

# **RATIONALLY MOTIVATED?**

**COCOA PRODUCTION IN GHANA: MOTIVATIONS AND DE-MOTIVATIONS OF  
SMALL-SCALE COCOA PRODUCERS IN FAWOHOYEDEN, GHANA.**



**Daniel Oppong**

**Master Thesis in Development Geography**

**Department of Sociology and Human Geography**

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**May 2014**

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## *Declaration*

I, Daniel Oppong, do hereby declare that the work presented in this thesis is the result of my own original research work with the exception of quotes and work of other people, which I have duly referenced and acknowledged herein. This work has not been presented to any other university or institution for the award of any degree or its equivalence.

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cocoa production in Ghana: motivations and de-motivations of small-scale cocoa producers in Fawohoyeden, Ghana.

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## *Dedication*

To my family and all small-scale cocoa producers in the world especially those in Ghana

## ***Abstract***

*The study explores the production of cocoa in Ghana among small-scale producers by considering both the economic and non-economic factors which motivate them in continuous cocoa production as well as the numerous challenges (de-motivations) facing them. The argument is that the Ghanaian economy depends largely on the agricultural sector which provides jobs for more than half of its workforce. The sector also contributes about 40 per cent of the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) of the country. Though, animal rearing and crop cultivation are the main components of the sector, the practices of the latter outdo the former. Among the cultivated crops are food crops and cash crops. The commonest cash crops are cocoa, coffee, cashew, palm oil, sheanut, rubber, cotton, coconut and tobacco. With the contribution of the sector to Ghana's economy with respect to crop production, cocoa is the only commercial crop of much economic significance as the country is the second largest producer with about 15 per cent contribution to the world market while neighbouring Cote d'Ivoire leads in the world.*

*Since cocoa was introduced into Ghana about a century ago, various research works have demonstrated that small-scale producers who dominate the sector are motivated by both internal and external factors to continuously produce the beans. However, these producers do not normally obtain the potential gains linked to their work. This is as a result of some challenges associated with the sector which de-motivate them. This is not to say that the producers gain nothing at all from their work. This study reveals that indeed each motivating factor which is either intrinsic or extrinsic is categorised under either economic or non-economic factors. Again, the researcher also contends that, these factors complement and inter-link each other. Thus, none of them motivates and sustains the producers' interest in continuous cocoa production in isolation. Moreover, the researcher also believes that, the small-scale cocoa producers though, are motivated for some internal and external factors still act rationally in their decision to be cocoa producers.*

## *Acknowledgement*

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### *Lists of abbreviations*

ANMA	Asunafo North Municipal Assembly
CMB	Cocoa Marketing Board
CMC	Cocoa Marketing Company
CODAPEC	Cocoa Diseases and Pest Control Program
COCOBOD	Ghana Cocoa Board
CRIG	Cocoa Research Institute of Ghana
CRP	Cocoa Rehabilitation Project
CSDS	Cocoa Sector Development Strategy
CSSV	Cocoa Swollen Shot Virus
CSSVD	Cocoa Swollen Shot and Viral Disease
CSSVDCU	Cocoa Swollen Shot Virus Disease Control Unit
ERP	Economic Recovery Program
GOG	Government of Ghana
GSDDA	Ghana Shared Growth and Development Agenda
GSS	Ghana Statistical Service
ILO	International Labour Organization
LBCs	Licence Buying Companies
LEAP	Livelihood Empowerment Against Poverty
MoFA	Ministry of Food and Agriculture
NDPC	National Development Planning Commission
NGGL	Newmont Gold Ghana Limited
OECD	Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
PBC	Produce Buying Company
QCD	Quality Control Division
SPU	Seed Production Unit

# CHAPTER ONE

## INTRODUCTORY CHAPTER

### 1.0 Introduction

This chapter looks at the rationale for this research work and how cocoa production spread throughout the world with emphasis on Africa and Ghana in particular. Not left out is how Ghana has undergone transformations in its cocoa sector and the quantities of production over the years. Significant information on the study area is also given.

### 1.1 Motivation and rationale of the study

Ghana's economy has been largely dependent on agriculture and agricultural growth is the key to overall economic growth and development. The first Ghana Poverty Reduction Strategy (GPRS I) from 2003 to 2005 set out that agriculture was to be modernised to spur rural development. Similarly, in the Growth and Poverty Reduction Strategy (GPRS II) between 2006 and 2009, and the Ghana Shared Growth and Development Agenda I (GSDA) between 2010 and 2013, agriculture was expected to lead the growth and structural transformation of the economy and maximize the benefits of accelerated growth. According to National Development Planning Commission (NDPC) in 2005, GRPS II recognized that no significant progress can be made in raising the average real incomes of Ghanaians as a whole without significant improvements in the productivity of the agriculture sector and agro-based and processing industry. The country's overall agricultural sector is under the control of The Ministry of Food and Agriculture (MOFA).<sup>1</sup>

The main food crops grown in Ghana are maize, yams, cassava, and, to a lesser extent, sorghum, and millet. Cocoa, coffee, cashew, palm oil, sheanut, rubber, cotton, coconut and tobacco are the main cash crops but cocoa is the only commercial crop of economic significance.<sup>2</sup> Ghana is recognised globally for its cocoa cultivation and export. Cocoa is an essential contributor to her economy and as a nation at large (Adamu Nbabuine 2012). On the global front Ghana has produced a lot in terms of quantity supply as the political economy of cocoa surpasses that of any other commodity the country is exploiting. Six of the ten regions

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<sup>1</sup> <http://www.agrhymet.ne/portailCC/images/pdf/NPIAGHANA.pdf>

<sup>2</sup> <http://developeconomies.com/development-economics/the-state-of-the-agriculture-sector-in-ghana/>

in the country are the cocoa growing areas. Thus, Western, Eastern, Ashanti, Brong Ahafo, Central and Volta regions. For many households cocoa production constitutes the fundamental capital base for income and employment. It is generally known that about 90 per cent of cocoa produced the world over comes from smallholder farms varying in size up to 5 hectares. Like situations in different cocoa growing economies, in Ghana, the commodity is an instrumental vehicle for lowering poverty incidence in the growing areas and providing employment for a fairly wide range of skilled and unskilled labour (Essegbey and Ofori-Gyamfi 2012)<sup>3</sup> contributing important revenues to the government. The popular saying Cocoa is Ghana, Ghana is Cocoa illuminates the importance of cocoa production in Ghana. It is not only small-scale producers who are dependent on earnings from cocoa, but also the Ghanaian state. Cocoa contributed about 3.4 per cent to total gross domestic product annually and an average of 29 per cent to total export revenue between 1990 and 1999 (ISSER 2001), and 22 per cent between 2000 and 2002 (ISSER 2003). Ghana was blessed with export earnings of US\$1,187.4 million in 2006 from cocoa (SGER 2006), with gold accounting for 32.2 per cent of export earnings and 9.5 per cent of GDP in the same year.<sup>4</sup> In 2007, the country exported 506,358 tonnes of cocoa which earned her US \$ 895,703,000.<sup>5</sup>

In Ghana, the cocoa sector has not been as fully liberalised as in its neighbouring cocoa producing countries and is thus still, to a large extent, controlled by the government. A partial liberalisation of the sector has however, taken place opening up for the possibility of increasing production and higher producer prices and now more than ever since cocoa in 2004 became Ghana's main source of export revenue (Lundstedt and Pärssinen 2009).

Cocoa has been traded for about 400 years with Mexico as its first exporter. Venezuela overtook Mexico and around 1830 Ecuador surpassed all the leading countries. West African producing countries then became latter day saints in the sector particularly Ghana, formerly Gold coast and Cote d'Ivoire with the former holding the lead in production quantity since 1911 until the latter outwit her in the late 1970s.

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<sup>3</sup> [http://worldcocoafoundation.org/wpcontent/files\\_mf/essegby2012socioeconomicinnovation214kb.pdf](http://worldcocoafoundation.org/wpcontent/files_mf/essegby2012socioeconomicinnovation214kb.pdf)

<sup>4</sup> [http://www.bwpi.manchester.ac.uk/research/ResearchProgrammes/businessfordevelopment/mapping\\_sustainable\\_production\\_in\\_ghanaia\\_n\\_cocoa.pdf](http://www.bwpi.manchester.ac.uk/research/ResearchProgrammes/businessfordevelopment/mapping_sustainable_production_in_ghanaia_n_cocoa.pdf)

<sup>5</sup> <http://www.countrystat.org/home.aspx?c=gha&p=ke>

According to the World Cocoa Foundation report in March, 2012,<sup>6</sup> the world's major cocoa producing regions are; Africa producing 73 per cent of cocoa mainly coming from Cote d'Ivoire (40 per cent global), Ghana, Nigeria and Cameroon. The rest are Asia and Oceania with 14 per cent output emanating from Indonesia, Malaysia and Papua New Guinea as well as the Americas represented by Brazil, Ecuador and Colombia as main producing countries also contributing 13 per cent of the world's total. In all these small cocoa farms provide more than 90 per cent of world cocoa production.

Table 1: Top 10 Cocoa Producing Countries in the world.

S.No.	Country	Amount Produce	Percentage of World Production
1	Cote d'Ivoire	1.3 million tonnes	37.4%
2	Ghana	720 Thousand Tonnes	20.7%
3	Indonesia	440 Thousand Tonnes	12.7%
4	Cameroon	175 Thousand Tons	5.0%
5	Nigeria	160 Thousand Tonnes	4.6%
6	Brazil	155 Thousand Tonnes	4.5%
7	Ecuador	118 Thousand Tonnes	3.4%
8	Dominican Republic	47 Thousand Tonnes	1.4%
9	Malaysia	30 Thousand Tonnes	0.9%
10	Togo	23 Thousand Tonnes	0.6%

Source: <http://www.jagranjosh.com/general-knowledge/top-10-cocoa-producing-countries-1316858849-1>

<sup>6</sup> <http://worldcocoafoundation.org/wp-content/uploads/Cocoa-Market-Update-as-of-3.20.2012.pdf>



Table 2: Cocoa bean producing areas (X 1,000 MT AND %).

	1980/81	1990/91	2000/2001	2007/2008	2008/2009
Africa	1,010 <b>(59.6)</b>	1418 <b>(56.6)</b>	1948 <b>(68.2)</b>	2682 <b>(71.8)</b>	2442 <b>(70.4)</b>
Central/South America	542 <b>(32.0)</b>	611 <b>(24.4)</b>	369 <b>(12.9)</b>	400 <b>(10.7)</b>	383 <b>(11.0)</b>
West Indies	47 <b>(2.8)</b>	53 <b>(2.1)</b>	53 <b>(1.9)</b>	51 <b>(1.4)</b>	52 <b>(1.5)</b>
Asia and Oceania	97 <b>(5.7)</b>	487 <b>(16.9)</b>	487 <b>17.0</b>	602 <b>(16.1)</b>	590 <b>(17.0)</b>
Total world production	1,696	2,506	2,857	3,735	3,467

Source: The cocoa manual (1993).<sup>7</sup>

Moreover, there is no denying the fact that the Ghanaian economy in its holistic natures does not find the production of cocoa as a problem free enterprise. The country has been witnessing ups and downs in the sector over the years. The nation has gone through challenging moments in the sector and a case in point is the experience of a major decline in production in the 1960s to 1970s and a near collapse of the sector in the early 1980s. But production steadily recovered in the mid 1980s after the introduction of economy wide reforms. The 1990s marked the beginning of a revival with production nearly doubling between 2001 and 2003. Some of these challenges in the sector have been both external factors like collapse of the world price of cocoa as was evident in 1965 (Kolavalli and Vigneri 2011), and internal factors such as the smuggling of the beans to the neighbouring Cote d'Ivoire where price per bag is comparatively higher than that of Ghana. According to Bulir (2005), along the western border of Ghana, cocoa was smuggled across the densely forested border to Cote d'Ivoire, where it fetched much higher prices. Combination of these internal and external factors has been a source of worry for the Ghanaian economy as a whole. Trends from available facts undoubtedly reveal that, the Ghanaian economy holistically over the years has been showing concern in the cocoa production sector because of the revenue gains she has been reaping from cocoa exports. Considering the hundreds of thousands of small-scale producers dominating the sector, is it the same drive which motivates them into continuous cocoa production?

<sup>7</sup> <http://www.adm.com/en-US/products/food/cocoa/Documents/deZaan-Cocoa-Manual.pdf>

Since the inception of cocoa production in Ghana, there have been debates about the economic gains driving people into the cocoa business. This research work was informed by these debates as the researcher strongly believes that, there are other non-economic motivating factors in addition to the economic factors and therefore the researcher tries to find out what economic and non-economic factors really motivate the small scale cocoa producers to continuously produce cocoa and also look at the factors which de-motivate them in the sector.

Furthermore, the researcher uses motivation and rational choice theories as well as a complementary model as the main focus of this research work. The overall basic perspectives of motivation are *needs*, *behaviour* and *satisfaction*. This implies that every individual has certain wants otherwise called needs which push them to act in a certain manner describing behaviour and hence in the course of acting, gaining sense of well-being or gratification, thus satisfaction. Some social scientists have tried to build theories around the idea that all action is fundamentally 'rational' in character and that people calculate the likely costs and benefits of any action before deciding what to do. This approach to theory is known as *rational choice theory*, and its application to social interaction takes the form of exchange theory (Scott 2010). This research work seeks to argue again that, irrespective of the economic and non-economic reasons which intrinsically and extrinsically motivate the small-scale cocoa producers continuously in a complementary manner to produce cocoa, the producers consider this decision as rational in spite of the factors de-motivating them.

## **1.2 Objectives and questions**

The following objectives guide the research as the researcher explores the economic and non-economic factors motivating the small scale cocoa producers to produce cocoa continuously and the challenging factors which de-motivate them in the course of producing cocoa.

1. What economic factors motivate the small-scale cocoa producers in continuous cocoa production?
2. What non-economic factors motivate the small-scale cocoa producers in continuous cocoa production?

3. What challenges which de-motivate the small-scale producers in the course of producing cocoa?

### **1.3 Outline**

This thesis is organized into five chapters:

1. Chapter One: The introductory chapter
2. Chapter Two: Theoretical framework
3. Chapter Three: The research methodology
4. Chapter four: Data analysis and discussions
5. Chapter Five: Summary, conclusion and recommendations

### **1.4 The study area**

Fawohoyeden which is the area of study is part of Asunafo North Municipal Assembly (ANMA) which is one of the 27 municipal/district assemblies in the Brong Ahafo Region. It was carved out of the then Asunafo District in 2004 as Asunafo North District. Due to multiplicity of functions as a result of urbanization and its consequent need for infrastructural development, it became necessary for it to be declared a municipality in 2008 under the Legislative Instrument (LI) 1873. The Municipal Capital is Goaso while the other big towns in the municipality also include Mim, Ayomso and Asumura. Fawohoyeden is one of the small towns under Ayomso zonal council.<sup>8</sup>

Geographically, Fawohoyeden is located between latitudes 6°27N and 7°00N and longitude 2°52W sharing common boundaries with Asutifi district in the north-east, Dormaa municipal in the north-west and Juaboso Bia and Sefwi-Wiaso districts in the Western Region on the south-west borders, and Asunafo South district in the Brong Ahafo Region on the south-eastern borders. The total land size of the municipality is 1,093.7 sq km with 578.63 sq km

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<sup>8</sup> zonal council is a division of a district or municipality into sub-district administrative units in Ghana for efficient and effective grass root participation in decision making and also as a way of enforcing decentralisation.

covered by forest reserves. This area forms about 2.8 per cent of the regional land area of 39,557 sq km (Unpublished Asunafo North Municipal Profile 2013).

According to the 2010 Population and Housing Census (PHC) by the Ghana Statistical Service (GSS), the population of the municipality stood at 124,685 people with 62,854 males and 61,831 females<sup>9</sup> while together with Asunafo South district which formed the then Asunafo district, the Population stood at 130,502 according to the 2000 population and housing census by the GSS. Given an annual growth rate of 2.6 per cent per annum the population currently stands at 168,889 forming about 7.3 per cent of the regional figure of 2,323,864. The annual growth rate compares favourably with both the regional and national rates of 2.5 per cent and 2.6 per cent respectively. The population of Fawohoyeden also stands at 4,721 people with an annual growth rate of 2.6 per cent according to the 2010 PHC by the GSS. The area is heterogeneous in terms of ethnicity with *Akans* constituting about 79 per cent as the other tribes such as 'Ewes', 'Northerners', and 'Gas' among others also form about 21 per cent (Unpublished ANMA profile 2013).

The total land area of the municipality is 1093.7 sq km. This gives a population density of 154 persons per sq km as compared to that of the region which stands at 59 persons per sq km. Though, the municipality is perceived to be very dense but in actual fact, the bulk of the figure is concentrated in the six urban centres of Mim, Goaso, Ayomso, Dominase, Akrodie and Asumura where more facilities and service are located. Out of the total population, females form about 49 per cent and the remaining 51 per cent constitutes male population. The area lies within the wet semi-deciduous climatic zone which experiences substantial amount of rainfall, thus, double maxima with the mean annual rainfall falling between 125 cm and 175 cm. Major rains occur between April and July and minor season occurs between September and October. The hottest season occurs in March with the temperature rate of 30 degrees Celsius and the mean monthly being about 25.5 degrees Celsius.

The area lies within the semi-deciduous forest belt of Ghana. The vegetation is mainly characterized by tall trees with evergreen undergrowth and has an abundance of economic trees. Scattered particles of secondary or broken forest are characteristics of the vegetation. This has been as a result of farming, lumbering and building activities. Most of the larger trees are *Antaris Africana* (kyenkyen), *clorophora excelsa* (Odum) and *Ceiba Pentandra* (Onyina).

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<sup>9</sup> [http://www.statsghana.gov.gh/docfiles/2010phc/2010\\_POPULATION\\_AND\\_HOUSING\\_CENSUS\\_FINAL\\_RESULTS.pdf](http://www.statsghana.gov.gh/docfiles/2010phc/2010_POPULATION_AND_HOUSING_CENSUS_FINAL_RESULTS.pdf)

Predominantly, subsistence agriculture is the commonest occupation by majority of the inhabitants. The private sector made up of tradesmen, artisans and medium scale enterprises engage a few people just like commerce and service sectors. The area is predominantly agrarian with activities mainly centred on crop production. Agriculture employs about 64 per cent of the potential labour force, and about 44.5 per cent of the workers in non-agriculture sector also engage in agriculture as a secondary occupation. Studies revealed that large scale farming activities are not common in the area, implying that agriculture is basically subsistence. Land tenure system is very flexible in the area which makes it easy and allows investors and strangers to participate in the cultivation of the land. Usufruct system of land tenure is common in the municipality. Ownership of land is vested in the stool or chief who holds the land in trust. Individual families have use right of parcels of land, but have no right to dispose them. Immigrant farmers usually inherit farmland by providing some drinks (usually in cash) to the head of the family or the chief by the *Abunu* or *Abusa* system.<sup>10</sup> This system of shared tenancy at times discourages prospective farmers.

Cropping pattern is closely related to the climate and the vegetation formation of the municipality. Mixed farming is the prevalent farming practice among the subsistence farmers followed by plantation and mono-cropping. Land clearing for cocoa is first planted with plantain and cocoyam which provides temporal shade for the cocoa which remains the permanent occupant of the land. In other farms, maize is mono-cropped initially but mid way in the season, the farm is inter-planted with cassava, plantain, cocoyam, yams and vegetables. After harvesting these crops, the land is fallowed for re-growth into secondary forest. Most of the farmers use traditional method of farming while only a few use intermediate technology. The dominance of traditional farming does not only lead to low production, but also has serious consequences on the natural environment. Fertilizer is used mainly on vegetables, but of late cocoa has been included in the cocoa Hi-tech programme for increased yield.

Typical of Ghanaian farming communities, family labour is the most dominant type of labour used while a small fraction of farmers use hired labour popularly known as *by-day*. The *nnoboa* or co-operative and sole farmer labour systems are also practised by some farming communities. In most instances farmers make use of more than one type of labour, but this also depends on the farm size, the particular farming activity being undertaken and the season or time of year.

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<sup>10</sup> the *abunu* means dividing the farm into two to be shared between the landowner and the one who took custody of the land from the owner for farming while the *abusa* means dividing the land into three.

Several opportunities exist for agricultural business in the district. The soil which is suitable for cocoa cultivation can also support other tree crops such as oil palm, citrus and cola. Large scale production of plantain, rice, cassava, cocoyam, yam and vegetables can also be carried out. Crops yields of maize, plantain, rice, cowpea, cassava and vegetable can step up through improved planting materials, control pests and disease in the field and in storage. According to the ANMA Directorate of Agric 2010/2011, the major crops grown in the municipality are cocoa, oil palm, avocado, citrus, pineapple, okra, pepper, cabbage, cocoyam, plantain and cassava.

Cocoa cultivation assumes an alarming rate in the area since time immemorial. The area forms one of the COCOBOD's demarcated cocoa growing districts in Ghana comprising 67 cocoa districts under the 7 cocoa growing regions namely Eastern, Ashanti, Brong-Ahafo, Central, Volta, Western North and Western South which are different from the national administrative regions and districts in the country. This is more for convenience of cocoa operations than for any other economic reasons (Barrientos *et al.* 2007).<sup>11</sup> With its numerous cocoa producers in all the towns and villages, the area has the three main COCOBOD subsidiary institutions located at Goaso which have diverse functions overseeing the progress of cocoa production. The offices are the Quality Control Division (QCD), the Seed Production Unit (SPU) and the Cocoa Swollen Shoot and Virus Disease Control Unit (CSSVDCU). Briefly, the QCD is responsible for maintaining the quality of cocoa and other exportable crops such as coffee and sheanut as International Cocoa Standards require cocoa of merchantable quality. The SPU is responsible for the multiplication and distribution of improved cocoa and coffee planting materials from the high-yielding and early bearing hybrid cocoa types developed by the Cocoa Research Institute of Ghana to farmers as well as maintaining seed gardens. The CSSVDCU is responsible for the survey and control of the Cocoa Swollen Shoot virus (CSSV). The Unit's activities include the removal and destruction of swollen shoot diseased cocoa trees from the farms and supply the farmers with the swollen shoot disease resistant hybrid for replanting. Following is a map of Ghana showing all cocoa growing areas and Fawohoyeden, the study area.

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<sup>11</sup>[http://www.bwpi.manchester.ac.uk/research/ResearchProgrammes/businessfordevelopment/mapping\\_sustainable\\_production\\_in\\_ghanaian\\_cocoa.pdf](http://www.bwpi.manchester.ac.uk/research/ResearchProgrammes/businessfordevelopment/mapping_sustainable_production_in_ghanaian_cocoa.pdf).

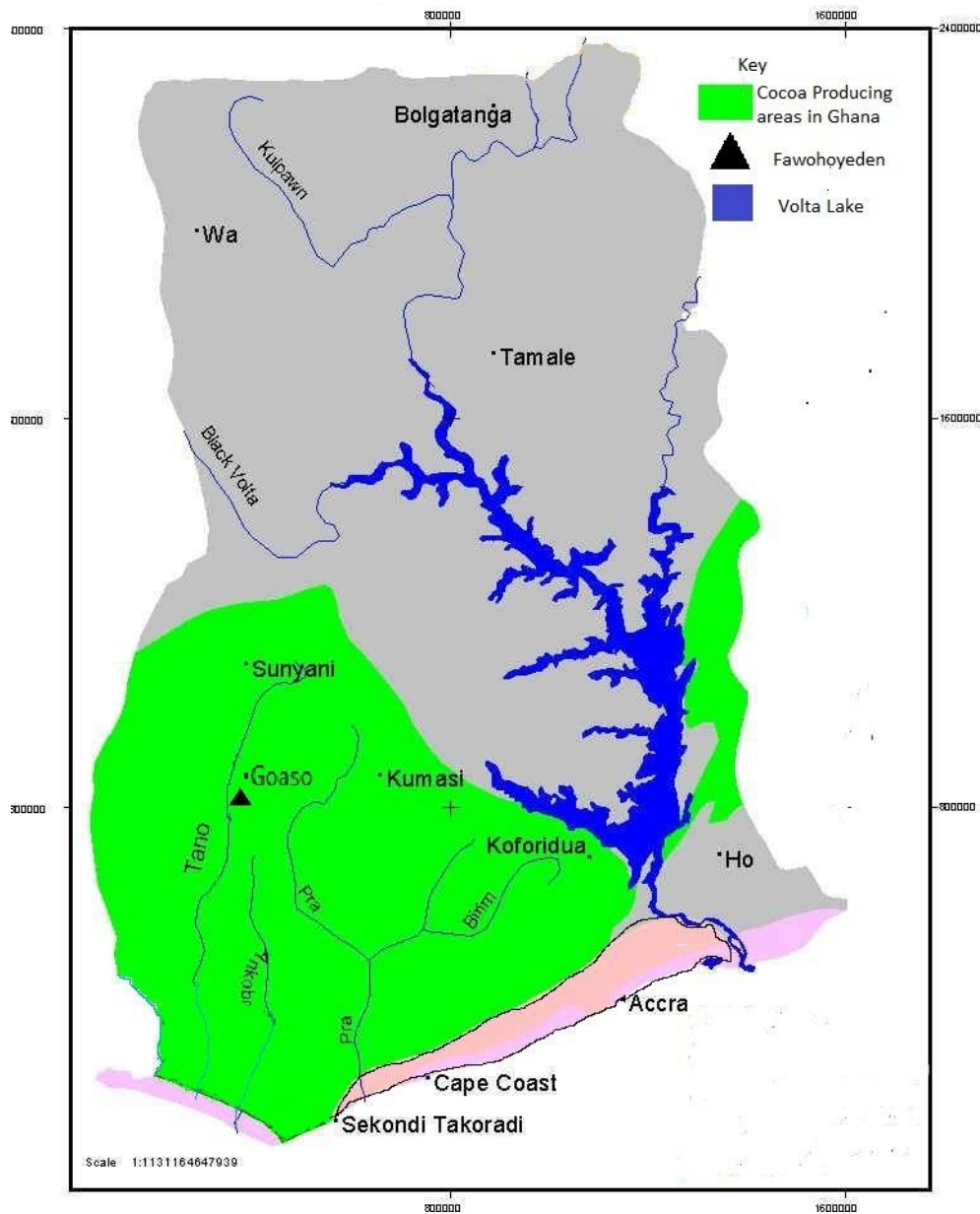


Figure 1: Map of Ghana showing cocoa producing areas and the study area (Fawohoyeden).

