



European
Commission

ENDING CHILD LABOUR

AND PROMOTING SUSTAINABLE COCOA PRODUCTION IN CÔTE D'IVOIRE AND GHANA

FINAL REPORT
June 2021



*International
Partnerships*



An EU funded project
managed by the
EUROPEAN COMMISSION

TiEG

Project implemented by
TRANSPORT & INFRASTRUCTURE
EXPERTISE GROUP

ENDING CHILD LABOUR AND PROMOTING SUSTAINABLE COCOA PRODUCTION IN CÔTE D'IVOIRE AND GHANA

FWC SIEA 2018

Lot 2 Infrastructure, sustainable growth and jobs.

EuropeAid/138778/DH/SER/Multi

Specific Contract Nr 2019/411-610

DISCLAIMER

This report was prepared by Mei Celesta Regina Zegers and Godwin Kojo Ayenor of the Transport & Infrastructure Expertise Group EZHZ (TiEG) in 2020 for the European Commission.

This report has been prepared with the financial assistance of the European Union. The views expressed herein are those of the consultants and therefore in no way reflect the official opinion of the European Commission.

Report prepared by:

ZEGERS, Mei Celesta Regina
AYENOR, Godwin Kojo

Contractor 's name and address:

TRANSPORT & INFRASTRUCTURE
EXPERTISE GROUP EZHZ (TiEG)
Mr Michel Doumont, Project Director
Dlhá 38, 900 31 Stupava, Slovak Republic
Tel. +421 (0)903 294 937
Fax: +421 (0)2 64 360 171
E-mail: m.doumont@tieg-eeig.eu

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This study is the result of the commitment, efforts and contribution of a large number of individuals and institutions. We are grateful that these stakeholders shared their time and interest to provide valuable cooperation and inputs for the completion of this study.

We are particularly obliged to:

- The governments of Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana
- Staff from the European Commission Directorate-General for International Cooperation and Development (DG DEVCO), the Commission's Directorate-General for Migration and Home Affairs, Directorate-General for Justice and Consumers, and the Directorate General for Trade
- United Nations organisations including the International Labour Organization, UNICEF, FAO, and World Bank
- The International Cocoa Initiative
- European Cocoa Association, World Cocoa Foundation, and other cocoa industry networks and companies
- International and national NGOs, international advocacy organisations, workers' and employers' organisations
- Bilateral agencies including from Belgium, Germany, Netherlands, Switzerland and the United States

Last, but not least, this assignment could not have been successfully completed without very supportive efforts from the TiEG EEIG team.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	3
TABLE OF CONTENTS	4
ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS	8
EXECUTIVE SUMMARY	14
NOTE DE SYNTHÈSE	30
PART 1	46
Study purpose and context	46
1.1. GLOBAL OBJECTIVE OF THE STUDY	49
1.2. METHODOLOGY	50
1.2.1. Research context and approach	50
1.2.2. Data Analysis	52
1.2.3. Study Limitations	54
1.3. CONTEXT AND VALUE CHAIN OVERVIEW	54
1.3.1. Key cocoa stakeholders	54
1.3.2. Country value chains	56
1.3.3. International agreements and definitions	56
1.3.4. Country definitions of child labour, legal and policy frameworks	60
1.4. KEY STAKEHOLDERS AND APPROACHES	63
1.4.1. Overview of reductions in child labour that the governments of Côte d’Ivoire and Ghana achieved	64
1.4.2. International programs and agencies	67
1.5. SUMMARY COUNTRY OVERVIEW	72
1.5.1. Country overview Côte d’Ivoire	72
1.5.2. Country overview Ghana	77

PART 2	82
Root causes of child labour and implementation gaps to be addressed	82
2.1. POVERTY AND RELATED PRODUCTION CHALLENGES	83
2.1.1. Measures to increase incomes through pricing	87
2.1.2. Lack of diversification of income sources	89
2.1.3. Weak Farmer Based Organizations (FBOs) and voice	90
2.1.4. Complexity of poverty as a cause of child labour	91
2.2. GOVERNANCE AND ACCESS TO DECENTRALISED SERVICE PROVISION	92
2.2.1. Limited access to quality formal general education	92
2.2.2. Violence in schools	95
2.2.3. Teachers awareness of child labour	96
2.2.4. School feeding availability	97
2.2.5. Limited Technical Vocational Education and Skills Training	98
2.2.6. Apprenticeship and skills training	100
2.2.7. Examples of existing and planned agriculture youth training initiatives	101
2.2.8. Entrepreneurship and literacy skills	102
2.2.9. Limited access to quality social and agricultural support services	102
2.2.10. Child labour reduction initiatives and child protection	103
2.2.11. Social protection	105
2.2.12. Limited capacities to reduce deforestation and other environmental challenges	107
2.2.13. Lack of sufficient and quality physical infrastructure	109
2.3. COORDINATION TO ELIMINATE CHILD LABOUR	111
2.4. INSUFFICIENT DUE DILIGENCE AND TRACEABILITY	113
2.4.1. Challenges to implementing traceability	114
2.5. SOCIAL INCLUSION CHALLENGES	116
2.5.1. Gender issues	117
2.5.2. Youth issues	118
2.5.3. Trafficking and migrants	119
2.5.4. Persons with disabilities	120
2.5.5. The elderly	121
2.5.6. People Living with and/or Affected by HIV	121
2.6. SOCIO-CULTURAL ATTITUDES, CUSTOMS AND PRACTICES	122

PART 3	125
Solutions for child labour systems building in a multi-stakeholder process	125
3.1. POVERTY REDUCTION	127
3.1.1. Cocoa pricing	128
3.1.2. Diversification	130
3.1.3. Agroforestry	130
3.1.4. Strengthening economic empowerment	131
3.1.5. Mechanisms for formalising informal activities	131
3.2. STRENGTHENING CAPACITIES FOR LOCAL DEVELOPMENT TO ELIMINATE CHILD LABOUR	132
3.2.1. Comprehensive joint approaches	134
3.2.2. Local development planning, local by-laws and enforcement	136
3.2.3. Strengthening of Farmer Based Organisations	138
3.2.4. Community strengthening	139
3.2.5. Child protection systems and child labour withdrawal and prevention mechanisms	140
3.2.6. Child labour case management in a child protection system	142
3.2.7. Birth registration	143
3.2.8. Social protection	143
3.2.9. Access to quality education	144
3.2.10. Pedagogy and school-based counselling	145
3.2.11. School feeding	146
3.2.12. Education and digital technology	146
3.2.13. TVEST and decent work for older children and youth (15 through 17 and 18-24)	146
3.2.14. Education and training in cocoa and ancillary activities	147
3.2.15. Occupational Safety and Health and decent work and older children	149
3.2.16. Linking elimination of child labour in cocoa with deforestation	150
3.2.17. Digital technologies and reducing child labour	150
3.3. COORDINATION OF INTERNATIONAL AND NATIONAL LEVEL SYSTEMS	153
3.3.1. Coordinated national systems building: planning, institutions, policies, laws, regulations, and implementation	156
3.3.2. Legal and regulatory framework implementation	158
3.3.3. Vertical and horizontal government managed coordination mechanisms	158
3.3.4. Increasing partnerships on cross border agreements: Côte d'Ivoire, Ghana, Burkina Faso, Mali	160

3.4. DUE DILIGENCE: AGREEMENTS AND IMPLEMENTATION	161
3.4.1. Alliance 8.7 and Due Diligence	166
3.4.2. The Transformative Agenda and Results Based Management	166
3.4.3. Data management	168
3.5. SOCIAL INCLUSION	169
3.6. COUNTRY SPECIFIC SOLUTIONS FOR CÔTE D'IVOIRE AND GHANA	171
3.6.1. Côte d'Ivoire	171
3.6.2. Ghana	172
3.7. SOCIAL BEHAVIOUR CHANGE COMMUNICATIONS	173
3.7.1. Messaging development: Stakeholders in the EU, Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana	176
3.8. PROPOSED KEY AREAS OF CHANGE	178
3.8.1. European Union support	180
3.8.2. Proposed priority funding areas European Union	180
3.8.3. EU role and responsibilities on supporting due diligence	183
3.8.4. Key implementation partners	183
3.8.5. Funding: Coordinated EU, bilateral, producer government and industry streams	186
3.9. CONCLUDING REMARKS	186
REFERENCES	193
ANNEX 1 – Suggested Road Map of Proposed Solutions	210
ANNEX 2 – Webinar Report	224
ANNEX 3 – Mapping of Components Influencing Child Labour	225
ANNEX 4 – Mapping of Key Child Labour reduction mechanisms	228
ANNEX 5 – Stakeholders' Entities Interviewed	229
ANNEX 6 – Research Assumptions	233
ANNEX 7 – Template Interview Guidelines	234

ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

AATIF	Africa Agriculture and Trade Investment Fund
ACCEL	Accelerating action for the elimination of child labour in supply chains
Africa Project	in Africa and Impact Bond in Cote d'Ivoire
ACE	Action Against Exploitation
ACERWC	African Committee of Experts on the Rights and Welfare of the Child
ACHA	Action on Children's Harmful Work in African Agriculture
ACPHA	Alliance for Child Protection in Humanitarian Action
ADM	Archer Daniels Midland
ARSO	African Regional Standardisation Organisation
ARTCI	Autorité de Régulation des Télécommunications de Côte D'Ivoire (Telecommunications Regulatory Authority of Côte d'Ivoire)
AU	African Union
BICE	Bureau International Catholique de l'Enfance
BCC	Behaviour Change Communications
Capacity4Dev	Capacity for Development
CAADP	Comprehensive Africa Agriculture Development Programme
CAOBISCO	Association Communautaire des Industries de la Chocolaterie, Biscuiterie (Association of Chocolate, Biscuits and Confectionery)
CCC	Conseil du Café-Cacao
CCSV	Cocoa Swollen Shoot Virus
CEDEAO	Communauté économique des États de l'Afrique de l'Ouest
CEIS	Centre for Economic and International Studies
CEN	European Committee for Standardization
CGECI	Côte d'Ivoire, the Confédération Générale des Entreprises de Côte d'Ivoire
CIM	Comité interministériel de lutte contre la traite, l'exploitation et le travail des enfants (Inter-ministerial Committee to Combat Trafficking, Exploitation and Child Labour)
CIRAD	Centre de coopération internationale en recherche agronomique pour le développement
CISL Dignité	Confédération Ivoirienne des Syndicats Libres de Côte d'Ivoire
CLCCG	Child Labor Cocoa Coordinating Group
CLEAR	Child Labour Evidence to Action Collaboration
CLEF	Child Learning and Education Facility
CLFZ	Child Labour Free Zone
CLMRS	Child Labour Monitoring and Remediation System

CLMS	Child Labour Monitoring System
CLTETE	Ministère de la Famille, Cellule de Lutte contre la Traite, l'Exploitation et Travail des Enfant
CMSCC	Communication et la mobilisation sociale
CNM	Chambre Nationale de Métiers (National Artisans' Chamber)
CNS	Comité National de Surveillance des Actions de Lutte contre la Traite, l'Exploitation et le travail des Enfants (National Committee for Monitoring Actions to Combat Trafficking, Exploitation and Child Labour)
COCOBOD	Ghana Cocoa Board
COLEACP	Comité de liaison Europe-Afrique-Caraïbes-Pacifique (Association of stakeholders in EU-ACP horticultural trade)
COPAL	Alliance of Cocoa Producing Countries
CPIMS	Child Protection Information Management System (CPIMS)
CRC	UN Convention on the Rights of the Child
CRIG	Cocoa Research Institute of Ghana
CSH	Centrale Syndicale Humanisme
CSO	Civil Society Organisation
CSSV	Cocoa swollen shoot virus
CTA	(Technical) Centre for Agricultural and Rural Cooperation
CTDC	Counter-Trafficking Data Collaborative
DEVCO	European Commission Directorate-General for International Cooperation and Development
DIB	Development Impact Bonds
DISCO	Dutch Initiative on Sustainable Cocoa
EACA	Education, Audio-visual and Culture Executive Agency
EC	European Commission
ECA	European Cocoa Association
ECLIC	Eliminating Child Labor in Cocoa Growing Communities
ECOCERT	ECO certification (Name is not an acronym)
ECOM	ECOM - Agroindustrial Corp. Ltd (Name is not acronym)
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
EFFAT	European Federation of Trade Unions in the Food, Agriculture and Tourism
ELAN	Early Learning and Nutrition Facility
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organization
FASDEP	Food and Agricultural Development Policy
FBK	Fund against Child Labour
FBOs	Farmer Based Organizations
FCC	Federation of Cocoa Commerce

FCCI	Fine Cacao and Chocolate Institute
FENUJECI	Nationale des Unions de Jeunesse Communale de Côte d'Ivoire (National Union of Communal Youth Unions of Côte d'Ivoire)
FESACI	Fédération des Syndicats Autonome de Côte d'Ivoire
FLA	Fair Labor Association
FLEGT	Forest Law Enforcement, Governance and Trade
FOB	Free on Board
FPRW	Fundamental Principles and Rights at Work
GAIN	Global Alliance for Improved Nutrition
GAWU	General Agricultural Workers' Union of Ghana
GBR	Gestion basée sur les résultats
GEPEX	Groupement des Exportateurs
GESI	Gender Equality and Social Inclusion
GEZCI	Global E-Schools and Communities Initiative
GCRN	Ghana Community Radio Network
GISCO	German Initiative on Sustainable Cocoa
GiZ	Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit (German International Development Agency)
GNI	Groupement des Négociants Internationaux
GPS	Global Positioning System
HACCP	Hazard Analysis Critical Control Point
HIVOS	Humanistisch Instituut voor Ontwikkelingssamenwerking, (Humanist Institute for Cooperation with Developing Countries)
HTMB	Human Trafficking Management Board
IABA	Integrated Area-Based Approach
IASC	Inter-Agency Standing Committee
ICCO	International Cocoa Organization
ICFO	International Cocoa Farmers Organisation
ICI	International Cocoa Initiative
IDH	IDH - The Sustainable Trade Initiative (the entity does not provide a meaning for the individual letters of the acronym)
IFC	International Finance Corporation
IFPRI	International Food Policy Research Institute
IGA	Income Generating Activities
ILAB	United States Bureau of International Labor Affairs
ILO	International Labour Organization
ILS	International Labour Standard
INTRACEN	International Trade Centre

IOM	International Organization for Migration (OIM in French)
IPCCLA	International Partnership for Cooperation on Child Labour in Agriculture
IPEC	International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour (ILO)
IRC	International Rescue Committee
ISEAL	ISEAL Alliance (global membership association for credible sustainability standards)
ISO	International Organization for Standardization
IUF	The International Union of Food, Agricultural, Hotel, Restaurant, Catering, Tobacco and Allied Workers' Associations
KIT	Royal Tropical Institute
LARC	Local Agriculture Research Committee
LBC	Licensed Buying Companies (Ghana)
LID	Living Income Differential
MAFAP	Monitoring African Food and Agricultural Policies
MASO	Next Generation Cocoa Program
MDPI	Multidisciplinary Digital Publishing Institute
MENETFP	Ministère de l'Éducation Nationale, de l'Enseignement Technique et de la Formation Professionnelle.
MESW	Ministry of Employment and Social Welfare
MOCA	Mobilizing Community Action and Promoting Opportunities for Youth in Ghana's Cocoa-Growing Communities
MODA	National Multiple Overlapping Deprivations Analysis
MEPS	Ministère de l'Emploi et de la Protection Sociale
MPJEJSC	Ministère de la Promotion de la Jeunesse, de l'Emploi des Jeunes et du Service Civique (Ministry for the Promotion of Youth, Youth Employment and Civic Service)
MSP	Multi-Stakeholder Process
MT	Metric ton
NYAB	National Youth Advisory Board
NDPC	National Development Planning Commission
NGO	Non-Profit Organisation
NSCCL	National Steering Committee on Child Labour
OECD	Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (in French, OCDE, L'Organisation de coopération et de développement économiques)
ONG	Organisations à but non lucratif
OSAA	Office of the Special Adviser on Africa
OI-REN	Observatoire Ivoirien pour la gestion durable des Ressources Naturelles (Ivorian Observatory for Sustainable Management of Natural Resources)
OPRP	Operational prerequisite programmes

OSH	Occupational Safety and Health
PBC	Produce Buying Company (Ghana)
PFM	Public Finance Management
PPP	Public Private Partnership
RA	Rainforest Alliance
RBM	Results Based Management
RVO	Rijksdienst voor Ondernemend Nederland (Netherlands Enterprise Agency)
SafeWork	InFocus Programme on Safety and Health at Work and the Environment (ILO)
SCORE	Sustaining Competitive and Responsible Enterprises
SDG	Sustainable Development Goal
SECO	State Secretariat for Economic Affairs
SMART (indicators)	Specific, measurable, achievable/attributionable, achievable/attainable, relevant, timely/timebound/ trackable/targeted.
SBCC	Social behaviour change communications
SIB	Sustainable Impact Bonds
SME	Small and Medium Enterprises
SOSTECI	Système d'Observation et de Suivi du Travail des Enfants en Côte d'Ivoire
SPM	Système de positionnement mondial
SRH	Sexual and reproductive health
SSAFE	Safe and Secure Approaches to Field Environments
SSRTE	Système de suivi et remédiation du travail des enfants
SST	sécurité et de santé au travail
STDF	Standards and Trade Development Facility
SVEP	Systèmes villageois d'épargne et de prêt
SWISSCO	Swiss Platform for Sustainable Cocoa
SWOT	Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities, and Threats
ToR	Terms of Reference
TRACIT	The Transnational Alliance to Combat Illicit Trade
TVET	Technical and vocational education and training
TVEST	Technical and vocational education and skills training
UGTCI	Union Générale des Travailleurs de Côte d'Ivoire
UN	United Nations
UNATRCI	Union Nationale des Travailleurs de Côte d'Ivoire
UNCCT	United Nations Office of Counter-Terrorism
UNCTAD	United Nations Conference on Trade and Development
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
UNEP	UN Environment Programme

UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
UNIDO	United Nations Industrial Development Organization
USDOL ILAB	United States Department of Labor - Bureau of International Labor Affairs
UTZ	Certification program for sustainable farming of coffee, tea, cocoa and hazelnuts
VCA4D	Value Chain Analysis for Development
VSLA	Village and Loan Association
VSLS	Village Savings and Loan Scheme
VPA	Voluntary Partnership Agreement
WASH	Water, Sanitation and Health
WCF	World Cocoa Foundation

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

GLOBAL CHALLENGE OF ENDING CHILD LABOUR

The challenge of ending child labour remains widespread around the world with 160 million¹ children engaged in child labour. Approximately half (70 million) of these children are engaged in the agriculture sector, including farming, livestock, forestry, fishing and aquaculture. Africa is home to nearly two-thirds of all the child labourers in the world. More specifically, almost one-fifth of African children are engaged in child labour, with 85% of them working in the agriculture sector. Indeed, between 2012 and 2016 child labour in agriculture in Africa actually rose instead of declining.²

The Sustainable Development Goals sets the target of ending child labour in all its forms by 2025 (SDG target 8.7).

WORLDWIDE,
70 %
OF CHILD LABOUR
OCCURS IN
THE AGRICULTURE
SECTOR

160 million

children are engaged in child labour

79 million

of these children are engaged in the worst forms of child labour

70%

of child labour occurs in agriculture, a hazardous sector for working children

Over **87 million**

child labourers are found in Sub-Saharan Africa, more than the rest of the world combined.

Nearly **1 in 4 children** in Sub-Saharan Africa are in child labour, **80%** of whom are in agriculture.



Côte d'Ivoire. © Alamy

1 International Labour Office and United Nations Children's Fund, Child Labour: Global estimates 2020, trends and the road forward, ILO and UNICEF, New York, 2021.

2 Ibid.

CHILD LABOR IN COCOA IN CÔTE D'IVOIRE AND GHANA

Chocolate is a global US \$130 billion industry,¹ and just two countries, Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana, account for approximately 60% of total world production.

