the beans.

Source: Group discussion notes, personal interview, on Kwame Baah's cocoa farm at Gomoa Ofaso, Central Region, March 9, 2017.



## D.7 Cocoa production and export



Source: Group discussion notes, personal interview, on Kwame Baah's cocoa farm at Gomoa Ofaso, Central Region, March 9, 2017.

## D. 8 Cocoa production and export

were the cocoa beans is sold  
 - Take in the the 1910 1930  
 Reports was a cut of was  
 for now sent then beans  
 for storage & sale (also  
 carried by children,  
 - The old warehouse port/hor  
 the ~~storage~~ <sup>prisons</sup> is ~~is~~ - killed  
 away for the ~~prisons~~ <sup>prisons</sup>  
 for which the ~~prisons~~ <sup>prisons</sup>  
 was produced. It was  
 busy commercial center.  
 - The children ~~for~~ <sup>for</sup>  
 to ~~visit~~ <sup>visit</sup> to ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> ~~prisons~~ <sup>prisons</sup>  
 their ~~with~~ <sup>with</sup> ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> ~~prisons~~ <sup>prisons</sup>  
 after ~~day~~ <sup>day</sup> to the ports  
 for ~~to~~ <sup>to</sup> ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> ~~prisons~~ <sup>prisons</sup>  
 I + took ~~to~~ <sup>to</sup> ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> ~~prisons~~ <sup>prisons</sup>  
 days to transport ~~to~~ <sup>to</sup> ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> ~~prisons~~ <sup>prisons</sup>  
 to / from the ~~house~~ <sup>house</sup> ~~to~~ <sup>to</sup>  
 the port by the children  
 the age & size of the  
 child determined the  
 weight he carried. This  
 way

Source: Group discussion notes, personal interview, on Kwame Baah's cocoa farm at Gomoa Ofaso, Central Region, March 9, 2017.

## D. 9 Cocoa production and export

Working on the farms was performed by children in both sexes although the female children had a further responsibility of taking care of the needs of babies.

Children are not paid which is one of the main reasons they used children.

The children also had to work on the farm after going to school. Because of the recognition they received from the elderly by the amount of baskets of cocoa pods they were able to remove from Kwame Baah's spot. In a day a young child working on the farm he removed about 10 baskets full of cocoa beans for drying.

\* Also, the elderly helped for the vehicle brought for joy while they broke the pods. They also took young children to work because...

Source: Group discussion notes, personal interview, on Kwame Baah's cocoa farm at Gomoa Ofaso, Central Region, March 9, 2017.

## D. 10 Cocoa production and export

in abundance on the farms  
 where as there will be no  
 food if they want to <sup>gather</sup> ~~eat~~  
 for <sup>meals</sup> usually 9-10  
 years beneath the cocoa  
 trees which they cook  
 while on the farms. Hence  
 there will be no food  
 available for you if you  
 refused to go to the farm  
 & children loved the farm  
 especially b'cos of the fact  
 that food was in abundance  
 on the farm.

— The farms are worked  
 as early as 6:30 am to  
 5 pm in the evening.

— Between 6:30 am to  
 7:30 am children & adults  
 men + women to cut weed  
 growing plants which  
 compete with the cocoa  
 trees for nutrients.

— Then go to get a quote  
 how the ripe cocoa pods  
 are cut from the trees

Source: Group discussion notes, personal interview, on Kwame Baah's cocoa farm at Gomoa Ofaso, Central Region, March 9, 2017.



## D. 11 Cocoa production and export

and placed bundle the cocoa  
 trees.

— Granula fertilizers are  
 a recent phenomena and  
 in the past <sup>they</sup> were grown  
 without fertilizers.

— It takes all 5 to 6 yrs  
 for cocoa plants without  
 fertilizers to grow, but  
 those with fertilizers by the  
 4 yrs grow. However, the  
 farmer's claim that these  
 old trees without fertilizers  
 are 7 ft tall, growing there  
 since its in high density and  
 especially in the 15 to 20 to 30  
 the hybrid cocoa with  
 fertilizers was used.

— Cocoa farmer in the  
 past did not have laborer  
 rather the family or one  
 cocoa farmer helped to  
 cultivate that of another  
 family, the that family in  
 helped to cultivate their  
 children also also used  
 to be for recognition space

Source: Group discussion notes, personal interview, on Peter Nyarko's cocoa farm at Gomoa Ofaso, Central Region, March 9, 2017.



## QUOTATION

"No great achievement is possible without persistent work" by Bertrand Russell