Source: Modified from the vegetation map of Ghana.

(<http://www.fao.org/ag/agp/AGPC/doc/Counprof/ghana/ghanaveg.htm>)

The area over the years has been faced with a number of environmental problems as listed below: bush fires, pollution of water bodies especially the streams and rivers by small scale mining activities popularly known as 'galamsey', over grazing, forest degradation by chain saw operators, noise pollution, inadequate final dumping sites and waste containers, burning of wood for charcoal and improper farming along river banks among others.

Though farming is the commonest non-salary and wage work among households, salary work is for the few teachers and health workers. Other traditional self employed activities apart from farming include selling of locally produced food stuffs, provision store and selling of firewood.

## **1.5.0 Cocoa production**

### **1.5.1 Origin of cocoa**

*Fossil records are too scanty to provide any definite information as to the original home of the cacao tree* (Chatt 1953:1). Cacao is the name of the plant from which cocoa is produced as a fruit or manufactured product of the fruit. In many places both terms (cacao and cocoa) are used to mean either the plant or the fruit/pod of the plant. The Latin name for cocoa, *Theobroma*, literally means, 'food for the gods' and it has played a key role in many ancient American cultures.<sup>12</sup> Archaeological findings have it that, the story of cocoa begins with a fermented alcoholic drink, discovered in the Ulua Valley of present day Honduras, which dates somewhere between 1400 BC and 1100 BC before making its way into Mexico where it became an integral part of Aztec culture symbolizing the consumption habits of Aztec King Montezuma who allegedly drank 50 cups of *xocolatl* a day (Grossman-Greene and Bayer 2009). According to Orla (2011):

*The exhibition begins with noisy parakeets and waterfalls in a central American jungle, the source of cocoa, the main ingredient of chocolate, commonly believed to be an Aztec word derived from xocolatl, where xococ means sour and atl water. (p. 1).*

The Aztecs believed that the cocoa tree had been brought to them by the god of air, *Quetzalcoatl*, after man had been driven from the equivalent of the Garden of Eden. They used cocoa for religious purposes since they had the believe that it possessed spiritual or magical qualities and also consumed it as a food drink by adding spices, honey and even maize to it sometimes (Dand 1997). At certain points in time, the beans were used as a form of currency (Orla 2011). The origin of cocoa has been quite uncertain and debatable across the academic divide. Some scientists also believe that the cocoa tree originated from South or

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<sup>12</sup> <http://worldcocoaoundation.org/about-cocoa/history-of-cocoa/>



Central America where they assert that the first trees grew in the Amazon basin of Brazil, while others place its origin in the Orinoco Valley of Venezuela.<sup>13</sup>

Wherever its first home is, cocoa has become one of the well cherished cash crops worldwide. It has supported in the past and it is still supporting most of its producing regions. Cocoa and its culture are popular among millions of peasant farmers and plantation owners because of the relative ease and cheapness with which it is produced even among unskilled producers who do not even use any sophisticated tools and yet are able to turn the crop into a marketable produce. Are and Gwynne-Jones believe that:

*"Cacao is many things to most people. To the farmer, it is an important tropical perennial tree crop which generates his income for the upkeep of his family and himself. It has helped him raise his standard of living over the years. To the governments of many developing countries, it remains a premier cash crop whose exports provide much-needed foreign exchange for financing capital projects. To the cocoa manufacturers, it is a food taken for pleasure, but which has a high nutritive value making it a supplement to a balanced diet. To the researchers, whose primary concern is to ensure its continued existence with better performance, it is a fascinating tree crop with numerous challenges for each category of specialists", (Are and Gwynne-Jones 1974:1).*

### **1.5.2 Cocoa growing conditions and zones in the world**

Cocoa is an evergreen, lower-canopy and a forest crop growing mainly in the tropical climatic regions. It grows best in places with a temperature average of 24 to 28 degrees Celsius (Acquaah 1999). It is therefore ideally and strictly a *tropical plant* thriving only in hot and rainy climates. Transplanted seedlings need proper shade against the hot sun and strong winds, thus, *lush vegetation* as canopy to provide adequate shading for the trees. In some instances seedlings often are planted in the shelter of taller mother crops such as banana, plantain, coconut and rubber to provide shade. Moreover, cocoa does not thrive in every soil. It requires soils which are deep and easily penetrated by the tap roots of the trees, well drained and water retentive to some extent, total pore spaces of between 60 to 70 per cent for proper aeration, nutritious with a pH value not below 6.0 and not exceeding 7.5 (Are and Gwynne 19:40). The cocoa tree gets matured and starts yielding pods containing the

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<sup>13</sup> [http://worldagroforestry.org/treesandmarkets/inforesta/documents/agrof\\_cons\\_biodiv/Ch.3Growing-Cocoa-Beans.pdf](http://worldagroforestry.org/treesandmarkets/inforesta/documents/agrof_cons_biodiv/Ch.3Growing-Cocoa-Beans.pdf).

beans approximately three to four years and a pod contains between 30 to 50 beans.<sup>14</sup> Cocoa business dominated by smallholder producers is now grown in some 50 tropical countries (Lass 2004). According to Acquah (1999), cocoa is grown under the following regions with their respective countries in table 3 below.

Table 3: Regions and respective countries for cocoa cultivation in the world.

Regions	Countries
Central America	Mexico, Guatemala, El Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua, Costa Rica and Panama.
South America	Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, Bolivia, Venezuela, Surinam and Brazil.
Caribbean	Haiti, Cuba, Grenada, Dominica, St. Lucia, Jamaica, Trinidad and Tobago.
Africa	Ghana, La Cote d'Ivoire, Nigeria, Sierra Leone, Liberia, Togo, Benin, Cameroon, DR Congo, Angola, Kenya, Uganda, Equatorial Guinea, Sao Tome, Principe, Madagascar, The Comoros, the Mascarenes (Islands of Mauritius, Reunion and Rodrigues) and Seychelles.
Asia	Sri Lanka, Philippines, Samoa, Indonesia, Malaysia and Papua New Guinea.

Source: Acquah (1999:1).

<sup>14</sup> [http://www.cocoafarming.org.uk/cocoa\\_farming\\_bw\\_v8\\_uk.pdf](http://www.cocoafarming.org.uk/cocoa_farming_bw_v8_uk.pdf)

### 1.5.3 Introduction of cocoa in Africa

"The introduction of cocoa into Africa dates back from the 16th or 17th century, but it was only towards the end of the 19th century that the cocoa industry began to be of importance" (Acquaah 1999:12). According to Wood and Lass (2008), the *almelonado* specie of cocoa was introduced to the Portuguese island of São Tome off the west coast of Africa from Bahia in 1822 following the independence of Brazil and it was then after that it found its way into Fernando Po<sup>15</sup> in 1855 before Ghana and Nigeria also experienced its introduction which formed the basis of its spread in West Africa. Fernando Po and Rio Muni now constitute the independent country called Equatorial Guinea. Fernando Po is important in the history of cacao in West Africa (Are and Gwynne Jones 1974). Meanwhile, Acquaah (1999), indicates that, the cocoa tree was planted in Madagascar in 1800 by the French but Chatt (1953), notes that, exports from there were only on small-scale.

It is evidently clear that present day Equatorial Guinea was the first home of cocoa in Africa. However, current trends show that Côte d'Ivoire (the world's largest producer), Ghana, Nigeria and Cameroon are the main producing countries on the continent which together produce more than 70 per cent of the world's total supply. For instance in 2007 the total area under cultivation worldwide stood at 7,415,081 hectares with production standing at 4,043,784 metric tonnes. Out of this, Africa cultivated 4,738,232 hectares, while producing 2,614,749 metric tonnes.<sup>16</sup>

Table 4: Trends of cocoa production in Africa from 2007 to 2012.

Total Production (000 tonnes) In Africa over the years	2007-2008	2008-2009	2009-2010	2010-2011	2011-2012
Cameroon	188	210	205	230	220
Cote d'Ivoire	1431	1234	1181	1668	1400
Ghana	730	730	740	860	870
Nigeria	200	210	230	240	230
Others	55	67	69	78	81
Total	2603	2452	2428	3076	2801

Source: <http://worldcocoaoundation.org/wp-content/uploads/Cocoa-Market-Update-as-of-3.20.2012.pdf>

<sup>15</sup> Fernando Po is part of the present day Equatorial Guinea.

<sup>16</sup> <http://www.mbendi.com/indy/agff/coco/af/p0005.htm>

#### **1.5.4 Introduction of cocoa in Ghana**

Though the Basel Missionaries working under the Danish government were the first to introduce cocoa to Ghana in 1857, their attempt to spread its growth from Akropong in the Eastern region into other parts of the present day cultivating areas could not materialise until Tetteh Quarshie, a Ga blacksmith from Christianborg, played an instrumental role in its spread and subsequent development in Ghana. This good news of Tetteh Quarshie was in 1879 from the island of Fernando Po (Bioko in Equatorial Guinea) where he worked on cocoa plantation (Dand 1997). Tetteh Quarshie's spread of cocoa also began in Mampong Akuapin in the eastern region where he established a cocoa nursery and sold out the cocoa seedlings to local farmers (Polly 1963), who are purported to be the basis for the spread of Ghana's cocoa industry as cocoa began to spread to other areas within Eastern region as well as Ashanti, Western and Brong Ahafo regions where the crop is currently cultivated most.

Ghana's first batch of cocoa export was in 1891 and by 1910 the country produced more cocoa than any other country for a total of 40,000 tonnes. Since its introduction in the late 19th century, the evolution of cocoa has followed major expansions (Kolavalli and Vigneri 2011), involving thousands of small-scale producers making the cocoa industry the live-wire of Ghana's economy.

#### **1.5.5 Cocoa growing conditions in Ghana**

Ghana is situated in the tropical equatorial climatic belt. It has different vegetation belts among which are the tropical rain forest and the semi-deciduous forest all located in the southern part of the country. These two forest vegetations form the home of cocoa cultivation in the country. These vegetations which are found in the Ashanti, Eastern, Western, as well as parts of Brong Ahafo, Central and Volta regions have the forest ochrosol and oxysol soil types which have loamy features and well drained favourable for cocoa production. These areas also enjoy warm temperatures between 25 and 26 degrees Celsius coupled with annual rainfall average of between 127 and 178 cm and dry seasons of not more than three to four months. The areas also have a relative humidity range between 70 to 80 per cent. The trees in these forest belts provide shade for cocoa trees.

### 1.5.6 Cocoa: from cultivation to marketing in Ghana

In Ghana cocoa producers who are either owner-operators or *abunu* and *abusa* sharecroppers after land acquisition clear it and fell some of the trees on the land while some trees are left mostly during the dry season. However, not all trees are desirable to provide shade. The table below explains the desirable and undesirable trees.

Table 5: Desirable and undesirable trees for shade on cocoa farms.

Desirable shade trees	Undesirable shade trees
1. <i>Terminalia ivorensis</i> ( <i>amire</i> )	1. <i>Ceiba petandra</i> ( <i>onyina</i> )
2. <i>Terminalia superba</i> ( <i>ofram</i> )	2. <i>Cola gigantea</i> ( <i>watapu</i> )
3. <i>Albizia coriaria</i> ( <i>awiemfuo samina</i> )	3. <i>Cola chlamydantha</i> ( <i>kra bise</i> )
4. <i>Entandrophragma angolense</i> cedar ( <i>adinam</i> )	4. <i>Adansonia digitata</i> ( <i>odadee</i> )
5. <i>Funtumia elastica</i> ( <i>ofuntum</i> )	5. <i>Blighia sapida</i> ( <i>akyewobiri</i> )
6. <i>Alstonia bonei</i> ( <i>nyamedua</i> )	6. <i>Canthium glabriflorum</i> ( <i>gyapam</i> )
7. <i>Pycnanthus angolensis</i> ( <i>otie</i> )	7. <i>Musanga cecropoides</i> ( <i>odwuma</i> )
8. <i>Milicia excelsa</i> ( <i>odum</i> )	8. <i>Carapa procera</i> ( <i>kwakuo bise</i> )
9. <i>Spathodea campanulata</i> ( <i>kukuoninsuo</i> )	9. <i>Lecaniodiscus cupanoides</i> ( <i>dwindwera</i> )
10. <i>Ficus exasperata</i> ( <i>nyankeren</i> )	10. <i>Myrianthus arboreus</i> ( <i>nyankuma</i> )

Source: Cocoa manual, Ghana.

After the land is prepared, the farmer either plants at stake fresh cocoa beans directly on the farm or transplants seedlings from the nursery. This is mainly done between May and middle of July when the first maximum of rainfall is experienced. Transplanted seedlings raised from nurseries could be in the form of raised beds or in polythene bags. In either case, temporary shades are erected particularly from palm fronds and the nursed seeds should be watered daily before and after germination of the seeds into seedlings and until the seedlings are transplanted onto the farm. Sticks are put beside seedlings on farms for identification purposes. The farmer controls weeds on the farm constantly. In about three to four years depending on the type of species cultivated, some cocoa trees start bearing fruits. The

improved hybrid<sup>17</sup> types developed by CRIG which have higher resistance to *capsid* pest and black pod disease and high yielding in nature, start bearing fruits in two years after transplanting (CRIG 2010:8).

Generally, there are two cocoa crop seasons (harvesting periods) within each year in Ghana. The *main crop* and the *mid-crop* seasons in October-March and May-August respectively (CRIG 2010). The pods are harvested or plucked with cutlass or sickle-shaped knives known as harvesting or pruning hooks with labour from farmers themselves, family, friends or hired ones. After plucking, the healthy pods are heaped together using baskets and they are split open for the beans at a central breaking point on the farm while diseased and rodent damaged ones are removed. Farmers use wooden clubs, cutlasses or stones in breaking the pods normally within two to three days after harvesting. Some people strike two pods together to break them. Fermentation takes place within six to seven days after the beans are scooped from the pods among cocoa producers in Ghana. According to CRIG (2010), the purpose of fermentation is to develop chocolate precursors (flavour and aroma) in the beans (CRIG 2010:48). Types of fermentation include basket, heap, sweat box and tray types. The first two methods are more traditional and the most common among the small-scale producers while the last two modern types are respectively common among plantation owners and government farms/research stations (Are and Gwynne-Jones 1974). Chatt indicated that, "whatever method is employed, the satisfactory fermentation will only take place under conditions which maintain the heat, allow the sweating to drain off and provide adequate access of air," (1953:93). The last preparatory stage of the cocoa beans before sales is the drying stage. In Ghana farmers commonly dry the beans on tough raffia frond mats (Manu 1989). This is done to reduce the moisture content of the beans to about six per cent and also to retain the chocolate flavour and proper drying could convert beans of 45 kg to about 18 kg (Are and Gwynne-Jones 1974). According to CRIG (2010), the moisture content could be reduced by 55 to 57 per cent. Drying could be either by sun or mechanical (artificial) method. The former which is a common practice in Ghana is done as producers stir the beans from time to time with their hand ensuring equal drying of all the beans and removal of bad beans (germinated, flat and black beans) and foreign matter. In the drying period, the beans are covered in the evenings for protection against rainfall and the minimum period is seven days depending on the intensity of the sunshine. The dried beans are then cleaned of any

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<sup>17</sup> hybrid cocoa is done at the seed gardens as crosses between male and female parent clones of desirable qualities are pollinated manually (by hand). the two parent clones are developed or planted in separate plots called monoclonal gardens.

extraneous matter as they are bagged into strong jute bags and sent to the nearest purchasing company for sale based on the producers' own discretion.

### 1.5.7 A skeletal picture of Ghana's cocoa production over the years.

Kolavalli and Vigneri (2011) have categorized the development of cocoa in Ghana into 4 phases as follows: Introduction and exponential growth (1888-1937), Stagnation and growth post-independence (1938-1964), the down turn (1964-1982) Recovery and expansion (1983-2008). These developments are illustrated in Figure 2 below.

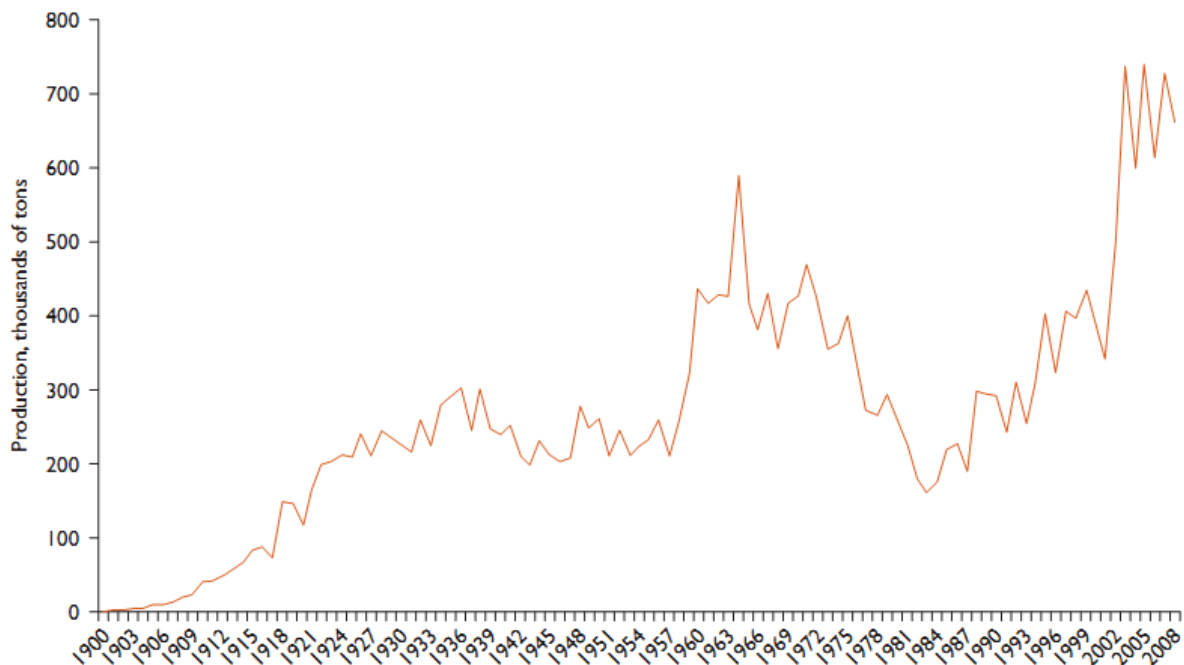


Figure 2: Ghana's cocoa production 1900-2008.

Source: Kolavalli and Vigneri (2011).

Again, the figure 3 below depicts in metric tonnes the quantity of cocoa production in Ghana from 2005 to 2012.

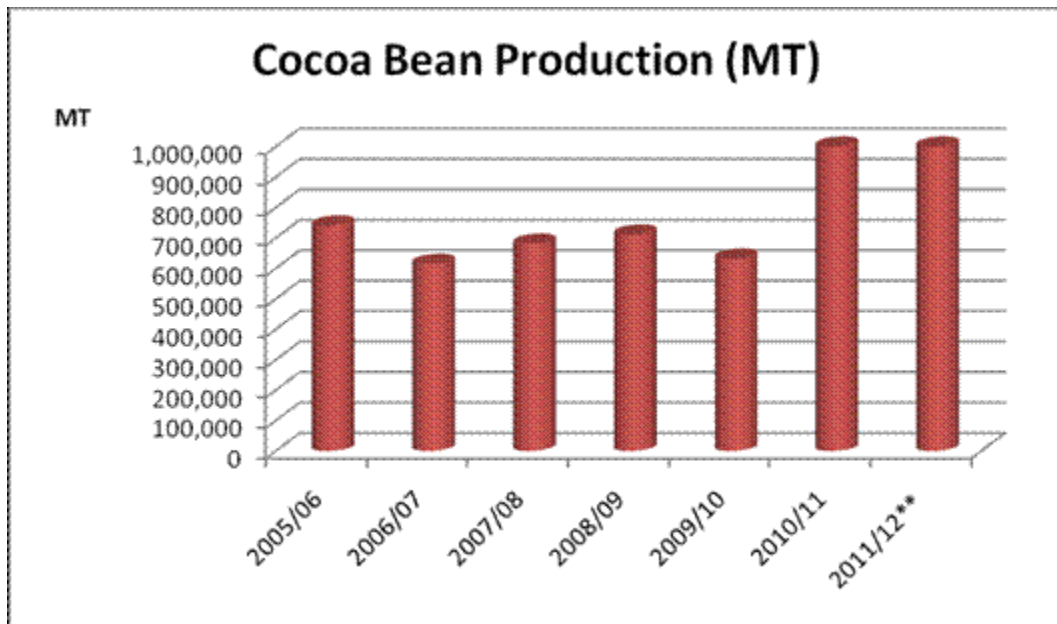


Figure 3: Cocoa production in metric tonnes (MT) since 2005 in Ghana.

Source: Ghana Cocoa Board. \*\*Post Projections.

### 1.5.8 The structure and reforms of Ghana's cocoa sector

Until the World War II ended, the cocoa sector in Ghana was dominated by private international manufacturing and processing companies. In order to gain state control over the sector, the British government which was then in charge of affairs took over the purchasing power of the sector. The government then established the Cocoa Marketing Board (CMB) known currently as COCOBOD in 1947 to control all exports in the sector through the Cocoa Marketing Company (CMC) which is its subsidiary unit (Lundstedt and Pärssinen 2009). A lot of licensed buying companies (LBCs) operated on the internal market as buying and transportation companies for the CMB. However, COCOBOD remained the sole determinant of prices and buyer of cocoa until 1993 when World Bank through the Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs) sought to liberalize the sector. But this partially materialised as there was a halt of the purchasing monopoly or the move away from the unitary purchasing system COCOBOD enjoyed over the years through PBC (Vigneri and Santos 2007). The liberalisation aimed at introducing competition on the internal marketing of cocoa and to improve operational and financial performance coupled with the opening up for the possibility of paying higher competitive producer prices to farmers (Lundstedt and Pärssinen 2009). This paved way for Licensed Buying Companies to come on board to purchase the



beans but still under the quality control stewardship of COCOBOD.<sup>18</sup> However, purchasing which is now at the doorstep of the producers with the presence of the numerous LCBs has done away with high cost of transporting the beans over long distances before reaching a purchaser though producers still maintain their own choices of marketing. According to World Bank (2011), cocoa producers now supply beans to 28 private LCBs including the PBC a subsidiary of COCOBOD.

Moreover, other implemented programmes by various governments aimed at increasing the cocoa production level in the country included the Eastern Region Cocoa Project which was implemented at a total cost of US\$ 15.6 million between 1970 and 1979. Its purpose was to rehabilitate about 20,000 hectares of existing farms while replanting 14,000 hectares of farms where the crop had died or was seriously diseased. Again farmers received training in the project area on improved methods of cocoa production and feeder roads were maintained. At the end of the project, about 15,000 hectares of cocoa farms (75 per cent of target) had been rehabilitated and 13,000 hectares replanted (92 per cent of target), (Amoah 1998 and Dormon 2006).

Furthermore, from 1976 to 1982 the Ashanti Region Cocoa Project was also implemented at a cost of US\$21.9 million with credit provision to farmers to replant 17,000 hectares of cocoa farms using high yielding varieties, farmers' training in better production techniques, and equipment availability was made for the maintenance of feeder roads. In the end of these two cocoa projects, about 30,000 hectares of cocoa farms were planted with high yielding varieties (Dormon 2006).

Again, to increase cocoa production and yield to stabilise output at 300,000 tonnes annually, the cocoa rehabilitation project, was implemented from 1988 to 1993 at an initial estimated cost of US\$ 128 million. CRIG therefore provided funds for technical and extension services, supported hybrid seed production and distribution, controlled swollen shoot virus disease, and research activities. The ultimate objective of stabilising annual production levels at 300,000 metric tonnes was exceeded during the 1992/93 crop season with the production of 312,000 metric tonnes. Favourable government macro-economic policy of better producer prices for cocoa during that time rekindled producers' interest in cocoa production and many

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<sup>18</sup>[http://www.bwpi.manchester.ac.uk/research/ResearchProgrammes/businessfordevelopment/mapping\\_sustainable\\_production\\_in\\_ghanaia\\_n\\_cocoa.pdf](http://www.bwpi.manchester.ac.uk/research/ResearchProgrammes/businessfordevelopment/mapping_sustainable_production_in_ghanaia_n_cocoa.pdf).

producers returned to their abandoned cocoa farms to rehabilitate them (Amoah 1998 and Dormon).

In the Cocoa Sector Development Strategy (CSDS), a production target of 700,000 metric tonnes was set to be achieved by 2010 by the government through COCOBOD (Dormon 2006). Measures (policy and organisational reforms) put in place were to increase producer prices as an incentive for farmers to produce more cocoa, to enforce the liberalisation of the internal marketing of cocoa which was already in existence and also to shift extension services from COCOBOD to MoFA with the objective of ensuring effective and efficient delivery of extension services to all farmers. To kick start achieving the CSDS, in 2001 the government introduced the Cocoa Disease and Pest Control programme (CODAPEP) popularly known as 'mass spraying exercise' to overcome the low adoption level of recommended pest and disease control measures by producers and it basically involved the spraying of all cocoa farms. This rejuvenated cocoa production in Ghana by raising output levels higher (Abankwa *et al.* 2010). According to Leston (1974), a similar one took place in the country as far back as 1956. In 2003, the cocoa 'hi-tech' program was introduced on a pilot basis in 46 districts across the six cocoa growing regions. Initially, it covered 50,000 producers and a total area of 40,000 hectares and increased to cover 125,000 farmers in 2004 with a total area of 100,000 hectares. This was a credit package under which fertiliser, insecticides to control *capsids* and fungicides for controlling the black pod disease were provided to producers. As part of this programme, extension officer also advise cocoa producers to clear weeds, remove mistletoes, and adopt proper shade management on their farms (Dormon 2006).