A 2019 study² indicates that the overall prevalence of child labour in cocoa producing areas in Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana has not substantially decreased over the last 10 years. There has been a reduction in child labour in some localities and, more specifically, among households where initiatives to address child labour have been implemented.³ However, increased cocoa production and costs of labour has also led to increases in child labour in areas that child labour reduction initiatives have not yet covered or earlier gains from child labour awareness programmes have not been sustained.

The national legislation and policies of both countries have largely been aligned with the international conventions on child labour and ratified in both countries (Conventions 138 and 182). Both countries have national action plans on the elimination of child labour. Ghana is undertaking steps to develop a National Action Plan on Business and Human Rights.⁴

Côte d'Ivoire's economy has grown rapidly over the last few years.⁵ The GDP growth rate was 7.4 % in 2018 and 6.9 % in 2019.⁶ Projections for 2020 are difficult to make because of the uncertainty in the wake of the COVID-19 pandemic. Cocoa represents up to 30% of total GDP⁷, while 70 to 85% of cocoa farmers' income is dependent on cocoa.⁸ Cocoa growing regions are situated in the southern part of the country.

Côte d'Ivoire's population is almost 26 million, with children under the age of 15 making up a very high proportion (42%).⁹ A further 21% of the population are between the ages of 15 and 24.¹⁰ The total unemployment rate in the labour force is 3.4%¹¹, with 35% of young people between the ages of 15 and 35 unemployed.¹² Approximately one half of the population (49.2%) lives in rural areas (2018).¹³

Education is compulsory for children between the ages of 6 and 16 in Côte d'Ivoire. The net enrolment rate is 7.8% in pre-primary education, 91.1% in primary school¹⁴ and girls have a net enrolment rate of 39% and boys 48% in secondary education.

- 1 World Economic Forum (2020), Cocoa's Bittersweet Supply Chain. Available from www.weforum.org/agenda/2020/11/cocoa-chocolate-supply-chain-business-bar-africa-exports/. Accessed 15/11/2020. Figure was made available for non-commercial use.
- 2 Often referred to as the "NORC Report" NORC at the University of Chicago (2020), *Assessing Progress in Reducing Child Labor in Cocoa Production in Cocoa Growing Areas of Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana*. Chicago: University of Chicago. All data in this paragraph are from the NORC study.
- 3 Cocoa Plan Nestlé (2017), *Tackling Child Labour: 2017 Report*, Geneva: Cocoa Plan Nestlé, International Cocoa Initiative (ICI). NORC at the University of Chicago (2020), *Assessment of Effectiveness of Cocoa Industry. Interventions in Reducing Child Labor in Cocoa Growing Areas of Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana*. Chicago: University of Chicago.
- 4 Faracik, B. (2017), *Study: Implementation of the UN Guiding Principles on Business and Human Rights*, Brussels: Directorate-General for External Policies, Policy Department.
- 5 World Bank (2020) Côte d'Ivoire Economic Outlook: Understanding the Challenges of Urbanization in Height Charts. Available from www.worldbank.org/en/country/cotedivoire/publication/cote-divoire-economic-outlook-understanding-the-challenges-of-urbanization-in-height-charts, Accessed 20 08 2020.
- 6 World Bank, World Bank Database. Available from <https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NY.GDP.MKTP.KD.ZG?locations=CI>. Accessed 15/08/2020.
- 7 Capillo, A, Somerville-Large, N (2019), *Cocoa Sustainable Livelihoods Landscape Study: Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana*, London: Fairtrade Foundation.
- 8 Pluess, J. (November 2018), *Children's Rights in the Cocoa-Growing Communities of Côte d'Ivoire*, Abidjan: UNICEF Côte d'Ivoire.
- 9 United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Population Division (2019). *World Population Prospects 2019, Volume II: Demographic Profiles (ST/ESA/SER.A/427)*. NY: UN.
- 10 Ibid.
- 11 World Bank (2020), Unemployment, total (% of total labor force) Côte d'Ivoire. Available from <https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SL.UEM.TOTL.ZS>. Accessed 03/12/2020.
- 12 World Bank (2020) Côte d'Ivoire Economic Outlook: Understanding the Challenges of Urbanization in Height Charts. Available from www.worldbank.org/en/country/cotedivoire/overview, Accessed 20 08 2020.
- 13 World Bank, World Bank database. Available from <https://data.worldbank.org/topic/urban-development?locations=CI>. Accessed on 23/06/2020.
- 14 Ibid.

Ghana's economic growth rate was estimated at 6.5% for 2019.¹ In Ghana, industry is the largest sector with 34% of GDP, while cocoa represents 1.6% of GDP.² In Ghana cocoa is mostly grown in six regions in the southern half of the country.³

52% of a population of 30 million are under the age of 18,⁴ and the rural population is 44%.⁵ Approximately 23.4% of the population lives below the poverty line.⁶ As in Côte d'Ivoire, poverty means that farmers often lack the resources to hire adult labour. Cocoa is estimated to account for about two thirds of the estimated 800,000 Ghanaian cocoa farmers' revenue.⁷ Although poverty has declined, income inequality, and geographic and gender inequality continue to pose problems.⁸ The Gini index level measuring inequality is high at 43.5.⁹

ALTHOUGH POVERTY HAS DECLINED, INCOME INEQUALITY, AND GEOGRAPHIC AND GENDER INEQUALITY CONTINUE TO POSE PROBLEMS

1.56 million

children are engaged in child labour in cocoa in Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana,

790,000

children in Côte d'Ivoire and

770,000

in Ghana

57%

 were boys and

43%

 were girls

Child labour in cocoa has **decreased** in localities where reduction initiatives have been implemented and increased in areas where they have not.

Direct initiatives have only covered between **10% and 20%** of cocoa producing communities

1 World Bank, World Bank Database. Available from <https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NY.GDP.MKTP.KD.ZG?locations=CI>. Accessed 15/08/2020.

2 Ghana Statistical Service (2019), Rebased 2013-2018 Annual Gross Domestic Product, Accra: Ghana Statistical Service.

3 Map from Amegashie-Duvon, E. (COCOBOD) (2014), Ghana's Sustainability Standards, Certification and Director Dialogue: Producers & Industry, Meeting, Zurich: ICCO (Slide 2).

4 United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Population Dynamics. (2019), World Population Prospects 2019. Available from <https://population.un.org/wpp/Download/Standard/Population/>. Accessed 23/07/2020.

5 Trading Economics (2020). Ghana GDP Annual Growth Rate | 2000-2020 Data | 2021-2022 Forecast | Calendar. Available from <https://tradingeconomics.com/ghana/gdp-growth-annual>. Accessed 29/06/2020.

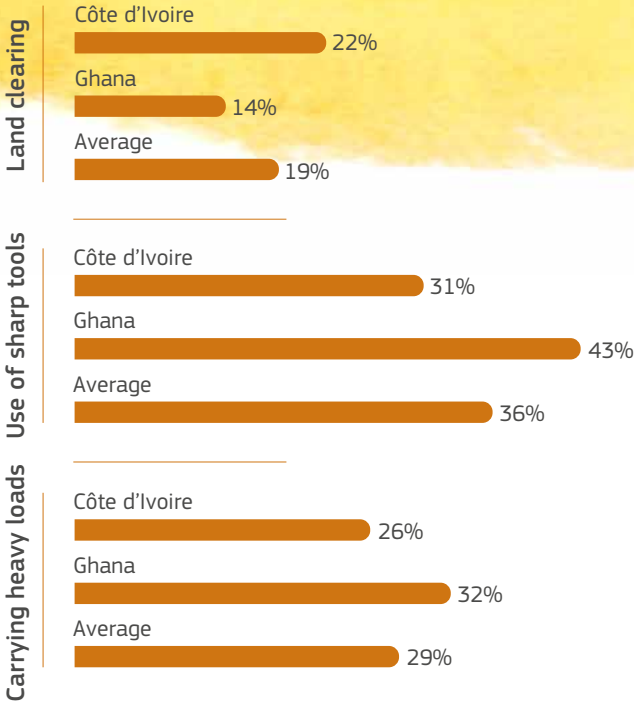
6 Ibid.

7 ICI (2017), Cocoa Farmers in Ghana Experience Poverty and Economic Vulnerability. Available from <https://cocoainitiative.org/news-media-post/cocoa-farmers-in-ghana-experience-poverty-and-economic-vulnerability/#:~:text=800%2C000%20small%20scale%20cocoa%20farmers,%240.40%2D%240.45%20on%20cocoa>. Accessed 15/06/2020.

8 AllAfrica (2019), Ghana: 'Inequality Remains Challenge in Ghana, Available from <https://allafrica.com/stories/201908230575.html>. Accessed 15 08 2020. UNDP (2020), Human Development Report 2019: Beyond income, beyond averages, beyond today: Inequalities in human development in the 21st century. NY: UNDP. Tanaka, T., Nuamah, C., Geiger, M. (2018), Ghana's challenges: Widening regional inequality and natural resource depreciation. Available from: <https://blogs.worldbank.org/african/ghanas-challenges-widening-regional-inequality-and-natural-resource-depreciation>. Accessed 20/06/2020.

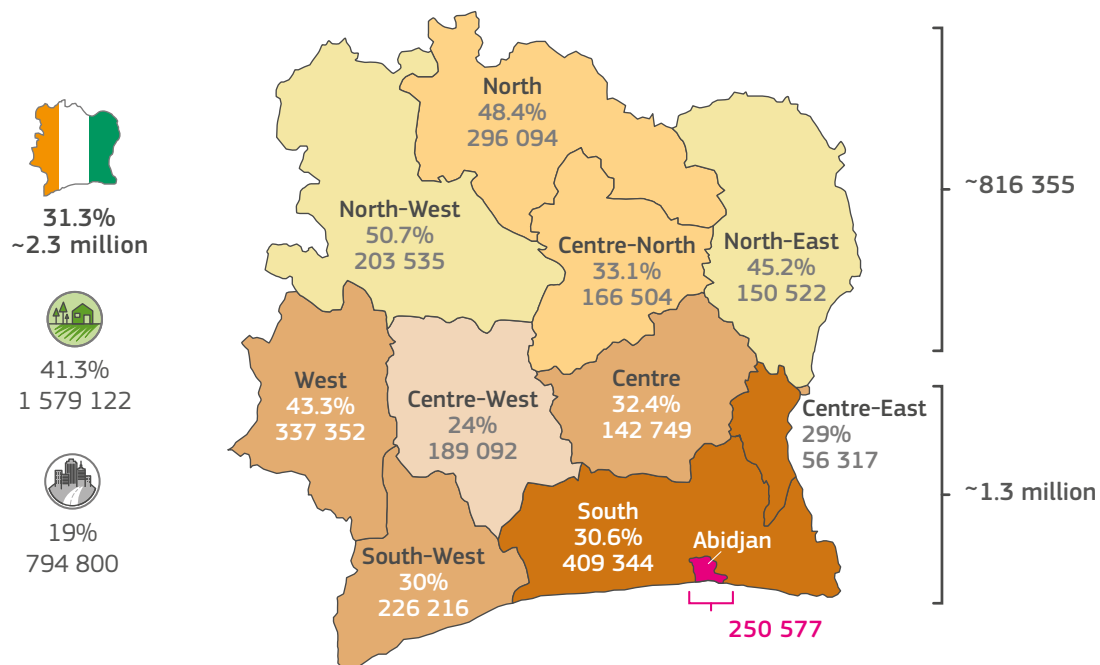
9 UNDP (2020), Human Development Report 2019: Beyond income, beyond averages, beyond today: Inequalities in human development in the 21st century. NY: UNDP

Prevalence of main hazardous child labour tasks among children in cocoa producing areas¹.



OVERALL OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

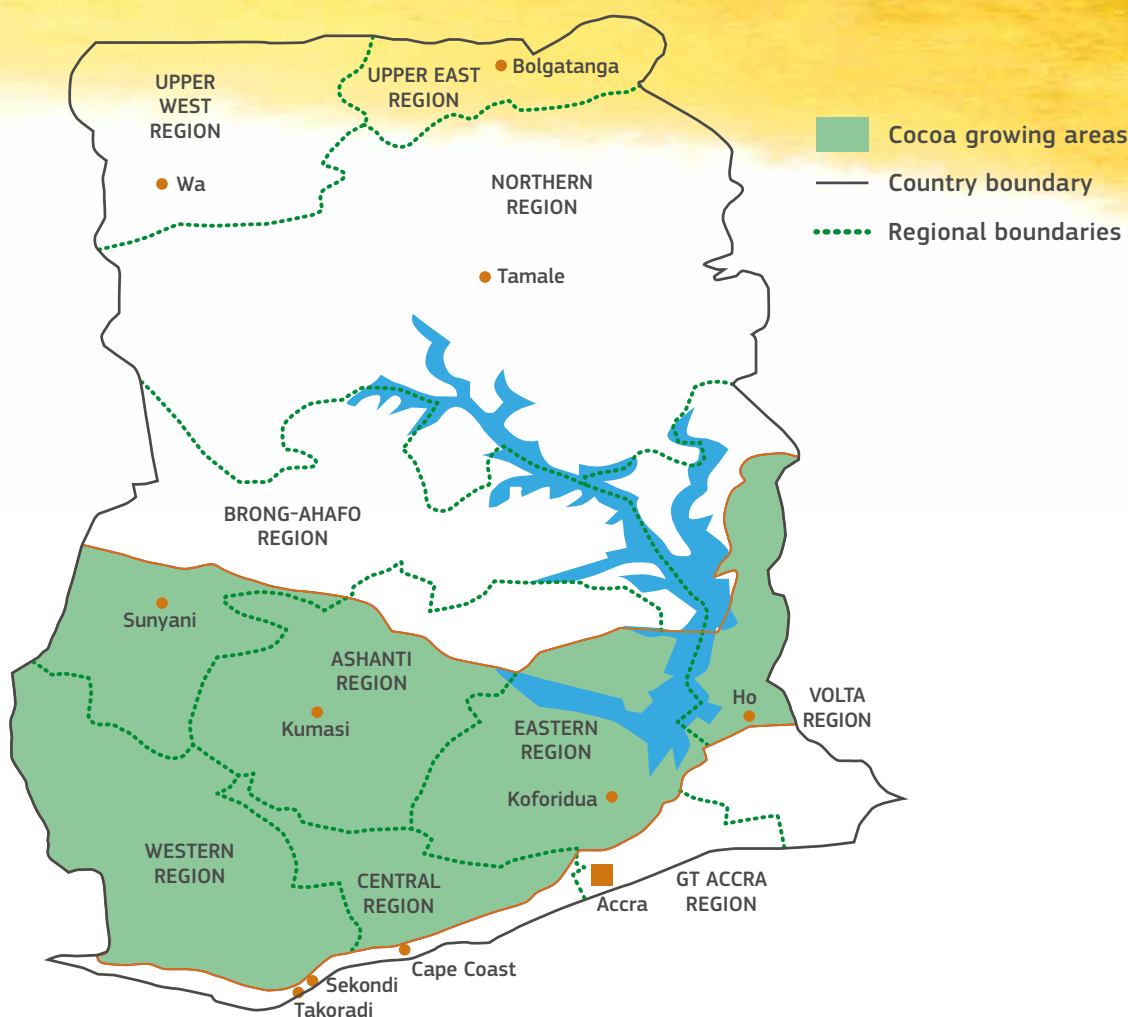
- Analyse the root causes of child labour in the cocoa value chain and identify key gaps to be addressed
- Propose solutions to eliminate child labour in the cocoa value chain and promote responsible and sustainable cocoa production in Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana.



Estimated Child Labour Prevalence and Cocoa Areas in Côte d'Ivoire (Adapted from image provided by UNICEF in 2020 and used permission)

¹ Table based on results from NORC at the University of Chicago (2020), Assessing Progress in Reducing Child Labor in Cocoa Production in Cocoa Growing Areas of Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana. Chicago: University of Chicago.

Map showing the six cocoa growing regions of Ghana



METHODOLOGY

- The research objective was achieved through a detailed analysis of the root causes of child labour, and a triangulated analysis of mainly virtual interviews with key stakeholders, documentation and web-based information. A stakeholder mapping exercise was conducted to identify participants in the cocoa value chain and influencing entities from within the overall context. This was followed with an interactive analysis of the expected impact of the proposed solutions on child labour elimination and sustainable cocoa production, where stakeholders had opportunities to comment on preliminary findings in a well-attended international webinar on the study.
- **Interviews were conducted with 137 stakeholders from 100 entities.** Interviewees included informants from the cocoa industry, key government officials, representatives of European Union institutions and delegations, the United Nations, foundations and Non-Profit Organisations (NGOs), and workers' and employers' organisations. A mapping exercise involving more than 150 key stakeholders was conducted. More than 600 documents and 200 websites were analysed using the qualitative data software Atlas.ti.¹

¹ Atlasti.com

MAIN FINDINGS AND CONCLUSIONS

Despite much effort, ending child labour and promoting sustainable cocoa production have proven to be more complex than anticipated.

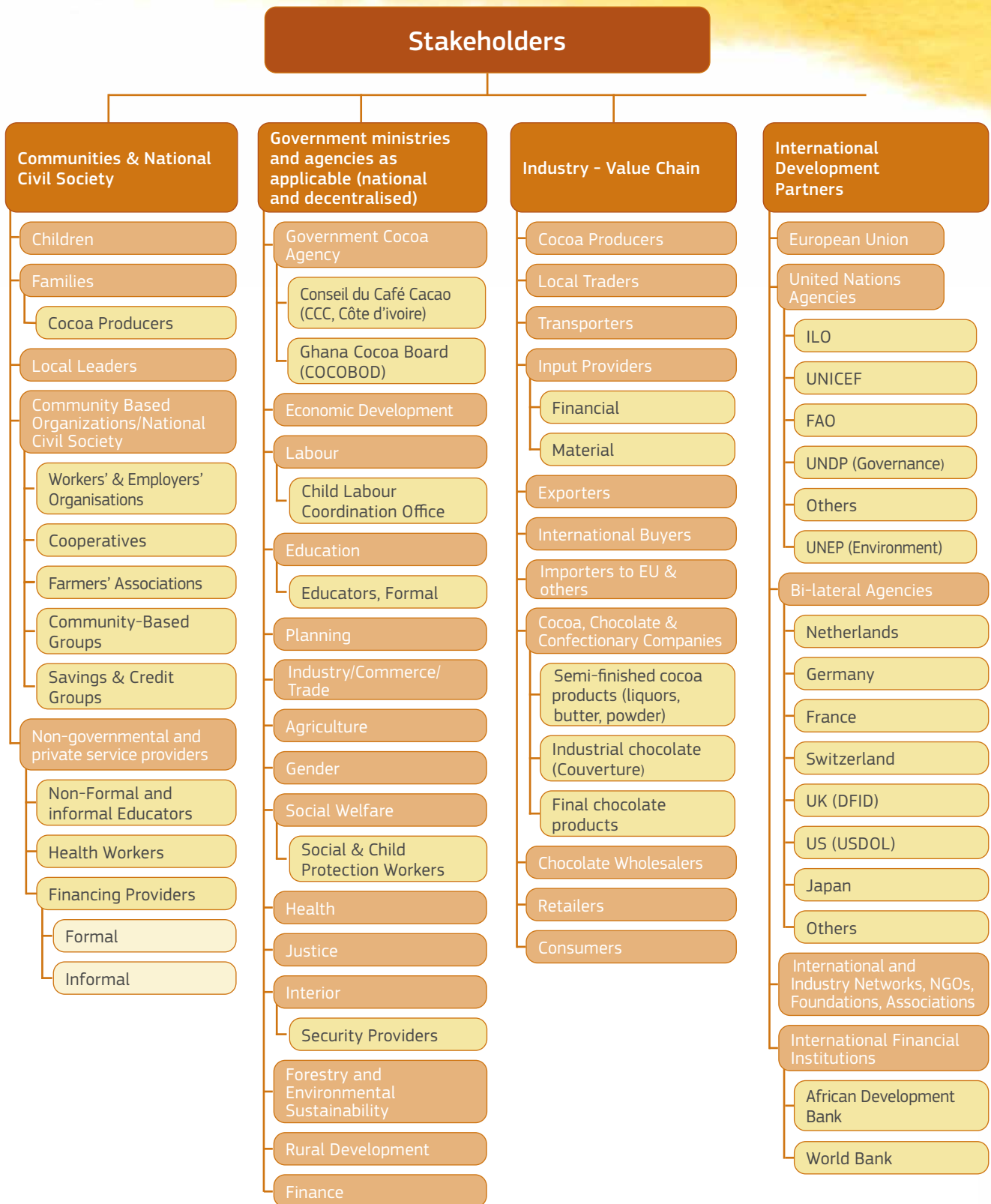
The reasons for child labour are multifaceted and there are several explanations for the partial effects of child labour initiatives. The key findings can be summed up as:

- 1** Efforts to eliminate child labour are not sufficiently and structurally embedded within a functioning **institutional support system**.
- 2** A wider **systems based approach** is needed.
- 3** **Poverty reduction, education, youth focus, gender and deforestation** need greater attention.

Continuing more of the same, or even improving it somewhat, will not be sufficient. Existing efforts have had some local impact in targeted communities but this is not sufficient for wide and sustainable impact. There is a need for especially high level of collaboration among implementers at the decentralised (local level) and a need to improve overall institutional structure and collaboration



KEY STAKEHOLDERS AND EXISTING APPROACHES



Programmes directed at eliminating child labour in cocoa are mostly implemented through governments, foundations and networks. The **governments** of the cocoa producing countries finance national and local legal and policy framework planning, social services development and infrastructure that have an impact on child labour. The **cocoa industry**, and **multilateral and bilateral agencies** fund most of the direct community level initiatives.

At community level, the efforts of various intervention projects and fair-trade initiatives have had some results. Awareness raising for behaviour change concerning the risks of child labour for children's development and limited economic development has been conducted. Communities have been supported with school supplies, adult literacy initiatives for parents, income diversification activities, voluntary savings and credit schemes, community actions against child labour and other schemes. Some interventions have also provided support with infrastructure, such as the building of classrooms.

Stakeholders interviewed estimated that the existing programmes cover only between 10 and 20% of cocoa producing households in the two countries¹. Most company stakeholder interviewees stressed that the eventual goal of the programmes is to ensure that all cocoa communities' supply chains are covered by child labour elimination programmes.

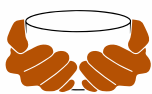
Evaluations of past projects on child labour in cocoa and other agricultural projects indicate that the sustainability of these initiatives is not as strong as may be desired.² The extent to which community children remain out of child labour will remain unclear unless all actions are intensified and better coordinated. Poverty, the lack of social services, the urgent need for more physical infrastructure, such as roads, schools, health centres and child protection service offices, continue to be limiting factors.



1 Also as indicated in ICI (2020), ICI Strategy 2021-2026, Geneva: ICI.

2 As noted in a range of evaluations studies, including those that the Team Leader of this study conducted and interviews with specialists during the study. The evaluations are too numerous to all be cited here but are available from the ILO, ICI, and the United States Department of Labor.

KEY CHALLENGES



1. Poverty of cocoa farmer households

- There are low farm gate prices for cocoa beans, though gap analysis indicates that increasing prices alone will not solve the challenges to eliminating child labour. There are low farm yields per hectare due to ageing trees, infertile soil and outdated production methods. Farmers encroach on forest land to increase yields adding to environmental destruction. There are a lack of diversified incomes from sources other than cocoa to supplement incomes and farmers are often required to pay for public services, such as children's school materials and supplies, examinations, specific types of health care and other costs.³⁰



2. Weak institutional environments

- Child labour programmes have been implemented within low technical and logistical capacity environments. There has been limited mainstreaming of child labour into relevant policies and programmes. This is true at all levels, but especially at the local, decentralised level.



3. Weak enforcement of legal and regulatory frameworks

- Enforcement to protect children from labour exploitation, other forms of exploitation, abuse, and neglect is limited. There is a failure to recognise the intertwined nature of child labour with other forms of abuse, neglect and exploitation.



4. Lack of access to quality child protection services

- There is a need to scale up birth registration, government-managed identification and remediation of cases of child labour and other forms of exploitation, abuse and neglect. Due diligence mechanisms and child protection mechanisms, each contributing to the other, need to be further scaled up and integrated.



5. Lack of access to quality education

- Including general formal and technical vocational education and training.



6. Lack of decent work opportunities and Technical Vocational Education and Skills Training for older children/youth

- Particularly in agriculture and ancillary activities, where young people can contribute to development in safe working conditions.

³⁰ NORC at the University of Chicago (2020), Assessing Progress in Reducing Child Labor in Cocoa Production in Cocoa Growing Areas of Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana. Chicago: University of Chicago.



7. Limited access to targeted social protection, health and other social services

- Services are unavailable, need better targeting, especially in far away and difficult to access in areas at high risk of child labour in cocoa production.



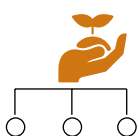
8. Lack of sufficient and quality physical infrastructure

- Insufficient and low-quality roads, bridges, schools, water-sanitation-hygiene structures affect poverty and, therefore, child labour. The result is disinterest and/or reluctance for children to attend schools and of the parents to send them.



9. Internal and cross-border migration and trafficking

- Child labourers are trafficked due to poverty in Burkina Faso and Mali and other areas within Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana. Compared to child labour through trafficking, there is much higher reliance on own-family child labour in cocoa producing areas.



10. Weak farmer-based organisations

- Insufficient numbers and limited effectiveness of farmer-based organisations (including cooperatives).



11. Deforestation

- Deforestation and other environmental challenges are associated with poverty and the need to increase production with links to child labour.



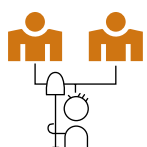
12. Limited coverage of due diligence mechanisms

- Due diligence coverage in cocoa producing communities with child labour reduction mechanisms is between 10 and 20% of cocoa producing areas. There is, therefore, limited identification, remediation and monitoring of child labour, including through international/industry development partners and producer governments.



13. Limited attention to social inclusion

- Limited attention is paid to gender and inclusion of other types of especially vulnerable persons in child labour programmes and their implementation.



14. Socio-cultural attitudes, customs and practices

- Socio-cultural attitudes, customs and practices combined with poverty result in a reliance on child labour as a fall-back option instead of hiring adult labour.

PROPOSED INTEGRATED SOLUTIONS

OVERARCHING

1

Multi-stakeholder process platforms established and functioning at all levels to eliminate child labour and ensure that cocoa is produced sustainably.

- Develop a multi-stakeholder process through a transformative agenda at **international** (such as, the EU Sustainable Cocoa Initiative), **national** (participation and mediation in Public-Private-Partnership (PPP) Children First in Cocoa Framework) and **local** (decentralised level with focus on leadership, coordination and accountability).
- Implement at each level, from national to local, mechanisms for vertical and horizontal **communications, joint planning and coordinated implementation** of synergistic actions.
- **Develop plans** to address all of the root causes and gaps to eliminate child labour.
- Develop landscape integrated area-based approaches at decentralised level.

2

Systems approach adopted with continual improvement of initiatives based on consistent feedback from quantitative and qualitative data collected on child labour elimination initiatives and child labour prevalence.

- Develop a **systems approach guide** detailing methods to enable collective stakeholder learning and regular review of potential actions for change.
- Implement methods for vertical and horizontal **quantitative and qualitative data collection**. Integrate collected feedback into planning channels from international and national to community level, the reverse and horizontally at each level.

3

Operationalised result-based management system (RBMS) developed and implemented, building on and expanding due diligence accountability systems of all stakeholders

- Develop a **methodology guide for RBMS** to be used to measure contributions to tracking of progress on objectives, reviews company due diligence, traceability methods and regularly reports on interventions and integrates into government systems.
- Develop **clear targets** for implementation phases as progress is made and implement the RBMS system to assure accountability.
- Develop **legal penalties** for non-compliance to ensure genuine impact and define standards accepted as evidence of compliance.





SPECIFIC

4

Partnerships and initiatives of Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana Governments and corporate actors aligned with international conventions, standards, guidelines, national policies and plans

- Improve and/or strengthen existing partnerships and cross-border agreements among the Economic Community of West Africa States (ECOWAS) - Côte d'Ivoire, Ghana, Burkina Faso, and Mali.
- Scale up agreements and implementation of initiatives for the identification, return and reintegration of trafficked children to return home to Burkina Faso and Mali.
- Align corporate practices, trade and implementation of initiatives with national priorities and overarching labour conventions, and with international business and human rights guidance documents.
- Ensure that child labour elimination is directly cited and fully integrated into all economic development policies and plans, especially in agriculture-related economic activities or investments. Including in the design and monitoring of the plans.

5

Strengthened enabling environment for reduced child labour and deforestation with particular attention to local development planning and implementation, and localities at high-risk.

- Strengthen the **legal, regulatory frameworks and institutions**, and ensure improved enforcement to eliminate child labour.
- Develop the expansion of well targeted **social protection** mechanisms to help protect from environmental, health, social and other shocks (which lead to higher dependence on child labour).
- Develop (new) or adapt existing **local development plans** to be more comprehensive, integrated, strengthened and synergistic with regard to child labour in child protection systems.
- Integrate and maintain, over the short, medium, and long term, **Child Labour Monitoring and Remediation System (CLMRS)** and other child labour initiative approaches into Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana Government child protection mechanisms, while at the same time expanding coverage of such initiatives and child protection overall.
- Conduct **capacity analysis** to identify the strengths, weaknesses and opportunities of each actor regarding local development planning and implementation for eliminating child labour. Include focus on social workers, labour inspectors/officers, agricultural extension officers, school inspectors, health workers, teachers, police/gendarmerie, community field workers, etc. Conduct capacity analysis to identify the strengths, weaknesses and opportunities of each stakeholder.
- Develop and/or strengthen **service delivery** capacities of key institutions for local development planning, implementation and enforcement of legal frameworks (districts, prefecture/sous prefectures, communities) with particular attention paid to social inclusion of especially vulnerable groups and high-risk areas.
- There should be a strong **focus on joint actions** between industry and donor-supported programmes with local government staff for on-the-job learning and implementation of actions on child labour and deforestation. This includes identification and remediation of child labourers or potential child labourers.
- Increase construction of **physical infrastructure** with an emphasis on roads, accessible schools, health, child protection infrastructure and/or one-stop referral locations for children in, or at risk of child labour and/or other exploitation, abuse and neglect.
- Improve **quality and access to general education**, including well-planned school feeding programmes and education on children's rights and decent work in agriculture.
- Strengthen the provision of **child protection services**, including access to birth registration, and the provision of support to children suffering from abuse, neglect and other forms of exploitation.

6

Poverty of cocoa producers and ancillary activity workers reduced in a context of improved decent work conditions within an environmentally sustainable environment

- Continue and scale up efforts to ensure that **price and income** from cocoa at the farm gate continues to increase.
- Develop and implement **modern, non-hazardous production** using sustainable intensification of cocoa production methods to increase agricultural yields per hectare without adverse environmental impact and without the need to convert additional, non-agricultural land.
- Train farmer household children (in line with their interests) and adults from the age of 15 on **modern cocoa production, including a focus on occupational safety and health (OSH)** methods in agriculture.
- Further develop Global Positioning System (GPS) and other forms of **farm monitoring tools** to identify and follow up transgression into new forest areas.
- Accompany promoting the **diversification of economic activities** with suitable market assessment and training.
- Develop **agroforestry** as means of contributing to short-term food security needs and, over the medium- or longer-term, as an income source in both countries.
- Provide support for expanding **village savings and loan schemes (VSLs)** and access to formal financial services.
- Develop effective mechanisms to further support **formalising informal cocoa activities** and informal activities promoted as part of diversification efforts.

7

Increased and strengthened farmer-based organisations and giving communities a voice for effective functioning and contributing to reducing child labour

- Establish, where necessary, strengthen and scale up new and existing **FBOs** to increase productivity and decent work for all and environmentally sustainable conditions.
- Strengthen **community bodies** to address child labour, integrate actions effectively into child protection systems and ensure sustainable cocoa production.

8

Social behaviour change communications on child labour elimination and deforestation strengthened and effective

- Develop and implement a good **social behaviour change communications (SBCC)** strategy guide to inform the behaviour change interventions, based on existing effective practices.



ADDITIONAL COUNTRY-SPECIFIC PROPOSALS

9

Côte d'Ivoire

- Ensure that there are functioning mechanisms for **birth registration** of children of multigenerational immigrants and children of unknown parents or others who would otherwise be stateless and that children obtain birth certificates.
- Strengthen the **management of cooperatives** to address child labour.

10

Ghana

- Identify and implement **institutional reforms** in the Ghana Cocoa Board, including at the Cocoa Research Institute of Ghana (CRIG) for improved service delivery.
- Analyse how **illegal mining** is related to, and influences child labour in cocoa production; identify solutions and implement them.

RECOMMENDATIONS TO KEY STAKEHOLDERS

1

Governments of cocoa producer countries

- The key actors for the elimination of child labour and deforestation remain the governments and the people of Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana. Full consideration should be given to their views on their own roles and responsibilities and those of other actors. The governments of these two countries **carry the ultimate responsibility** for the well-being of the children and adults who are working in the cocoa value chain.

2

Cocoa private sector

- It is important for **small, medium and large cocoa private sector** enterprises to join together to work towards eliminating child labour and deforestation. Actions to address these challenges should not be limited to large companies but must include small and medium enterprises. Many of the smaller and medium enterprises, but also some of the larger ones, are not currently engaged in due diligence.
- The private sector should focus strongly on **scaling up current and planned initiatives**. These include the CLMRS and the subjects identified in the Public-Private-Partnership (PPP) Children First in Cocoa framework; for example, the Child Learning and Education Facility (CLEF), Early Learning and Nutrition Facility (ELAN), school nutrition, birth registration and education, including Technical and Vocational Education and Skills Training (TVEST). In addition to continuing the development and scaling up of the PPP in Côte d'Ivoire, the full development of the PPP should be further supported in Ghana.



- During the initial stage (1-2 years), all companies should be required to develop their systems to accommodate **voluntary and mandatory due diligence** agreements and implement such systems if they do not yet have them in place. Small and medium enterprises (SME) active in the value chain should be formally required to adhere to mandatory due diligence. This includes national as well as international SMEs. It also includes large companies that do not currently carry out due diligence in their cocoa value chains.
- During the initial period, the **most crucial actions and their integration need to be addressed**. Over the short-term, special attention should be placed on capacity strengthening, poverty reduction, production modernisation, birth registration, improvement of access to quality education and other social services. School feeding should be an integral component of all education actions.

3

Fair trade organisations, advocacy networks, standard setting organisations and implementing agencies

- All have key roles to play in ensuring appropriate implementation of **due diligence**. This is especially true at farm level so that child labour is not hidden but objectively identified, audited and addressed.

4

International organisations

- Will implement their **mandate to support** the governments of Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana to implement policies and strategies that are relevant to child labour elimination and sustainable cocoa production.

NOTE DE SYNTHÈSE

LE DÉFI MONDIAL CONSISTANT À METTRE FIN AU TRAVAIL DES ENFANTS

Le défi consistant à mettre fin au travail des enfants reste très répandu dans le monde, alors que 160 millions d'enfants¹ sont astreints au travail. Environ la moitié (70 millions) de ces enfants sont engagés dans le secteur agricole, notamment l'agriculture, l'élevage, la sylviculture, la pêche et l'aquaculture. Entre 2012 et 2020, le travail des enfants dans l'agriculture en Afrique a en réalité augmenté au lieu de diminuer².

Les objectifs de développement durable entendent mettre fin au travail des enfants sous toutes ses formes d'ici 2025 (cible 8.7 des ODD).

DANS LE MONDE,
70 %
DU TRAVAIL
DES ENFANTS
SURVIENT DANS
LE SECTEUR DE
L'AGRICULTURE

160 millions

d'enfants sont astreints au travail

79 millions

de ces enfants sont astreints
aux pires formes de travail

70%

du travail des enfants concerne l'agriculture,
un secteur dangereux pour les enfants
qui y travaillent

Plus de **87 millions**

d'enfants au travail se trouvent en Afrique
subsaharienne, soit plus que dans
tout le reste du monde.

Près de **1 enfant sur 4** en Afrique
subsaharienne est astreint au travail,
dont **80 %** dans l'agriculture



Côte d'Ivoire, © Alamy

1 Bureau international du travail et Fonds des Nations unies pour l'enfance, Travail des enfants: Estimations mondiales 2020, tendances et le chemin à suivre, BIT et UNICEF, New York, 2021.

2 Ibid.

LE TRAVAIL DES ENFANTS DANS LA PRODUCTION DE CACAO EN CÔTE D'IVOIRE ET AU GHANA

Le chocolat est une industrie mondiale qui pèse 130 milliards de dollars US,¹ et deux pays seulement, la Côte d'Ivoire et le Ghana, représentent environ 60 % de la production mondiale totale.

Une étude réalisée en 2019² indique que la prévalence globale du travail des enfants dans les zones de production de cacao en Côte d'Ivoire et au Ghana n'a pas sensiblement diminué au cours des 10 dernières années. On observe une réduction du travail des enfants dans certaines localités et, plus spécifiquement, parmi les ménages où des initiatives visant à lutter contre le travail des enfants ont été mises en œuvre.³ Cependant, l'augmentation de la production de cacao et du coût de la main-d'œuvre a également entraîné une augmentation du travail des enfants dans des zones que les initiatives de réduction du travail des enfants n'ont pas encore couvertes ou dans lesquelles les acquis des programmes de sensibilisation au travail des enfants n'ont pas été maintenus.

La législation et les politiques nationales des deux pays ont été en grande partie alignées sur les conventions internationales relatives au travail des enfants et ratifiées dans les deux pays

(Conventions 138 et 182). Les deux pays disposent de plans d'action nationaux pour éradiquer le travail des enfants. Le Ghana entreprend des démarches pour élaborer un plan d'action national sur les entreprises et les droits de l'homme.⁴

L'économie de la Côte d'Ivoire a connu une croissance rapide au cours des dernières années.⁵ Le taux de croissance du PIB était de 7,4 % en 2018 et de 6,9 % en 2019.⁶ Il est difficile de faire des projections pour 2020 en raison de l'incertitude qui règne à la suite de la pandémie de COVID-19. Le cacao représente jusqu'à 30 % du PIB total⁷, tandis que 70 à 85 % des revenus des cultivateurs de cacao dépendent du cacao.⁸ Les régions productrices de cacao sont situées dans la partie sud du pays.