### **1.5.9 The functions of COCOBOD of Ghana and its subsidiaries**

- ❖ COCOBOD: regulated by PNDCL 81 an Act of Parliament and the International Cocoa Agreement legal powers, promotes and regulates the production and marketing of cocoa and also monitors all stakeholders' operations including those of other organizations working to promote the interest of cocoa in Ghana.
- ❖ **The Cocoa Research Institute of Ghana (CRIG):** responsible for research into all aspects of cocoa production as well as coffee, kola, sheanut and other indigenous oil tree crops which produce fats similar to cocoa butter. It conducts research in seven scientific divisions, these are: Agronomy/Soil Science, Plant Breeding, Entomology,

Plant Pathology, Physiology/Biochemistry, Social Science and Statistics and New Products Development.

- ❖ **Cocoa Marketing Company (CMC):** it is a wholly-owned subsidiary of the Ghana Cocoa Board and has the sole responsibility for the sale and export of cocoa beans in the country. It also sells some of the cocoa products from the Cocoa Processing Companies in Ghana to overseas destinations.
- ❖ **Produce Buying Company (PBC):** subsidiary of COCOBOD responsible for purchasing of cocoa beans competing with LCBs.
- ❖ **The Quality Control Division:** a subsidiary of COCOBOD is responsible for the final quality checks of cocoa beans by maintaining the quality of cocoa and other exportable crops such as coffee and sheanut.
- ❖ **The Seed Production Unit:** responsible for the multiplication and distribution of improved cocoa planting materials to farmers and maintenance of seed gardens at twenty-two of the twenty-four cocoa stations in the country.
- ❖ **Cocoa Swollen Shoot Virus Disease Control Unit:** is responsible for the survey and control of the Cocoa Swollen Shoot Virus disease (CSSV) by removal and destruction of swollen shoot diseased cocoa trees from the farms and supply the farmers with the swollen shoot disease resistant hybrid for replanting.

The following diagram is a model showing public/private partnership of cocoa production in Ghana:

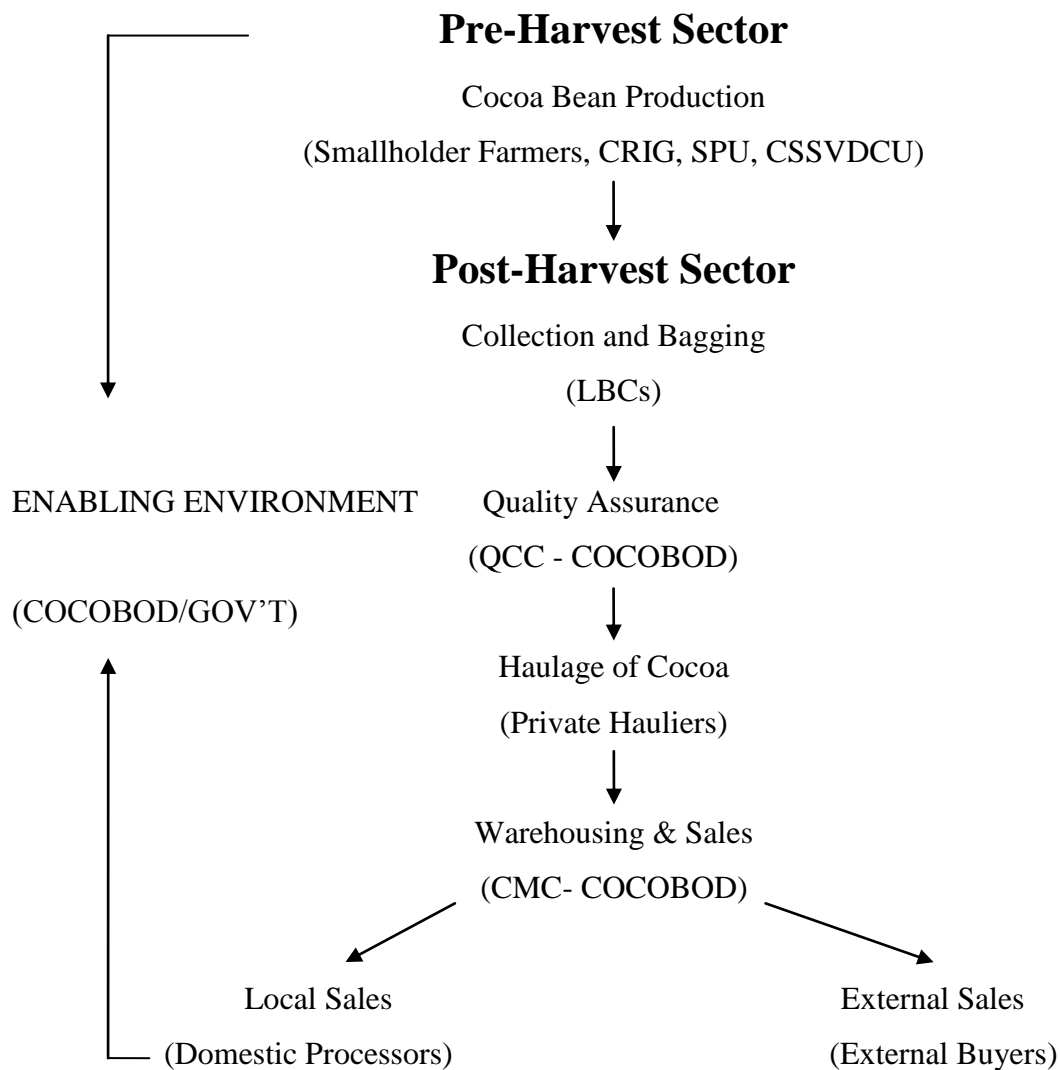


Figure 4: A model of public/private partnership of cocoa production in Ghana.

Source: [http://www.suedwindinstitut.de/fileadmin/fuerSuedwind/Publikationen/2011/Kakaotagung\\_2.1\\_Emanuel\\_Opoku\\_Potentials\\_for\\_fair\\_market\\_structures\\_in\\_Ghana\\_s\\_cocoa\\_industry.pdf](http://www.suedwindinstitut.de/fileadmin/fuerSuedwind/Publikationen/2011/Kakaotagung_2.1_Emanuel_Opoku_Potentials_for_fair_market_structures_in_Ghana_s_cocoa_industry.pdf)

## 1.6 Conclusion

This chapter has given the rationale of this research work and the trend of cocoa production in the world, Africa and Ghana. Much emphasis is placed on the gains and losses in Ghana and the policy directions which have been implemented before and after independence by various governments to improve cocoa production in Ghana over the years. Available data point to the fact that Ghana as a whole has reaped significant profit from generated revenues

from the cocoa sector notwithstanding the challenges which have bedevilled production processes over the years.

## CHAPTER TWO

### THEORY

#### 2.0 Introduction

This chapter focuses on the theories of motivation and rational choice. It explores on the ideals these theories implicitly and explicitly profound and link these ideals to the very factors, both economic and non-economic motivating the small-scale cocoa producers in the study area in continuous cocoa production and linking those motivating factors to the fact that they are the most rational choices (reasons) the producers bank on or make as they are the right reasons to the best of their ability. All things being equal, people make choices at certain points in time which best suit their whims and caprices. Such choices to them are rational because the reasons underlying them satisfy or meet even if not all, some needs of theirs. However, such choices are influenced by different kinds of motivations, which could either be intrinsic or extrinsic motivations. The researcher relies on both the intrinsic and extrinsic motivations and contends that as human as the small-scale cocoa producers are, they are also motivated by intrinsic and extrinsic factors. But such factors are classified by the researcher as economic and non-economic motivational factors. However, the researcher admits that those factors which influence the farmers are rationally considered choices in spite of the many challenges which also de-motivate them in the course of their work as cocoa producers.

#### 2.1 Motivational theory

The existence of an integrated decision-making apparatus in the human brain itself is predicted by evolutionary theory. The fitness of an organism depends on how effectively it makes choices in an uncertain and varying environment. Effective choice must be a function of the organism's state of knowledge, which consists of the information supplied by the sensory inputs that monitor the organism's internal states and its external environment.<sup>19</sup>

Schacter (2011:325) describes motivation as, "a psychological feature that induces an organism to act towards a desired goal and elicits controls and sustains certain goal-directed behaviours." However, motivation is not a goal in itself but should serve to support firms',

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<sup>19</sup> <http://www.umass.edu/preferen/Game%20Theory%20for%20the%20Behavioral%20Sciences/BOR%20Public/BOR%20Decision%20Theory%20and%20Human%20Behavior.pdf>

peoples' and individuals' goals (Osterloh and Frey 2000). It can be considered a driving force, thus, a psychological one that compels or reinforces an action towards a desired goal. For example, hunger is a motivation that elicits a desire to eat. Motivation is the purpose or psychological cause of an action.<sup>20</sup> The overall basic perspectives of motivation are *needs*, *behaviour* and *satisfaction*. This implies that every individual has certain wants otherwise called needs which push them to act in a certain manner or way describing behaviour and hence in the course of acting, gaining sense of well-being or gratification, thus satisfaction.<sup>21</sup> In the case of this research, some of the needs of the small-scale cocoa producers among others are employment, income, profit, social recognition and respect which motivates them to continuously produce cocoa on small-scale. However, the researcher believes that human beings are rational and that their behaviour is guided by reason which makes them behave in rational ways so as to achieve their satisfaction. Therefore, it is the position of the researcher that all the factors being them economic or non-economic, which have been provided by the interviewees as motivating them in continuous cocoa production, are rational in character.

Motivation can be distinguished into two types as in Self Determination Theory (SDT; Deci and Ryan 1985) based on the different reasons or goals that give rise to an action like in the case of this research work whereby different reasons or goals motivate the small-scale cocoa producers into continuous cocoa production. Thus, intrinsic (internal) motivation and extrinsic (external) motivation. In other words, while some employees and entrepreneurs just like the small-scale cocoa producers are intrinsically motivated, others are also extrinsically motivated (Osterloh and Frey 2000). Some contemporary theories of motivation assume that people initiate and persist at behaviours to the extent that they believe the behaviours will lead to desired outcomes or goals (Deci and Ryan 2000). The researcher dwelling on this idea of motivation believes that, the small-scale cocoa producers just like any other individuals also have some needs (political, religious, cultural, social and economic) and in their bid to attain them, they are motivated by factors within themselves and external ones which make them produce cocoa and in the end the outcome of their investments gets them satisfaction.

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<sup>20</sup> <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Motivation> (Last assessed on 13/01/2014)

<sup>21</sup> <http://www.analytictech.com/mb021/motivation.htm>

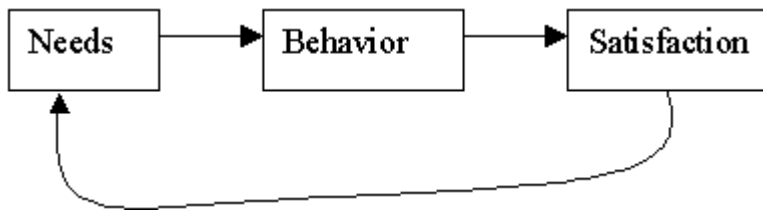


Figure 5: Components of motivation.

Source: Adopted from <http://www.analytictech.com/mb021/motivation.htm> (Date: 13/01/2014)

### 2.1.1 Intrinsic motivation

"People's self-efficacy beliefs determine their level of motivation, as reflected in how much effort they will exert in an endeavour and how long they will persevere in the face of obstacles. The stronger the belief in their capabilities, the greater and more persistent are their efforts," (Bandura 1988a:1175 and Bandura 1989:1175). Among the small-scale cocoa producers, the taste, love, skills and interest for cocoa production coupled with other factors urge them to continuously produce cocoa. However, people who are bedecked with self-doubts about their potentials could prematurely abandon their efforts and make choices which are uninspiring while people with great and strong belief in their potentials entertain the spirit of tenacity to master their decision making challenges (Bandura and Cervone 1983; Bandura and Cervone 1986).

Ryan and Deci (2000), argue that, intrinsic motivation is doing an activity for its inherent satisfactions rather than for some separable consequence. When a person is intrinsically motivated they are moved to act for the fun or challenge entailed rather than because of external prods, pressures, or rewards at their disposal. Intrinsic motivation could be referred to as an activity undertaken for one's immediate need and satisfaction (Osterloh and Frey 2000). Intrinsic motivation according to Calder and Staw (1975:599), "is valued for its own sake and appears to be self sustained." This is an interest or enjoyment of an action driven by or existing within oneself devoid of any external pressures or a desire for reward from an external source.<sup>22</sup>

This type of motivational theory was first acknowledged within experimental studies of animal behaviour which was made evident that, the organisms would engage in playful and

<sup>22</sup> [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Motivation#Rational\\_motivations](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Motivation#Rational_motivations)



curiosity driven kinds of behaviours in the absence of reward (White 1959). Is a natural motivational tendency and is a critical element in cognitive, social, and physical development (Ryan and Deci 2000). Wigfield *et al.* (2004), indicate that, people who are intrinsically motivated are more likely to engage in their tasks willingly as well as work to improve their skills, which will increase their capabilities. They also believe that, all people like ordinary students are more likely to be intrinsically motivated under the following conditions:

- If they attribute their educational results to factors under their own control, also known as autonomy.
- If they believe they have the skills to be effective agents in reaching their desired goals, also known as self-efficacy beliefs.
- If they are interested in mastering a topic, not just in achieving good grades.<sup>23</sup>

In view of this idea, it could be asserted that once the small-scale cocoa producers could have: strong command over their farming activities to remain autonomous and the required skills in cocoa production and interest in mastering their skills, they could be motivated to keep on continuously producing cocoa. Again, Ryan and Deci (2000:56), argue that, "in humans, intrinsic motivation is not the only form of motivation, or even of volitional activity, but it is a pervasive and important one. From birth onward, humans, in their healthiest states, are active, inquisitive, curious, and playful creatures, displaying a ubiquitous readiness to learn and explore, and they do not require extraneous incentives to do so."

Vallerand *et al.* (1992), indicate a tripartite taxonomy (three types) of intrinsic motivation in recent times and explain them as follows; intrinsic motivation to *know*, to *accomplish things* and to *experience stimulation*.

*Intrinsic motivation to know*: relates to several constructs such as exploration, curiosity, learning goals, intrinsic motivation to learn, and the epistemic need to know and understand. Thus, it can be defined as performing an activity for the pleasure and the satisfaction that one experiences while learning, exploring, or trying to understand something new. For instance, athletes are intrinsically motivated to know when they try to discover new training techniques for the sheer pleasure they experience while learning something new.

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<sup>23</sup> [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Motivation#Rational\\_motivations](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Motivation#Rational_motivations)

*Intrinsic motivation towards accomplishment:* is defined as engaging in an activity for the pleasure and satisfaction experienced when one attempts to accomplish or create something. Trying to master certain difficult training techniques in order to experience personal satisfaction represents an example of intrinsic motivation to accomplish things in the sport domain.

*Intrinsic Motivation to Experience Stimulation:* this type of intrinsic motivation occurs when someone engages in an activity in order to experience stimulating sensations (e.g., sensory pleasure, aesthetic experiences, as well as fun and excitement) derived from one's engagement in the activity. Research on the dynamic and holistic sensation of flow, on feelings of excitement in intrinsic motivation, on aesthetic stimulating experiences, and peak experiences is representative of this form of intrinsic motivation. Athletes who participate in their sport in order to live exciting experiences are intrinsically motivated to experience stimulation.

### **Shortcomings of intrinsic motivation**

- Undoubtedly, many economists admit the existence of intrinsic motivation (Osterloh and Frey 2000) for example in the form of self-trust (Arrow 1974) and one's firm loyalty (Baker *et al.* 1988), yet they leave it aside because it is said and believed to be, "difficult to analyze and control," (Williamson 1985:64).
- According to Osterloh and Frey (2000), changing intrinsic motivation is more difficult, and the outcome more uncertain, than relying on extrinsic motivation, or carrots and sticks. For this reason, Argyris (1998), posit that, economists as well as managers traditionally prefer a reward and command policy.
- Intrinsic motivation can have an undesirable content. History has it that, some of the most heinous crimes have been motivated intrinsically, at least in part. Envy, vengeance, and the desire to dominate are not less intrinsically motivated than altruism, conscientiousness, and love. All of these motives contribute to immediate satisfaction rather than to achieving externally set goals (Osterloh and Frey 2000).

## **Advantages of intrinsic motivation**

- Unlike extrinsically motivated persons who for instance Schwartz (1990), and Amabile (1996 and 1998), contend that they tend to produce stereotyped repetition of what already works, Osterloh and Frey (2000), argue that intrinsic motivation is needed for tasks that require creativity. For instance, it was evident during the field work through observation by the researcher that, some of the small-scale cocoa producers who believe and trust in themselves revealed that they from time to time seek for clarification from other cocoa farmers who they know have great expertise in the sector and tap some knowledge from them. This laudable move is a self initiative one and result in impacting positively on one's career.
- Deci and Flaste (1995:47), also note that, "experimental research shows that the speed of learning and conceptual understanding are reduced when people are monitored. With extrinsically motivated employees, therefore, the pressure of sanctions leads to lower learning levels and the work performed is more superficial than with intrinsically motivated employees." For instance it was evident during the focus group discussions that, though the ultimate aim of every small-scale cocoa producer among the various motivating factors is to make profit through the income they earn after selling the dry beans. However, per the high cost of labour, maintenance, fertilizer and chemicals among other activities coupled with illiteracy, ignorance, poverty, high cost of living to mention but a few, most of the producers do not seem to make any significant gains in the sector. Yet, because of the love, interest and the desire to remain as cocoa producers, they still stick to the sector without looking much at the external reward(s).
- Intrinsic motivation results in high-quality learning (Ryan and Deci 2000) among people when they engage in tasks. Thus, when people are internally motivated, they tend to pursue their goals with all happiness and therefore result in achieving high-quality results. Undoubtedly, small-scale cocoa producers who express much interest in their work and take self initiatives coupled with others externally motivating factors could always explore and exploit all positive means possible at their disposal to increase yields on their farms. However, there is no denying the fact there they are faced with hydra-headed challenges in the sector.

### 2.1.2 Extrinsic motivation

After early childhood, Ryan and Deci (2000), argue that, strictly speaking most of the activities people do are not intrinsically motivated because such intrinsically motivated freedoms they wield are downsized by other demands and roles which manipulate them to assume responsibilities for non-intrinsically interesting tasks. Extrinsic motivation pertains to a wide variety of behaviours that are engaged in as a means to an end and not for their own sake (Deci 1975). Extrinsic motivation has classically been referred to as any non-self-determined behaviour or prompts such as rewards, fame, food, money among others. In other words Ryan and Deci (2000), contend that, extrinsic motivation refers to doing an activity simply for its instrumental value rather than the enjoyment of the activity itself as it is in intrinsic motivation. However, Ryan *et al.* (1990), recently indicate different types of extrinsic motivation ordered along a self-determination continuum from lower to higher levels as follows; *external regulation*, *introjections* and *identification*.

*External regulation:* This is type of extrinsic motivation which represents any type of human action or behaviour controlled by external or environmental sources. For instance material rewards or constraints imposed by others (Deci and Ryan 1985). A typical case is for instance small-scale cocoa producers who for the sake of getting recognition of social status and fame tend to produce more cocoa in their various communities.

*Introjections:* Under this type of extrinsic motivation, the previously existed external sources of motivation have been internalized such that their actual presence is no longer a priority to trigger an action or behaviour by a person. However, internal pressures such as curiosity and guilt reinforce those human behaviours.

*Identification:* This is an extrinsic motivation which occurs when an individual comes to value and judge how important a behaviour (an action) is and gets involved in that out of their or volition or rational choice to achieve personal goals.

## 2.2 Herzberg's two-factor theory

Frederick Herzberg offers a framework for understanding the motivational implications of work environments. In his **two-factor theory**, Herzberg identifies two sets of factors that impact motivation in the workplace:<sup>24</sup>

- **Hygiene factors** include salary, job security, working conditions, organizational policies, and technical quality of supervision. Although these factors do not motivate employees, they can cause dissatisfaction if they are missing. Something as simple as adding music to the office place or implementing a no-smoking policy can make people less dissatisfied with these aspects of their work. However, these improvements in hygiene factors do not necessarily increase satisfaction.
- **Satisfiers** or **motivators** include such things as responsibility, achievement, growth opportunities, and feelings of recognition, and are the key to job satisfaction and motivation. For example, managers can find out what people really do in their job and make improvements, thus increasing job satisfaction and performance.

Following Herzberg's two-factor theory, managers need to ensure that hygiene factors are adequate and then build satisfiers into job.

## 2.3 The motivations of the entrepreneur

Like the small scale cocoa producers, every entrepreneur is motivated either by some internal or external factors or by both. Arguably, Gassé (1978), notes that the entrepreneur's motivations are not always perceptible, clear and precise and have at times been called into question. However, it has been possible to establish that some personal motivations of the entrepreneur are related to the following:<sup>25</sup>

- (a) The desire to assert oneself, identifying oneself with a piece of work: the business (Filion 1997a and b),
- (b) The desire for independence or autonomy, as the individual has greater freedom of action, creating or acquiring a business (Gibb and Scott 1986); and

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<sup>24</sup> <http://www.cliffsnotes.com/more-subjects/principles-of-management/motivating-and-rewarding-employees/motivation-theories-individual-needs>

<sup>25</sup> <https://workspace.imperial.ac.uk/business-school/Public/GOMEZ%20MEJIA%20-%20The%20entrepreneur%E2%80%99s%20motivation,%20human%20and%20financial%20capital%20as%20determining%20factors%20of%20growth%20for%20new%20companies.pdf>

(c) The need to achieve (McClelland 1971), which materializes in the creation or transformation of a business. However, from the economic point of view the creation of the business can be motivated by the existence of a market opportunity which is an external factor implying a certain degree of innovation or by the entrepreneur's need (internal factor) to generate an income.

## **2.4 Rational choice theory**

This approach which has long been the dominant paradigm in economics is also widely applied by other social scientists in recent decades to understand human behaviour. Rational choice theory conveys the idea that all social action is fundamentally 'rational' or rationally motivated in character and that people calculate the likely costs and benefits of any action before deciding what to do and denies the existence of any kinds of action other than the purely rational and calculative ones. But it has been, however, recognised by some scholars that though people normally act rationally, yet they do so sometimes alongside other forms of irrational actions traditional or habitual action, emotional or effectual action, and various forms of value-oriented action (Scott 2000). Simply put, Vriend (1996), argues that, the fundamental conception of rationality is the 'pursuance of self-interest'.

Basic to all forms of rational choice theory is the assumption that complex social phenomena can be explained in terms of the elementary individual actions of which they are composed where individuals are seen as motivated by the wants or goals that express their preferences. They act within specific, given constraints and on the basis of the information that they have about the conditions under which they are acting. At its simplest, the relationship between preferences and constraints can be seen in the purely technical terms of the relationship of a means to an end. As it is not possible for individuals to achieve all of the various things that they want, they must also make choices in relation to both their goals and the means for attaining these goals. Rational choice theories hold that individuals must anticipate the outcomes of alternative courses of action and calculate that which will be best for them. Rational individuals choose the alternative that is likely to give them the greatest satisfaction (Carling 1992:27; Coleman 1973 and Heath 1976:3).

In as much as the researcher agrees perfectly with the idea that individuals calculate and choose what is best for them in terms of satisfaction, he also holds the view that, also these

individuals' actions are borne out of some factors both within and outside them which motivate them before making any final calculations and decisions about their choices. In the case of this research work, the individuals are the small-scale cocoa producers who like any ordinary human beings have wants also termed *needs* and one of such needs is the desire to produce cocoa among other needs. These cocoa producers strive to achieve this need (cocoa production) in order to get satisfaction and they are driven by both internal and external factors and causes to take action in producing cocoa continuously. However, they behave in a positive manner irrespective of the influence of both the internally and externally motivated factors. Hence calculating the possible outcomes of their cocoa production businesses and making rational choices to produce cocoa.

## **2.5 Complementary model**

The researcher realizes from the above literature on intrinsic and extrinsic motivations that they are all of great importance in all human actions. Therefore, this research work is of the opinion that both the economic and non-economic factors (natural, social and personal factors) which influence the small-scale cocoa producers in continuous cocoa production are of equal importance and influence as they inter-link backward and forward and also complement each other. This is summed up in the figure below.

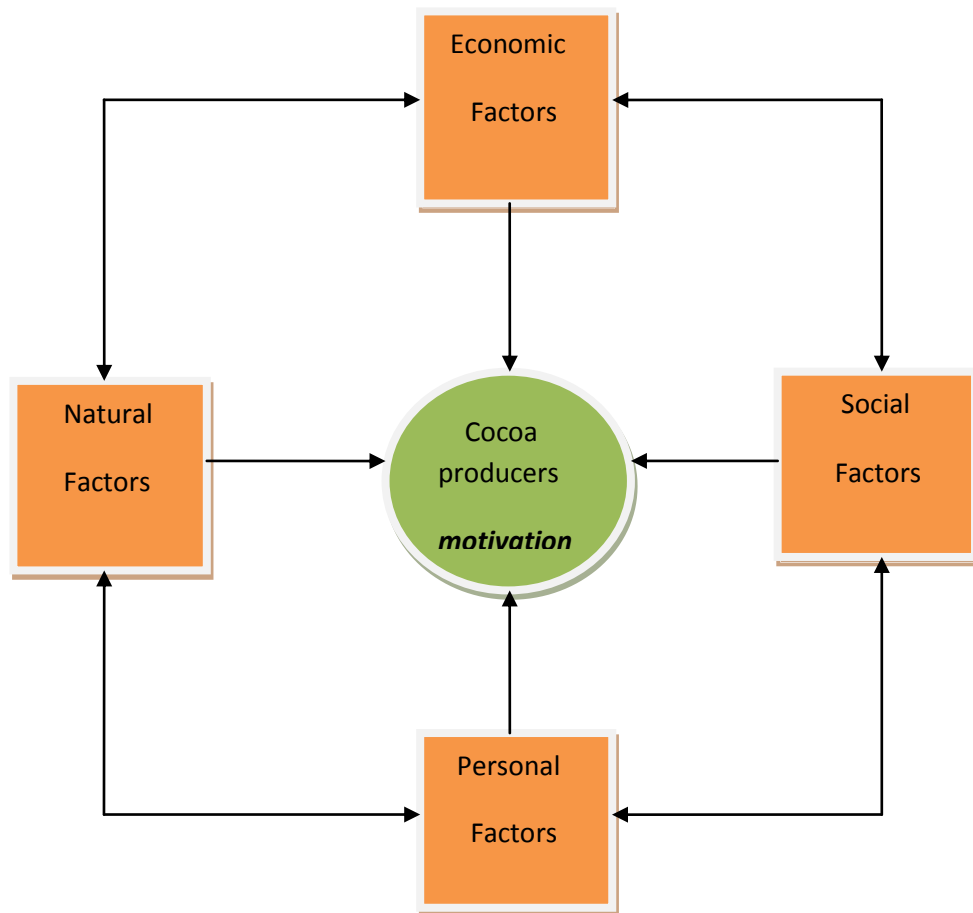
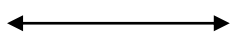


Figure 6: A complementary model.