La population de la Côte d'Ivoire s'élève à près de 26 millions d'habitants, les enfants de moins de 15 ans représentant une très forte proportion (42 %).⁹ Par ailleurs, 21 % de la population est âgée de 15 à 24 ans.¹⁰ Le taux de chômage total au sein de la population active est de 3,4 %¹¹, dont 35 % de jeunes âgés de 15 à 35 ans.¹² Près de la moitié de la population (49,2 %) vit dans des zones rurales (2018).¹³

- 1 Forum économique mondial (2020), Cocoa's Bittersweet Supply Chain. Disponible sur www.weforum.org/agenda/2020/11/cocoa-chocolate-supply-chain-business-bar-africa-exports/. Consulté le 15/11/2020. Données mises à disposition pour un usage non commercial.
- 2 Souvent appelé le «Rapport NORC» de NORC à l'Université de Chicago (2020), Évaluation des progrès accomplis dans la réduction du travail des enfants dans les régions productrices de cacao de Côte d'Ivoire et du Ghana. Chicago: Université de Chicago. Toutes les données figurant dans ce paragraphe sont issues de l'étude NORC.
- 3 Plan Cacao Nestlé (2017), Lutter contre le travail des enfants: Rapport 2017, Genève: Plan Cacao Nestlé, International Cocoa Initiative (ICI). NORC à l'Université de Chicago (2020), Assessment of Effectiveness of Cocoa Industry. Interventions in Reducing Child Labor in Cocoa Growing Areas of Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana. Chicago: Université de Chicago.
- 4 Faracik, B. (2017), Étude: Mise en œuvre des principes directeurs des Nations unies relatifs aux entreprises et aux droits de l'homme, Bruxelles: Direction générale des politiques externes, département thématique.
- 5 Banque mondiale (2020) Perspectives économiques en Côte d'Ivoire: Huit graphiques pour comprendre les enjeux de l'urbanisation. Disponible sur www.worldbank.org/fr/country/cotedivoire/publication/cote-divoire-economic-outlook-understanding-the-challenges-of-urbanization-in-height-charts, Consulté le 20 08 2020.
- 6 Banque mondiale, Base de données de la Banque mondiale. Disponible sur <https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NY.GDP.MKTP.KD.ZG?locations=CI>. Consulté le 15/08/2020.
- 7 Capillo, A, Somerville-Large, N (2019), Cocoa Sustainable Livelihoods Landscape Study: Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana, Londres: Fairtrade Foundation.
- 8 Pluess, J. (novembre 2018), Les droits de l'enfant dans les zones cacaoyères de Côte d'Ivoire, Abidjan: UNICEF Côte d'Ivoire.
- 9 Nations unies, Département des affaires économiques et sociales, Division de la population (2019). Perspectives de la population mondiale 2019, Volume II: Profils démographiques (ST/ESA/SER.A/427). NY: ONU.
- 10 Ibid.
- 11 Banque mondiale (2020), Chômage, total (% de la population active totale) Côte d'Ivoire. Disponible sur <https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SL.UEM.TOTL.ZS>. Consulté le 03/12/2020.
- 12 Banque mondiale (2020) Perspectives économiques en Côte d'Ivoire: Huit graphiques pour comprendre les enjeux de l'urbanisation. Disponible sur www.worldbank.org/fr/country/cotedivoire/overview, Consulté le 20 08 2020.
- 13 Banque mondiale, Base de données de la Banque mondiale. Disponible sur <https://data.worldbank.org/topic/urban-development?locations=CI>. Consulté le 23/06/2020.

L'éducation est obligatoire pour les enfants âgés de 6 à 16 ans en Côte d'Ivoire. Le taux net de scolarisation est de 7,8 % dans le pré-primaire, 91,1 % dans le primaire¹; dans le secondaire, le taux net de scolarisation des filles est de 39 % et celui des garçons de 48 %.

Le taux de croissance économique du **Ghana** a été estimé à 6,5 % pour 2019.² L'industrie est le secteur le plus important au Ghana avec 34 % du PIB, tandis que le cacao représente 1,6 % du PIB.³ Au Ghana, le cacao est principalement cultivé dans six régions de la moitié sud du pays.⁴

Sur une population de 30 millions d'habitants, 52 % ont moins de 18 ans⁵, et la population rurale représente 44 %.⁶ Environ 23,4 % de la population vit sous le seuil de pauvreté.⁷ Comme en Côte d'Ivoire, la pauvreté implique que les agriculteurs n'ont souvent pas les ressources nécessaires pour embaucher une main-d'œuvre adulte. On estime que le cacao représente environ deux tiers des revenus des quelque 800 000 cultivateurs de cacao ghanéens.⁸ Bien que la pauvreté ait diminué, l'inégalité des revenus et les inégalités géographiques et entre les genres continuent de poser problème.⁹ Le niveau de l'indice de Gini mesurant l'inégalité est élevé: 43,5.¹⁰

1,56 million

d'enfants sont astreints au travail dans le secteur du cacao en Côte d'Ivoire et au Ghana,

790.000

de ces enfants en Côte d'Ivoire et

770.000

au Ghana

57%

sont des garçons et

43%

sont des filles

Le travail des enfants dans le cacao **a diminué** dans les localités où des initiatives de réduction ont été mises en œuvre et a augmenté dans les zones où elles ne l'ont pas été.

Les initiatives directes n'ont couvert qu'entre **10 % et 20 %** des communautés productrices de cacao

1 Ibid.

2 Banque mondiale, Base de données de la Banque mondiale. Disponible sur <https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NY.GDP.MKTP.KD.ZG?locations=CI>. Consulté le 15/08/2020.

3 Ghana Statistical Service (2019), Rebased 2013-2018 Annual Gross Domestic Product, Accra: Ghana Statistical Service.

4 Carte de Amegashie-Duvon, E. (COCOBOD) (2014), Ghana's Sustainability Standards, Certification and Director Dialogue: Producers & Industry, Réunion, Zurich: ICCO (diapositive 2).

5 Nations unies, Département des affaires économiques et sociales, Dynamique de la population. (2019), Perspectives de la population mondiale 2019. Disponible sur <https://population.un.org/wpp/Download/Standard/Population/>. Consulté le 23/07/2020.

6 Trading Economics (2020). Taux de croissance annuel du PIB du Ghana | Données 2000-2020 | Prévisions 2021-2022 | Calendrier. Disponible sur <https://tradingeconomics.com/ghana/gdp-growth-annual>. Consulté le 29/06/2020.

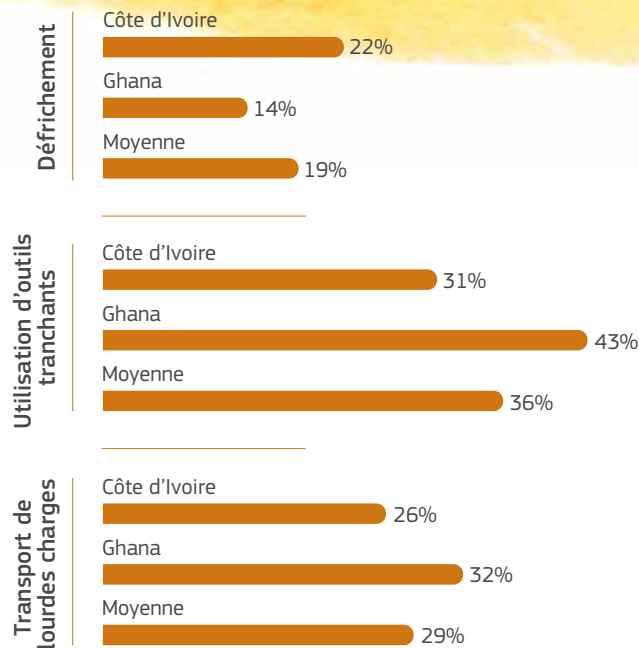
7 Ibid.

8 ICI (2017), Les producteurs de cacao au Ghana vivent dans la pauvreté et la vulnérabilité économique. Disponible sur <https://cocoainitiative.org/fr/news-media-post/cocoa-farmers-in-ghana-experience-poverty-and-economic-vulnerability/>. Consulté le 15/06/2020.

9 AllAfrica (2019), Ghana: «Inequality Remains Challenge in Ghana», Disponible sur <https://allafrica.com/stories/201908230575.html>. Consulté le 15/08/2020. PNUD (2020), Rapport sur le développement humain 2019: Au-delà des revenus, des moyennes et du temps présent: les inégalités de développement humain au XXI^e siècle. NY: PNUD. Tanaka, T., Nuamah, C., Geiger, M. (2018), Ghana's challenges: Widening regional inequality and natural resource depreciation. Disponible sur: <https://blogs.worldbank.org/african/ghanas-challenges-widening-regional-inequality-and-natural-resource-depreciation>. Consulté le 20/06/2020.

10 PNUD (2020), Rapport sur le développement humain 2019: Au-delà des revenus, des moyennes et du temps présent: les inégalités de développement humain au XXI^e siècle. NY: PNUD

Prévalence des principales tâches dangereuses inhérentes au travail des enfants dans les zones de production de cacao.¹

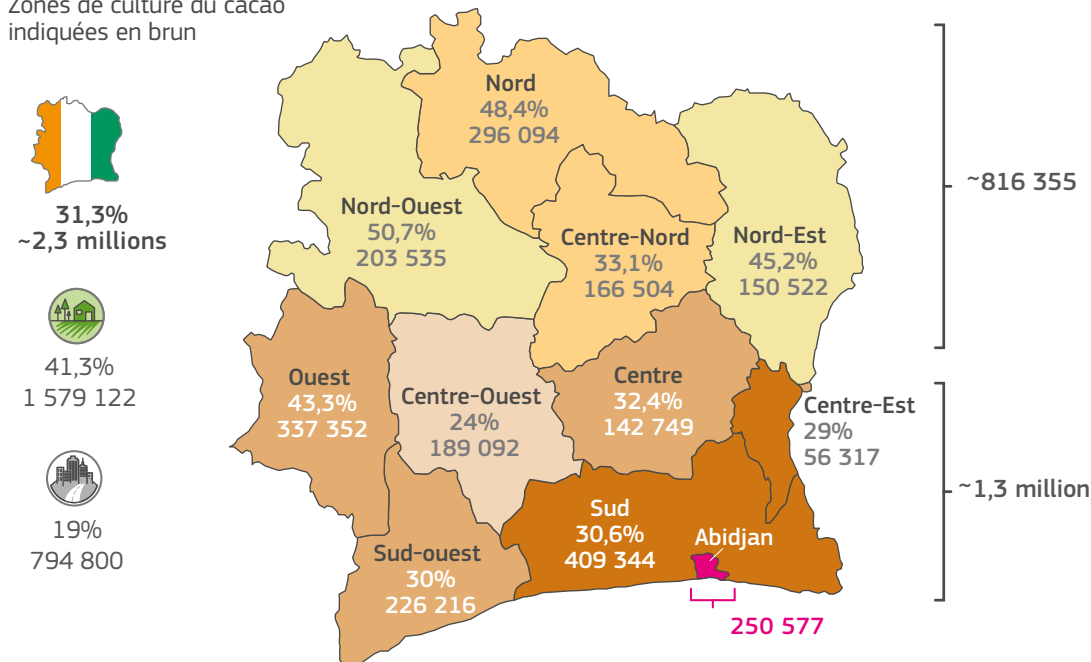


LES OBJECTIFS GÉNÉRAUX DE L'ÉTUDE:

- Analyser les causes profondes du travail des enfants dans la chaîne de valeur du cacao et identifier les principales lacunes à corriger
- Proposer des solutions pour éradiquer le travail des enfants dans la chaîne de valeur du cacao et promouvoir une production de cacao responsable et durable en Côte d'Ivoire et au Ghana.

Estimation de la prévalence du travail des enfants :

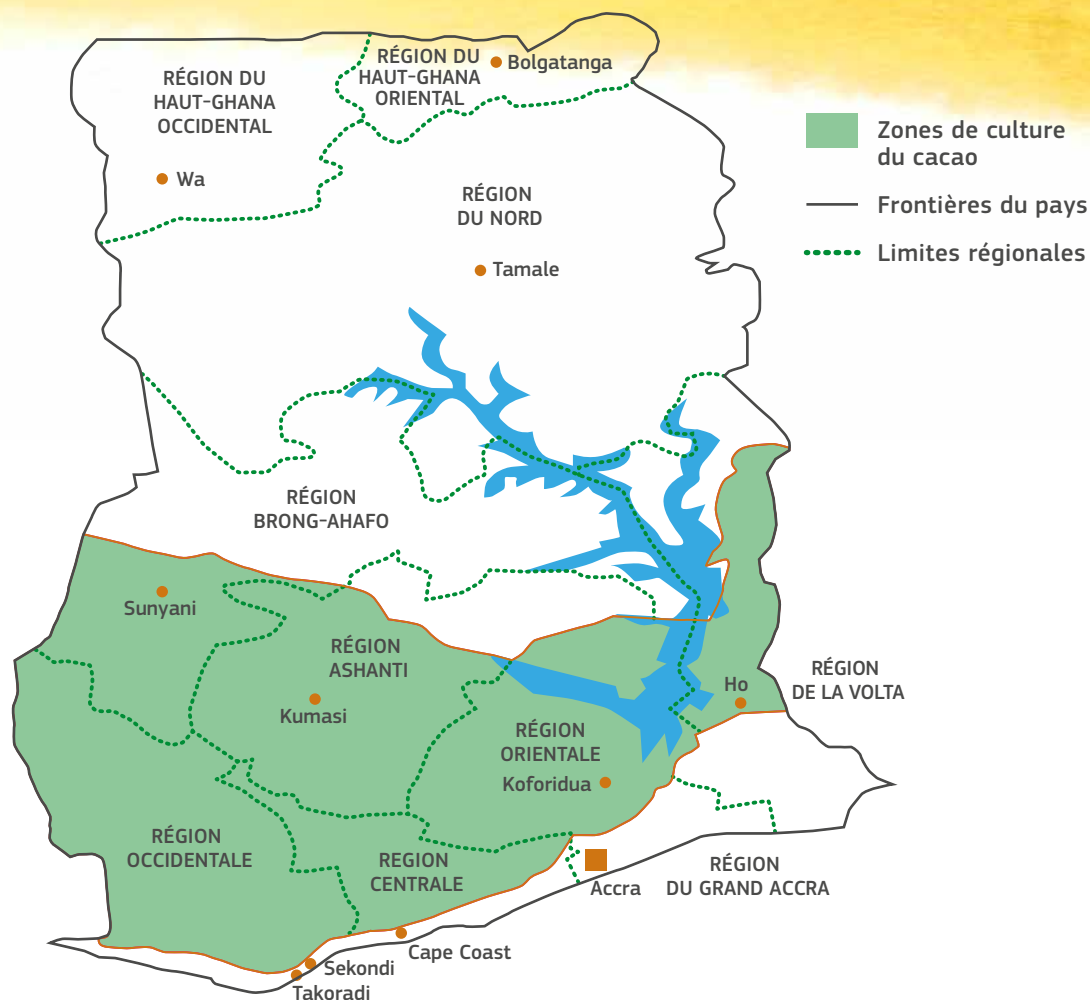
Zones de culture du cacao indiquées en brun



Estimation de la prévalence du travail des enfants et des zones cacaoyères en Côte d'Ivoire (Adapté d'une image fournie par l'UNICEF en 2020 et utilisée avec autorisation)

1 Tableau basé sur les résultats de NORC à l'Université de Chicago (2020), Évaluation des progrès accomplis dans la réduction du travail des enfants dans les régions productrices de cacao de Côte d'Ivoire et du Ghana. Chicago: Université de Chicago.

Carte montrant les six régions cacaoyères du Ghana



MÉTHODOLOGIE

- L'objectif de la recherche a été atteint par le biais d'une analyse détaillée des causes profondes du travail des enfants et d'une analyse triangulée d'entretiens principalement virtuels avec les principales parties prenantes, de documentation et d'informations sur Internet. Un exercice de recensement des parties prenantes a été effectué pour identifier les participants à la chaîne de valeur du cacao et les entités influentes dans le contexte global. Cet exercice a été suivi d'une analyse interactive de l'impact attendu des solutions proposées sur l'éradication du travail des enfants et la production durable de cacao, au cours de laquelle les parties prenantes ont eu l'occasion de commenter les résultats préliminaires lors d'un webinaire international très suivi sur l'étude.
- **Des entretiens ont été menés avec 137 parties prenantes de 100 entités.** Les personnes interrogées étaient notamment des informateurs de l'industrie cacaoyère, des responsables gouvernementaux clés, des représentants des institutions et des délégations de l'Union européenne, les Nations unies, des fondations et des organisations à but non lucratif (ONG), et des organisations de travailleurs et d'employeurs. Un exercice de recensement impliquant plus de 150 acteurs clés a été réalisé. Plus de 600 documents et 200 sites web ont été analysés à l'aide du logiciel de données qualitatives Atlas.ti.¹

1 Atlasti.com/fr/

LES PRINCIPAUX RÉSULTATS ET CONCLUSIONS

Malgré de nombreux efforts, l'éradication du travail des enfants et la promotion d'une production cacaoyère durable se sont avérées plus complexes que prévu.

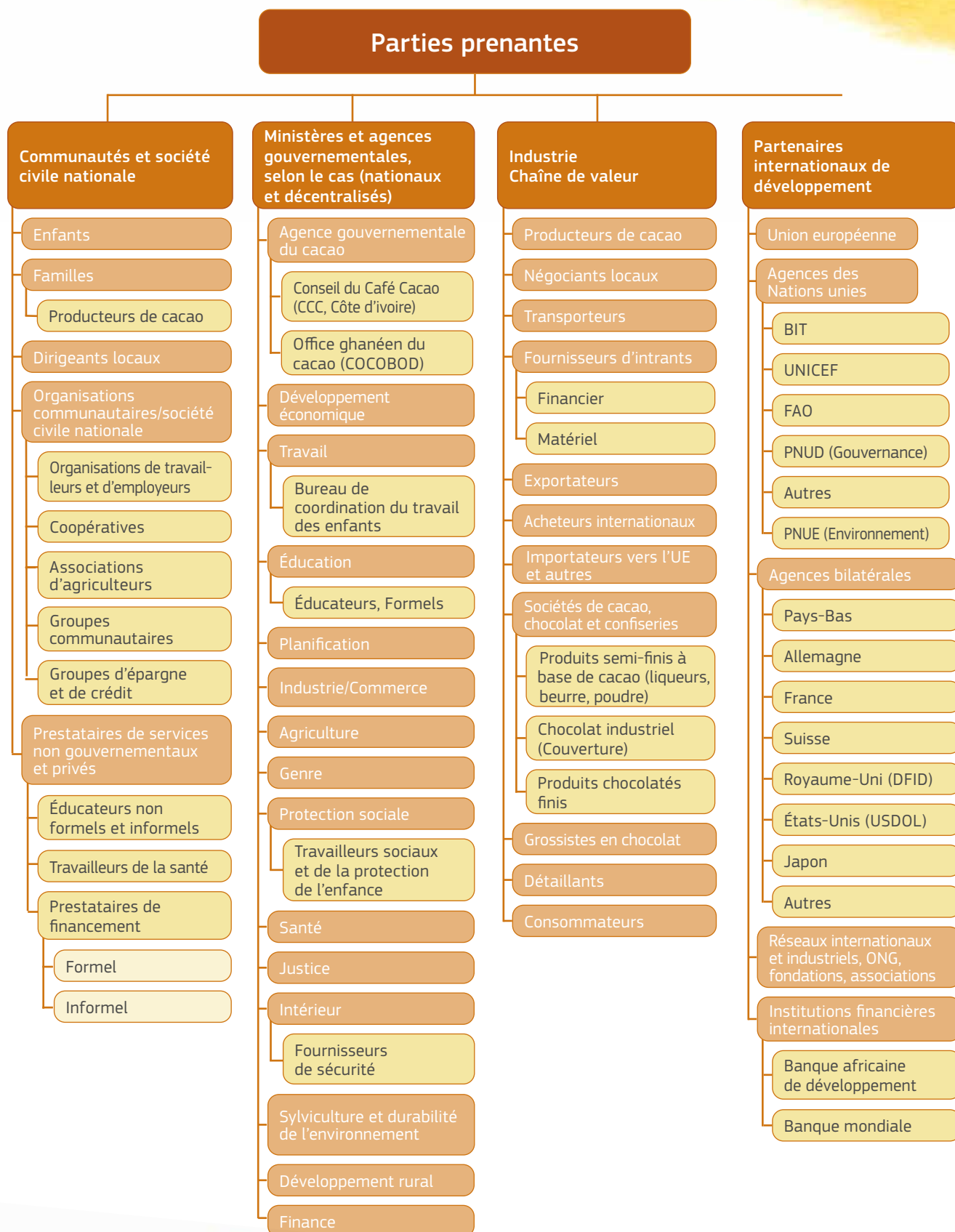
Les raisons justifiant le travail des enfants sont multiples, et les effets partiels des initiatives en la matière s'expliquent par plusieurs facteurs. Les principales conclusions peuvent être résumées comme suit:

- 1 Les efforts visant à éradiquer le travail des enfants ne sont pas suffisamment et structurellement intégrés dans un **système de soutien institutionnel opérationnel**.
- 2 Une **approche systémique plus large** est indispensable.
- 3 La **réduction de la pauvreté, l'éducation, l'attention portée aux jeunes, le genre et la déforestation** requièrent une plus grande attention.