Source: Researcher's own construct.

### Key

Arrows showing forward and backward linkages



### Motivating factors

- Economic factors
- Non-economic factors
  - Environmental or Natural factors
  - Social and cultural factors
  - Personal factors



## **2.6 Conclusion**

All actions of individuals have root causes either from within or outside them. In either or both case(s) people are prompted to take actions to achieve their satisfaction(s). The small-scale cocoa producers are motivated by some factors which are a combination of internal and external ones and altogether, the researcher through the fieldwork identifies and classifies such causes or factors as 'economic' and 'non-economic' motivational factors prompting them to continuously be in the cocoa production business. "At a deep level all motivations depend on an interaction between external and internal factors—an extrinsic factor like pay will affect behaviour only if individuals have some internal desire for it; an intrinsic factor like 'doing something worthwhile' will affect behaviour only if there is something in the external environment that individuals consider worthwhile," (Heath 1999:27).

## CHAPTER THREE

### METHODOLOGY

#### 3.0 Introduction

This chapter outlines the methods and techniques the researcher employed for collecting all the required data to meet the objectives of this research work. The focus of this research work was to look at the economic and non-economic factors motivating small-scale cocoa producers in continuous cocoa production and again, on the other side of the coin, delve into the factors which de-motivate them in the course their work as cocoa producers. The methodological approach of this research centres on the qualitative research. Further attention is also given to the specific data collected and how useful they are as well as throwing light on selection processes of informants, sources of collected data, ethical and power issues and the limitations to the research and how the researcher coped with them. The issues of credibility and validity are also looked at.

#### 3.1 Research methodology

A research methodology refers to the choice researchers make about cases to study, methods for data collection and forms of data analysis in planning and executing a research (Silverman 2006). The choice of which method to employ is dependent upon the nature of the research problem. Morgan and Smircich (1980), argue that, the actual suitability of a research method derives from the nature of the social phenomena to be explored. According to Noor (2008), there are basically two methodological traditions of research in social science. Thus, positivism and post-positivism (phenomenology). Finch (1986), describes Positivism as an approach to the creation of knowledge through research which emphasizes the model of natural science. The scientist adopts the position of objective researcher, who collects facts about the social world and then builds up an explanation of social life by arranging such facts in a chain of causality. In other words, the positivists who employ quantitative research hold that all actions and/or behaviour in any kind can best be explained through objective facts (Firestone 1987). In contrast, Easterby-Smith *et al.* (1991) explain that post-positivism is about a reality which is socially constructed rather than objectively determined. Hence the

task of social scientist should not be to gather facts and measure how often certain patterns occur, but to appreciate the different constructions and meanings that people place upon their experience. Positivism which is based on the natural science model of dealing with facts is more closely associated with quantitative method of analysis. On the other hand, post-positivism that deals with understanding the subjectivity of social phenomena, is about a qualitative approach. Though, these two paradigms are rhetorically different both in their inquiry methods and resulting material. However, they complement each other by seeking answers to questions, or to confirm knowledge, to address issues and shape thinking for future action or non-action. Again it is the combination of the two paradigms that will prove effective in revealing a bigger picture of an issue (MSTAT).

This research work follows the post-positivists approach (the qualitative research method) in unearthing the economic and non-economic motivational factors and de-motivational factors in cocoa production on small scale in the study area. Emphasis is placed on the different constructions and meanings that the informants placed upon their experience in the cocoa production business.

### **3.2.0 Qualitative research method**

There seems to be no perfect formula for choosing the satisfactory methods, techniques and tools for a research. However, experiences are being accumulated, recorded in textbooks and guidelines which seem to serve as illustrations of what is or not possible (Mikkelsen 1995). Undoubtedly, a researcher's choice of a methodological approach could depend on the rationale of the research in question by considering generally the kind of questions and how the answers to the questions the researcher explores should be. Debate seems to rage over the justification for using qualitative methods in social science research in general and in development studies in particular. Qualitative research uses a naturalistic approach that seeks to understand phenomena in context-specific settings, such as, "real world setting where the researcher does not attempt to manipulate the phenomenon of interest" (Patton 2001:39). Qualitative research, broadly defined means, "any kind of research that produces findings not arrived at by means of statistical procedures or other means of quantification" (Strauss and Corbin 1990:17) and instead, the kind of research that produces findings arrived from real-world settings where the "phenomenon of interest unfolds naturally" (Patton 2001:39). Unlike quantitative researchers who seek causal determination, prediction, and generalization of

findings, qualitative researchers seek instead illumination, understanding, and extrapolation to similar situations (Hoepfl 1997).

Qualitative research takes an in-depth approach to the phenomenon it studies in order to understand it more thoroughly (MSTAT). In their words, qualitative research according to Denzin and Lincoln (1994) implies an emphasis on processes and meanings that are not rigorously examined, measured (if measured at all), in terms of quantity, amount, intensity, or frequency. Thus, there are instances, particularly in the social sciences, where researchers are interested in insight, discovery, and interpretation rather than hypothesis testing. The qualitative approach provides a multiplicity of methods and techniques, otherwise called triangulation, that help in simultaneously displaying multiple diffracted realities of the world toward an “in-depth understanding of the phenomenon in question” (Denzin and Lincoln 2005). Also, according to Mason (2002), qualitative research is grounded in a philosophical position which is broadly ‘interpretive’ in the sense that it is concerned with how the social world is interpreted, understood, experienced, produced or constituted. It is based on methods of data generation, analysis, explanation and argument building which involve understandings of complexity, detail and context aimed at producing rounded and contextual understandings from rich, nuanced detailed data.

In spite of these gains, qualitative research method has been criticised that, it remains a promise to avoid or downplay statistical techniques used in quantitative studies (Silverman 2006). Again, it is said to be full of biases because of the subjective nature of the researcher therefore lacking scientific rigour. To label an approach as ‘unscientific’ is peculiarly damning in an era when scientific knowledge is generally regarded as the highest form of knowing. Again qualitative research is said to be merely an assembly of anecdote and personal impressions, strongly subject to researcher bias and it lacks reproducibility, thus, the research is so personal to the researcher that there is no guarantee that a different researcher would not come to radically different conclusions hence lacking generalizability (Mays and Pope 1995). Moreover, it is said to generate large amounts of detailed information about a small number of settings. But Firestone (19879), refutes this claim by arguing that through rich descriptions qualitative research persuades by indicating that the researcher immersed themselves in the setting of the research and also by giving the reader enough details to make sense of the situation under consideration. Mays and Pope (1995), not the least also defend qualitative research by asserting that various strategies are available within qualitative research to protect against bias and enhance the reliability of findings.

As it was necessary to fend for detailed information on the economic and non-economic factors motivating small scale cocoa producers to continuously produce cocoa and what factors also de-motivate them, the researcher made in-depth studies in the field. More so, as the researcher was constrained by financial resources and time to engage more people to do the research, he could only thoroughly interview forty five (45) informants and organize two (2) focus group discussions by using a semi-structured questionnaire. Though considering the nature of the population in the study area which stands at 4721 people, the number of interviewed informants was highly non- representative as this is one of the criticisms against qualitative research. However, the researcher was able to reach *saturation point* because he was able to get answers to all that he required to get answers to the research questions through in-depth and repeated interviews with informants. More to the point, the research was not intended to deal with the total population in the study area but with small scale cocoa producers who form a section of the population. Though the number is small and therefore does not pave way for the findings to be generalizable as it is common and the standard aim in quantitative research normally achieved by statistical sampling procedures (Silverman 2000), the findings are transferrable. Again, the researcher is satisfied with the data gathered.

Transferability is a process performed by *readers* of research. Readers note the specifics of the research situation and compare them to the specifics of an environment or situation with which they are familiar. If there are enough similarities between the two situations, readers may be able to infer that the results of the research would be the same or similar in their own situation. In other words, they transfer the results of a study to another context. To do this effectively, readers need to know as much as possible about the original research situation in order to determine whether it is similar to their own. Therefore, researchers must supply a highly detailed description of their research situation and methods such as in the case of this research.

Results of any type of research method can be applied to other situations, but transferability is most relevant to qualitative research methods such as ethnography and case studies. Reports based on these research methods are detailed and specific. However, because they often consider only one subject or one group for instance small scale cocoa farmers as is the case of this research work, researchers who conduct such studies seldom generalize the results to other populations. The detailed nature of the results, however, makes them ideal for

transferability<sup>26</sup>. Some qualitative researchers still resist attributing generalization to only quantitative methods. A case in point is Mason who indicates that; "I do think qualitative researchers should be satisfied with producing explanations which are idiosyncratic or particular to the limited empirical parameters of their study... Qualitative research should [therefore] produce explanations which are *generalizable* in some way, or which have a wider resonance," (1996:6). The researcher agrees with Mason.

Though, one method does not always give a satisfactory answer to a research objective, the researcher was comfortable in using only qualitative method in this research work because of the depth with which answers to the research objectives were carried out. The researcher agrees with Mays and Pope (1995) that there is no super or perfect method in research. Even in quantitative data analysis it is possible to generate statistical representations of phenomena which may or may not be fully justified since, just as in qualitative work, they will depend on the judgment and skill of the researcher and the appropriateness to the question(s) answered of the data collected. All research is selective. Thus, there is no way that the researcher can in any sense capture the literal truth of events. However, a researcher could minimize doubt by ensuring *rigour* (thus to protect against bias and enhance the reliability of the findings). Borrowing the words of Mays and Pope, "the basic strategy to ensure rigour in qualitative research is systematic and self conscious research design, data collection, interpretation, and communication," (1995:109).

### 3.2.1 Interviewing in qualitative research

In a bid to find answers and meanings to causal relationships one could resort to asking a series of questions (Sayer 2000). Interviewing is one of the ways of gaining meanings into reality by asking a series of questions. Interviews in brief are conversation with purpose and as such informants should be purposely selected to answer some specific question. Divergent views exist as to whether what results interviewing should produce. On one hand, **positivists** profess that interviews of any kind should be pure, thus, enacted in a sterilized context such that they closely provide a *mirror reflection* of the reality existing in the social world. But as to whether this could be feasible and desirable has been questioned over the years by some scholars. **Emotionalists** are also of the view that conversely, unstructured and open-ended

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<sup>26</sup> <http://writing.colostate.edu/guides/page.cfm?pageid=1374>

interviewing can elicit **authentic account** of subjective experience. But in a sharp rebuttal, the question is whether such **authentic accounts** could actually be repetitive of familiar cultural tales. **Radical social constructionists** are also of the view that no knowledge about a reality that is out there in the social world can be acquired from interviews because in their opinion interview is obviously and exclusively an interaction between the interviewer and the interviewee in which both create and construct narrative version of the social world Silverman (2010). But Oakley (2003:243-246), points out that, "interviewing is rather like marriage, everybody knows what it is, an awful lot of people do it, and yet behind each closed front door there is a world of secrets." Despite the fact that much of modern sociology could justifiably be considered "the science of the interview," (Benney and Hughes 1970:190), very few sociologists who employ interview data actually bother to describe in detail the process of interviewing itself (Benney and Hughes 1970).

Notwithstanding these, according to Dunn (2010), interviewing is much more than 'having a chat' because it requires careful planning and detailed preparation. Basically, interviewing is seen as a mere conversation or a face-to-face verbal interchange between an interviewer and an interviewee in which the former attempts to elicit information or expression of opinion or belief from the latter (Maccoby and Maccoby 1954:499). The ultimate aim of interviewing is to gather data. Apart from the face-to-face interviews, telephone and e-mail interviews are also common these days. Precisely, in qualitative research, attempts are made to understand the world from the subjects' point of view, to unfold the meaning of peoples' experiences and to uncover their lived world prior to scientific explanation and interviewing is basically a mode of enquiry in acquiring knowledge. Patton (2001) identifies three basic types of qualitative interviewing for research. These include informal conversational interview, the interview guide approach and the standardized open-ended interview. Although these types vary in the format and structure of questioning, they seem to have in common the idea that participant's responses are open-ended and not restricted to choices provided by the interviewer. Again, these interviewing strategies which are best fit for qualitative research work make way for in-depth findings in understanding the live experiences and actions/inactions of others and the meaning(s) they make of such experiences. The fourth type of interview, the closed, fixed-response interview, falls in the domain of quantitative interview. The informal conversational interview may occur spontaneously in the course of fieldwork, and informants may not know that an interview is taking place. Questions emerge

from the immediate context, so the wording of questions and even the topics are not predetermined.

In the case of this research semi-structured type of interviewing was adopted while occasionally, informal conversational interview was also used through face to face as the researcher was personally present on the field after a careful planning and detailed preparations. The informal conversational interviews were occurring spontaneously in the course of fieldwork and informants did not know that interviews were taking place. Questions emerge from the immediate context, so the wording of questions and even the topics are not predetermined. Again, this would be seen as ethically wrong. The major advantage is that the interview is relevant to the individual and this is likely to produce information or insights that the interviewer could not have anticipated. However, since different information is collected from different people, this kind of interview seems not systematic or comprehensive and can be difficult and time-consuming to analyze the data. Therefore, interview guide approach under the semi-structured method of interviewing is the ideal format for qualitative interviewing and for that matter this research work. With this technique, the researcher had an outline of topics or issues to be covered, but was free at the same time to vary the wording and order of the questions. Its advantage is that the data seems systematic and comprehensive while the tone of the interview still remains fairly informal and conversational. Nonetheless, sticking to the outline topics might prevent other vital topics from being raised by informants. Despite being systematic compared to conversational interviews, it might be difficult to compare or analyze data as informants might be responding to somehow different questions. Standardized or structured open-ended interview involves the adherence to a strict script and there seems to be no flexibility in the wording or order of questions. Nevertheless, it is still considered a qualitative interview instead of quantitative interview since responses are open ended. It seems to be the most structured and useful for reducing bias where several interviewers are involved, less experienced or knowledgeable in an issue, and when it becomes important.

Dunn argues that, "even the most competent researcher needs to be reminded during the interview of the issues or events they intend to discuss as one cannot recall all the specific questions and issues to be asked or addressed in an interview" (Dunn 2010:104). This prompted the researcher to use an interview guide which is the list of issues asked. The flexibility in using the guide helped the conversations in the interviews to be natural as the researcher directed the discussions from time to time with coherent questions. The confidence



level of the researcher was high as he had command over the language and the culture of the interviewees. The researcher stuck to using primary questions or opening questions before following up with secondary questions. In an attempt to build rapport with the interviewees particularly on the individual basis, mostly general questions were asked before the specific ones relating to the cocoa producers themselves.

### **3.2.2 Informants' selection**

Informants are the people from the target group of the research objective who are selected for interviews to give their opinions, ideas or answers to issues or questions under consideration in a research. In some instances they are referred to as interviewees or participants. Though it is time consuming, ideally, it is appropriate to do a background work on informants since that will give the researcher the capacity to begin to comprehend the perspective of the informant (Geertz 1973). Nevertheless, this certainty needs to be underpinned by a rigorous process of justification (Hay 2010).

As Mason points out, "your answers to questions about which people to sample should therefore be driven by an interpretative logic which questions and evaluates different ways of classifying people in the light of the particular concerns of your study. Underlying all of this must be a concern to identify who it is that has, does or is the experiences, perspectives, behaviours, practices, identities, personalities, and so on, that your research questions will require you to investigate," (2004:129).

In the case of this research informants were *purposively selected*. Thus the selection was purely on people who were small scale cocoa producers. After identifying the various cocoa producers, some of them were selected while others were also identified through already interviewed informants. This practice is called a *snowball* or *chain* selection. The gate keeper was able to identify a lot of the cocoa producers but not all were considered as the researcher wanted to maintain variance in terms of differences in *age, literacy, gender* and *number of years in the cocoa production business*.

In qualitative research, as emphasis is usually upon an analysis of meanings in specific contexts (Robinson 1998), representativeness is of no importance as there is in quantitative research. Out of the 45 informants interviewed 20 of them were females and 25 males with 5 male key informants. Aside these, 2 focus groups were also organised with a membership of

10 persons in each group. Though time was not on the side of the researcher, yet the researcher was able to reach *saturation point*. Thus, the researcher was able to exhaust all the issues needed to address the objectives of this research work with the selected informants as there was no need to include more people.

That is not to say that, the choice of the number of needed informants was as simple though. Hay (2010), argues that, it is clear, however, that we still face the issue of how many people to talk with but added that the richness of information, its validity and meaning depends on the researcher's abilities but not on the number of selected informants. Patton (2002), on his part also advises that there are few if any rules in qualitative inquiry related to representativeness in the study population and it depends on what is needed in the way of knowledge, on the purpose of the research, on its significance and for whom and on logistics and resources.

### **3.3 Fieldwork**

In a qualitative research, fieldwork is a crucial exercise in acquiring purposely primary data. It is the only way that the depth of knowledge a researcher seeks to acquire on a particular study could be achieved. This information is known as a primary data whereas the other supporting information the researcher may use to complement the primary data from other sources other than the field (interviews, observation and focus group discussions) to find solution(s) to their objective(s) are also known as secondary data. The fieldwork is a tedious exercise particularly for first timers as knowledge is seemingly situated somewhere and the researcher is going for it on silver platter which is never the case. In some instances, some researchers perceive the fieldwork as going out there to observe things and putting the results into writing which is also far from that. However, it involves the process of initiations, where the researcher gradually crosses boundaries separating insiders from outsiders and it is not devoid of some level of insecurity (Sæther 2009).

In actual sense, fieldwork is involving as the researcher has to follow even if not all most of the following steps. Pre-field entry contacts in order to make acquaintances with gatekeepers if the need be and also to get prior knowledge as to whether the setting and the case(s)/ objective(s) of the research is/are researchable or is/are in existence in order to avoid a *null case* situation. Commonly, in corporate interview or research, such contacts prior to the real

field entry stage is very crucial as contacting even one or two persons in the form of phone calls, e-mail notice or letter makes entry more official. In some instances, the researcher could only look for a gatekeeper on arrival in the field depending on the culture and norms in the study area. The procedure to get in contact with all stakeholders and actors in the fieldwork could largely depend on local tradition sometimes. In his work, Hesselberg (2009), notes that, in a rural area it is often necessary first to get permission from the chief/district authority before local level leaders can be approached. He again posits that, it is important to explain carefully that interviews must take place only with the chosen respondents/informants without the participation of a representative from the authorities. Appointments also form part of the research process. This necessitates repeated dialogue and proper scheduled times for individual interviews and focus group discussions.

In the case of this research, contacts were established with a gate keeper and a research assistant before entering into the field in the months of July and August, 2013. The research assistant was necessary as he helped in the recording of the interview in a field notebook and on an audio recorder. That is not to say that the researcher did not also write the responses from informants. Notes were compared and this helped in capturing any information the researcher himself could not get in the course of interviewing. The gate keeper then became the first point of contact. The gatekeeper himself was an experienced cocoa producer over a decade who hails from the study area and has lived there since birth. This gave him an upper hand in connecting the researcher directly to various small-scale producers, thus, males and females, young and aged as well as educated and uneducated of which among the informants with these diverse backgrounds, some were opinion leaders and chiefs. Not downplayed was a consideration in terms of the experience informants had in producing cocoa.

Though, the researcher was familiar with the setting, it was much helpful to have gotten such an experienced gatekeeper. As contacts were easily established and the proper periods to get the small-scale cocoa producers were known, the researcher began with pre-testing of the questions which were in the form of semi-structured questionnaires. This made the researcher learn much about the learning processes in conducting interviews on the field. According to Sæther (2009), doing fieldwork without enough experience requires a learning process characterized by trial and error with the researcher facing an open-ended process which might take an entirely different direction than imagined. In the pre-testing period, not only did the researcher acquaint himself with how best to conduct the interview with the individual cocoa producers but also to make certain how best to record on the audio recorder whenever

permission was granted, the best way to write in order to capture exact information without at the same time wasting too much time and making long periods of pauses when writing. Again, it offered an opportunity to know the amount of time needed for interview sessions, the best way to establish rapport with interviewees during the face-to-face interviews with individuals and groups as well as how to follow the ethical issues on the field and ultimately to find out if the research assistant and the informants really understood the questions and what the whole exercise was about.

After the pre-testing of the questionnaires was over, the main interviews began. The researcher used the common dialect, thus, Asante Twi, in the area since he is a Ghanaian and also speaks the same language. This made it very simple to communicate with the actors on the field and to capture the nuances of their responses. This put the researcher in the position as an **insider** though he does not reside in the area but hails from the same municipality and therefore knows much about the culture and norms of the people. As contacts had been established and the interviews were ongoing, some of the interviewees were selected to be part of the **focus groups and repeated visits**. Meanwhile, from time to time, some chiefs, cocoa purchasing clerks and staff of COCOBOD who were working in the Asunafo Municipality were also interviewed as **key informants** outside the 45 purposively selected informants.

#### **3.4.0 Instruments of data collection**

This research basically used both primary and secondary sources of data. But much emphasis is placed on the former in the analysis of the data. The secondary data used in this research were collected from texts, articles, newspaper reports, Asunafo North Municipal Assembly profile report, cocoa manuals and magazines from Ghana COCOBOD as well as reports from the agric directorate of the Asunafo North municipality. The primary data was obtained through field interviews and observation personally by the researcher. The categories of the interviews included individual (one-on-one or face-to-face) interviews of both key informants and the other informants (thus the small-scale cocoa producers) and the focus group discussion interviews all of which were organised through interview guide. Occasionally, the researcher employed informal conversation interviews.

### **3.4.1 Interview practice and process**

According to Hay (2010), interviews in which both the interviewer and the informant feel at ease usually generate more insightful and more valid data than might otherwise be the case. This becomes possible when a good rapport is built in addition to other factors such as insider - outsider issues and the power relationship between the interviewer and the informants. Qualitative in-depth interviews typically seem like conversations than formal events with predetermined response categories. The researcher explores general topics to help uncover the participant's views, however, they must respect how the informants frame and structure the responses. This method seems to be based on an assumption that the participants' perspective on the phenomenon of interest should unfold as the participant views it (emic perspective) but not as the researcher views it (etic perspective) (Marshall and Rossman 2006:101). The participants' views were regarded as genuine and respected which made most of them feel at ease and made more revelations which were undoubtedly the exact expectations of the researcher. The quality of a research depends on the quality of responses from informants and this was very clear as most informants were cocksure in their responses.

Once negotiations were made and the consent of the informant was sought which is one of the ethical issues in research, the informant was met as scheduled. The first thing the researcher did was self introduction by way of mentioning name and status as a student researcher. The next was how the researcher came by the contact of the informant as well as why the informant is important in this particular research and how long the interview will take and the possibility of repeated visits. By way of culture, appointments were made by mouth through the gate keeper who was part of the people in the study area and this was never a problem to the informants. Meanwhile the letter of introduction from the Department of Sociology and Development Geography, University of Oslo was always shown to informants as part of the introductory process. This was done to make the researcher's presence official after oral appointments.

The open-ended way with which the interviews were conducted gave opportunity for informants to express their feelings on issues though sometimes unrelated to the study but of importance to them. Since the semi-structured method of interviewing is informant focused, this was permitted. However, informants were kept on track when straying. The easy-going nature of the informants due to their culture, the researcher's usage of the same language as the informants and the researcher hailing from the same municipality where the research

community is located made the relationship between them and the researcher empathic. Thus treating them as 'Goddess' of information and insight. According to Douglas (1985), researchers humble themselves before the Goddess and this will not undermine the development of intimate relationship other than the researcher remaining aloof and demanding respect from informants. However, certain standard of professionalism was maintained tactically because the researcher kept at the back of his mind that the interview was still a, "formal process of data gathering in a research," (Hay 2010:115).

The interviews were mostly carried out in the evening between 14:00 and 20:00 GMT Ghana time from Mondays to Saturdays as most of the cocoa producers left their homes early for their farms with the exception of Sundays when interviews could start earlier after church activities. These times were most convenient for informants. Getting informants for interview initially was difficult due to their busy schedules. Nevertheless, the researcher was able to arrange for interviews in the evenings and those who could not be contacted were interviewed on Sundays when most people stayed in the house after church services.

On average each individual interview session lasted for an hour. With the help of the research assistant most of the interviews were recorded on audio recorder after permissions were sought while all responses were also captured into a note book. Most interview sessions ended with direct announcement that, 'the interview has come to an end', by offering handshake by way of thanking the informants.

### **3.4.2 Focus group discussions**

This technique involves convening a group of respondents, usually eight to ten persons, for a more or less open-ended and in-depth discussion about an issue or issues defined by a researcher. In practice, qualitative research has become almost synonymous with the focus group interview (Calder 1977). Originally, focus group discussion was a qualitative research tool adopted to recruit participants in a market research but has now been adopted to include social and applied research. According to Gibbs, a focus group can be defined as a group of individuals selected and assembled by researchers to discuss and comment upon, from personal experience, the topic that is the subject of the research (Gibbs 1997:1). One can detect in several quarters conflicting feelings about the responses from participants but this could be seen as a way of validating the information or data the researcher seeks to acquire.

Again, there is concern about the subjectivity of the technique, and a feeling that any given result might have been different with different respondents, a different moderator, or even a different setting. In spite of these raised issues as the shortcomings of focus group discussion, Zikmund (1997), summarises the advantages of such group discussions as '10 Ss' as follows;

- Synergy - the group process generates a wider range of information than would accrue from a comparable number of depth interviews
- Snowballing - respondent interaction creating a chain of thought and ideas
- Serendipity - a great idea can drop out of the blue
- Stimulation - respondent's views are brought out by the group process
- Security - respondents are more likely to be candid as there will probably be other similar people there, and there is less individual pressure than in a depth interview
- Spontaneity - because no one individual is required to respond to a question, this encourages a spontaneous response when people have a definite point of view.
- Specialisation - a trained moderator can interview more respondents in a given session
- Structure - it is easier for the moderator to reintroduce a topic not adequately covered before than in a depth interview
- Speed - quicker than individual interviews, and
- Scrutiny - can be observed by members of the research team

This research which was informed by the above benefits coupled with the dynamism with which the groups were formed in terms of membership characteristics made the group discussions very meaningful and insightful. It required immense observation skills to make the discussion meaningful. It might appear not good for sensitive personal issues and problems that can generate conflict. For this research, however, the focus group members discussed factors which motivate small-scale cocoa producers in continuous cocoa production and factors which de-motivate the producers which were not sensitive personal issues.

The participants were selected among the identified small-scale cocoa producers taking into consideration age differences, gender, experience in terms of number of years in cocoa production and education. This was done to maintain dynamism in the groups. The

discussions lasted for two and a half hours on the average for each group. Different comments triggered chains of responses but the researcher moderated the discussions tactically to avoid waywardness among participants.

Another beauty of the group discussion was that it served as a check on the information acquired from the individual face-to-face interviews. In order to do away with fear of power differences among members, participants were made aware from the start of the discussion meetings that all views were of equal importance as far as this research work was concerned. Participants who were observed to be quiet were intentionally asked questions in order for them to contribute and when they gave answers the researcher would nod his head to signify that they sounded reasonable and this strategy helped to make all participants outspoken throughout the discussions.

### **3.4.3 Personal observations**

In everyday life, people do watch, look, taste, listen, smell or touch things either visible or invisible. But they do not usually do so to discover particular information from such actions. However, some researchers in their attempt to find answers to their research objectives who consciously watch, smell, taste, smell or touch things to discover particular information over time are seen as observers. Such a research practice is known as observation. Observation is one of the core methods in qualitative research. Hay (2010) argues that, "to regard observation as random or haphazard would be a mistake, however for we never observe everything there is to be seen. He adds that, it is the outcome of active choice rather than a mere exposure," (2010:242). Hay (2010), identifies three purposes of observation as counting, complementing and contextualizing. He describes counting as an enumerative function, complementing as a search for additional descriptive information and contextualizing as an in-depth interpretation of a particular time and place. The researcher used observation purposely to get additional information to complement the data acquired through both the individual and focus group interviews. Some of the issues observed were: the living conditions of the small-scale cocoa producers (housing/accommodation, cloths/dresses, diets), their physical appearances, and maintenance culture on their cocoa farms (weeding, pruning), good and bad cocoa farms, and nursery practices for cocoa seedlings, and some of the farm inputs they use. The researcher in some instances made



known to informants the very things to observe with their support. However, some sensitive issues such as living conditions were also observed without their knowledge.

In fieldwork there is a range of possibilities from observing only, observing more than participating to participating and observing at the same time (Ringdal 2001, Thagaard 2009, Tjora 2010, Fangen 2012). In the case of this research, the researcher only observed. It seems to be a fundamental and important method in qualitative inquiry. It is used to discover complex interactions in natural social settings. It is, however, a method that requires a great deal of the researcher. It is argued that uncomfortable ethical dilemmas and even danger might be encountered. Marshall and Rossman (2006), note that there might be difficulties in managing a relatively unobtrusive role as well as distinguishing the main issues while observing huge amount of fast-moving and complex behaviour.

### **3.5 Data analysis**

Simply put, data analysis involves seeking meanings from a research data. Dey (1993:30), defined data analysis as, "a process of resolving data into its constituent components to reveal its characteristic elements and structure." Qualitative data seem to vary in level of abstraction, frequency of occurrence and relevance to central questions in research. Typical analytic procedures fall into seven phases: organizing the data, immersing in the data, generating categories and themes, coding the data, offering interpretations through analytic memos, searching for alternative understanding and writing report (Marshall and Rossman 2006). One significant tool in the analysis stage is coding which simply denotes identification and organisation of themes in qualitative data for the purposes of reducing or organising and creating searching aids or analysing the data. Qualitative research usually produces a lot of data through interviews, videos or observation which are difficult to interpret. There is therefore the need to reduce the data to facilitate putting meanings into it.

Processing and analysing data for this study began on the field with transcription of the interviews. The researcher after each day of fieldwork coded all the information gathered which was very tedious and time consuming as it took three to four hours. Interpretation of the data was done through induction and inference. In order to find the relationship between the empirical data and the theories, and how the empirical data answers the research questions, an inductive approach was used by moving back and forth the data and the theories

during the discussion. Direct quotes from interviewees were used to enhance the credibility of the findings and conclusions as this makes the research meaningful.

### **3.6 Limitations of the study**

As there are in any research, challenges are inevitable before, during and even after the fieldwork and data collection of which some are imperceptible yet hinder in a way or the other the rate with which the work should progress. Like other research works, this research also encountered a number of challenges which were economical, cultural, social, environmental, institutional and political in nature.

**Economical challenges:** as most of the small scale cocoa producers are full time farmers, they wake up early in the morning to go to their farms. It was very difficult then to get them for interviews even before 14:00 GMT Ghana time. But the researcher took advantage of that to do transcription of the data captured on audio recorder before moving to the field each day. Cost of transportation from Goaso where the researcher lodged to Fawohoyeden as the study area was also distasteful. A taxi had to be hired on daily basis to and from the field back to Goaso. This was because of the late start of interviews making it end beyond 19:30 GMT. By that time it becomes difficult to get a passenger transport so the only option was always to hire a taxi which would wait throughout all interview sessions and get the researcher back to Goaso. Poverty has eaten into the Ghanaian society particularly in the rural areas where most of the rural folks are highly dependent on agricultural activities which are in most instances seasonal. This issue of poverty coupled with high rate of illiteracy and ignorance about research activities was worrying as most of the informants were expecting to benefit either immediately or in the near future from the research. Some of them even upon all the explanations that it was a student research work were still asking if they could get financial support from the outcome of the work. In short most informants thought of it as profiting economically from the findings of the work.

**Political challenges:** the political tempo in Ghana is too high that people easily read a lot of political meanings into issues. Unfortunately, the period of the field work coincided with the time of a legal battle between the main opposition party, new patriotic party (NPP) on one side and the electoral commission and the ruling party, national democratic congress (NDC) on the other side. In spite of the entire introduction done as a student researcher, most

informants were still sceptical and thought that it was a government sponsored program organised to gain popularity and public sympathy in times like this.

**Cultural challenges:** it is an acceptable norm that the researcher visits the homes of the purposively selected informants for the individual interviews. The most convenient places for the interviews too were the homes of these informants. As custom demands, greeting signifies unity and love in the Ghanaian societies. There were some instances informants were greeted by passers-by while interviews were in session which was a bit disturbing and time wasting as some sessions were interrupted and delayed.

**Environmental challenges:** after enjoying the cold weather in Norway for barely a year, in fact the researcher was battling with the hot weather on the field. This made him get tired and sweat regularly. This seems trivial but it should be said because this problem created extra work for him as he had to wash his clothes frequently as a result of the sweat.

**Institutional challenges:** as this research work also used secondary data, there was the need to look for such information from some institutions. Unlike in the developed parts of the world where technology has advanced that availability of internet facilities has made sourcing for addresses and phone numbers of institutions very simple and easy. In Ghana, this is lacking and the researcher had to travel to all the institutions required to get the necessary information he needed. Some were disappointing as the researcher would get there only to be told 'go and come' or the one in-charge was not available and as to when the information would be available could not be known or was uncertain. Even with those institutions where information was available, it turned out to be scanty. It was very disturbing to secure meaningful data from some of the required institutions which mattered as far as this research work was concern.

### **3.7 Ethical issues**

Ethical issues are present in any kind of research work to protect the integrity of the researcher, participants, the research community and the research objective(s) in question. Violations of human rights in the name of research have been among some of the darkest events in history (Orb *et al.* 2001). Just to cite one instance, Caplan (1992) noted that, from 1932 to 1972 more than 400 African Americans who had syphilis were deliberately left untreated to study the illness. Although the Tuskegee syphilis study was sponsored by United

States Public Health Service, the disclosure of the 40-year study caused public outrage. This among other such negative tendencies is some of the bad faith befalling researched persons in societies. Not only that, some researchers' lives are at stake on some occasions and there is the need to guard against all these. To deal with this, ethical standards are of utmost priority. However, a researcher is not free from ethical dilemma before, during and after the field work. Hay argues that, "decisions about which research topics to pursue, appropriate and worthwhile methods of investigation, 'right' ways to relate to sponsors of and participants in research, and appropriate modes of writing and communication of results involve ethical questions," (2010:27).

O'Connell-Davidson and Layder (1995:55) define research ethics as the conduct of researchers and their responsibilities and obligations to those involved in the research including sponsors, the general public and most importantly the subjects of the research. The basic ethical concerns in qualitative research include; privacy, confidentiality, informed consent and harm. In this research work, the researcher looked at these issues in the course of choosing the topic and the setting. Aside that, on the field, where the informants were encountered to get the primary data, none was overlooked whereas even in the final analysis at the writing stage too ethical considerations were prioritized. On the field, before any interview would start, the informant would be briefed about the purpose of the research, their rights as to whether to answer any question or not and also their choice to decline granting the interview. The consents of all informants were sought even before interviews began and permissions were also sought before recording those who permitted on audio recorder. Moreover, the informants were made to understand that all the information they granted were not to be exposed in writing or played on audio anywhere except for the purposes of this research work but was quick to add that though their names were captured, under no circumstances would they be quoted as they are to keep their information confidential. To avoid harm in terms of snake and other poisonous animals' bite, the researcher wore wellington boots anytime he went to observe some of the cocoa farms and nurseries.

### **3.8 Validity and reliability**

Debate on validity and reliability in research remains unabated among scholars. While some believe and stick to the demands of these terminologies in research, others seem not to believe that even if they mean anything at all and there are guidelines in attaining them to

make every research work dependable and acceptable, they still remain a mockery of themselves. Patton (2001), is one of the believers in validity and reliability as he argues that they are two tools which any qualitative researcher should be concerned about while designing a study, analysing results and judging the quality of the study because to him it is the only means through which an inquirer or a researcher can persuade their audience or readers that the findings of the research are worth paying attention to. Not only that, some scholars believe that whether one is planning a research project or interpreting the findings of someone else's work, determining the impact of the results is dependent upon the validity and reliability of that particular research.

According to Kirk and Miller, reliability is, "the degree to which the finding of a research is independent of accidental circumstances of the research," (1986:20) and "whether or not the researcher would expect to obtain the same findings if they tried again in the same way," (1986:20). Silverman also points out similarly that, checking the reliability in a research is closely related to assuring the quality of field notes and guaranteeing the public access to the process of their production (1993:146-148). On the other hand, 'validity' is the extent to which data collection methods accurately measure what they were intended to measure. Another way of describing validity is, "... the extent to which research findings are really about what they claim to be about," (Saunders *et al.* 2007:20).

Validity and reliability ensure rigor in research. Thus, ensuring or establishing the trustworthiness of a research. Without rigor, research is worthless, becomes fiction, and loses its utility. Hence, a great deal of attention is applied to reliability and validity in all research methods. Guba and Lincoln substituted reliability and validity with the parallel concept of 'trustworthiness' containing four aspects: credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability. Within these were specific methodological strategies for demonstrating qualitative rigor, such as the audit trail, member checks when coding, categorizing or confirming results with participants, peer debriefing, negative case analysis, structural corroboration, and referential material adequacy (Guba and Lincoln 1981, Lincoln and Guba 1985, Guba and Lincoln 1982).

Guba and Lincoln (1981), argue again that, while all research must have 'truth value', 'applicability', 'consistency' and 'neutrality' in order to be considered worthwhile, the nature of knowledge within the quantitative paradigm is different from that in qualitative paradigm.

Consequently, each paradigm requires *paradigm-specific* criteria for addressing rigor or trustworthiness. They noted that, within the quantitative paradigm, the criteria to reach the goal of rigor are internal validity, external validity, reliability, and objectivity. On the other hand, they proposed that the criteria in the qualitative paradigm to ensure trustworthiness are credibility, fittingness, auditability, and confirmability (Guba and Lincoln 1981). Davies and Dodd (2002), also share the view that the application of the notion of rigor in qualitative research should differ from those in quantitative research by accepting that there is a quantitative bias in the concept of rigor, by moving on to develop a re-conception of rigor by exploring subjectivity, reflexivity, and the social interaction of interviewing.

Qualitative research is characterized though as being subjective and value-laden in nature since it is not free from researcher and informant biases. However, this research could be said to be dependable since repeated visits were made to clarify some uncertain information gathered in the course of the fieldwork. Again, the researcher remained critically reflexive at all stages of the research and also used different forms of qualitative research tools namely individual interviews, focus group interviews and observation which served as checking or verification mechanisms on each other in gathering the primary data. Moreover, strategies in ensuring the wellness of the work were formulated at the early stage of the research design and they were applied at the various stages in the research process coupled with documenting carefully each stage of the research. Finally, the depth with which information was sought for on the field which answered the research objectives also lend some amount of credibility to this work.

### **3.9 Conclusion**

This chapter has presented and discussed the various methodological choices, methods and techniques used to collect data for this study. It looked at how preparations were carried out to facilitate the fieldwork, how the fieldwork itself was approached, and how the data acquired on the field was handled, broken down, organised and analysed in an attempt to answer the objectives of this study. Thus, the factors motivating the small-scale cocoa producers in continuous cocoa production and also the factors which de-motivate or make the small-scale cocoa producers lose interest in the course of their work as cocoa producers. Also considered and discussed were informants' selection processes and the various sources of data

collection. This research work was not free from some challenges, however, aspect of this chapter treated the strategies adopted to still make it valid and reliable.

The choice of the qualitative method for this research work and the approaches adopted for the fieldwork such as individual interviews, focus group discussions, observation and critical reflexivity among others have been of much significance to the findings. These techniques immersed the researcher in the research setting which offered as a result rich, nuanced and detailed data through in-depth understanding which consequently offered all the opportunities available for the researcher to reach saturation point in seeking answers to the objectives of this research.

## **CHAPTER FOUR**

### **DATA ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSIONS**

#### **4.0 Introduction**

This chapter presents and analyzes the data collected from the field work in the study area. For purposes of understanding and providing a clear picture on the objectives of this research which necessitated the fieldwork, the data collected is presented orderly under the following themes: 1. The economic factors motivating small-scale cocoa producers in continuous cocoa production. 2. The non-economic factors motivating small-scale cocoa producers in continuous cocoa production. 3. The factors de-motivating the small scale-cocoa producers in their work. The data and themes are presented in such a way as to enable this study answer its objectives. Where necessary, these themes are sub-divided further into other themes to enable clarity in the discussions. The discussions are linked to the ideas of motivational and rational choice theories in which the former in simple words represents the notion that individuals just like the small-scale cocoa producers have numerous needs and in their bid to attain them behave or take action to get satisfaction. Among such actions is small-scale cocoa production and that such actions are driven by both internal and external factors also known as intrinsic and extrinsic factors respectively motivating the producers. However, the researcher believes and agrees that yes indeed we as human beings act in accordance with both internal and external factors yet all things being equal, we calculate the possible outcome(s) of our actions and we follow or choose what brings us positive result(s). In other words, we act rationally. Again, the researcher also concedes that, none of the motivation factors work in isolation. They have inter-linkages and complement each other.

#### **4.1.0 Economic factors: Motivations and de-motivations**

The economic development of a nation is determined largely by the enterprising spirit of its individuals and groups in the private and public sectors. By *enterprising spirit* the researcher refers to the opening of businesses in both the private and public sectors. The features of enterprising emerge from the networking of action and activity of a group of a country's population known as entrepreneurs who play a major role in the economy of their country (Jesurajan and Gnanadhas 2011). In Ghana, among such entrepreneurs are small-scale cocoa producers who are motivated by a wide range of economic factors which are complemented



by other non-economic factors to continuously be in the cocoa production business. In the study area of this research work, the following economic factors motivating the small-scale cocoa producers were identified: Sources of employment, unemployment, sources of income, market potentials and accessibility for cocoa beans, access to credit facilities, income and profit, economic independence and social protection, favourable government policies, availability of inputs and food.

#### **4.1.1 Employment**

##### ***Motivations***

The importance of employment to human sustenance and a country's development cannot be overemphasized. To a nation employment is not only seen as a catalyst or a boost for growth but also a means to poverty reduction. To the individual employment does not only improve the quality of standard of living but it also provides opportunities for self fulfilment. In Ghana the importance of employment is underscored by the recognition of the right to work not only as a basic human right, but also a constitutional right. Article 24 (1) of the 1992 Constitution, for instance, defines this right as an economic right. Thus, every person has the right to work. Article 34 (2), even makes it obligatory on the government to report annually the realisation of the right to work. This right to work, however, is gradually becoming very difficult for both government and individuals to realise due to the rising levels of joblessness.<sup>27</sup>

Reliable labour market data are difficult to come by in Ghana and this continues to hamper effective discussions of the labour market effects of economic policies. Available data however points to the changing composition in overall employment over the past two decades in line with the pattern of sectoral distribution of production. Agriculture continues to employ a majority of the Ghanaian workforce although its share in employment fell from 61 per cent to 51 per cent between 1984 and 2000 (Aryeetey and Baah-Boateng 2007). The cocoa sector is of vital importance to Ghana, employing millions of people as compared to the other agricultural sectors not only in recent times. This dates back to the colonial days as Sarah and Bayer (2009) confirm that during colonial times, farmers overwhelmingly employed family members and community members, exploiting many of them in the process. In terms of employment, the industry employs about 6 per cent of the national agricultural labour force in the country (Appiah 2004).

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<sup>27</sup> <http://www.ghanaweb.com/GhanaHomePage/features/artikel.php?ID=213710>

This was highly revealing during the fieldwork as some interviewees indicated that employment is one of the factors motivating them to continuously produce cocoa as small-scale producers. However, while some produce on full time basis, others also produce it continuously on part-time basis. A sixty-one year old female farmer pointed out that;

*"I have been motivated to be in the cocoa production business as a small-scale producer for the past twenty-five years because I am an illiterate and I do not have any trade either. So I mostly visit my cocoa farms from Monday to Saturday but my husband who is a basic school teacher joins me to the farm on Saturdays when school is in full session."*

It was also clear that, most of the small-scale cocoa producers the researcher encountered during the fieldwork sessions are mainly people who were about fifty years and above and they are those who are normally producing cocoa on full time basis mainly due to illiteracy. The few producers who are below forty years are either doing some other kind(s) of business particularly in the informal sector or are government employees. In any case, employment is a motivating factor for cocoa production on small-scale in the study area. In short, Gockowski *et al.* (2011) argue that, cocoa production in Ghana is a major economic activity for over 700,000 households, with around 6.3 million Ghanaians (representing around 30 per cent of the total population) depending on cocoa for their livelihood.

For those in full time, some expressed that even if they have other alternative jobs they would still remain in the sector. This is for the fact that, they can earn extra income over at least two to three decades which can boost their standard of living and insure them against any economic insecurity. It was evident from majority of the producers that, cocoa farming is a major source of employment to them particularly those producing on full time scale.

### ***De-motivation***

Undoubtedly, almost all producers endorsed the fact that cocoa production is tedious and time consuming employment. This is mainly due to high hired labour cost which prompts particularly those in full time production to do most of the farm processes and maintenance practices on their own. According to them, the most difficult maintenance practice is weeding. However, they admitted that, when the cocoa trees form proper canopies, there are little weeds on the farm. Lamenting over the tedious nature of work on cocoa production is largely because of over reliance on obsolete farm tools such as machete or cutlass. The

application of cutlass is a physically demanding activity. It takes much time to clear weeds, prune branches and eliminate unwanted trees with a cutlass. Female producers are the worst victims when it comes to the uses of cutlass.

#### **4.1.2 Unemployment**

##### ***Motivation***

Unemployment which basically refers to joblessness is a serious canker which has been a global concern of individuals, governments and international organizations of all kinds. For instance, international labour organization (ILO) in its 2013 executive summary report indicated that, in 2012, 197 million people globally were without jobs and this was projected to rise by 5.1 million in 2013, to more than 202 million in 2013 and by another 3 million in 2014. The report further stated that, a quarter of the increase of 4 million in global unemployment in 2012 has been in the advanced economies, while three quarters has been in other regions, with marked effects in East Asia, South Asia and Sub-Saharan Africa (ILO 2013:2).<sup>28</sup> Unemployment rate can be defined as the number of people actively looking for jobs divided by the labour force. Changes in unemployment depend mostly on inflows made up of non-employed people starting to look for jobs, of employed people who lose their jobs and look for new ones and of people who stop looking for employment.<sup>29</sup> Unemployment rate in Ghana increased to 12.90 per cent in 2005 from 11.20 per cent in 2001. Unemployment rate in Ghana is reported by the Ghana Statistical Service. From 2001 until 2005, Ghana's unemployment rate averaged 12.1 per cent reaching an all time high of 12.9 per cent in December of 2005 and a record low of 11.2 per cent in December of 2001.<sup>30</sup>

Generally, it might seem that Ghana's unemployment rate is low. However, high underemployment and inadequate employment opportunities mask unemployment figures. The 2000 Ghana living standards survey (GLSS) and Core Welfare Indicators Questionnaire Survey (CWIQ) in 1998 established that, about 15.7 per cent of Ghana's working population reported that they were underemployed in terms of hours worked. The study further revealed

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<sup>28</sup> [http://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---dgreports/---dcomm/---publ/documents/publication/wcms\\_202215.pdf](http://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---dgreports/---dcomm/---publ/documents/publication/wcms_202215.pdf)

<sup>29</sup> <http://www.tradingeconomics.com/nigeria/unemployment-rate>

<sup>30</sup> <http://www.tradingeconomics.com/ghana/unemployment-rate> (last assessed 2014-2-3)

that one out of every five of the working population was not working full-time or was not currently working because there was no work available (Berdie and Apt 2004).

This global problem is however, a blessing in disguise since it has been motivating some of the small-scale cocoa producers in Fawohoyeden to continuously produce cocoa. Some expressed that, they were completely jobless but upon careful thoughts, they concluded that since cocoa is a cash crop which in recent times could start bearing early pods because of the availability of high yielding and scientific species could be the best option for them to overcome their joblessness. Knowing very well that though they produce cocoa on small-scale, yet they are convinced that harvesting of the beans could at least be twice in a year when the trees start bearing fruits. A former taxi male driver who doubles now as a small-scale cocoa producer said in his revelations that:

*"I remained jobless for over four years when I lost my taxi business after which all attempts to remain economically viable proved futile until I decided to enter into cocoa production business for the past fifteen year. Though I knew very well that after three to four years later, I could start benefitting from it, however, that was even not my priority. My priority was my engagement and not staying idle for the people in our society to think that as a family man I was not lazy and irresponsible. "*

This taxi driver emphasised that, after seven years into the cocoa production business, he had a capital and began a provision shop in a small kiosk which limited his time for the cocoa production. According to him if he had a sustainable taxi business or even another opportunity immediately he lost the taxi business, he would not have entered into cocoa production. However, he was quick to reiterate that he has benefited a lot from cocoa production because he invests the proceeds from his cocoa farm into his provision shop and vice versa. Undoubtedly, it was explicit that unemployment also motivates some of the producers to continuously remain cocoa producers.

### ***De-motivation***

For those who lost their jobs and those who utterly had no jobs before entering, they would not give much attention to their farms should they get any employment which would give them regular income. Alternative job would not let them quit, they would divert some

attention from cocoa production on to the other jobs they secure. Such a divided attention desire emanates from the fact that the gains from cocoa production are seasonal but any alternative business remains a regular source of income for their daily upkeep.

#### **4.1.3 Market potentials and accessibility**

##### ***Motivation***

Ghana as an agrarian wide economy witnesses a diverse sub-agric sector including forestry, animal rearing (livestock) as well as crop production (food and cash crops). Market potential for agricultural produce is a motivating factor driving some farmers to engage in particular type of crop or animal production in Ghana. The internal marketing of agricultural produce in Ghana has been done mainly by the private sector (Asuming-Brempong and Asafu-Adjei 1997) of which cocoa is no exception. However, in the case of cocoa, it has been one of the few examples of an export commodity sector in an African country that has withstood the pressure to fully liberalize. Instead, the government initiated a stakeholder-led process to determine producer prices and reintroduced the use of Licence Buying Companies (LBCs) to procure cocoa from the producers at fixed price, but left external marketing under the control of COCOBOD representing the Government of Ghana (GOG). The cocoa sector therefore underwent only a partial liberalization (Kolavalli *et al.* 2012).

Ghana, the second major producer of cocoa in the world after its neighbouring Cote d'Ivoire relies heavily on the crop for foreign exchange revenue (Dormon *et al.* 2004). Cocoa is among the crops with high market potentials both in Ghana and internationally because it serves as the main raw material in chocolate production beside other confectionaries particularly in the Western world. Processing, called 'grinding', is almost all done in OECD countries except for countries where there is domestic consumption or manufacturing such as Brazil and Peru. Chocolate is the main end product although the cosmetics industry also uses some cocoa butter (Secretariat 2004).