Maintenir le *statu quo*, ou même améliorer quelque peu la situation, ne sera pas suffisant. Les efforts actuels ont eu un certain impact local dans les communautés ciblées, mais ne sont pas suffisants pour produire un effet large et durable. Il est impératif d'instaurer un niveau de collaboration particulièrement élevé entre les responsables de la mise en œuvre au niveau décentralisé (niveau local) et d'améliorer la structure institutionnelle globale et la collaboration.



PRINCIPALES PARTIES PRENANTES ET APPROCHES EN VIGUEUR



Les programmes visant à éradiquer le travail des enfants dans la production de cacao sont principalement mis en œuvre par les gouvernements, les fondations et les réseaux. Les **gouvernements** des pays producteurs de cacao financent la planification des cadres juridiques et politiques nationaux et locaux, le développement des services sociaux et des infrastructures qui ont un impact sur le travail des enfants. L'**industrie du cacao** et les **agences multilatérales et bilatérales** financent la plupart des initiatives directes au niveau communautaire.

Au niveau communautaire, les efforts de divers projets d'intervention et les initiatives de commerce équitable ont obtenu quelques résultats. Des actions de sensibilisation ont été menées visant à modifier les comportements relatifs aux risques que présente le travail des enfants pour leur développement et pour un développement économique limité. Les communautés ont bénéficié de fournitures scolaires, d'initiatives d'alphabétisation des parents, d'activités de diversification des revenus, de programmes d'épargne et de crédit volontaires, d'actions communautaires contre le travail des enfants et d'autres programmes. Certaines interventions ont également apporté un soutien en termes d'infrastructures, comme la construction de salles de classe.

Les parties prenantes interrogées ont estimé que les programmes existants ne couvrent qu'entre 10 et 20 % des ménages producteurs de cacao dans les deux pays.¹ La plupart des sociétés interrogées ont insisté sur le fait que l'objectif à terme des programmes est de garantir que toutes les chaînes d'approvisionnement des communautés cacaoyères soient couvertes par des programmes d'éradication du travail des enfants.

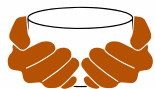
Les évaluations des projets antérieurs sur le travail des enfants dans le secteur du cacao et d'autres projets agricoles révèlent que la durabilité de ces initiatives n'est pas aussi solide qu'on pourrait le souhaiter.² La mesure dans laquelle les enfants de la communauté ne sont pas impliqués dans le travail des enfants restera indéterminée, tant que toutes les actions ne seront pas intensifiées et mieux coordonnées. La pauvreté, le manque de services sociaux, le besoin urgent de plus d'infrastructures physiques, telles que des routes, des écoles, des centres de santé et des bureaux de services de protection de l'enfance, sont autant de facteurs restrictifs.



1 Comme indiqué également dans l'ICI (2020), La stratégie 2021-2026 de l'ICI, Genève: ICI.

2 Comme le soulignent diverses évaluations, y compris celles réalisées par le chef d'équipe de cette étude et les entretiens menés avec des spécialistes au cours de l'étude. Les évaluations sont trop nombreuses pour être toutes citées ici, mais elles sont disponibles auprès du BIT, de l'ICI et du ministère du Travail des États-Unis.

LES PRINCIPAUX DÉFIS



1. Pauvreté des ménages de cultivateurs de cacao

- Les prix des fèves de cacao à la sortie de l'exploitation sont bas, bien que l'analyse des écarts indique que l'augmentation des prix ne suffira pas à résoudre les problèmes liés à l'éradication du travail des enfants. Les rendements agricoles par hectare sont faibles en raison du vieillissement des arbres, de l'infertilité des sols et de l'obsolescence des méthodes de production. Les agriculteurs empiètent sur les terres forestières pour augmenter les rendements, ce qui contribue à la destruction de l'environnement. Il n'existe guère de revenus diversifiés provenant d'autres sources que le cacao pour compléter les revenus, alors que les agriculteurs sont souvent amenés à payer des services publics, tels que le matériel et les fournitures scolaires des enfants, les examens, certains types de soins de santé et d'autres coûts.³⁰



2. Environnements institutionnels déficients

- Les programmes relatifs au travail des enfants ont été mis en œuvre dans des environnements dotés de faibles capacités techniques et logistiques. L'intégration du travail des enfants dans les politiques et programmes pertinents s'est avérée limitée. Ceci est vrai à tous les niveaux, mais plus particulièrement au niveau local et décentralisé.



3. Faible application des cadres juridiques et réglementaires

- La mise en œuvre de la protection des enfants contre l'exploitation du travail, les autres formes d'exploitation, les abus et la négligence reste limitée. L'interdépendance du travail des enfants et d'autres formes d'abus, de négligence et d'exploitation n'est pas reconnue.



4. Manque d'accès à des services de protection de l'enfance de qualité

- Il est impératif de développer l'enregistrement des naissances, l'identification et le traitement des cas de travail des enfants et d'autres formes d'exploitation, d'abus et de négligence, gérés par le gouvernement. Des mécanismes de diligence raisonnable et des mécanismes de protection de l'enfance, qui se complètent mutuellement, doivent être renforcés et intégrés.



5. Manque d'accès à une éducation de qualité

- Y compris l'enseignement et la formation professionnels généraux et techniques.



6. Manque d'opportunités de travail décent et d'enseignement et de formation professionnels techniques pour les enfants/jeunes plus âgés

- En particulier dans l'agriculture et les activités annexes, où les jeunes peuvent contribuer au développement dans des conditions de travail sûres.

³⁰ NORC à l'Université de Chicago (2020), Évaluation des progrès accomplis dans la réduction du travail des enfants dans les régions productrices de cacao de Côte d'Ivoire et du Ghana. Chicago: Université de Chicago.



7. Accès limité à des services ciblés de protection sociale, de santé et autres services sociaux

- Les services ne sont pas disponibles, doivent être mieux ciblés, en particulier dans les zones éloignées et difficiles d'accès où le risque de travail des enfants dans la culture du cacao est élevé.



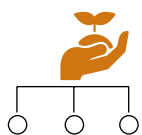
8. Manque d'infrastructures physiques suffisantes et de qualité

- L'insuffisance et la mauvaise qualité des routes, des ponts, des écoles, des structures d'eau, d'assainissement et d'hygiène affectent la pauvreté et, par conséquent, le travail des enfants. Il en résulte un désintérêt et/ou une réticence des enfants à fréquenter les écoles et des parents à les y envoyer.



9. Migration et traite des enfants internes et transfrontaliers

- Les enfants qui travaillent sont victimes de la traite en raison de leur pauvreté au Burkina Faso et au Mali et dans d'autres régions de Côte d'Ivoire et du Ghana. Comparé au travail des enfants par le biais du trafic d'enfants, le recours au travail des enfants au sein de la famille est beaucoup plus important dans les régions productrices de cacao.



10. Faiblesse des organisations agricoles

- Nombre insuffisant et efficacité limitée des organisations agricoles (y compris les coopératives).



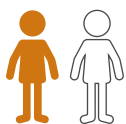
11. Déforestation

- La déforestation et d'autres défis environnementaux sont associés à la pauvreté et à la nécessité d'augmenter la production, et sont liés au travail des enfants.



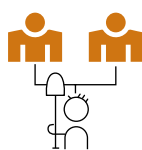
12. Couverture limitée des mécanismes de diligence raisonnable

- La diligence raisonnable dans les communautés productrices de cacao dotées de mécanismes de réduction du travail des enfants couvre de 10 à 20 % des zones de production de cacao. Par conséquent, l'identification, la remédiation et le suivi du travail des enfants sont limités, y compris par les partenaires de développement internationaux/de l'industrie et les gouvernements producteurs.



13. Attention limitée portée à l'inclusion sociale

- Une attention limitée est accordée au genre et à l'inclusion d'autres types de personnes particulièrement vulnérables dans les programmes relatifs au travail des enfants et leur mise en œuvre.



14. Attitudes, coutumes et pratiques socioculturelles

- Les attitudes, coutumes et pratiques socioculturelles, combinées à la pauvreté, font du travail des enfants une solution de repli par rapport à l'embauche de travailleurs adultes.

LES SOLUTIONS INTÉGRÉES PROPOSÉES

SOLUTIONS GÉNÉRALES

1

Mise en place et fonctionnement de plateformes de processus multipartites à tous les niveaux pour éradiquer le travail des enfants et garantir une production durable du cacao.

- Développer un processus multipartite par le biais d'un programme de transformation au niveau international (tel que l'Initiative européenne pour un cacao durable), **national** (participation et médiation dans le cadre du partenariat public-privé (PPP) Children First in Cocoa Framework) et **local** (niveau décentralisé avec un accent mis sur le leadership, la coordination et la responsabilité).
- Mettre en œuvre à chaque niveau, du national au local, des mécanismes de **communication verticale et horizontale, de planification conjointe et de mise en œuvre coordonnée** d'actions synergiques.
- **Élaborer des plans** pour traiter l'ensemble des causes profondes et des lacunes en vue d'éradiquer le travail des enfants.
- Développer des **approches par zone intégrées au paysage** à un niveau décentralisé.

2

Adoption d'une approche systémique avec une amélioration continue des initiatives basées sur un retour d'information cohérent à partir des données quantitatives et qualitatives recueillies sur les initiatives d'éradication du travail des enfants et la prévalence du travail des enfants.

- Développer un **guide d'approche systémique** détaillant les méthodes permettant l'apprentissage collectif des parties prenantes et l'examen régulier de potentielles actions de changement.
- Mettre en œuvre des méthodes de **collecte de données quantitatives et qualitatives** verticales et horizontales. Intégrer le retour d'information collecté dans les canaux de planification, du niveau international et national au niveau communautaire, inversement et horizontalement à chaque niveau.

3

Élaboration et mise en œuvre d'un système opérationnel de gestion axée sur les résultats (GAR), qui s'appuie sur les systèmes de responsabilité de toutes les parties prenantes en matière de diligence raisonnable et qui les étend.

- Élaborer un **guide méthodologique pour le système de GAR** afin de mesurer les contributions au suivi des progrès réalisés par rapport aux objectifs, examiner la diligence raisonnable des sociétés, les méthodes de traçabilité et rendre compte régulièrement des interventions et les intégrer dans les systèmes gouvernementaux.
- Développer des **objectifs clairs** pour les phases de mise en œuvre au fur et à mesure des progrès réalisés et mettre en œuvre le système de GAR pour garantir la responsabilisation.
- Développer des **sanctions légales** en cas de non-conformité afin de garantir un impact réel et définir les normes acceptées comme preuve de conformité.





SOLUTIONS SPÉCIFIQUES

4

Partenariats et initiatives des gouvernements de Côte d'Ivoire et du Ghana et des acteurs du monde des affaires alignés sur les conventions, les normes, les directives internationales, et les politiques et plans nationaux.

- Améliorer et/ou renforcer les partenariats et les accords transfrontaliers existants entre la Communauté économique des États de l'Afrique de l'Ouest (CEDEAO) – Côte d'Ivoire, Ghana, Burkina Faso et Mali.
- Intensifier les accords et la mise en œuvre d'initiatives en faveur de l'identification, du retour et de la réintégration des enfants victimes de trafic afin qu'ils rentrent chez eux au Burkina Faso et au Mali.
- Aligner les pratiques des entreprises, le commerce et la mise en œuvre des initiatives sur les priorités nationales et les conventions fondamentales du travail, ainsi que sur les documents d'orientation internationaux relatifs aux entreprises et aux droits de l'homme.
- Veiller à ce que l'éradication du travail des enfants soit directement évoquée et pleinement intégrée dans toutes les politiques et tous les plans de développement économique, en particulier dans les activités économiques ou les investissements liés à l'agriculture. Y compris dans la conception et le suivi des plans.

5

Renforcement d'un environnement favorable à la réduction du travail des enfants et de la déforestation, en accordant une attention particulière à la planification et à la mise en œuvre du développement local, et aux localités à haut risque.

- Renforcer les **cadres juridiques et réglementaires** ainsi que les institutions, et veiller à une meilleure application de la législation destinée à éradiquer le travail des enfants.
- Développer l'expansion de mécanismes de **protection sociale** correctement ciblés pour aider à protéger contre les chocs environnementaux, sanitaires, sociaux et autres (qui conduisent à une plus grande dépendance au travail des enfants).
- Développer des (nouveaux) **plans de développement local** ou adapter les plans existants de sorte qu'ils soient plus complets, mieux intégrés, renforcés et synergiques en matière de travail des enfants dans les systèmes de protection de l'enfance.
- Intégrer et maintenir, à court, moyen et long terme, le **système de suivi et de remédiation du travail des enfants (SSRTE)** et d'autres approches d'initiatives relatives au travail des enfants dans les mécanismes de protection des enfants des gouvernements ivoirien et ghanéen, tout en élargissant la couverture de ces initiatives et la protection des enfants en général.
- Mener une **analyse des capacités** afin d'identifier les forces, les faiblesses et les opportunités de chaque acteur en matière de planification et de mise en œuvre du développement local pour l'éradication du travail des enfants. Se concentrer sur les travailleurs sociaux, les inspecteurs/officiers du travail, les agents de vulgarisation agricole, les inspecteurs scolaires, les agents de santé, les enseignants, la police/gendarmerie, les agents de terrain communautaires, etc. Mener une analyse des capacités pour identifier les forces, les faiblesses et les opportunités de chaque partie prenante.
- Développer et/ou renforcer les capacités de **prestation de services** des institutions clés pour la planification du développement local, la mise en œuvre et l'application des cadres juridiques (districts, préfecture/sous-préfectures, communautés) en accordant une attention particulière à l'inclusion sociale des groupes particulièrement vulnérables et des zones à haut risque.
- Il convient de **mettre l'accent sur les actions conjointes** entre l'industrie et les programmes soutenus par les donateurs et le personnel des collectivités locales pour l'apprentissage sur le terrain et la mise en œuvre d'actions relatives au travail des enfants et à la déforestation. Cela inclut l'identification et la remédiation du travail des enfants ou du potentiel travail des enfants.
- Intensifier la construction d'**infrastructures physiques** en mettant l'accent sur les routes, des écoles accessibles, des infrastructures de santé et de protection de l'enfance et/ou des centres d'orientation uniques pour les enfants qui travaillent ou qui risquent de travailler et/ou d'être exploités, maltraités ou négligés.
- Améliorer la **qualité et l'accès à l'enseignement général**, y compris à des programmes d'alimentation scolaire bien planifiés et à une éducation sur les droits de l'enfant et le travail décent dans l'agriculture.
- Renforcer la fourniture de **services de protection de l'enfance**, y compris l'accès à l'enregistrement des naissances, et le soutien aux enfants victimes d'abus, de négligence et d'autres formes d'exploitation.

6

Réduction de la pauvreté des producteurs de cacao et des travailleurs exerçant des activités auxiliaires dans un contexte d'amélioration des conditions de travail décentes au sein d'un environnement écologiquement durable

- Poursuivre et intensifier les efforts visant à garantir une augmentation continue du **revenu et du prix** du cacao à la sortie de l'exploitation.
- Développer et mettre en œuvre une **production moderne, sans danger**, utilisant des méthodes d'intensification durable de la production de cacao afin d'augmenter les rendements agricoles par hectare sans impact négatif sur l'environnement et sans qu'il soit nécessaire de convertir des terres non agricoles supplémentaires.
- Former les enfants (en tenant compte de leurs intérêts) et les adultes des ménages de producteurs dès l'âge de 15 ans à une **production moderne du cacao, en mettant notamment l'accent sur les méthodes de sécurité et de santé au travail (SST)** dans l'agriculture.
- Développer davantage le système de positionnement global (GPS) et d'autres formes d'**outils de surveillance des exploitations agricoles** pour détecter et suivre les transgressions dans les nouvelles zones forestières.
- Soutenir la promotion de la **diversification des activités économiques** par une évaluation du marché et une formation appropriées.
- Développer l'**agroforesterie** dans les deux pays pour répondre aux besoins de sécurité alimentaire à court terme et, à moyen ou long terme, en tant que source de revenus.
- Soutenir l'expansion des systèmes d'**associations villageoises d'épargne et de crédit (AVEC)** et l'accès aux services financiers formels.
- Développer des mécanismes efficaces pour soutenir davantage la **formalisation des activités cacaoyères informelles** et des activités informelles promues dans le cadre des efforts de diversification.

7

Accroissement et renforcement des organisations d'agriculteurs tout en donnant une voix aux communautés pour un fonctionnement efficace et contribution à la réduction du travail des enfants

- Mettre en place, si nécessaire, renforcer et développer les organisations professionnelles nouvelles et existantes afin d'accroître la productivité et le travail décent pour tous, dans des conditions respectueuses de l'environnement.
- Renforcer les organes communautaires pour lutter contre le travail des enfants, intégrer efficacement les actions dans les systèmes de protection de l'enfance et assurer une production de cacao durable.

8

Renforcement et efficacité des communications relatives au changement de comportement social en matière d'éradication du travail des enfants et de déforestation

- Développer et mettre en œuvre un guide de bonne stratégie de communication pour le changement comportemental et social (SBCC pour social and behaviour change communication) afin de guider les interventions de changement comportemental, sur la base des pratiques efficaces en vigueur.



PROPOSITIONS ADDITIONNELLES SPÉCIFIQUES AU PAYS

9

Côte d'Ivoire

- Veiller à ce que les mécanismes d'**enregistrement des naissances** des enfants d'immigrants multigénérationnels et des enfants de parents inconnus ou d'autres personnes qui seraient autrement apatrides soient fonctionnels et que les enfants obtiennent un acte de naissance.
- Consolider la **gestion des coopératives** pour lutter contre le travail des enfants.

10

Ghana

- Identifier et mettre en œuvre des **réformes institutionnelles** au sein du Ghana Cocoa Board, y compris au CRIG (Cocoa Research Institute of Ghana), pour améliorer la prestation des services.
- Analyser comment l'**exploitation minière illégale** est liée au travail des enfants dans la production de cacao et exerce une influence sur celui-ci; identifier des solutions et les mettre en œuvre.