The number of registered LBCs has increased gradually since the liberalisation reform. Initially six (6) companies were granted licenses to operate on the internal market while today there are twenty six (26) active LBCs, including the PBC (Lundstedt and Pärssinen 2009). Most of them have offices in most of the cocoa growing communities in Ghana under the

supervision of their purchasing clerks. This is good because purchasing of cocoa beans over some time is commonly close to the door-steps of the producers. This high market potential for cocoa beans is one of the factors highly motivating some of the producers to continuously remain in the cocoa production business. It could be recalled during the data collection stage as a forty year old cocoa producer recounted that:

*"I do not earn that much from my seven acre cocoa farm if I calculate how much cost I incur on inputs and the amount I get at the end of the two seasons in each year. However, I am enthused about the cocoa business because there is always ready market after drying. There has not been any single period I ever witnessed that myself or any other cocoa producer complained of not getting ready market for the produced cocoa beans. There are even some purchasing companies which have offices operating all year round here in our community with us. At least this gives us (the cocoa producers) some kind or level of hope that, our toil on our farms would not be in vain since access to market is highly promising."*

According to Cocoa Barometer (2012), Ghana being the only country not to disband its marketing board, thus, state-run marketing board (COCOBOD), has provided a level of protection to farmers from the worst impacts of liberalisation of the cocoa market. Farmers and multinational cocoa companies accept the COCOBOD, and operate relatively well within its framework. However, they could be benefitted by a reduction of inefficiencies and bureaucracy within its systems. Being the only institution authorised to export cocoa from Ghana, COCOBOD sells up to 70 per cent of expected cocoa yields to traders and on the future market of the commodity prior to the harvest. As a result, it guarantees a minimum price of 70 per cent of the world market price at the start of the harvest season, providing at least a partial protection against volatility of world market prices.<sup>31</sup> However, Secretariat (2004) indicates that, the international cocoa market is now unregulated and subject to price fluctuations based on the usual factors such as stocks, projected harvests, diseases afflicting cocoa production, and demand and supply problems (for example civil unrest).

### ***De-motivation***

#### **Fixing or adjusting scale by LBCs**

The Government of Ghana (GOG) has monopoly over the purchase and export of cocoa beans. The buying price of cocoa beans locally and the purchasing season are determined by

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<sup>31</sup>[http://www.evb.ch/cm\\_data/Cocoa\\_Barometer\\_2012\\_Final.pdf](http://www.evb.ch/cm_data/Cocoa_Barometer_2012_Final.pdf)

the GOG. The Ghana COCOBOD which operates under the Ministry of Finance is the GOG institution that has been mandated to monitor and regulate the operations of the cocoa industry in Ghana. As part of its mandate, the COCOBOD controls the export and internal marketing of cocoa beans, oversees agricultural research, hybridization of seeds, sale of seed to the producers, quality control, and extension services to the producers. However, as the internal purchasing of cocoa beans from producers is carried out by companies in the private sector who have been registered and given license by the COCOBOD to operate, almost all the producers the researcher interviewed expressed bitterness over the adjustment and/or fixing of the scales used to weigh the beans during marketing by the private purchasing companies. This nefarious activity has been a biggest de-motivating factor to producers since time immemorial. Producers attribute this to poor monitoring by the COCOBOD.

Surprisingly, a male producer in his early forties reported that:

*"I once sent my beans projected to weigh 25 kilos to a purchasing clerk which was weighed at just 10 kilos. I refused to sell it there and later sent it to another clerk which weighed 27 kilos, thus showing a difference of 17 kilos."*

In spite of the commonness of the purchasing companies, all the producers get de-motivated because of this disheartening behaviour of adjusting the scales used in weighing the cocoa beans.

#### **4.1.4 Access to credit facilities from LBCs and money lenders**

##### ***Motivation***

It has been a long-held belief among researchers and policymakers that cocoa producers in West African countries lack adequate access to credit. This lack of adequate access to credit is in turn believed to have significant negative consequences on various aggregate and household level-incomes, including technology adoption, agricultural productivity, and the overall household welfare (Nyemeck *et al.* 2007). The researcher strongly shares the above notion. In their words, Nyemeck *et al.* (2007), again further indicate that:

*"Access to credit affects cocoa farmers' outcomes through different pathways. The more prominent is through the alleviation of capital constraints on cocoa production: expenditures on cocoa inputs are incurred during the cocoa husbandry process, whereas returns are received only after the cocoa are harvested and commercialized. Most cocoa farmers show a negative cash flow during the proceeding season. Therefore, to finance the purchase of*

*production inputs, the farmer must either dip into its savings or obtain credit. Access to credit can therefore significantly increase the ability of cocoa farmers with little or no savings to acquire agricultural inputs." (p. 216)*

There are so many businesses which are on their feet because of access to credit. Some entrepreneurs use credit facilities as a starter pack capital while others also use them to back up their seed capital. As part of the focus group discussions, it came up that, in most instances the small-scale cocoa producers do not need the credit facilities to start their farms since they are already into it but rather they need them to either purchase inputs or expand their cocoa farms and for their daily upkeeps when they go through financial difficulties. This becomes a reality because according to them they do not earn income on monthly basis from their farms as cocoa is a seasonal cash crop. This view was particularly expressed by those who solely rely on cocoa farming for a living.

Access to credit facilities to all categories of the small-scale cocoa producers is mainly from sources such as friends, money lenders and LBCs. To acquire a credit facility from an LBC is largely determined by market ties. Thus, producers who do not sell their beans to those LBCs are not given credit. "Kuapa Cocoa Credit Union at Goaso gives credit to farmers who save with it," were the words of a forty year old male producer who owns a six (6) acre cocoa farm with ten years experience in cocoa production. "This is very helpful", he remarked again.

In any case, most producers accepted the fact that in times of financial crises, their cocoa farms could serve as collateral to guarantee them loans from friends, money lenders and some LBCs and they see this as a motivating factor to produce cocoa at all times. However, some were quick to add that, though the LBCs and friends do not charge interests, money lenders sometimes charge huge interests. Again, the LBCs though do not charge interests, the only disadvantage is that at the end of the harvest they purchase the beans at the price existing as at the time the producer acquired the loan. This becomes of a great advantage to the LBCs and an unfortunate situation for the producers when price of the beans goes up in future after acquiring the loan.

### ***De-motivation***

#### **Difficulty in accessing credit facilities or loans**



Access to credit is essential for cocoa producers to invest in fertilizers, pesticides and labour to help run their cocoa operations.<sup>32</sup> Inaccessibility to credit facilities and loans is identified as one of the main challenges hampering the producers from expanding their farms. It was established that this is an issue affecting those who particularly rely mainly on cocoa production for a living. For it was commonly expressed that access to credit facilities from the banking institutions always proves futile particularly for those who do not receive salaries from the banks. Even for those who have access to credits from the banks, it is not because of their cocoa farms but because they are salary workers. Getting loans from money lenders also attracts huge interest rates. Sometimes, some producers with financial crises urgently need loans to pay their wards' school fees, travel, purchase inputs, hire labour and organize social functions such as naming ceremonies, parties, marriages and funerals. Yet all attempts either prove futile or delay before they get the loans. There is no denying the fact that, the cocoa farms are themselves collaterals, however, using them to source for loans from banks does not work for the producers. These difficulties associated with accessing credit facilities and loans greatly de-motivate the producers in continuous cocoa production.

#### **4.1.5 Income and profit**

##### ***Motivation***

Income is the consumption and savings opportunity gained by an entity within a specified time frame, which is generally expressed in monetary terms (Barr 2004). However, in their view Case and Fair (2007), argue that, for households and individuals, "income is the sum of all the wages, salaries, profits, interests payments, rents and other forms of earnings received in a given period of time. It is the dream of every worker or employee across the globe to receive income through a job or work done. While some employees are in the formal sector as either government or non-government workers, others are also in the informal sectors of the economy who are either self-employed or employed by others which are not sustainable. In any case, every rational employee desires to earn some amount of money from their services or labour rendered. Cocoa producers are of no exception. Acquisition of income and profit is one of the prime motivating factors which enhance the interest of the producers to continuously produce cocoa in the study area. Agricultural commodity production plays a key role in the economies of many low-income countries and households. The United Nations

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<sup>32</sup><http://www.oxfam.ca/sites/default/files/imce/btb-oxfam-cocoa-case-studies.pdf>

Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) estimates that one billion people depend on agricultural commodities for a substantial portion of their income (South Centre 2005). Cocoa in the West African countries of Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana provides a perfect example of agricultural commodity dependence. Approximately 4 million and 2 million people in each country, respectively, depend on cocoa production for a substantial portion of their income (Sarris 2002 and Talbot 2002).<sup>33</sup> At the individual/household level, cocoa production serves as the primary source of income for over 6 million people in the two countries 23 per cent of Côte d'Ivoire's population and 11 per cent of Ghana's. This research work discovered that, the small-scale cocoa producers make some gains even if not significant. Such profits are used by the producers in many ways. Common among the activities include catering for children's education, supply of meals for families, provision of shelter, buying of cloths for themselves and their family, organization of social events such as weddings, customary marriages, naming ceremonies and funerals. "Income from cocoa is what has been sustaining my marriage since I do not do any other business," was the assertion of a male producer. In a nut shell, it was expressed by all the interviewed producers that, income is one of the main economic motivating factors which empower them to continuously remain cocoa producers.

### *De-motivation*

#### **Low income**

Though the producers earn income from their cocoa farms, there are difficult times among them on issues of income. For example, the consequences of price volatility, together with increasing production costs, are economic insecurity and impoverishment for millions of cocoa producers. Despite forecasts that the demand for cocoa will rise by nearly 20 per cent in the coming years and the increasing revenues for chocolate companies, many producers can now not cover their living costs anymore with limited income and lack of information on market developments. The producers and their families are the losers in a lucrative cocoa and chocolate industry. Low and insecure income of producers leads to serious social and environmental problems. Some of them stop investing in their farms, they cut salaries, cannot provide workers with proper working conditions, and in the worst cases are prone to use child labour. Hoping to increase their revenues, they put more land under cocoa production, often at the expense of sustainable, ecological and diversified farming.<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>33</sup> [http://www.iisd.org/pdf/2007/trade\\_price\\_case\\_cocoa.pdf](http://www.iisd.org/pdf/2007/trade_price_case_cocoa.pdf)

<sup>34</sup> <http://makechocolatefair.org/issues/cocoa-prices-and-income-farmers-0>

Low income is one of the economic challenges which was commonly expressed among the producers at both the individual and the focus group discussions. According to them this stems from mainly the fact that the price of the beans per bag is too low to the tune of Gh C 212.00 as at August, 2013 coupled with high cost of inputs and labour. A sixty two year old female producer conceded and remarked with support from other colleagues during a focus group discussion that:

*"Is it just that some of us are illiterates and cannot keep proper records on the total cost we incur at the end of each cocoa season on our farms. If we take out the input cost from the income we earn, it is quite low and sometimes nothing to write home about".*

Another reason believed by most of the producers to be a cause of their low income is cheating on the side of most of the LBCs. The researcher strongly agrees with Hatløy *et al.* (2012), who argue that, insufficient income from cocoa hampers producers to reinvest in cocoa intensifying production activities including the replenishing of cocoa trees with new planting materials. As the soil fertility declines and the application of fertilizers and pesticides is limited, cocoa becomes susceptible to various diseases further resulting in low yield and bad quality of cocoa. This results in low income for the farmers and creating a vicious cycle of continuous decline.

### **Poor cocoa price**

Successive governments after independence have made many attempts to boost cocoa production and maintain the position of Ghana as one of the leading producers, yet the producers mostly on small-scale lament over the price per bag paid to them over the years. At the time of the fieldwork, almost every producer the researcher encountered expressed great dissatisfaction about the Gh C 212.00 per bag which was paid them. It was commonly expressed among them that at least between Gh C 300.00 and Gh C 400.00 would be the best option for them considering the high cost of production in the sector. Aryeetey *et al.* (2005) express that, to raise cocoa production from 400,000 tonnes to 500,000 tonnes by 2004/2005 and to 700,000 tonnes by 2009 was the main objective of policy in the sector during those periods. Other objectives also included the maintenance of Ghana's distinctive position as the supplier of the finest and most consistent quality cocoa and in addition retain the traditional premium obtained by Ghana's cocoa on world markets. With these objectives, measures taken to achieve them included the privatisation of distribution of inputs to farmers, and the

provision of credit to purchase inputs following the removal of subsidies on inputs coupled with intensification of mass spraying of cocoa farms since 2001. However, major problem in the cocoa sub-sector has been the share of the proceeds paid to farmers. One of the policy objectives of the structural adjustment programme was to raise this percentage. From levels of around 20 per cent in the early 1980s there was a gradual increase to 46 per cent in 1992. This proportion however fell in the mid-1990s as world market price increases were not transferred to farmers. Over the past two years the aim of policy has been to raise this to 70 per cent ((Aryeetey *et al* 2005).

#### **4.1.6 Economic independence and social protection**

Since time immemorial, it is a common practice of the young (people younger than 15) and old (older than 64) generation or age groups depending on the working population (those ages 15-64)<sup>35</sup> for economic and social freedom and survival in Ghana. This is not surprising because, the hope for survival is limited or nonexistent for the dependent group as there are no proper measures of social protection or intervention by successive governments since independence. In Ghana, economic support for the people below fifteen years has never been witnessed over the years, however, those above sixty years who once were working in the formal sector and are now on pension receive pension pay while some of their non-pension counterparts who are identified as poor also benefit from the Livelihood Empowerment Against Poverty (LEAP) like the 'Brazilian Bolsa Familia programme'<sup>36</sup> which was launched in 1995. LEAP provides cash transfers for needy people with a monthly amount program which was introduced by the government of New Patriotic Party under ex-president J. A. Kuffour. The LEAP social grant scheme is a programme under Ghana's Ministry of Manpower, Youth and Employment (MMYE) which is supposed to decrease the poverty in Ghana and to provide a better life for the Ghanaian population. It started as a 5-year-pilot programme from 2008 to 2012 and it contains financial support of orphans and vulnerable children, people over 65 years and people with disabilities.<sup>37</sup>

Social Security is a human right as it is stated in the Declaration of Human Rights from 1949. However, there is still much space for improvements in existing social security schemes, especially in Africa. The already implemented National Social Protection Strategy (NSPS) in

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<sup>35</sup> <http://www.tradingeconomics.com/ghana/age-dependency-ratio-percent-of-working-age-population-wb-data.html>

<sup>36</sup> <http://web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/NEWS/0,,contentMDK:21447054~pagePK:64257043~piPK:437376~theSitePK:4607,00.html>

<sup>37</sup> [http://www.fesghana.org/uploads/PDF/FES\\_SocialProtectionGhana\\_2011\\_FINAL.pdf](http://www.fesghana.org/uploads/PDF/FES_SocialProtectionGhana_2011_FINAL.pdf)

Ghana contains different measures which all intend one goal, thus, building a social protection system which is affordable to everyone and further protects them from risks and shocks which may be occurring. However, in practice, most people still remain helpless. Considering some of these interventions, most of the small-scale cocoa producers in the study area do not benefit because they are neither on pension schemes nor benefitting from the LEAP program. Sensing danger about their social security and economic wellness they think that cocoa production, which can last for a maximum of about twenty five years, is the best venture to secure their future by way of social protection and economic independence. In her words, a female cocoa producer who doubles as a food vendor in her late forties hinted that:

*"Though I earn some unfixed amount of money from the sales I make from the cooked rice business on daily basis as a supplementary income to my cocoa proceeds, the latter to me is a future investment since even in my old age, I could still depend on it for survival and economic independence."*

The question to ponder over is: how much is the pension pay for most workers in Ghana? Quite a lot of workers who are even entitled to it still cannot dwell on it for proper survival as there are a lot of expenses they make coupled with high cost of living. Some of the small-scale cocoa producers who are salaries workers still see their salaries to be meagre and the only way for them to fully have economic freedom and independence to some extent is to supplement their salaries with some other job(s) and to them, they finally settled on continuous cocoa production which they think could earn them income because it is a long term investment. In his revelations, a female professional basic school teacher said that:

*"My motivation for the cocoa production business continuously stems from the fact that, my salary cannot support myself and my family therefore the proceeds from my cocoa farm gives me much economic relief. I am aware that I do not get money from it every month like I do get from my monthly salary. However, after each harvest season, the monies I get cover a lot of expenses which otherwise could not be borne by the income from my monthly salary. Therefore continuous cocoa farming secures my economic independence."*

Economic independence therefore was discovered as one of the motivating factors for continuous cocoa production among some of the small-scale cocoa producers.

#### 4.1.7 Favourable government policies

##### *Motivation*

Governments at each point in time are mandated by their people and assigned the responsibility to manage, organise and control all sectors in a country for the wellbeing and survival of their citizenry. Such benefits in the opinion of the researcher could materialize only if all sectors are well handled since each sector represents the different interests of citizens and the nations as a whole. How much interests would be expressed by individuals and groups within a country in the various sectors would to a larger extent depend on the policies of the government of the day which could and/or would motivate the people. However, it could not be completely ruled out that, globalization which opens local and nationalistic perspectives to a broader outlook of an interconnected and interdependent world with free transfer of capital, goods, and services across national frontiers<sup>38</sup> influences how governments manage their states aside internal factors.

Cocoa production, which has over decades served as the main source of income and revenue to individual producers and Ghana as a whole respectively, is one of the agric sub-sectors which has earned much attention from various governments before and after independence. In about a decade to independence, thus, during the colonial era for instance, market sharing, price fixing and unstable domestic prices motivated Ghana's colonial government to establish the Ghana Cocoa Marketing Board (CMB) in 1947 (Stryker *et al.* 1990) which was renamed in 1984 as the Ghana COCOBOD (Kolavalli and Vigneri 2011) and it is responsible for every facet of Ghana's cocoa industry (Kolavalli *et al.* 2012).

During the regime of former president J. J. Rawlings there was an implementation of Economic Recovery Program (ERP) in 1983 to salvage the cocoa sector from collapsing by removing constraints to its development. Among the policy interventions was the introduction of the Cocoa Rehabilitation Project (CRP) which was financed jointly by African Development Bank (ADB, 19.2 per cent), African Development Fund (ADF, 6.6 per cent), International Development Association (IDA, 31.6 per cent), Arab Bank for Economic Development in Africa (BADEA, 7.8 per cent), Overseas Development Administration

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<sup>38</sup> <http://www.businessdictionary.com/definition/globalization.html>

(ODA, 9.3 per cent), the Ghana Cocoa Board (17.4 per cent) and the Government of Ghana (8.4 per cent). The CRP aimed at:

- (i) Increasing cocoa production to give an annual output of at least 300,000 tonnes per year by 1995
- (ii) Increase foreign exchange earnings from cocoa export, and
- (iii) Reduce rural poverty and improve quality of life in the cocoa growing areas.<sup>39</sup>

The project's objectives were to be achieved through the following actions:

- (i) Maintaining sufficient cocoa producer price incentive
- (ii) Reorganization and streamlining of cocoa extension services to enhance its efficiency and ensure effective supervision
- (iii) Strengthening cocoa research
- (iv) Increased seed pod production through improvements to the existing seed gardens and establishment of 100 ha of new gardens
- (v) Cocoa swollen shoot virus disease control over 17,900 hectares of existing plantation
- (vi) Privatization of cocoa input marketing and removal of subsidies
- (vii) Privatization of internal cocoa marketing, and
- (viii) Improvement of cocoa evacuation through the implementation of a roads rehabilitation program in cocoa growing regions.

More so, the government of former president J. A. Kuffour also introduced a number of measures to boost cocoa production in Ghana since the year 2001. Common among such interventions was CODAPEC popularly known as the mass spraying exercise. For instance Abankwah *et al.* (2010) indicated that:

*"As part of Ghana's determination to maintain high position in the cocoa production, COCOBOD, in 2001, was equipped to initiate a national programme which provides free spraying on cocoa farms to control the spread of black pod diseases and pests which have contributed to declining cocoa yield over the previous decades. The Cocoa Diseases and Pests Control Exercise Committee (CODAPEC) were formed to ensure the effective implementation of the project. The aim of the project was to facilitate increased production of cocoa that would also translate into increasing farm income to enhance the living standard of farmers". (p. 116)*

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<sup>39</sup> [http://www.afdb.org/fileadmin/uploads/afdb/Documents/Evaluation-Reports/00682845-EN-GHANA-GHANA-COCOA-REHABILITATION-PROJECT-PPER02\\_01.pdf](http://www.afdb.org/fileadmin/uploads/afdb/Documents/Evaluation-Reports/00682845-EN-GHANA-GHANA-COCOA-REHABILITATION-PROJECT-PPER02_01.pdf)

Again, during the tenure of office of the late president J. E. A. Mills in one of his speeches when addressing hundreds of cocoa producers and other stakeholders in the cocoa industry at a durbar at Effiduase near Kumasi in the Ashanti region, to mark the Cocoa Producers Alliance (COPAL) Cocoa Day, President Mills affirmed his government's resolve to promote cocoa production and indicated some favourable policies put in place by his government by saying that:<sup>40</sup>

*"The industry remains a top priority in the Government's 'Better Ghana' agenda. Annual cocoa production increased from 680,781 metric tonnes in the 2007/2008 season to an unprecedented level to over one million metric tonnes in the on-going 2010/2011 season. The feat was attributed to the intensive policy interventions by government such as the increased provision of subsidised fertilizers, supply of early bearing and high yielding planting material and the timely payment of remunerative producer prices and bonuses to farmers."*

Though, the cocoa sector has witnessed all these various government interventions before and after independence, COCOBOD has subsidiary institutions (Such as CRIG, CMC, PBC, SPU and QCD) as well established under ordinances to see the day to day well being of cocoa affairs in Ghana. These institutions operate under all governments since their establishment. With these, some of the producers established that, they get motivated to rationally and continuously produce cocoa because they think that the sector is secured to some extent as successive governments mostly find a way of resourcing the sector by way of implementing policies favourable and beneficial to the nation as a whole and the producers.

More so, the Ghana COCOBOD has instituted a scholarship scheme in place benefitting the wards of cocoa producers at the senior high school level in recognition of the immense contribution of the cocoa producers.<sup>41</sup> Beneficiary students who are awarded it do not pay school fees at senior high school until they complete. Producers have to apply for it on behalf of their wards and meet certain criteria before benefitting. The scheme has been very helpful to the parents of beneficiary students. This cocoa scholarship scheme was indicated by a cross section of the producers as motivating them.

More to the point, others also maintained that, the Farmers' Day celebration in every first Friday of December each year which awards best farmers in various categories from the district level through to the national level is an honour to the farming profession. Introduced

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<sup>40</sup> <http://www.mofep.gov.gh/?q=news/041011>

<sup>41</sup> <http://allafrica.com/stories/201006220658.html>



by the Ministry of Food and Agriculture, National Farmers' Day is organized as a day's activity for the nation to honour its hard working farmers who excel in their contribution to improve the agricultural sector with certificates and prizes. Since 1988 under the presidency of former president J. J. Rawlings, the first Friday of every December is set aside by the government as *Farmers' Day* and is celebrated as a statutory Public Holiday.<sup>42</sup> These, the cocoa producers see as great motivation factors and good policy direction by any government of the day.

### ***De-motivation***

On the issue of cocoa scholarship scheme, it was noticed that most of the producers do not benefit from it. Some even alleged that, they have information that most beneficiaries are from families who have no cocoa farms. Others also concluded that, it is fraught with corruption as they the poor cocoa producers are discriminated against.

Again, some expressed worry about much disgust about the operations of COCOBOD subsidiary institutions such as SPU and CSSVCD. According to them, these organisations are not up to the task since their services are not much felt. Hence, de-motivating some of the small-scale cocoa producers.

## **4.1.8 Availability of inputs**

### ***Motivation***

In every business, the entrepreneur has to acquire some materials and tools, which are otherwise known as inputs in order to kick start their business. Even as the business progresses, there are other inputs which are still needed to fuel or serve as a catalyst for the survival, sustainability and growth of the business. In cocoa production after land acquisition, the basic input is the beans or seedlings to either plant or transplant on the farm after it has been cleared of weeds and unwanted trees. Other inputs beside the beans or seedling are cutlasses, wellington boots, pruning hook, fertilizers, pesticides, spraying machines and

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<sup>42</sup> [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Public\\_holidays\\_in\\_Ghana](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Public_holidays_in_Ghana)

labour. According to some of the small-scale cocoa producers, all these inputs are within their reach and that is of a great boost to motivate them to continuously produce cocoa. In her words, a fifty two year trader who doubles as a small-scale cocoa producer for over eighteen years hinted that:

*"we as cocoa producers are much aware about the recent cost of some of the inputs as high, for example the cost of fertilizer and some of the pesticides. Again, some of us lack knowledge in how to apply the fertilizer and the pesticides on our farms even if we are economically sound to purchase them. However, once the producer has money, all these inputs could be within their reach and at the same time the producer could easily hire some people in our community or the nearby ones to apply the fertilizers and the pesticides for them. Better still, the services of extension officers could easily be tapped since some from their offices at Goaso. To me this is a great motivating factor as the inputs are not scarce."*

Fertilizer application which is mentioned as one of the challenges of some of the producers is said by others to be of no challenge as such. To them their colleague cocoa producers who have extensive knowledge in it are of help sometimes provided they can purchase them. Another source of high motivation for cocoa production to these small-scale cocoa producers is the development of hybrid cocoa seedlings with higher yields from SPU directorate at Goaso where the hybrid seeds and seedlings are produced. The figure below shows the presence of SPU in the study municipality.



Figure 7: Goaso cocoa seed production unit.

Source: Part of researcher's own fieldwork data (August, 2013).

Even apart from acquiring hybrid cocoa seeds, hybrid cocoa pods and hybrid cocoa seedlings from SPU, some of the cocoa producers also get some of the seeds from colleague cocoa producers while others also raise nurseries on their own. Below is an example of a cocoa nursery by one of the small-scale cocoa producers.



Figure 8: A cocoa nursery by a cocoa producer.

Source: Part of researcher's own fieldwork data (August, 2013).

The nursery owner indicated that by their (small-scale cocoa producers) low standard in cocoa production techniques coupled with natural challenges such as strong winds, flooding due to heavy rainfall and too much heat from the scorching sun, most of the seedlings get destroyed as they are still in the nursery. However, they (nursery owners) still get enough to transplant on their farms for either the purposes of farm extension or replacement of old cocoa trees as well as even selling out extra seedlings to other cocoa producers who neither raise the seedling on their own nor acquire them from the SPU outfit.

It is interesting to note that, some of the producers expressed the ease with which they could get the seeds and the seedlings either the hybrid types or any other type. For other inputs like cutlasses, pruning hooks and baskets, drying mats (For drying the beads after pod breaking made from raffia fronds) they are the most common in the homes of every cocoa producer. While other inputs like the spraying machines which are not owned by every cocoa producer could easily be borrowed from other producers or even farmers producing other crops. Others

could also hire the spraying machines at meagre costs. To the producers, all these motivate them to continuously produce cocoa because the inputs are not difficult to acquire when land is available.

### ***De-motivation***

Some producers reported shortage of some of the inputs as one of their biggest challenges. Hybrid cocoa seeds, seedlings and pods are not always available at SPU directorate. Even when they are available, it is only within a short period of time because demand for them far exceeds their supply.

Again, the government at a point in time banned the sale of the chemicals for controlling pests and diseases. Meanwhile, she is not supply them to the producers and in case they are available, their supply is corrupted with nepotism, favouritism, hoarding, profiteering, tribalism and politics. Figures 9 and 10 below show *confidor* and *champion* respectively as examples of the banned chemicals for sale which are also not supplied to the producers regularly.



Figure 9: *Confidor* for controlling pests.

Source: Part of researcher's fieldwork data (August, 2013).



Figure 10: *Champion* for controlling black pod disease.

Source: Part of researcher's fieldwork data (August, 2013).

Furthermore, the markets are flooded with fake insecticides, pesticides and weedicides. The application of such chemicals kills the cocoa trees. All these de-motivate the producers.

#### **4.1.9 Food**

##### ***Motivation***

It is expressed by majority of the producers that, in the first two to three years into cocoa production when the young cocoa trees have not formed canopies, depending on the type of cultivated cocoa species, food crops such as cassava, plantain, maize, cocoyam and yam are intercropped on the same land in-between the seedlings or young trees. Advantageously, some of the producers summed it up with the expression, 'killing two birds with a stone'. Thus, before harvesting the pods after four to five years of cultivating cocoa on the same land, they benefit from getting food to feed themselves and their families. In some instances, some of them could sell the surpluses of the produce for income. This is ably supported by Rourke (1974) and Masdar (1998), as they argue that cocoa is a mixed crop system in which other crops may be consumed or sold. Intercropping with plantain and cocoyam provides early returns when cocoa trees are still young. Research conducted in the 1970s and in the 1990s consistently report that almost all cocoa producers grew alternative crops for subsistence and sale; mostly roots and tubers but also a variety of cereals and vegetables.

Moreover, in assessing the views of producers the researcher identified the following as other reasons for intercropping cocoa with other food crop:

- (i) It offers greater security and continuity of income throughout the year when surpluses are sold.
- (ii) Perceived higher returns relative to cocoa, especially during periods of low yields due to climatic changes and other factors.

##### ***De-motivation***

When the cocoa trees form canopies, intercropping becomes a thing of the past. This is an indication that, cocoa production deprives some of the producers from cultivating food crops on their farm lands which can get them food for the survival of themselves and their families. The worst victims of this are those who keep on extending their cocoa farms while land at a point in time also becomes unavailable to them anymore. Generally, it was observed that, almost all the farmers also reserve some tracts of arable land for food security by cultivating food crops.



#### **4.2.0 Non-economic factors (motivations and de-motivations)**

Under the non-economic factors, the researcher sub-divided the factors identified under the following headings:

- ❖ Environmental or natural factors
- ❖ Social and cultural factors
- ❖ Personal factors

#### **4.2.1 Environmental or natural factors (motivations and de-motivations)**

##### **4.2.1.1 Soil**

###### ***Motivation***

*"Cocoa does not thrive in every soil. It requires soils which are deep and easily penetrated by the tap roots of the trees, well drained and water retentive to some extent, total pore spaces of between 60 to 70 per cent proper aeration, nutritious with a pH value not below 6.0 and not exceeding 7.5,"* (Are and Gwynne 1974:40).

The suitability of soil for cocoa cultivation depends on both the soil type and soil phase (Adams and McKelvie (1955). From Appiah *et al.* (1997), the soil type is largely conditioned by geology and topography, and the soil phase by the previous history and land use. The tropical forest is known to accumulate plant nutrients in the top few centimetres of soil. According to the Asunafo North Municipal profile (October, 2010) where Fawohoyeden which is the study community is located, the area lies within the central part of the forest-dissected plateau of the physiographic region of Ghana and characteristically, occupied by *forest ochrosol* soil in most parts with small patches of *rubisol ochrosol* intergrades running in the south-western direction. In the area, the soil is reddish in colour in the hill tops and changes to dark brown or greyish sandy-loam in the lowland areas. Obeng (2000) maintains that, *forest ochrosol* soils are red, brown and yellow-brown well to imperfectly drained soils which have a marked concentration of organic matter in their upper top soils (A horizon). Obeng (2000) further shows that:

*"Forest ochrosols are by far the most extensive and the most important soils within the forest belts for both food and tree cash crop cultivation. Such soils, under natural conditions contain adequate nutrients that are tied-up with the organic layers in their top soils. They can, therefore, sustain good crop growth. Forest rubrisol ochrosols*

*intergrades are more fertile, have a better moisture holding capacity and are more resistant to erosion than both the ochrosols and the oxysols. They are thus capable of offering a better medium for the prolific growth of arable and tree cash than the much more widespread forest Ochrosols". (pp. 13-14).*

Though, these are the nature of the soil in the study area which is good for cocoa cultivation. However, most of the producers are not conversant with the existing soil types in the area. All they are aware of is the fact that the area is a forested zone and therefore has soil type(s) which contain enough nutrients supporting cocoa production and other food and cash crops. By this they are extrinsically motivated to take advantage of the rich soil and continuously produce cocoa. Though these soil types are rich in nutrients and organic matter, however, as the producers farm on them over years, nutrients are lost and this prompts them to apply fertilizers. This is a common practice among some of the cocoa producers in the area.

### ***De-motivation***

#### **Loss of soil fertility**

Unlike the food crop production common among most farmers in Ghana particularly in the traditional way where after some years of cultivation the land could be abandoned to fallow for some time and regain its fertility, cocoa production takes a different dimension. By its nature, the cocoa tree can live up to about three decades. Continuous extension of cocoa farms and increase cocoa farming lead to deforestation. The low income received by the producers in addition to high cost of living and poverty renders the producers unable to apply fertilizers on the land. In their view, Gockowski and Sonwa (2007), show that, since its introduction in West Africa, cocoa has been the major cause of land use change in the high forest zone of the region, where it has replaced agriculture that included fallowing to maintain fertility. With deforestation the sources of maintaining natural fertility of soil has been drying out. Lack of material resources and ignorance of scientific knowledge have further depleted the soils of the natural fertility. This coupled with inability of most producers to afford application of fertilizers due to low income and poverty compounds the problem of low yields.

#### **4.2.1.2 Vegetation**

##### ***Motivation***

Traditionally, cocoa has been grown under shade. Its natural environment is the Amazonian forest which provides natural shade trees. Shading is indispensable in a cocoa tree's early

years.<sup>43</sup> Transplanted seedlings need proper shade against the hot sun and strong winds, thus, *lush vegetation* as canopy to provide adequate shading for the trees. In some instances seedlings often are planted in the shelter of taller mother crops such as banana, plantain, coconut and rubber to provide shade. In Ghana, the main cocoa growing communities are the areas within the six cocoa growing regions (Western, Eastern, Central, Volta, Brong Ahafo and Ashanti regions) which have the tropical rain forest and the semi-deciduous forest. The dominant vegetation type in the study area is the semi-deciduous forest which occupies about 578.63 sq km. It is characterized by tall trees in layers which shed their leaves during the dry season known as the *harmattan* providing organic matter through decomposition to the soil as nutrient and has evergreen undergrowth.

This type of existing vegetation according to some cocoa producers offers an opportunity to produce cocoa which motivates them extrinsically to continuously produce cocoa in the area. A sub chief said:

*“We the farmers in general in this community are blessed because like the favourable climatic conditions we experience most at times, we are endowed with a good vegetation which could even furnish and replenish the soil for us through organic matter and at the same time provide shade for our crops.”*

However, the sub chief conceded that, continuous farming, bush burning in the dry season and the activities of chain saw operators are the main challenges which affect the vegetation in the area. He revealed that these challenges could be overcome if laws governing the vegetation in Ghana are strictly enforced as well as educating farmers on good farming practices such as reforestation. Failure to enforce some of these measures could affect naturally the cocoa production in the area.

### ***De-motivation***

The continuous extension of cocoa farms instead of the application of modern ways of cultivation for the purposes of improving yields is gradually depleting the forest. Shade trees are totally absent on most cocoa farms and this affects the cocoa trees in times of severe *harmattan* and the provision of humus as some of the trees could shed their leaves.

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<sup>43</sup> <http://www.icco.org/about-cocoa/growing-cocoa.html>

Again, the over reliance on firewood and charcoal for cooking by people in the study community also contributes to the depletion of the vegetation. According to most of them, gas supply is not regular, expensive and risky when not properly handled. Even most required shade trees are felled by the some of the producers in order to get firewood and charcoal.

More to this are the activities of illegal chain saw operators. They normally fell trees on most cocoa farms for timber without the producers' permission destroying most cocoa trees. This was reported by most producers as a severe headache to them. Since the illegal chain saw operators disguise themselves to fell down trees, the cocoa producers are not compensated when their cocoa farms are destroyed. All these pose a big challenge to the vegetation which in the long term affect the quality of the cocoa trees and the fertility of the soil and in turn adversary impact on yield and production output.

#### **4.2.1.3 Climatic conditions (Rainfall, Humidity, Wind and Temperature)**

##### ***Motivation***

Climate is a predominant factor that influences cocoa production. It is the state of atmosphere, which is created by weather events over a period of time. Cocoa plants respond well to relatively high temperatures, with a maximum annual average of between 30 and 32 degrees Celsius and a minimum average of between 18 and 21 degrees Celsius. Again, variations in the yield of cocoa trees from year to year are affected more by rainfall than by any other climatic factor. Trees are very sensitive to a soil water deficiency. Rainfall should be plentiful and well distributed through the year. An annual rainfall level of between 1,500 mm and 2,000 mm is generally preferred. Dry spells, where rainfall is less than 100 mm per month, should not exceed three months. However, cocoa withstands water logging for short periods therefore excess water should not linger. The cocoa tree is sensitive to lack of water, so the soil must have both water retention properties and good drainage.<sup>44</sup> Rainfall and its characteristics in terms of amount, intensity, reliability and distribution influence crop growth and soil erosion.<sup>45</sup> A hot and humid atmosphere is essential for the optimum development of cocoa trees. In cocoa producing countries, relative humidity is generally high, often as much

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<sup>44</sup> <http://www.icco.org/about-cocoa/growing-cocoa.html>

<sup>45</sup> <http://www.medwelljournals.com/fulltext/?doi=aj.2009.77.85>

as 100 per cent during the day, falling to 70 per cent to 80 per cent during the night. The cocoa tree will make optimum use of any light available.<sup>46</sup>

The temperature of the study area is uniformly high throughout the year with the hottest month normally recording about 30 degrees Celsius with about 25.5 degrees Celsius as the mean monthly temperature. The rainfall type experienced over the years is the double maxima pattern with the mean annual range between 125 cm and 175 cm. The first maximum rainfall which is the major rain season normally falls between April and July each year while the second maximum also classified as the minor rain season also falls between September and October. A short dry season known as the *harmattan* is experienced between November and March. Highest relative humidity in the area is recorded during the wet seasons ranging between 75 per cent and 80 per cent with the lowest range between 20 per cent to 35 per cent during the dry *harmattan* season. Sunshine is common all year round. All climatic conditions point to a favourable rate coupled with other factors for good cocoa cultivation. This is also one of the non-economic factors motivating the small-scale cocoa producers extrinsically to continuously remain in the cocoa sector. Some of the cocoa producers indicated that, unlike other natural resources or inputs like land which could be costly and are affected by such factors as land tenure system and land litigation, these climatic factors are to a greater extent beyond the control of man. This they also concede that supply of these resources are free and all these make them happy to tap them to their advantage.

### ***De-motivation***

Some of the producers were quick to admit that, since these climatic conditions are not within the control of any man, in times of failure, like delay in rainfall, it affects their cocoa farms because pods of cocoa farms which are not regularly sprayed get infested with pest and diseases and they start wilting. It was also realized that, in times of failure of rainfall, the producers could have an alternative of irrigation but this practice is lacking among them except those who practise it on their nurseries to raise their own seedlings which are located near water sources.

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<sup>46</sup> <http://www.icco.org/about-cocoa/growing-cocoa.html>

#### **4.2.1.4 Land availability**

Land is not produced, it was created and it is a free gift, variously expressed in different philosophies as Spaceship Earth, the Big Blue Marble, God's Gift, Creation, Gaia, The Promised Land, or Nature. Mankind can only acquire them, often by fighting, or rent-seeking, or in other counterproductive ways (Gaffney 1995). Characteristically, it is a factor of production which is not consumed but without which no production is possible, it has no production cost and though it is malleable in terms of usage for instance from less to a more profitable use, however, its supply is fixed.

Traditional proprietary rights over land in Ghana have undergone various modifications since the colonial era. The prevailing system of land ownership in Ghana is of group units, such as the state, sections of the state, and major clans or extended families, each of which may or may not possess a title to the land that is allodial, thus, non-derivative and original: the opposite of feudal (Bentsi-Enchill 1964). Thus outright ownership of land is still a rare form of land tenure in Ghana.

In the study area like any ordinary rural community in Ghana, part of the land belongs to the chiefs and royals while others also belong to families who have in some instances subdivided those tracts of land among their members (individuals). In some instances, there are settlers or aliens to the community who have bought tracts of land from natives. Land acquisition for farming purposes is not a problem since there are large and many tracts of both used and non-used land available in the area. Some of the cocoa producers expressed the feeling that they farm on family tracts of land. To them, they acquired their pieces of land from family heads or parents. The only challenge for such cocoa producers is that those of them with large family sizes (including their nuclear and extended ones) with many of them involved in farming activities normally do not get the required land sizes of their choice to farm on. In such instances they resort to buying extra tracts of land to supplement their family acquired ones. In some situations, some producers pointed out that, they also face stiff opposition from envious family members as their cocoa farms boom. This is particularly common among producers farming on unshared family tracts of land. However, in spite of some of these challenges, easy access to and acquisition of land in the area is one of the motivating factors which rationally drive some cocoa producers in continuous cocoa production. Some producers farm on family land, rent, buy or farm for sharing between them and the landowners.

## *De-motivation*

### **Land tenure system**

The pressure from increasing population and the practice of dividing land equally among heirs causes excessive sub divisions of farm holdings. Consequently, the holdings are small and fragmented. The small size of holdings makes farming activity uneconomical and leads to social tension, violence and discontentment.

As the 2010 PHC of Fawohoyeden stood at 4721 people with an annual growth rate of 2.6 per cent, the population keeps on increasing and this will continue to be a canker on land holdings. The area is a true farming community where sharing of land among families also remains a common practice making continues decrease in land sizes among the producers constituting a serious disincentive to further investments in cocoa production. What aggravates the woes of cocoa farming under land tenure system according to producers is competition of the sector with other economic and social activities such as production of other cash and food crops, building of houses particularly on tracts of land closer to residential areas due to population growth and expansion of residential facilities. All these remain big challenges in continuous production of cocoa among the producers.

### **Boundary disputes**

This has been one of the greatest difficulties among landowners particularly farmers in Ghana over the years. Boundary disputes normally arise when the owners of pieces of land sharing common boundaries are deceased and their heirs do not have enough knowledge about the actual demarcations. This issue crops up in times when producers are extending their farms on unoccupied piece of land sharing a common boundary with other pieces of land. This issue has been in existence since Adams. It severely de-motivates most small-scale cocoa producers in continuous cocoa production.

## **4.2.2.0 Social and cultural factors (motivations and de-motivations)**

### **4.2.2.1 Labour availability**

#### *Motivation*

By labour the researcher in simple terms refers to performing physically demanding work with human resources whose services are required for such activities as land preparation, harvesting of cocoa pods, post harvest practices of cocoa such as pod breaking, fermentation,

carrying of beans to the house for drying and drying as well as the practices of maintenance culture on farms such as regular weeding, replacement of aged and infested cocoa trees, pruning, spraying and fertilizer application. Labour which is a factor of production is of great importance in the cocoa production sector because the sector requires much time and it is also labour intensive with a lot of processes from land acquisition and preparing through to the marketing or selling stage when the producer takes the beans to an LBC.

Unlike the western world or the developed parts of the world where advanced forms of technology make it possible for farmers of all kinds to acquire modern machines and tools which could do most of the above mentioned labour activities, in the developing world like Ghana, these technologies and modern forms of tools are not in existence particularly among small-scale producers. The truth is that even if the modern tools are available, most of them could not patronise them because they get low incomes from their produce since they also produce on small holdings. As much of the labour activities on the farms are physically demanding, the producers waste much time in their business.

According to the cocoa producers, their common sources of labour are hired labour, family labour, own labour and friends' labour. As most of the producers are into cocoa production as full time employment because they are not engaged in any other activities, they normally use their own labour on daily basis. The most common activity which requires hired labour is when the producers are clearing the land for either new cocoa farms or extension of the already existing farms. In general, most of the producers revealed that they spend much money on hired labour for weeding their farms than any other activity involving the application of physical strength. They went further to indicate that, in the olden days it was a common practice among the producers and farmers in general to weed and perform other farms activities through a practice called *nnoboa*. This is a situation where some farmers come together to work on each one's farm altogether in turns. This was a very helpful practice as those with poor finances easily benefit from it. It fosters unity and love among them as well as skill sharing. This practice is not common these days and even if it still exists, the aged cocoa producers do not benefit from it because of old age. The figure below is a typical example of one of the cocoa farms the researcher visited.





Figure 11: Labour from friends.

Source: Part of researcher's field data (August, 2013).

Figure 11 above depicts engagement of friends' labour on a cocoa farm for gathering and breaking of cocoa pods after harvesting them. They were using cutlasses for the pod breaking exercise. Many hands made the exercise run faster however, the owner of the cocoa farm provided food and drinks to the labourers. It is also a typical example of the *nnoboa* practice.

One interesting situation among the producers is that, in most instances, it is the aged, the female producers and those who do other jobs who rely much on hired labour. Most of the male producers who are in full time production normally rely on their own labour. Moreover, most farmers apart from their own labour also depend on family members and friends for harvesting and post harvesting activities such as pod breaking, fermentation, carrying of the beans home and drying. Again, other areas where some of the producers engage hired labour are the application of fertilizers and pesticides. Since labour in any of the forms above are always available, the producers also see that as a great boost of interest which motivates them to continuously remain in the cocoa production business. However, the researcher identified

that some of the producers who use family labour sometimes engage the services of children, thus they promote child labour by using particularly their own children who drop out of school, during the weekends or when schools are on vacations. The main reason prompting those producers to rely on child labour is due to low income and poverty among most of them.

Low cocoa prices paid to predominantly smallholder producers make cocoa producers reliant on cheap labour, including using family members and children. Farming cocoa, particularly in West Africa, is characterised by long hours in the sun performing physically demanding work, the use of hazardous cutting tools, travelling great distances, carrying heavy loads, and pesticide and chemical exposure. Child labour has been a concern.<sup>47</sup>

### *De-motivation*

#### **Labour constraints**

"The emergence of mining activities by NGGL in the neighbouring Asutifi North and South districts has been a major setback in hired labour availability to some of us as cocoa farmers," says a thirty seven year old mother of three who is operating a five acre cocoa farm. She added that, "worst of it all is the influx of illegal small-scale mining activities popularly called *galamsay* in most of the communities where NGGL is operating currently and including some communities in Asunafo municipality where the research community is located." It was made known by the comments of some producers that, as supply of hired labour has reduced coupled with constant demand for it, this has triggered an increase in hired labour cost and the worst victims are women, the aged and male producers who are not full time producers.

Another issue which adds to labour challenges is over reliance on traditional implements such as axe and cutlasses on farm practices such as clearing of unwanted trees, weeding, pruning and pod breaking. There is no form of mechanized farming practices among the producers. This hampers the development of cocoa production.

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<sup>47</sup> <http://campaign.worldvision.com.au/wp-content/uploads/2013/04/Our-Guilty-Pleasure-Exploitative-Child-Labour-in-the-Chocolate-Industry-Report-Summary.pdf>

Again, most producers lamented over the issue of sub-standard work among hired labourers due to their scarcity. All these highly demoralise the producers in continuous cocoa production.

#### **4.2.2.2 Social status**

##### ***Motivation***

Most people in the pre-colonial, colonial and post colonial times rose to prominence due to their entrepreneurship in the cocoa sector. In some instances, some of the cocoa producers were seen and classified as opinion leaders, rich people and some were even bestowed with sub-chief titles within their communities. In those days when polygamous marriage was a common practice within the Ghanaian traditional setting, some of the cocoa producers took advantage of their popularity as rich farmers to marry even the beautiful and educated women in society. This perception of the cocoa producers being rich and high class people still exists in most cocoa producing communities of which Fawohoyeden in of no exception. A sub-chief who doubles as a full time cocoa producer said that:

*"I have been tagged as a rich man for the past twenty years when I started harvesting cocoa and because of that many people in this community come to me for borrowing when they are in financial crises. All this stems from the fact that at the end of each cocoa season they see the quantity of cocoa beans I dry as much and assume that I earn a lot from the sales of the beans hence prompting them to act the way they do."*

The chief further noted that, this does not happen to him alone but also to some other cocoa producers he personally knows. He however conceded to the fact that cocoa production is a tedious activity, time consuming and costly among other challenges, yet the respect accorded some of them makes them feel proud and flattered to forget about the challenges they face and out of motivation stay in the cocoa production sector.

##### ***De-motivation***

Disturbances for loans and regular invitations for social and religious functions.

### 4.2.2.3 Family business or background

#### *Motivation*

*"From the beginning, the majority of Ghanaian cocoa farms have been small, individual or family owned plots," (Sarah and Bayer 2009:5).*

In the study community the sayings that, 'like father, like son' and 'charity begins at home' are true realities among some cocoa producing homes and households. These witty sayings are discovered by the researcher as very influential factors motivating people to also join and continuously be in the cocoa production sector. It was observed that, cocoa production is a family affair among some homes because, in some instances the producers engage the labour and services of family members particularly their own children of school going age. It was expressed among some other interviewees that they are into cocoa production over some years now because as they grew up they realized that almost every matured and responsible member in their families was a cocoa producer. Thus, they are socialized and also groomed into becoming cocoa producers and since they still find themselves in the community where other opportunities and potentials exist for the cocoa business they also make hay while the sun shines (take advantage to produce cocoa). In his worlds, a 41 year old male cocoa producer emphatically made it known that:

*"In my tender age, I realized that my grandparents of both of my parents were cocoa farmers while my parents were and still are also in the trade, so no wonder myself together with my three other siblings who have even migrated into other cities for a living are now also into it and I confidently and hopefully can state that, my kids will also join the trail in some years to come."*

This producer accepted subsequently that his family owes many acres of tracts of farm land and he believes this coupled with other factors is the reason why cocoa production has become a common trade among members of his family over decades. In another development, a 74 year old female producer also affirmed that:

*"I see the cocoa production business as something in my bloodline because I witnessed in my early twenties that many of my family members were abundantly and fully cocoa farmers. However, of late some are still in it but not as it used to be for a simple reason that, due to the practice of land tenure system among us over the years, the expected parcels of land for the trade are difficult to acquire from our family unless one buys additional parcels of land to supplement."*

### ***De-motivation***

Over reliance on cocoa production among some homes was observed as a major challenge depriving some of the producers from diversifying and getting themselves into other farming and non-farming activities to secure their economic status in future.

#### **4.2.2.4 Legacy**

##### ***Motivation***

Legacy is one of the factors among others which also motivates some of the cocoa producers in the study area to continuously be in the cocoa sector. The area is predominantly occupied by the *Akans*. The traditional *Akan* economic and political organization is based on matrilineal *lineages*, which are the basis of inheritance and succession. Matrilineal inheritance and succession were common practices among the people of the *Akan* ethnic stock in Ghana in the olden days. Children could not inherit from their fathers unless under 'wills' meanwhile most fathers were not making 'wills'. In 1985 under the governance of former president J. J. Rawlings, PNDC law 111 known as *intestate succession law* was promulgated to give rights to widows and children of deceased husbands to inherit some parts of their properties left behind without a 'will' which would have been otherwise inherited by the nieces and nephews of the deceased husband. This brought much relief to many people who started inheriting from the properties of their deceased fathers and husbands.

Whatever the case was, many cocoa producers to date are still benefitting from cocoa farms bequeathed to them from parents or families. In most cases, female cocoa producers legate their farms to their children. On the side of the male producers, in some instances some few acres of the farm are also legated to their families outside their marriages (siblings, uncles or living parents). For those who consider this act as a good practice they reveal that, the constitution of Ghana flexibly permits that. More importantly is also the fact that their families in one way or the other have suffered on them before and so they must also benefit from any little gains they make in life. Interestingly, one revealing fact about legating cocoa farms to either wives or children by the male producers was largely determined by the sort of land for the production. In situations where the male producers farm on family tracts of land, by the *Akan* tradition, the man cannot legate it to his wife and children unless that particular tract of land has been blessed and permanently given to the man as his bona fide property. Again, or by special arrangement with the family head to come into consensus and agree on

some principles before this could materialise. Inheriting cocoa farms from deceased family members is also one of the social factors which motivate some of the producers to produce cocoa continuously because among the *Akans* for instance, there is the believe that inherited properties are not usually or commonly sold.

### ***De-motivation***

Family litigations are very common among producers who inherited their farms from deceased family members. This is common among farms of deceased producers who did not make any 'will'. Litigations over sharing of farms are among the issues commonly settled by traditional authorities and courts of competent jurisdiction in Ghana. Litigation which normally arises from misunderstanding, enmity, and cheating among family members is time consuming and costly. It turns out to de-motivate some of the producers who have been victims before.

### **4.2.3 Personal factors**

These are more or less intrinsic factors which motivate the producers into continuous cocoa production. They include skills, interest and time.