RECOMMANDATIONS AUX PRINCIPALES PARTIES PRENANTES

1

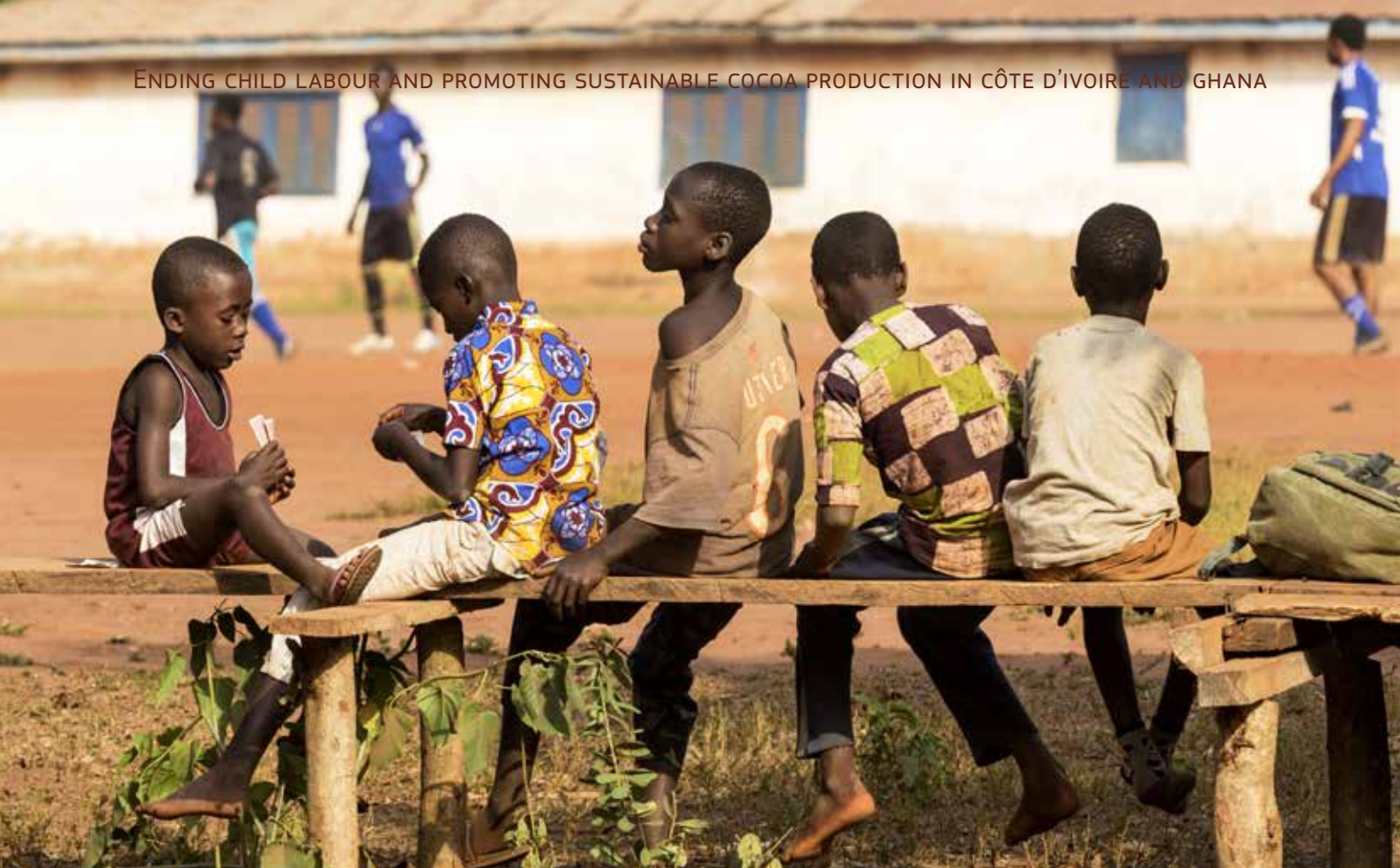
Gouvernements des pays producteurs de cacao

- Les acteurs clés du processus d'éradication du travail des enfants et de la déforestation demeurent les gouvernements et les populations de Côte d'Ivoire et du Ghana. Il convient de prendre pleinement en considération leurs points de vue concernant leurs propres rôles et responsabilités et ceux des autres acteurs. Les gouvernements de ces deux pays **portent la responsabilité ultime** du bien-être des enfants et des adultes qui travaillent dans la chaîne de valeur du cacao.

2

Secteur privé du cacao

- Il est important que les **petites, moyennes et grandes entreprises du secteur privé du cacao** s'unissent pour œuvrer à l'éradication du travail des enfants et de la déforestation. Les actions visant à relever ces défis ne doivent pas se limiter aux grandes sociétés mais doivent également inclure les petites et moyennes entreprises. De nombreuses petites et moyennes entreprises, mais aussi certaines des plus grandes, ne se sont pas encore engagées dans la diligence raisonnable.
- Le secteur privé devrait résolument se concentrer sur l'**intensification des initiatives actuelles et envisagées**. Celles-ci comprennent le SSRTE et les sujets identifiés dans le cadre du partenariat public-privé (PPP) Children First in Cocoa; par exemple, le Child Learning and Education Facility (CLEF), le Early Learning and Nutrition Facility (ELAN), la nutrition scolaire, l'enregistrement des naissances et l'éducation, y compris l'enseignement technique et la formation professionnelle (EFTP). En plus de poursuivre le développement et la mise à l'échelle du PPP en Côte d'Ivoire, il conviendrait de poursuivre le développement complet du PPP au Ghana.



- Au cours de la phase initiale (1 à 2 ans), toutes les sociétés devraient être tenues de développer leurs systèmes afin de prendre en compte les accords de **diligence raisonnable volontaires et obligatoires** et de mettre en œuvre ces systèmes si ce n'est pas encore le cas. Les petites et moyennes entreprises (PME) actives dans la chaîne de valeur devraient être formellement tenues d'adhérer à la diligence raisonnable obligatoire. Cela concerne aussi bien les PME nationales qu'internationales. Cela inclut également les grandes sociétés qui ne mettent pas encore en œuvre la diligence raisonnable dans leur chaîne de valeur du cacao.
- Au cours de la période initiale, **il convient d'aborder les actions les plus cruciales et leur intégration**. À court terme, une attention particulière doit être accordée au renforcement des capacités, à la réduction de la pauvreté, à la modernisation de la production, à l'enregistrement des naissances, à l'amélioration de l'accès à une éducation de qualité et à d'autres services sociaux. L'alimentation scolaire doit faire partie intégrante de toutes les actions d'éducation.

3

Organisations de commerce équitable, réseaux de défense, organisations de normalisation et agences de mise en œuvre

- Tous ont un rôle clé à jouer pour garantir une mise en œuvre appropriée de la **diligence raisonnable**. Cela est particulièrement vrai au niveau des exploitations agricoles, afin que le travail des enfants ne soit pas dissimulé mais objectivement identifié, examiné et traité.

4

Organisations internationales

- Elles mettront en œuvre leur **mandat pour soutenir** les gouvernements de Côte d'Ivoire et du Ghana dans leur démarche de mise en œuvre de politiques et de stratégies relatives à l'éradication du travail des enfants et à une production durable de cacao.

PART 1

Study purpose and context

Despite many efforts to eliminate child labour in cocoa production in Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana, the problem persists. The cocoa industry, governments, international agencies and NGOs have been working to eliminate child labour along the value chain for years. In fact, ending the practice of child labour remains a considerable challenge internationally. It is estimated that 160 million¹ children are still engaged in child labour across the globe. Approximately half (79 million) of them are engaged in the worst forms of child labour. Agriculture is the main sector, among many others, in which working children are to be found. Worldwide, 70% of child labour occurs in the agriculture sector, including farming, livestock, forestry, fishing and aquaculture. Africa is home to nearly two-thirds of all the child labourers in the world. More specifically, almost one-fourth of African children are engaged in child labour and 80% of those children are working in the agriculture sector. Indeed, between 2012 and 2020 agricultural child labour in Africa actually increased instead of declining².

As the World Economic Forum has reported, chocolate is a global US \$130 billion industry³. A study⁴ published in 2019 shows that the overall prevalence of child labour in cocoa producing areas in Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana has not substantially decreased over the last 10 years. Although prevalence has reduced in those localities where initiatives to address child labour have been implemented, increased cocoa production has led to increases in child labour in other areas.⁵ It should be noted that direct initiatives are only being carried out in 10% to 20% of the cocoa growing communities.⁶

With a total of 1.56 million children involved, the number of children who are in child labour in the two countries remains high.⁷ The total number of children suffering under the practice

1 ILO and UNICEF (2021), Child Labour: Global estimates 2020, trends and the road forward, ILO and UNICEF, New York.

2 Ibid

3 World Economic Forum (2020), Cocoa's Bittersweet Supply Chain. Available from <https://www.weforum.org/agenda/2020/11/cocoa-chocolate-supply-chain-business-bar-africa-exports/>. Accessed 15/11/2020. Figure was made available for non-commercial use.

4 Often referred to as the "NORC Report". NORC at the University of Chicago (2020), Assessing Progress in Reducing Child Labor in Cocoa Production in Cocoa Growing Areas of Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana. Chicago: University of Chicago. All data in this paragraph are from the NORC study.

5 Cocoa Plan Nestlé (2017), Tackling Child Labour: 2017 Report, Geneva: Cocoa Plan Nestlé, International Cocoa Initiative (ICI). NORC at the University of Chicago (2020), Assessment of Effectiveness of Cocoa Industry Interventions in Reducing Child Labor in Cocoa Growing Areas of Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana. Chicago: University of Chicago.

6 Estimates according to different interviewees from cocoa networks.

7 Often referred to as the "NORC Report". NORC at the University of Chicago (2020), Assessing Progress in Reducing Child Labor in Cocoa Production in Cocoa Growing Areas of Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana. Chicago: University of Chicago. All data in this paragraph are from the NORC study.

of child labour in Côte d'Ivoire's cocoa producing areas is estimated at 790,000, with 770,000 in Ghana. Children's work is almost always at farm level. They are rarely engaged in child labour higher along the cocoa value chain. The study found that a higher percentage of boys were engaged in child labour in agriculture than girls (57% versus 43% in 2018/19). These proportions have not changed substantially over the last ten years. Unfortunately, the study does not provide specific statistics on child trafficking in the context of cocoa production.

The main child labour activities in cocoa include:

- Land clearing
- Using agro-chemicals
- Using sharp tools
- Plucking cocoa pods
- Weeding and pruning trees
- Spreading, sorting and drying cocoa beans on drying mats
- Carrying heavy loads: gathering and heaping pods, bringing fermented cocoa beans to aggregating and/or purchasing points
- Engaging in long working hours and/or night work



Ghana with permission © International Cocoa Initiative

TABLE 1 – Prevalence of main hazardous child labour tasks among children in cocoa producing areas⁸

Type of Hazardous Tasks	Côte d'Ivoire	Ghana	Average
Land clearing	22%	14%	19%
Use of sharp tools	31%	43%	36%
Carrying heavy loads	26%	32%	29%

⁸ Table based on results from NORC at the University of Chicago (2020), Assessing Progress in Reducing Child Labor in Cocoa Production in Cocoa Growing Areas of Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana. Chicago: University of Chicago.

Only one percent or less of the children worked long hours and between 2% (Côte d'Ivoire) and 3% (Ghana) engaged in night work.

The study identified an increase in agro-chemical exposure from 4 percent to 19 percent in between 2013-2014 and 2018-2019 in Côte d'Ivoire. For the same period, children's exposure to agro-chemicals in Ghana increased from 7 percent to 32 percent.

In addition to hazardous tasks, children working on cocoa farms may also be victims of physical and verbal abuse while engaged in their work.⁹ They are at increased risk of physical and emotional violence¹⁰, mainly triggered by factors, such as not doing the work in accordance with expectations. Girls, and also sometimes boys, are at risk of sexual abuse while working on cocoa farms.¹¹

The number of children engaged in permitted, non-hazardous light work in cocoa production is very small in both countries¹². The figures are 2% in Côte d'Ivoire and 6% in Ghana.¹³ Similarly, in both countries, only 1% of children between 15 and 17 years of age in agricultural households work in non-hazardous labour.¹⁴ The data indicate, therefore, that the vast majority of children working as labourers producing cocoa in the two countries are engaged in hazardous tasks and are in "the worst forms of child labour".

The demand for cocoa has grown and overall productivity has increased. Nevertheless, yields per hectare have decreased or remained stagnant. On farms with old cocoa trees that no longer provide good yields¹⁵, diseases, pests and soil infertility contribute to low productivity. Farmers have consequently moved into new and often protected forest areas to establish new cocoa farms. In fact, much of the deforestation that has occurred in Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana is related to land clearing for the establishment of cocoa farms.¹⁶

9 E.g., Understanding Children's Work (UCW) Programme (2017), Not Just Cocoa: Child Labour in the Agricultural Sector in Ghana (Document covers children in cocoa and other forms of agriculture), Geneva, Rome: ILO, Centre for Economic and International Studies (CEIS).

10 Pluess, J. (November 2018), Children's Rights in the Cocoa-Growing Communities of Côte d'Ivoire, Abidjan: UNICEF Côte d'Ivoire.

11 All information from ILO (2007), Rooting out Child Labour from Cocoa Farms, Paper No. 2 Safety and health hazards, Geneva: ILO-IPIEC.

12 NORC at the University of Chicago (2020), Assessing Progress in Reducing Child Labor in Cocoa Production in Cocoa Growing Areas of Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana. Chicago: University of Chicago.

13 Children aged 12-14 who work less than 14 hours per week in non-hazardous work are defined as in light work. NORC at the University of Chicago (2020), Assessing Progress in Reducing Child Labor in Cocoa Production in Cocoa Growing Areas of Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana. Chicago: University of Chicago.

14 Children 15-17 who do not carry out any hazardous tasks in cocoa production at all and work for less than 43 hours per week. NORC at the University of Chicago (2020), Assessing Progress in Reducing Child Labor in Cocoa Production in Cocoa Growing Areas of Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana. Chicago: University of Chicago.

15 Wessel, M., Foluke Quist-Wessel, F. (2015) Cocoa Production in West Africa, a Review and Analysis of Recent Developments. NJAS – Wageningen Journal of Life Sciences. Vol 74-75. December 2015, Pages 1-7.

16 Multiple sources. Most recently: Mighty Earth (2020), An "Open Secret." Illegal Ivorian Cocoa. 20/11/2020 Available from <https://www.mightyearth.org/an-open-secret-illegal-ivorian-cocoa/>.

Vulnerable children are a cheap source of labour on existing and new farms. For cocoa to be sustainable, however, it cannot co-exist with any of the child labour, deforestation and/or environmental degradation practices prevalent at present in cocoa producing countries.

It should be emphasised that Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana are the world's largest cocoa producers, responsible for 60% of the world's production, a high percentage of which is imported by the EU. For the 2019-2020 season, Côte d'Ivoire produced an estimated 2 million tons and Ghana 850,000 tons.¹⁷ On the demand-side, European Union member countries consume about 70% of this output.

1.1. GLOBAL OBJECTIVE OF THE STUDY

Against this background, this study The European Commission has requested this study with the global objective of:¹⁸ **Proposing effective, efficient, high-impact and sustainable integrated solutions to eliminate child labour in the cocoa value chain and promoting responsible and sustainable cocoa production overall in Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana.**

This overall objective was expected to be based on a detailed analysis of the root causes of child labour. The study was carried out with input from key stakeholders and included a document review and an analysis of the expected impact of the proposed solutions.

The study will feed into the dialogue between participating stakeholders in the recently launched EU Sustainable Cocoa Initiative. The initiative covers several subject areas, including child labour. The multi-stakeholder dialogue brings together representatives from Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana, as well as representatives of the European Parliament, EU Member States, cocoa growers and civil society.¹⁹

The report is divided into three sections. Part 1 provides an overview of the context, purpose, scope and methodology of the study. It also includes summaries of the relevant key international agreements, main stakeholders and general Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana country information. Part 2 analyses the main root causes and existing gaps that interfere with obtaining higher impact of child labour elimination efforts. Part 3 focuses on the key recommended solutions which are summarised in Table Format in Annex 1.

17 Commodafrica (2019), La campagne cacao 2019/20 lancée en Côte d'Ivoire et au Ghana, avec un prix en hausse de 8 à 10%. Available from <http://www.commodafrica.com/01-10-2019-la-campagne-cacao-201920-lancee-en-cote-divoire-et-au-ghana-avec-un-prix-en-hausse-de-8>. Accessed 09/06/2020.

18 Please note that the Global Objective has been reworded from the ToR to ensure clarity when sharing the research purpose with key stakeholders/information providers.

19 European Commission (September 2020), Commission launches initiative for more sustainable cocoa production. Available from https://ec.europa.eu/international-partnerships/news/commission-launches-initiative-more-sustainable-cocoa-production_en. Accessed 25/11/2020.

1.2. METHODOLOGY

A systems analysis approach was adopted to help define the very complex and dynamic environment of the cocoa value chain. Research components were therefore analysed by subject and their vertical, horizontal and multi-dimensional aspects and inter-relationships were also studied. Key stakeholders were interviewed and contributed to the study. Documents were reviewed and analysed before formulating proposed solutions.

Qualitative and secondary quantitative data analysis methods were used. The collection of qualitative data - interviews, websites, research documents, webinars, various reports - was important to gain understanding of the international and national context to all the relevant issues. Qualitative data was used to identify good practices, innovative approaches and lessons learned, as well as potential sustainable solutions to reduce child labour and promote sustainable cocoa production.

The research was based on mapping several key areas to facilitate the organisation of the assignment, with these areas being identified through the terms of reference (ToR). Please see Annex 2 for the results of the mapping exercise in graphic format. The mapping helped ensure that all the areas to be analysed were well organised and understood, and that their inter-relationships were clear with any unnecessary factors removed.

The main areas identified for analysis were:

1. Governance at international and national level
2. The economic context at international and national level
3. Country demographics and labour data in Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana
4. The environmental context (physical environment) in Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana
5. The agricultural environment in Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana
6. The social and cultural context of Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana

1.2.1. RESEARCH CONTEXT AND APPROACH

In accordance with the study requirements, the primary focus of the current study is on child labour in cocoa value chains.

Interviews were conducted with 137 stakeholders from 100 entities. Interviewees in both countries included cocoa industry representatives, key government officials, European Union institutions and delegations, the United Nations, representatives of foundations and Non-Profit Organisations (NGOs), workers' and employers' organisations and international stakeholders. Of the total, 87 were international stakeholders from 64 entities. In Côte d'Ivoire 29 stakeholders

from 17 entities were interviewed. While in Ghana 21 persons from 19 entities/offices were interviewed. (See Annex 4 for details)

Over 600 documents and over 200 websites were analysed. The interview and documentary data were analysed using the qualitative data software Atlas.ti.²⁰

The study used a systems and evaluative inquiry research approach with a rights-based lens and environmental sustainability review.

TABLE 2
Systems and Evaluative Inquiry Research Approaches Used in the Research

Causal loop analysis²¹	Identification of the key variables of interest and determine how components relate to and affect each other.
Social network analysis	Mapping of the key actors and their relationships. Identification of key and representative stakeholders. Data collected were entered into a spreadsheet and analysed. Information from interviews was used to gain a better understanding of the relationships and possible existence/absence of joint actions. The mapping was used to understand the consequences of the different strengths and depths of the interrelationships.
Outcome mapping	Exploration of how possible interventions could contribute to the global objective.
Evaluative inquiry²²	Implementation of a systematic process of collecting quantitative and qualitative data and applying evaluative thinking. Past and current methods of addressing the issues were reviewed and assessed, gaps identified and recommendations formulated. Interviews, relevant technical documents, evaluations of past projects and programmes were analysed to determine useful lessons learned and good practices. The evaluative inquiry approach requires taking what can be learned from these analyses and integrating the findings in order to propose modification of strategies and other outcomes. Evaluative inquiry therefore helps identify potential pathways for change and improvement.

20 Atlasti.com

21 Burns, D. and Worsley, S. (2016), Navigating Complexity in International Development: Facilitating Sustainable Change at Scale. Warwickshire: Practical Action Publishing Ltd.

Williams, B and Hummelbrunner, R (2011), Systems Concepts in Action. Stanford: Stanford Business.

22 Visionary Evaluation for a Sustainable Equitable Future (2020), Edited by Parsons, B. and Dhillon, J., Charlotte, NC: Information Age Publishing

Rights-based study	Universal application of rights-based methods in all investigative processes and when drawing conclusions ²³ There was particular focus on persons affected by gender discrimination, out-of-school children. Children 15 to 18 years old received special attention as they are included in the definition of child labourers. Young people aged 18-24 were also considered ²⁴ . Migrants/trafficked persons, people with disabilities, people affected by HIV and the elderly were included. The rights-based lens also included other priorities, such as those most recently cited in the Council of the European Union ²⁵ . Including civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights, discrimination of all types and the links between human rights and the environment. The application of the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) was analysed as it relates to child labour in Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana.
Environmental Sustainability Review	Was incorporated into the study focusing on the impact of cocoa on the environment, especially deforestation, and related child labour challenges in both countries.

The timeframe for the study was March to December 2020.

1.2.2. DATA ANALYSIS

The research used both qualitative and quantitative data and corresponding analysis methods. The collection of qualitative data through online (i.e. Zoom) interviews, research websites and documents, webinars and various reports was necessary to gain an understanding of the international and national context to all the relevant issues. Qualitative data were used to identify good practices, innovative approaches and lessons learned, as well as potential sustainable solutions to reduce child labour and promote sustainable cocoa production. Some secondary quantitative data were also analysed. An online form, that 33 stakeholders completed, was used to identify the key challenges that need to be addressed. These data were used to cross-check trends identified in the interviews and confirm the veracity of the information collected.