#### **4.2.3.1 Skills or technology**

##### ***Motivation***

For any business to prove successful and sustainable, the entrepreneur should have a learned ability or a level of knowledge among other factors to some extent on what they intend to do. Even if the entrepreneur lacks knowledge on their intended business, the skills on it must be in existence and within their reach to easily tap or employ others who have the skills. Knowledge in cocoa production in the cocoa growing areas in Ghana has become a common phenomenon among producers and even non-producers. After the successful spread of cocoa when Tetteh Quarshie introduced it in 1879 in Mampong-Akuapim in the eastern region from the island of Fernando Po, many individuals started producing it because they realized that it was economically viable. Cocoa has remained economically viable to date and that is why it is cultivated by millions of Ghanaians as they have learned the needed skills in its production particularly in the traditional way.

Though, most of the interviewees were illiterates, it was all joy as most were able to describe the various processes involved in cocoa production. Surprisingly, the researcher is convinced

beyond doubt that most of the producers are very skilful in cocoa production because apart from their knowledge in the processes involved in cocoa production, some are also endowed with knowledge in the following: pests and diseases which attack cocoa, rainfall seasons and even the signs of good harvest, good tract of land with quality soil type, as well as knowledge in good and bad planting materials. In some instances, some producers clearly stated that, they could even conjecture the quantity of beans they would bag after harvesting, pod breaking and drying. All these confirm how skilful and knowledgeable some of the producers are as one can easily conclude that most producers actually know and have what it takes to produce cocoa.

In enquiring about their sources of knowledge, it came up that various factors play a significant role in equipping the producers with such production techniques. Among them are learning from family sources. As already discussed above, in some homes cocoa production is a family affair involving parents and wards where some children of even school going age are used as labour on cocoa farms. Through this the children gradually acquire much knowledge and when they grow up they already have the technological know-how to start their own farms when tracts land become available to them. Moreover, others also get the skills from friends as they consult them for guidelines. Not all, through observation, some producers also gain skills to boost their interest. Better still, in some occasions, some producers take advantage of the government institutions established by law to handle issues on cocoa production in the area which are subsidiaries of Ghana COCOBOD. Examples of such institutions existing in the area are SPU, CSSVDCU and QCD. The producers fall on these institutions for hybrid cocoa seeds, pods and seedlings or knowledge on how to raise these hybrid cocoa materials on their own, how to make quality cocoa beans for sales and how to control weeds, pests and diseases, best planting spaces on farms, how and when to apply fertilizers and other agro chemicals. In short, the availability of skills in cocoa production from diverse sources and means is one of the factors which according to the producers motivates them at all times to continuously produce cocoa.

### ***De-motivation***

#### **Limited or no access to training**

No matter how resourceful the producers are and how much inputs they employ on their farms without being equipped with modern technological practices, yields from their farms would still remain low and their incomes would also be adversely affected. Though it is true

that most of the producers are experienced and seemingly knowledgeable about cocoa production practices, their knowledge to a larger extent is traditional. Thus, most of them lack modern practices because they are illiterates and are not abreast with new ideas. Thorough enquiries divulged that, hardly do the producers get training from the government. A male taxi driver in his mid forties lamented in a focus group discussion that:

*"I do not remember even a day that I have been summoned by either a governmental or non-governmental organization to have a session or two as a cocoa farmer on some of the best techniques in improving yields."*

This comment was rejected by some of the members for the fact that they have been organised before for training but it was confirmed that, that was a handy work of an NGO and not by any government institution.

#### **4.2.3.2 Interest**

##### ***Motivation***

Some cocoa producers believe in the idea that, success in most human actions is largely determined by people's interests in those actions. This revelation gained grounds when it was known from some cocoa producers that, because of some stiff challenges they face at certain points in time, they feel like quitting the cocoa production business and use their tracts of land for something else, but for their interest in cocoa production, they still continue as cocoa producers. A thirty year old female junior high school graduate who has been into cocoa production for six years indicated that:

*"Interest is a supreme motivation factor for being a cocoa farmer. I and my other two male siblings acquired the land from our father. While one is using his for palm plantation, the other one has rented his out to a migrant farmer who is cultivating food crops on it. Their only reason for not producing cocoa is that they are not interested in cocoa farming. Meanwhile we were all at a point helping our parents on their cocoa farms."*

The story did not end there. A fifty nine year old male full time producer also recounted that:

*"The cocoa production business is not all that rosy and profitable. It is just that most of the farmers normally do not do proper accounting on cost benefit analysis. For some of us who sometimes check all these, we realize that sometimes we run at a loss. But for the love of it and determination to improve upon our skills to bear on output, we still continue to produce it."*



Self-interest is also one of the paramount motivating tools propelling some of the cocoa producers into continuous cocoa production.

#### **4.2.3.3 Time**

##### ***Motivation***

Cocoa production is a time consuming activity from land acquisition to sales of the beans after drying. Since cocoa is a cash crop with a live span of about twenty five years on the average, its production requires much attention. Though some of the producers are into it in full time, others are also doing it on part time basis. For those who are not into it on full time, most of them are employed in the formal sector (government workers). Such government workers doubling as cocoa producers normally engage the services of hired labourers in most cases while they themselves also visit their farms on holidays and weekends. However, it was also observed that, though some of the producers were once engaged in full time on their cocoa farms, they are no more because of old age and sicknesses. In his words a seventy eight year old retired educationist said that:

*"Before I retired as an educationist, I could only join my wife and children to my cocoa farm during the weekends. I usually engaged the services of hired labourers. After my pension, I was doing most activities such as weeding, spraying, pruning and harvesting among others on my own because I was free. Unfortunately, by my age now, though I am still free, yet I am weak to perform these same activities I used to do with the exception of drying after the fermented beans are brought home."*

Cocoa production is indeed a tedious and time consuming activity and most of the farmers who have ample time and are full time producers normally cut down expenditure on labour for spraying, pod breaking and carrying of fermented beans home among other activities.

#### **4.3. Other de-motivating factors**

Through the individual interviews and focus group discussions as well as by the observations of the researcher, the following were also identified as other difficulties which de-motivate the producers.

##### **4.3.1 Lack of savings**

Saving is not in the good books of most of them for the fact that, according to them they normally get low income from the sales of the beans due to high production cost and poor prices paid to them. These apart, most of them normally owe debts as a result of borrowing. Therefore, at the end of each cocoa season most producers pay such debts and have little income left to live on. All these do not provide a good platform for savings, hence leaving most of them with no sources of support in times when they require money to purchase inputs to maintain their farms. 'I do not earn much from my eight acre cocoa farm. Meanwhile I have four children all of school going age. Sometimes it is not easy for me economically and so find it very difficult to save.' These were the words of a forty five year old male cocoa producer.

#### **4.3.2 Pests and Diseases attack**

Pests and diseases attack is one of the major reasons for incurring low yield and losses among cocoa producers in the world. Control of pest and diseases is therefore a key part of efficient management of a cocoa farm. To be able to better control them on their farms, the producers need to be able to recognize the diseases' symptoms, understand their causes and know how their organisms operate. Again, they need to as well be conversant with the various pests of cocoa in their communities.<sup>48</sup> Critical assessment of the situation on the field pointed to the fact that, the producers have ample knowledge on the common pests and diseases which normally attack their cocoa farms. The following are examples of common cocoa pests which are identified in the community; termites, caterpillars, grasshoppers, rodents, mirids or capsids, mealybugs and cocoa stem borers while common cocoa diseases are CSSVD, black pod and mistletoes.

In controlling cocoa pests and diseases, all trees should receive individual attention, as a single infected plant is likely to act as a source of infection for all the other trees on the farm. It was noticed in a focus group discussion that, in some instances that is not the case among the producers. This emanates from the fact that as some producers control pests and diseases on their farms, other neighbouring farms are not controlled and even if they do, it is not done at the same time and later there is spread of pests and diseases on to the controlled farm(s). The researcher observed that, most of the cocoa farms are close to each other and even in some cases there are no signs of demarcations. This according to the producers is a common

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<sup>48</sup> <http://www.roundtablecocoa.org/documents/CB-16-2%20-%20ICCO%20-%20Best%20known%20practices.pdf>

incident among those on family lands particularly those who inherit their farms from family members. The inability of some farmers to properly control pests and diseases on their farms is to some extent as a result of the fact that, according to them, they obtain limited income from cocoa production as a result of low price for the sales of the beans, farm credit is a major handicap and the ageing of trees coupled with the lack of adequate inputs. Pests and diseases attack was mentioned by all the interviewees as a major challenge in cocoa production de-motivating producers all the time.

#### **4.3.3 Ageing of cocoa producers**

Ageing which is natural is observed as biggest challenge among the producers. The researcher observed that, only a few of the producers are below forty years. The young ones are not much interested in farming activities in general by virtue of the following reasons among others: they normally migrate into towns to further their education, to learn new trade and to enjoy urban lifestyle and social amenities. What worsens the situation is the over reliance on traditional tools and obsolete technology which are physically demanding. Lack of regular checkups coupled with poverty and common tropical diseases such as malaria and typhoid fever continue to weaken most of these aged producers. Aging turns out to be costly to the affected producers because they have to spend much on labour and other services apart from costs on inputs purchases.

#### **4.3.4 Lack of basic infrastructure**

Though cocoa has remained the hope of most producing countries in the world due to the revenue it generates for those countries. Ironically, most of the producers who are normally on small holdings lack access to basic infrastructure in the producing countries. In Nigeria for instance many small holder cocoa producers struggle to earn a living in communities that have neither running water nor electricity.<sup>49</sup> The situation is not different in the study area. The housing situation of the farmers is highly unattractive and far below standard. A few of them reside in block houses while most are in houses built by thatch. In any case, most of the houses are without toilet facilities and the producers use dirty and disease prone public toilet facilities. In the study area exists a health post, however, it lacks basic equipment such as ambulance to cater for emergency situations.

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<sup>49</sup> <http://www.oxfam.ca/sites/default/files/imce/btb-oxfam-cocoa-case-studies.pdf>

Furthermore, most of the cocoa farms are tens of kilometres away from the points of residence of many producers and yet they foot to their farms all the time because they do not have any means of transport leading into their farms. The basic source of relief is either the use of bicycle or motor bikes. However, most of the producers do not have them for the reason being that they cannot buy fuel particularly for the motor bikes and also they cannot bear the cost of maintenance. On the side of the females, even if they could afford, most of them could still not use them because of the hilly and bushy nature of existing footpaths leading to their farms.

Again, isolation is a biggest challenge to those producers who normally spend some days residing in structures built on their cocoa farms. Some of them maintained that, in such situations they have no access to health posts, potable water, means of transport, markets or any other public services. 'For lack of these infrastructure, I had to move with my family here in Fawohoyeden from our village nearby my cocoa farm more particularly for my wards' education.' A male small-scale cocoa producer narrated. This producer's point is that, as a full time producer, he had ample time on his cocoa farm while staying in the nearby village than being in town because he has to walk over ten kilometres each day before getting to his farm since there is no means of transport from his current residence to his farm.

By and large, irrigation facilities are not also available in the area. So the production of cocoa is left to the mercy of the seasonal character and the variability nature of rains from year to year which are erratic in time and space.

#### **4.3.5 Injury and harm**

Cocoa producers are exposed to a wide range of harm particularly on the farm. Sometimes, some of the producers are bitten and attacked by animals such as snakes, scorpions, centipedes and bees. This is as a result of improper dressing on their part. It was discovered that, cutlass wounds are very rampant. During the rainy seasons, most of them are beaten by rains because only a few of them have shelter on their farms. Simple tools such as wellington boots, rain coats, goggles and other preventive devices or dresses are lacking in the homes of most producers. Worst of it all, there is no sensitization exercise for them about the proper dress code for their work. A sad incident the researcher witnessed was a fifty five year old farmer popularly called 'Soldier Man' who has lost his right eye because a piece of wood pierced into it. All these go a long way to de-motivate the producers.

#### **4.3.6 Activities of thieves**

Thieves have been a source of nuisance and worry to most of the producers. On the farms thieves steal fresh and matured pods on cocoa trees and beans under fermentation. In homes too they also steal drying beans. This is much disturbing as it is alarming.

#### **4.4 Net effect of motivating and de-motivating factors on cocoa production**

Ultimately, it was quite clear among most of the producers that despite the hydra headed challenges which de-motivate them at certain points in their work, they still feel contented with the little gains they make. Interestingly, there are some of them who conceded of making significant gains and hope to even gain more should the price of the beans increase at the same pace of inflation. 'All things being equal, cocoa production is a juicy and a gainful business if a producer has money to purchase and apply inputs at the right time, has control over the sale of the beans and can also conform to modern cultivation practices at all times among others. Even, with the conditions under which some of us produce cocoa, we still make some gains which make it very difficult to quit,' says a fifty eight year old male producer. In short, all enquiries from the producers pointed to the fact that, there is no turning back once they enter into the sector.

Nonetheless, the pride associated with the sector alone which was clearly exhibited by most of the producers is enough indication that no matter what challenges which come their way, they would still manage them and remain strong and hope that, it shall be well in the near future.

#### **4.5 Conclusion**

Every year over half a million tonnes of cocoa are taken from the sprawls of farms across Ghana to be exported all around the globe. The continuous production of cocoa remains vital to the country's economy as it is one of the chief exports for Ghana. As such, it is important that the cogs in the cocoa machine are kept running efficiently so that the economy remains just as sweet as the chocolate being made from the cocoa. All the factors motivating the small-scale cocoa producers to continuously produce cocoa complement and inter-link each other. None of them motivates the producers in isolation and the researcher is of a strong

conviction that the producers who are rational beings in spite of the various challenges they face in the sector, do produce cocoa on their own freewill.

# **CHAPTER FIVE**

## **SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS**

### **5.1 Introduction**

In the previous chapter the data gathered from the field work was analysed and discussed thoroughly under economic and non-economic factors intrinsically and extrinsically motivating the small scale-cocoa producers in continuous cocoa production. This chapter therefore gives a brief summary, conclusion, recommendation to stakeholders in the cocoa sector and suggestion for further research.

### **5.2 Summary**

The complementary model below indicates that none of the factors could motivate the small-scale cocoa producers to continuously produce cocoa in the absence of other factors. However, it was indicated by majority of the producers that economic factors such as employment, unemployment, food and income and profit coupled with all the natural factors are the most influential among the factors in motivating the producers to continuously produce cocoa. This is shown from figure 12 below.

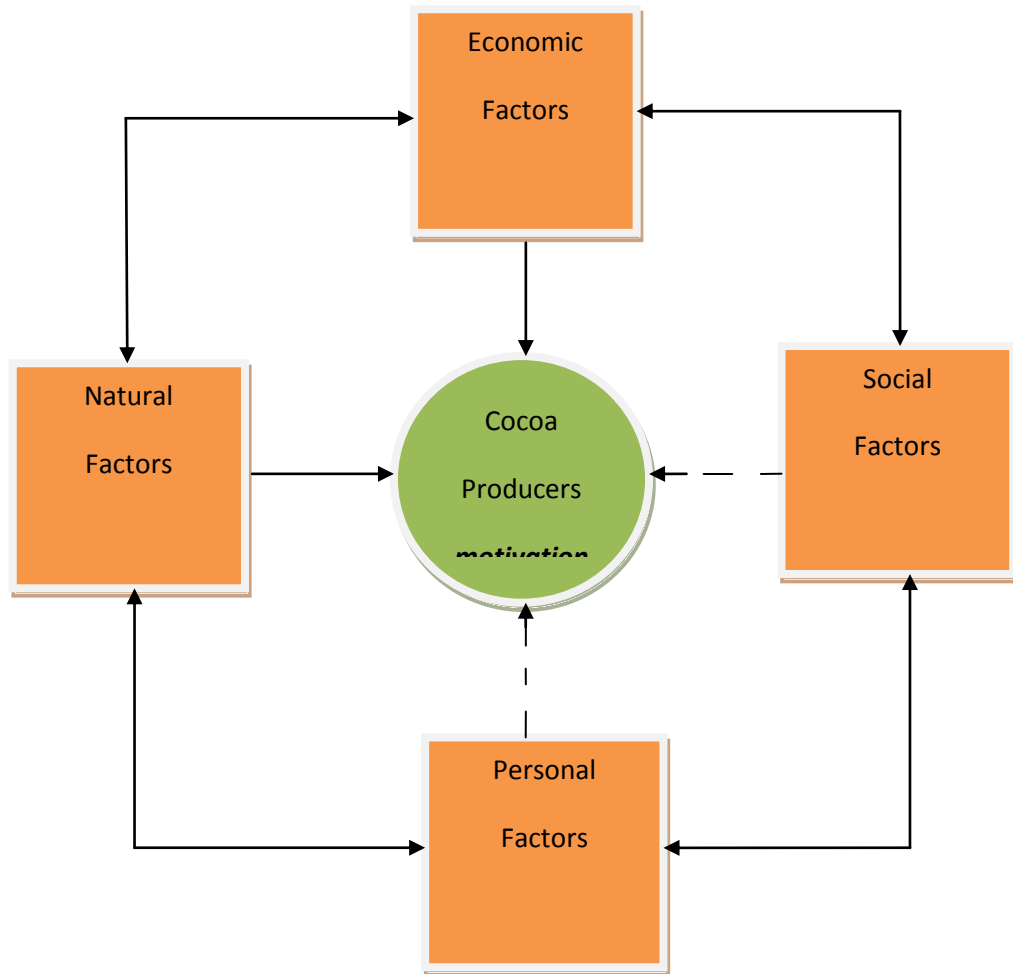


Figure 12: A complementary model (differences in the motivating factors).

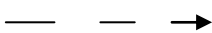
Source: Researcher's own construct.

**Key**

The lines/arrows indicate factors which have very strong influence in motivating the producers in continuous cocoa production from the producers' perspective.



The broken lines/arrows indicate factors which do not have very strong influence in motivating the producers in continuous cocoa production from the producers' perspective.



The following are the various factors identified from the producers as the main economic and non-economic which both intrinsically and extrinsically motivate them in continuous cocoa production:

- Economic factors include the following:



- Employment
  - Unemployment
  - Market potentials and accessibility
  - Access to credit facilities from LBCs and money lenders
  - Income and profit
  - Economic independence and social protection
  - Favourable government policies
  - Availability of inputs
  - Food
- Non-economic motivating factors include the following:
    - Environmental or natural factors:
      - Soil
      - Vegetation
      - Climatic conditions
      - Land availability
    - Social and cultural factors:
      - Labour availability
      - Social status
      - Family business
      - Legacy
    - Personal factors:
      - Skills or technology
      - Interest
      - Time

Although as indicated from figure 12 above, economic factors and natural factors under the non-economic factors were mostly pronounced by majority of the interviewees as the most important and influential factors which motivate them in continuous cocoa production. However, employment, income and profit, food as well as market potentials and accessibility were observed as motivating factors of much importance to the producers.

Another issue which became evident from this research is low standard of living among most of the producers. This was through some producers' confession and researcher's observation. In terms of accommodation, majority of them reside in poor and unimaginable houses. Some of their houses built by mud are accident prone especially in times of heavy rainfall and strong winds. It was evident that most of them are severely wallowing in abject poverty. Thus, they do not live any meaningful lifestyle.

More so, most of the producers are illiterates. This is costing them badly because they seem not to do proper planning about how to do things right in their cocoa business. Because of this they do not seem to be innovative by organizing themselves to invite cocoa officers for regular training and updates to equip themselves with modern practices in the sector. It was observed that, they always expect help from government. Because of illiteracy, most of them cannot read and write and the main source of information they rely on is through radio announcements and advertisements on cocoa production.

Furthermore, diversification for non-farm income is not common among most of the producers. Most of them who have diversified still engage in other farming activities either in production of other cash crops of which palm plantation is the most popular among others or in food crops production such as plantain, cassava, cocoyam and maize. It was observed that, most of them feel secured in diversifying in the farming sector other than non-farming activities for many reasons commonly mentioned among them included: illiteracy, lack of starter pack or seed capital to start any other businesses on their own, existing and ample knowledge in traditional farming practices, availability of arable land, favourable weather conditions and the commonness of farming activities in the area specifically and Ghana as a whole.

Again, most of the producers' spouses' are also cocoa producers. The men mentioned that their wives are also producing cocoa and vice versa. Interestingly, it was only in a few instances that it was revealed that married women support their husbands to produce cocoa.

Ghana's economy which has been largely dependent on agriculture over the years has a large chunk of its population in the sector be it in either animal rearing or crop production. Both food and cash crops of different kind are cultivated in Ghana mostly on small holdings. Cocoa stands tall in terms of economic gains by the country (Ghana) as a whole and other stakeholders particularly those involved in post-production activities (marketing and processing companies) among the major cash crops with the sector dominated by small-scale

producers. However, this research work found out that the small-scale producers are the least beneficiaries in the cocoa business hence majority of them wallowing in abject poverty. The poor natures of the producers largely because of the low income and profit from cocoa production is also to a larger extent in the opinion of the researcher through experience and observation stems from lack of initiative on the part of producers, lack of jobs, illiteracy, unwillingness on the part of most producers to migrate, high dependency rate, high cost of living and lack of social protection/security.

Cocoa marketing is partially liberalized as LBCs purchase the beans after drying from the producers and sell them to Ghana COCOBOD for supply to local processors and for export. In as much as the small-scale producers are motivated by a lot of economic and non-economic factors which are either of intrinsic or of extrinsic nature interlinking and complementing each other, there are a wide array of factors which de-motivate them and need serious attention. However, majority of the small-scale producers though lead low standard lifestyle, they still see the cocoa production business as inalienable or they still want to continue with the cocoa production and remain in it. This in the researcher's opinion could be as a result of lack of alternative non-farming jobs especially for those who are not willing to migrate into other areas and still reside in Fawohoyeden.

Finally, from the researcher's observation and extensive experience in cocoa production in Ghana over the years, the researcher is of strong opinion that most of the revelations and/or findings from this research work are similar to what prevails in most of the other cocoa producing communities in Ghana.

### **5.3 Recommendations**

The following recommendations have been made based on the findings of the research.

#### ***Government***

- To ease access to the cocoa farms, the GOG should as a matter of urgency construct a lot of feeder roads in the cocoa growing centres. Optionally, motorbikes and bicycles of good quality with less fuel consumption for the former could be either freely or at low cost distributed among the producers to make commuting between their farms and homes very easy.

- COCOBOD subsidiaries such as SPU and CSSVDCU who are in direct contact with the producers should be well resourced to organize the producers regularly for updates and training on modern practices.
- Price paid to producers should be reviewed regularly and when possible adjusted upward when world market price of cocoa is favourable.

### ***COCOBOD***

- It should base research and policy assumptions on the needs expressed by the producers. It has been argued by many that the most promising way to make research findings and government policies relevant and acceptable to farmers is to base research and policy assumptions on the needs as expressed by the farmers and on the difficulties they face (Dormon *et al.* 2004).
- In order to avoid cheating on producers by the LCBs at their buying centres, COCOBOD has to institute and enforce proper marking and monitoring measures.
- Monitoring of licensed agro-chemical sellers is of great concern. This would help eliminate the influx of fake agro-chemicals on the market.

### ***Cocoa producers***

- They are encouraged to prioritise forming cooperative associations with the aim of accessing credits, training and updates. This can be a source of improving yields and outputs from their farms.
- They are encouraged to diversify into non-farm income jobs such as trading and artisan activities which can secure them economically in times their cocoa farms and other farming activities fail to earn them good profits.
- They are encouraged to be innovative.

### **5.4 Suggestions for further research**

This study relied solely on qualitative research method as semi-structured questionnaires were administered for the data collection. I suggest that, both qualitative and quantitative research methods could be used to get much insight into the objectives of this study.

Again, further research could be conducted into the issue of, 'why Ghana as a whole and other stakeholders make much economic and non-economic gains from the cocoa sector but majority of the producers who are dominantly on small-scale are poor.'

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## **Appendix**

### **INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR FIELDWORK**

#### **INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR INDIVIDUAL SMALL-SCALE COCOA PRODUCERS (FARMERS)**

##### **A. Personal Data**

1. Sex (a) Male (b) Female
2. Age groups ..... 20s ( ) 30s ( ) 40s ( ) 50s ( ) 60+ ( )
3. Educational Level. (a) Non-formal (b) Primary (c) Secondary (d) Tertiary

##### **B. Information on cocoa production**

1. What is your position/role in this business? (Own, Family, Leasehold)
2. For how long have you been producing cocoa?
3. How did you get yourself involved in cocoa production? Thus, was it by your own initiative, a legacy or by what means?
4. How many acres is your cocoa farm?
5. (a) What type of cocoa do you sell after harvest? (a) Pods (b) fermented beans (c) dried beans
5. (b) How many bags of cocoa produce as you have stated in (a) above do you expect from your cocoa farm per season?
6. (c) How many bags did you get in the last three seasons?
6. (d) how many bags do you expect in this season?
7. How satisfied are you with the number of bags you get per season?
8. What factors do you think contribute to the high or low yield of the number of bags you get per season?

9. (a) how much did you earn in a season over the last three years per bag?
9. (b) How much do you expect to sell per bag in the coming season?
10. Are you satisfied with the price you get per bag?
- 11a. Do you want to continue with this business and for how long?
- 11b. If No, why?
12. What factors really motivate you to continue with the production of cocoa?
13. What factors de-motivate you (make you lose interest) in continuous cocoa production?
- 14a. Do you apply fertilizers and spraying chemicals on your farm?
- 14b. If Yes in 14a how often?
- 14c. If No in 14a why?

### **INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION AMONG SMALL-SCALE COCOA PRODUCERS**

1. What factors really motivate you to continue with the production of cocoa?
2. What factors de-motivate you (make you lose interest) in cocoa production?

### **INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR KEY INFORMANTS**

1. Name:.....
2. Status:.....
3. Age:.....
4. Sex:.....
5. Knowledge in cocoa production.

6. Knowledge about motivations of the small-scale cocoa producers.
7. Knowledge about de-motivations of the small-scale cocoa producers.
8. Final remark.

### **ACTIVITIES TO OBSERVE DURING THE FIELDWORK**

1. Bad and good cocoa farms by checking for pods, trees and leaves among others.
2. Check for good quality fermented/dried cocoa beans.
3. Whether producers use traditional or any modern methods such as irrigation or a mixture of traditional and modern methods in on-farm and off-farm practices.
4. Tools or equipment commonly used by producers.