23 United Nations Evaluation Group (2016), Norms and Standards for Evaluation, New York: United Nations Evaluation Group.

24 As per UNICEF (2020) Definition Youth, Available from <https://www.un.org/en/sections/issues-depth/youth-0/index.html>. Accessed 04/04/2020.

25 Council of the European Union (2020), Outcome of Proceedings, Council Conclusions on EU Priorities in UN Human Rights Fora in 2020. Brussels: General Secretariat of the Council.

The semi-structured interviews were aligned with the key areas expertise of the persons contacted. Interviewees were asked to provide their opinions on the main challenges, past successes and any lessons learned of which they were aware. They were also invited to put forward their ideas for solutions to the key challenges that they mentioned. Consistent with the interactive methods inherent in the systems approach, interviewees and the research team were given some space and time during data collection sessions for real interactive discussions. This enriched collective learning and understanding, particularly as some key stakeholders were interviewed more than once.

Analysis consisted of a structured approach in each subject area to determine the most important information to consider when developing proposed solutions, including gaps and shortfalls and how they could best be addressed.

The study used the following analysis tools:

- **Triangulation** of data
- **SWOT Analysis** (Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities, and Threats)
- **Multiple directional analysis** – the data were analysed in several layers and directions, bottom up, top down (to ensure logic), diagonally and horizontally.
- **Atlas.ti**²⁶ qualitative data analysis software was used to identify key issues, trends, patterns and potential recommendations from documents and interviews. Documents and detailed interview notes were entered into the tool. Based on the research requirements, specific categories were developed and used to assign the relevant interview quotations and document material to the subject areas.
- **Simplemind - mind mapping software** to map out all contextual factors and their relationships to achieve high-level results in terms of eliminating child labour in cocoa in Ghana and the Côte d'Ivoire.²⁷
- **Jibility.com - a tool for building strategy roadmaps** that helps prioritise key elements quickly and easily. This was used to present recommendations and suggest roadmaps. The method includes capability-based analysis and planning methods to ensure that suggested changes are aligned to the overarching strategic vision.

The results of interviews involving international and national development agencies, including NGOs and other non-state actors, were all analysed using the Atlas.ti software.

An ethical approach was adopted to the research to ensure confidentiality. The research team adhered to the ILO's Evaluation Policy, ILO Policy Guidelines for Evaluation (3rd edition)²⁸, and the UN Evaluation Group Norms and Standards, Ethical Guidelines, Code of Conduct.²⁹

26 Atlasti.com

27 Annex 3

28 ILO (2017), ILO policy guidelines for evaluation: Principles, rationale, planning and managing for evaluations, 3RD edition. Geneva: ILO.

29 United Nations Evaluation Group (2016), Norms and Standards for Evaluation, New York: United Nations Evaluation Group.

The team also respected the following principles adapted from the Visionary Evaluation for a Sustainable Equitable Future³⁰ document:

- Commit to a sustainable, equitable future
- Recognise the world as composed of living, entangled systems
- Discover, reveal, and respect intersectionalities
- Facilitate the transparency and understanding of human values
- Learn through interactive action and inquiry

The research assumptions on which the research activities were based generally remained very relevant during the period under review (see Annex 5). Except for the engagement of a few public institutions - which required the intervention of the EU Delegation to provide letters introducing the researchers - all stakeholders were extremely cooperative and easy to access for virtual interviews.

1.2.3. STUDY LIMITATIONS

A key limitation is that the research was intended to be desk-based. This meant that no field visits were planned in either country and that there was no interaction with the final target groups, that is the farmers and their families themselves.

The on-going COVID19 situation also meant that it was difficult to reach stakeholders. Many stakeholders were working from home with inadequate internet connections; others were absent for health and other personal reasons. Organising calls was a major challenge. Multiple requests were often made before it was possible to obtain interviews and/or to select times suitable for the stakeholders.

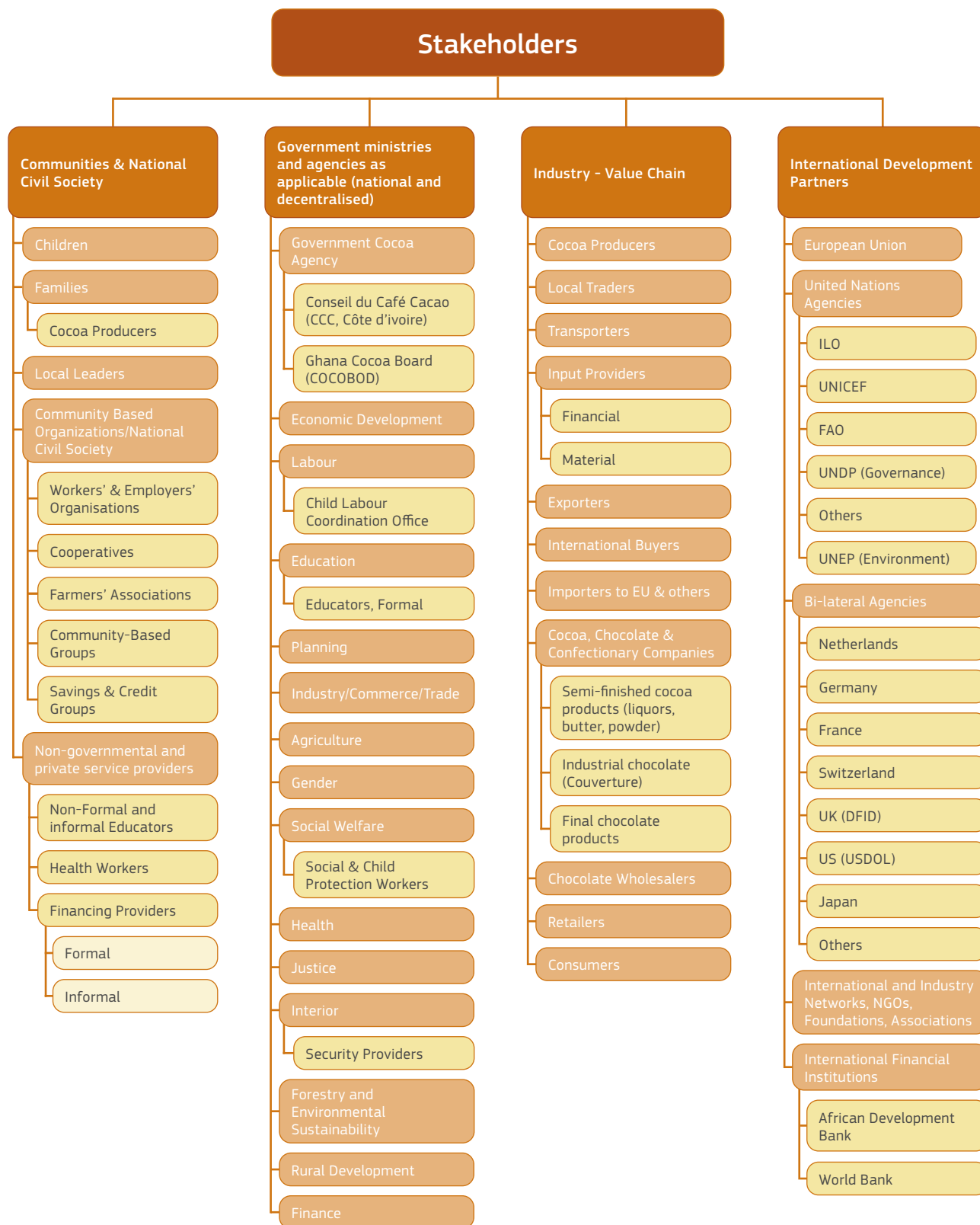
1.3. CONTEXT AND VALUE CHAIN OVERVIEW

1.3.1. KEY COCOA STAKEHOLDERS

The cocoa value chain is quite complex as the processing of cocoa requires more steps than for many other commodities. Figure 1 summarises the key stakeholders related to the chain, child labour and deforestation issues associated with cocoa products. The key groups of stakeholders include the cocoa farmers and their communities and national civil society organisations, government, cocoa value chain actors and international development partners.

30 Parsons, B; Dhillon, L; Keen, M. (Eds), Visionary Evaluation for a Sustainable Equitable Future, Volume in Evaluation and Society Series. Charlotte, NC: Information Age Publishing.

FIGURE 1 – Key Stakeholders



1.3.2. COUNTRY VALUE CHAINS

There is a lack of reliable and valid recent data on the exact number of cocoa farmers in Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana. Both countries are expected to conduct a farm census in 2021, which will provide a more accurate picture. In the meantime, experts interviewed for this study estimated that there are approximately 800,000 to 1,000,000 cocoa farmers in Côte d'Ivoire.³¹ Approximately 6 million people work in the cocoa industry in Cote d'Ivoire.³² In Ghana there are approximately 600,000 to 800,000 cocoa farmers.

Given the importance of cocoa in the Ivorian and Ghanaian economies, the governments of both countries play an important role in managing the industry. In Côte d'Ivoire the Conseil de Café Cacao (CCC) focuses on its objectives of strengthening good governance and ensuring some regulation and transparency in the management of resources. The CCC also works to ensure that farmers receive a guaranteed minimum price. It provides licenses to private buyers, cooperatives and exporters, collects taxes and sets the prices for the collection and transport of cocoa within the country.

The state of Ghana has mandated the Ghana Cocoa Board (known as COCOBOD) to oversee all affairs regarding cocoa and related products in the country. It focuses on the production, research, extension, internal and external marketing and quality control of cocoa.³³ COCOBOD engages in a wide range of activities to manage these processes, dividing its main activities into pre- and post-harvest initiatives. It engages in pre-harvest activities, such as seed production, associated research and provides direct support to farmers with cocoa production. Post-harvest, quality control measures are implemented to ensure that the cocoa beans meet the requirements of the Licenced Buying Companies (LBC) traders. COCOBOD contributes to pricing negotiations and the overall development of the cocoa industry in Ghana, including policies and measures to ensure some relative price stability for cocoa farmers.

1.3.3. INTERNATIONAL AGREEMENTS AND DEFINITIONS

1.3.3.1. International Labour Standards (ILS) and other key human rights treaties

Several International Labour Standards (ILS) are of particular importance in terms of decent work and child labour conditions. Freedom from Child Labour is actually one of the four core international labour standards. Countries that have ratified ILS are obliged to harmonise their

31 Personal interviews with cocoa network representatives.

32 ArcGIS (2020), Cocoa Industry in the Côte d'Ivoire, <https://www.arcgis.com/apps/Cascade/index.html?appid=dd19d4b6444e492da5b069d62d2c3ecb>, Accessed 30/06/2020

33 Also, shea nut and coffee. Ghana Cocoa Board, (2020) About US, Available from <https://cocobod.gh/ObjectivesFunctionsBoard.php>. Accessed 06/06/2020

legal and regulatory frameworks in line with the articles of the ILS. The translation into national laws and enforcement remains weak in countries where child labour is highly prevalent. This includes Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana.

Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana have ratified both specific conventions on child labour. Convention 138 covering a minimum age across all sectors was adopted at the International Labour Conference in 1973. ILO Convention 182 on the worst forms of child labour was adopted in 1999 and is the first ILO convention to be ratified by all countries. Both conventions fall under the Fundamental Principles and Rights at Work, or core labour standards, and are thus considered of the highest importance. Both countries have also ratified Convention 87 on freedom of association and Convention 98 on the right to organise and bargain collectively. These conventions are critical in that they support the rights of farmer-based-organisations.

Other ILO labour standards of importance that both countries have ratified include the ILO C011. This labour standard accords persons working in agriculture the same right of association - that is organising - as persons in industry.

It should be added that the 1998 Declaration on Fundamental Principles and Rights at Work (FPRW) stipulates that all ILO member states must respect, promote and realise the principles underlying the fundamental conventions, even if they have not ratified the conventions themselves.³⁴ C184 on occupational safety and health (OSH) is very relevant in this regard since the ILO's governing body is considering making it one of the core labour standards.

The Fourth Global Conference on the Sustained Eradication of Child Labour in 2017³⁵ led to the adoption of the Buenos Aires Declaration on Child Labour, Forced Labour and Youth Employment. The declaration includes concrete steps towards the eradication of child labour and forced labour, and the generation of quality employment for young people. It also called for alignment with SDG Target 8.7 to end child labour by 2025 and forced labour by 2030. Alliance 8.7 is a network of stakeholders focusing on ensuring the end of child labour and forced labour under SDG 8.³⁶ Several important conferences led up to the over-arching Buenos Aires Declaration, to which participating countries have committed. The first was in Oslo in 1997 and the second, held in the Hague in 2010, adopted a road map to eliminate child labour. The third, in Brasilia in 2013, called for a renewed focus on strengthening the capacities, roles and responsibilities of governments to eliminate child labour.

34 ILO (2020), Fundamental Principles and Rights at Work: About the Declaration, Available from <https://www.ilo.org/declaration/thedeclaration/lang--en/index.htm> Accessed 15/09/2020.

35 Global Conference on the Sustained Eradication of Child Labour IV (2017), Buenos Aires Declaration on Child Labour, Forced Labour and Youth Employment, 14-16 November 2017, Buenos Aires: Alliance 8.7

36 Alliance 8.7 (2020a), Alliance 8.7 is an Inclusive Global Partnership Committed to Achieving Target 8.7 of the 2030 Sustainable Development Goals. Available from: <https://www.alliance87.org/the-alliance/> Accessed 20/06/2020.

Côte d'Ivoire, but not Ghana, has ratified C110 - Plantations Convention, 1958 (No. 110).³⁷ This labour standard is applicable to any agricultural undertaking that hires workers. The convention explicitly states that workers should not be paid less than the minimum wage. Child labourers working with their own families are often not paid at all; those working as forced or hired labour are commonly underpaid.

Côte d'Ivoire has also ratified P155 - Protocol of 2002 to the Occupational Safety and Health Convention, which will enter into force in November 2020.

Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana have both ratified the Palermo Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, especially Women and Children.

Ghana was the first country in the world to ratify the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child in 1990. Côte d'Ivoire ratified the convention in 1991.

1.3.3.2. International agreements

The Harkin Engel Protocol has had an important influence on the planning and development of initiatives to reduce child labour in Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana.³⁸ The protocol is a voluntary agreement, signed in 2011, which was developed in partnership with US Senator Tom Harkin and Representative Eliot Engel working with cocoa and chocolate industry representatives. It is aimed at eliminating the worst forms of child labour in the growing and processing of cocoa beans and their by-products wherever cocoa is grown. A Framework of Action accompanies the protocol, including a target to reduce child labour by 70% in the cocoa value chain in Ghana and Cote d'Ivoire by 2020. Unfortunately, as the NORC study on the prevalence of child labour in Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana has indicated, this 70% reduction has not yet occurred. However, quite recently, a Public Private Partnership (PPP) has been initiated in both countries to ensure a more comprehensive approach to addressing some of the challenges - including a lack of resources - to achieve child labour, human rights and environmental sustainability goals.

1.3.3.3. Industry agreements and declarations

The cocoa and chocolate industry have adopted some agreements and made joint declarations on issues regarding human rights and sustainability. These include the Berlin Declaration of

37 ILO (2020), C110 - Plantations Convention, 1958 (No. 110), Available from https://www.ilo.org/dyn/normlex/en/f?p=NO_RMLEXPUB:12100::NO:12100:P12100ILOCODE:C110:NO. Website consulted 26/08/2020.

38 Secretary Solis H. L., Minister Guireoulou E., Minister Mensah E. T., Graham L. T., Senator Harkin T., Congressman Engel E. and Donaldson N. (13 09 2010), Declaration of Joint Action to Support Implementation of the Harkin-Engel Protocol. Available from <https://www.dol.gov/sites/dolgov/files/ILAB/legacy/files/GhanaSignedDeclaration.pdf>. Accessed on 15/06/2020.

the Fourth World Cocoa Conference 2018.³⁹ This declaration includes a call to ensure a living income for cocoa farmers and to increase efforts to abolish child labour and deforestation.

The European Cocoa Association (ECA), speaking for its members in 2019, published a position paper on EU Due Diligence Regulations.⁴⁰ Major cocoa industry companies, such as Fairtrade, Rainforest Alliance and VOICE Network, likewise signed a “Joint position paper on the EU’s policy and regulatory approach to cocoa” in 2019⁴¹ with similar affirmations. In February 2020, CAOBISCO – an association of European chocolate, biscuit and confectionery industries – also issued a statement on due diligence.⁴² All three statements/position papers indicated that they support the development of an EU-wide due diligence agreement that is aligned with the UN Guiding Principles on Business and Human Rights⁴³ and the OECD-FAO Guidance for Responsible Agricultural Supply Chains.⁴⁴

Another set of key guidelines that the ECA⁴⁵ notes should be considered as applicable are the Voluntary Guidelines on the Responsible Governance of Tenure of Land, Fisheries and Forests.⁴⁶ These guidelines are of importance as they deal with poverty reduction, which is necessary for the elimination of child labour, and environmental protection.

The statements all stress the importance of addressing child labour, forced labour/trafficking and deforestation, among other rights and environmental issues. They call for the EU to engage in consultative processes for an EU-wide due diligence regulation with the publication of a draft regulation no later than end 2020.

Other existing agreements focus on the setting of standards in fair trade conditions applicable to many agricultural commodities. Some of the entities focusing on standards are discussed in the next section.

39 ICCO (2020), Berlin Declaration of the Fourth World Cocoa Conference 2018. Available from <https://www.icco.org/about-us/icco-news/387-berlin-declaration-of-the-fourth-world-cocoa-conference.html#:~:text=Berlin%2C%2025%20April%202018%2D%2D,is%20no%20longer%20an%20option>. Accessed 08/08/2020.

40 Note: ECA is a trade association grouping the major companies engaged in cocoa bean trade and processing, warehousing and related logistical activities in Europe. ECA (2019), European Cocoa Association Position Paper on Due Diligence, Brussels: European Cocoa Association.

41 Barry Callebaut, Fairtrade, Mars Wrigley, Mondelez International, Rainforest Alliance, VOICE Network (2019), Joint position paper on the EU’s policy and regulatory approach to cocoa. Brussels: Barry Callebaut, Fairtrade, Mars Wrigley, Mondelez International, Rainforest Alliance, VOICE Network.

42 CAOBISCO (2020), CAOBISCO Statement Due Diligence, Brussels: CAOBISCO.

43 United Nations Human Rights Office of the High Commissioner, Geneva: United Nations.

44 OECD-FAO (2016), OECD-FAO Guidance for Responsible Agricultural Supply Chains, Paris: OECD.

45 ECA (2019), European Cocoa Association Position Paper on Due Diligence, Brussels: European Cocoa Association.

46 FAO, CFS Committee on World Food Security (2012), Voluntary Guidelines on the Responsible Governance of Tenure of Land, Fisheries and Forests in the Context of National Food Security, Rome: FAO.

1.3.3.4. Certification and standards

An **African Regional Standard** on cocoa is currently being developed that is intended to supersede the ISO standard in West Africa. The governments of Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana expect the African Regional Standard to reflect their own inputs and vision. The main elements under discussion for the standard are, nevertheless, largely in line with ISO 34101.

Fairtrade International focuses on standard setting, certification and traceability. Its mission is to connect disadvantaged producers with consumers, promote fairer trading conditions and empower producers to combat poverty, strengthen their position and help them take more control over their lives.

Rainforest Alliance (RA) focuses on standard setting and certification, advocacy and awareness raising. The RA provides the Rainforest Alliance Certified™ seal to farms, forests and businesses that meet its environmental and social standards. Certification requires the absence of child labour in the supply chain from producer level upwards. The RA addresses deforestation and climate change and supports the creation of economic opportunities and better working conditions for rural people.

Some networks are strongly oriented towards standards development and include entities such as the International Organization for Standardization (**ISO**), the ISEAL Alliance (a global association for credible sustainability standards) and the Standards and Trade Development Facility (**STDF**). All stakeholders in the cocoa sector from cocoa producing as well as cocoa consuming countries participated in the development of ISO 34101 on sustainable and traceable cocoa. As a result, in 2019, a series of standards on sustainable and traceable cocoa - ISO 34101 - was adopted. In 2020 the European Committee for Standardisation (**CEN**) also adopted these documents. Under ISO 34101 the organisations directly or indirectly linked to the cocoa value chain are expected to work with farmers and farmers' organisations to help ensure that the requirements under the standards can be met.

1.3.4. COUNTRY DEFINITIONS OF CHILD LABOUR, LEGAL AND POLICY FRAMEWORKS

Stakeholders interviewed for this study often mentioned challenges around the issue of definitions of child labour. The ILO conventions indicate that no child below a specific age should work. The limit is set at 15 but may be lower under specific conditions as determined by governments. Furthermore, under the age of 18, no child should work in any condition that is mentally, physically, socially or morally dangerous and harmful to children; and/or interferes with their education. Work which includes any labour tasks that a country has officially declared as hazardous for children is a worst form of child labour.

While the ILO conventions are quite clear overall, there is still scope for specific adjustments at country level concerning issues such as what constitutes “light work” and minimum age.

According to law, children in Côte d'Ivoire may engage in “light work” from the age of 13 to 16.⁴⁷ In Ghana, under the Ghana Children Act 1998, the minimum age for admission of children into employment is 15.⁴⁸ However, as in Côte d'Ivoire, children may be employed at the age of 13 to do light work. The minimum age for engagement of persons in hazardous work is 18.

Côte d'Ivoire officially adopted a list that includes specific child labour tasks considered hazardous in agriculture.⁴⁹ The Ghana Hazardous Activity Framework⁵⁰ equally provides specifics on which activities are considered hazardous in different categories, including in agriculture.

The plan indicates international development partners and the private sector, which would include from the cocoa industry, are expected to provide support for the implementation of the National Child Labour Plan. As one Government stakeholder indicated, this means that all initiatives—whether funded through outside donors or other non-state actors—should be aligned with the National Child Labour Action Plan.

Côte d'Ivoire's current National Child Labour Plan⁵¹ runs from 2019–2021 and has three main strategies:

1. Access for children to basic social services and/or a decent job
2. Reduction of the socio-economic vulnerability of families and communities
3. Strengthening of institutions, legal and programmatic frameworks to fight against child labour

47 ILO (2020), NATLEX Database of national labour, social security and related human rights legislation: Côte d'Ivoire > Elimination of child labour, protection of children and young persons, Available from <https://www.ilo.org/dyn/natlex/natlex4.listResults?plang=en&pcountry=CIV&pclassification=04>. Accessed 08/08/2020.

48 Government of Ghana (1998), The Children's Act, 1998, Act 560, Accra: Government of Ghana.

49 Ministère de l'Emploi et de la Protection Sociale (2017), Arrêté Déterminant la Liste des Travaux Dangereux Interdits aux Enfants, Arrêté No 2017-017 MEPS/CAB 02 Juin 2017. Accra : Ministère de l'Emploi et de la Protection Sociale.

50 Child Labour Unit of the Labour Department Ministry of Employment and Social Welfare (MESW) (2016), Hazardous Child Labour Activity Framework for Ghana (HAF). Accra: Child Labour Unit MESW.

51 Government of the Republic of Côte D'ivoire (2017), National Action Plan: Fight Against Trafficking, Exploitation and Child Labour 2019-2021. Abidjan: Government of the Republic of Côte d'Ivoire.

In Ghana, the National Plan of Action on child labour covers the years 2017–2021.⁵² It has four strategic objectives:

- 1) **Strategic Objective 1:** Reinforcing public awareness and strengthening advocacy for improved policy programmes and implementation of child development interventions
- 2) **Strategic Objective 2:** Improving capacity, collaboration, coordination and resource mobilisation for effective implementation of child labour interventions
- 3) **Strategic Objective 3:** Effective provision and monitoring of social services and economic empowerment programmes by local government administrations
- 4) **Strategic Objective 4:** Promoting community empowerment and sustainable action against child labour

As will be seen in Part 2 of this document (covering root causes and gaps regarding child labour), the issues being addressed in existing plans still require attention, i.e. institutional strengthening, reduction of socio-economic vulnerability, access to services and infrastructure.

It should be noted that the main focus of this study is children who may be categorised as in child labour. The definition of “youth” in both countries officially goes up to the age of 35. This study, however, primarily focuses on youth from the ages of 15 to 18 and 18 to 24. The age of 24 is linked to education when young people may finish college. This is a practical age to prioritise with regard to interventions focused on youth as related to child labour. The age of 24 is also in line with the UNICEF definition of youth. The age of 24 also has more practical implications for the education and training solutions discussed in Part 3. Finally, and importantly, a large-scale ILO review of research into hazardous child labour indicates that the period of growth from 5 to 24 years is a continuum. Within this period children (and young adults) face a specific range of vulnerabilities that require responses in law and in practice.⁵³

Côte d'Ivoire has a national youth policy covering the period 2016–2020.⁵⁴ The policy includes a strong focus on increasing education and training for out-of-school young people.

52 Government of Ghana, UNICEF, ILO and International Cocoa Initiative (December 2017), National Plan of Action: Towards Achieving Sustainable Development Goal (SDG) 8.7 (PHASE II (NPA2)): For the Elimination of the Worst Forms of Child Labour in Ghana (2017 – 2021), Accra: Government of Ghana, UNICEF, ILO and International Cocoa Initiative.

53 ILO (2018), Towards the urgent elimination of Hazardous Child Labour, Geneva: ILO. Page X.

54 Ministère de la Promotion de la Jeunesse, de l'Emploi des Jeunes et du Service Civique (MPJEJSC) (2016), La Politique Nationale de la Jeunesse et les Stratégies, Abidjan : Ministère de la Promotion de la Jeunesse, de l'Emploi des Jeunes et du Service Civique.

1.4. Key Stakeholders and Approaches

There are many types of direct initiatives in cocoa producing communities in Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana that are specifically aimed at eliminating child labour. The programmes are mostly implemented through governments, foundations and networks. The governments of the cocoa producing countries finance national and local legal and policy framework planning, social services development and infrastructure that have an impact on child labour. The cocoa industry, and multilateral and bilateral agencies fund most of the direct community level initiatives.

Stakeholders interviewed for this study variously estimated that the existing programmes cover between 10 and 20% of cocoa producing households in the two countries.⁵⁵ Most company stakeholder interviewees stressed that the eventual goal of the programmes is to ensure that all cocoa communities' supply chains are covered by child labour elimination programmes.

At community level, the efforts of various intervention projects and fair-trade initiatives have had some results. Awareness raising for behaviour change concerning the risks of child labour for children's development and limited economic development has been conducted. Children in, or at risk of, child labour in cocoa have been identified and assisted.⁵⁶ Communities have been supported with school supplies, adult literacy initiatives for parents, income diversification activities, voluntary savings and credit schemes, community actions against child labour and other schemes. Some interventions have also provided support with infrastructure, such as the building of classrooms.

Evaluations of past projects on child labour in cocoa and other agricultural projects indicate that the sustainability of these initiatives is not as strong as may be desired.⁵⁷ The extent to which community children remain out of child labour will remain unclear unless all actions are intensified and better coordinated. Poverty, the lack of social services, the urgent need for more physical infrastructure, such as roads, schools, health centres and child protection service offices, continue to be limiting factors.

Some of the main groups and types of initiative addressing child labour in cocoa are described in the remainder of this sub-section.

55 Also as indicated in ICI (2020), ICI Strategy 2021–2026, Geneva: ICI.

56 NORC at the University of Chicago (2020), Assessment of Effectiveness of Cocoa Industry Interventions in Reducing Child Labor in Cocoa Growing Areas of Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana. Chicago: University of Chicago.

57 As noted in a range of evaluations studies, including those that the Team Leader of this study conducted and interviews with specialists during the study. The evaluations are too numerous to all be cited here but are available from the ILO, ICI, and the United States Department of Labor.

1.4.1. OVERVIEW OF REDUCTIONS IN CHILD LABOUR THAT THE GOVERNMENTS OF CÔTE D'IVOIRE AND GHANA ACHIEVED

To address poverty, the governments of Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana have moved their multi-stakeholder dialogue process forward to improve the producers' share of the value generated by cocoa. They contend that a better price for the product in the two countries will, in turn, enhance the benefits expected to reach small-holder farmers and improve their lives. Minimum pricing is expected to contribute to ending child labour in cocoa production and to allow sustainable cocoa production to thrive.

Thus, as producers of a large proportion of the world's cocoa, Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana promoted a living income differential (LID) of US \$400 to be added to the price of cocoa beans per metric ton in international markets.⁵⁸ The cocoa industry agreed in June 2019 to apply the differential. Ghana's COCOBOD and Cote d'Ivoire's CCC successfully imposed this price mechanism to be added to annual increases in prices with the intention that farmers should earn a living income. This was the first time that such an agreement had been made. However, there is much debate over the fact that the pricing mechanism is still too low to reduce poverty and child labour significantly. It should also be noted that the farm gate price is just one determining factor in farmers' incomes.

The governments of Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana are implementing additional measures using a wide range of methods anchored in education, child protection and social protection systems. The child protection system approach, in particular, includes eliminating child labour as one of its components. Child protection systems also cover such issues as birth registration, abuse, neglect and exploitation, all of which may be linked to effectively reducing child labour. In other words, a child may be in child labour and simultaneously be being abused while working in other ways, including corporal punishment and other forms of violence.

According to key stakeholders interviewed who are very knowledgeable about both countries, child protection and social protection systems have been more widely implemented in Ghana than in Côte d'Ivoire so far. However, a lack of funding and other challenges in the enabling environment mean that, in practice, government programmes do not adequately cover the cocoa producing areas. In addition, evidence of the effectiveness of some types of social protection programmes, such as cash transfers to reduce child labour among vulnerable households, is uneven.⁵⁹

58 Reuters Ghana (2019), Ivory Coast cocoa floor price seen as small step toward ending child labour. Available from <https://af.reuters.com/article/commoditiesNews/idAFL8N23L3DJ> Accessed 10/02/2020.

59 Ravetti, C (2020), The effect of cash transfers on child labour: A review of evidence from rural contexts, ICI.

The **Côte d'Ivoire Government** implements specific child labour programmes by supporting research, regional labour inspection offices, data collection and monitoring systems. Recently, police units have also been strengthened to address child labour, including cross-border trafficking.

The *Comité interministériel de lutte contre la traite, l'exploitation et le travail des enfants*⁶⁰ (CIM), is the Côte d'Ivoire government's main child labour-related supervisory body. The Ministry of Labour and Social Protection leads the committee. The *Ministère de l'Emploi et de la Protection Sociale*⁶¹ is the ministry that coordinates the CIM.

As CIM's name indicates, its mission is to define and ensure the application of national policy to combat trafficking and child labour exploitation. The CIM is expected to validate, coordinate and evaluate the various child labour programmes and projects that development partners and other organisations carry out.

In 2011 the *Comité National de Surveillance des Actions de Lutte contre la traite, l'exploitation et le travail des enfants* (CNS) was established.⁶² The CNS is charged with proposing, initiating and monitoring the implementation of government projects and programmes on child labour.

The government implements the *Système d'Observation et de Suivi du Travail des Enfants en Côte d'Ivoire* (SOSTECI). This system is centred on communities and focuses largely on collecting, summarising and analysing statistical information on child labour. Its purpose is to monitor the child labour situation and obtain data to inform planning. The ILO has worked to strengthen SOSTECI's functions. The International Cocoa Initiative (ICI) has also provided technical assistance to SOSTECI, in particular to support the harmonisation SOSTECI and ICI data tools.

ICI has signed a Memorandum of Understanding with the CNS that outlines the roles and responsibilities for the public and private sectors to work in synergy. However, as will be discussed in the remainder of the report, and private sector representatives have pointed out in stakeholder interviews and documentation, there is still much more that needs to be done to achieve coordination and attain better synergies.

In **Ghana**, the Ministry of Employment and Labour Relations (MELR) Child Labour Unit coordinates the National Steering Committee on Child Labour (NSCCL). The NSCCL is responsible for the overall development, coordination, implementation and supervision of the country's current National Plan for the Elimination of Worst Forms of Child Labour (NPA 2). The Human

60 Interministerial Committee to Combat Trafficking, Exploitation and Child Labor.

61 Ministère de l'Emploi et de la Protection Sociale (MEPS).

62 National Committee for Monitoring Actions to Combat Trafficking, Exploitation and Child Labor

Trafficking Management Board (HTMB) is the statutory body overseeing the implementation of human trafficking policy frameworks. This includes internal and cross-border trafficking of children for labour. The HTMB had been inactive since 2016 but was reconstituted in 2019 and is currently convening regularly.

United Nations agencies and bodies, such as the ILO, UNICEF, World Bank, FAO and WFP, are mandated to help the Ghana and Côte d'Ivoire governments attain their development goals. This includes working with them on developing policy, legal and regulatory frameworks for the elimination of child labour. Some of these agencies, e.g. the ILO and UNICEF, also implement direct actions at local level aimed at reducing child labour. As part of the requirements under its tripartite structure, in addition to working with government, the ILO involves employers' and workers' organisations in its initiatives.

More specifically, the **ILO** is helping the two governments develop their national decent work and child labour elimination plans. The ILO has implemented projects on child labour, including ones focused on child labour in cocoa, in both countries in the past. The ILO's methods include community-based child labour identification, withdrawal, monitoring, and prevention of child labour, as well as other community-based development actions. The actions undertaken are linked to district and national child labour structures. The ILO's focus is, further, to promote decent work for parents and children above minimum age for work as sustainable solutions for child labour. Lessons learned from many past projects indicate that, where adults work in decent conditions, it is more likely that their children will not work, or will only work in non-hazardous conditions.

The **ILO** is helping the two governments develop their national decent work and child labour elimination plans. The ILO has implemented projects on child labour, including ones focused on child labour in cocoa, in both countries in the past. The ILO's methods include community-based child labour identification, monitoring, withdrawal and prevention of child labour, as well as other community-based development actions. The actions undertaken are linked to district and national child labour structures. The ILO's focus is, further, to promote decent work for parents and children above minimum age for work as sustainable solutions for child labour. Lessons learned from many past projects indicate that, where adults work in decent conditions, it is more likely that their children will not work, or will only work in non-hazardous conditions.

The ILO is currently also implementing the "Accelerating action for the elimination of child labour in supply chains in Africa and Impact Bond in Cote d'Ivoire (ACCEL Africa Project) to address child labour in the cocoa supply chain."⁶³ The Netherlands Government is providing the funding for the 2018-2022 project.

63 Accelerating action for the elimination of child labour in supply chains in Africa (ACCEL Africa), Available from <https://www.ilo.org/ipec/projects/global/WCMS698536/lang--en/index.htm> Accessed 05/05/2020.

1.4.2. INTERNATIONAL PROGRAMS AND AGENCIES

It should be noted that the list detailed in Section 1.4.2 is not exhaustive. Additional key stakeholders were mapped. Details are available on request.

The **ILO IPEC + Global Flagship Programme** – in line with target 8.7 of the 2030 Sustainable Development Agenda - works, from village (projects) to global level to promote the eradication of child and forced labour. This includes a special focus on child labour in supply chains generally and, specifically, in cocoa in Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana.

UNICEF addresses child labour directly through its support for the building of child protection systems that address violence, abuse and exploitation, including child labour. UNICEF helps governments develop national child protection and other development plans to safeguard children's rights and wellbeing. As part of this support, UNICEF has also helped develop a case management system to address violence, abuse, neglect and exploitation of all children. The case management system is intended to identify children engaged in hazardous work and to provide support to withdraw affected children through government-led systems. In addition, UNICEF's programmes on education, birth registration, health and nutrition and access to social protection also contribute to reducing child labour.

UNICEF has carried out studies on child labour in cocoa and related subjects which serve as an evidence base to inform new programmatic approaches and institutional policy (on subjects such as child rights and business and human rights due diligence). UNICEF has also been advocating for the development of a PPP to holistically address the root causes of child labour through an increased focus on prevention and the strengthening of national systems in Cote d'Ivoire and Ghana.

The **World Bank in Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana** contributes by giving the governments support with governance and research into the cocoa value chain, including child labour.

It should be added that the FAO, WFP and UNESCO also contribute to reductions in child labour worldwide. In the case of the FAO, there is a special focus on child labour in agriculture. WFPs nutrition and, particularly, its school feeding programmes, have an impact on children's' wellbeing. As discussed in the current report, school feeding is important as a means for increasing school attendance in locations where child labour is prevalent. UNESCO's focus on developing country education systems is, of course, also essential.

The **International Cocoa Initiative** promotes child protection in cocoa-growing communities and works to ensure a better future for children and their families. The ICI is a Swiss-based foundation operating in Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana since 2007. It has a multi-stakeholder structure and works with its partners so that cocoa-growing communities are more protective of children

and their rights. ICI's main partners are the cocoa industry, civil society, farming communities and national governments. The initiative has supported 742 cocoa-growing communities since 2007. During the period 2015-2020, ICI has directly assisted more than 381,000 children, exceeding its own target of 375,000 direct beneficiaries for the period. ICI also contributes to child rights discussions in international forums and in the cocoa producing countries.

ICI's Child Labour Monitoring and Remediation System (CLMRS) has covered 232 communities and 214 farming cooperatives in Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana. The CLMRS approach starts with facilitators in cocoa-growing communities who raise awareness of child labour, identify cases and offer remediation actions that ICI implements together with the chocolate company and cocoa supplier.⁶⁴ Broader community work includes the development of educational infrastructure, bridging classes for children who have dropped out of school and school kits equipped with the necessary teaching materials. Support is also given to obtain birth certificates for children who are not yet registered so that they can gain entry to secondary education. Community Service Groups support farmers to acquire affordable adult labour during harvest season – instead of relying on help from their children. Adult literacy and numeracy classes also strengthen communities' resilience to not using child labour. Income Generating Activities (IGAs) contribute to families' livelihoods.

ICI's new strategy for the period 2021-2025 increases its target to cover 25% of the cocoa supply chain. It also intends to strengthen the efforts of ICI partners to cover the remaining 75% of their supply chain in Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana. ICI includes a focus on implementing its tested CLMRS and other approaches on a larger scale. A second pillar of the new strategy is aimed at strengthening the relevant legal and policy frameworks and their application in the enabling environment. The third strategic pillar is oriented towards increasing the coordination and alignment of efforts to eliminate child and forced labour.

At country level, the “**Children First in Cocoa Initiative**” began and gained momentum in 2020 as part of a PPP strategy and programme. The PPP coalition consists of the Ivorian government, cocoa and chocolate industry companies and philanthropic partners. The main purpose is to substantially scale up interventions to reduce child labour in cocoa production. Progress on the PPP is currently more advanced in Côte d'Ivoire than in Ghana. While the initiative was initially launched by the private sector and the governments, the ILO and UNICEF have now joined in the dialogue and the EU has been approached to participate in the discussions.

The **Jacobs Foundation** had already been established to support education quality improvement initiatives in Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana. The participating entities are jointly providing seed funding for two pooled funding facilities with a target capitalisation of 150 million Swiss Francs. The

64 ICI (2020), Our Work, Available from <https://cocoainitiative.org/our-work/our-work/supply-chain/>. Accessed 10/10/2020.

foundation is advocating for additional stakeholders in order to reach the target capitalisation for the two facilities.

The facilities are aimed at promoting effective learning and early childhood development in Côte d'Ivoire. The Child Learning and Education Facility (CLEF) is aimed at reaching five million children in 10,000 schools with a primary focus on cocoa growing areas.⁶⁵ The Early Learning and Nutrition Facility (ELAN), is expected to reach 1.3 million children below the age of 5 and their caregivers, providing quality services and training in early childhood development and nutrition.⁶⁶

International non-governmental organisations that have contributed to the reduction of child labour in cocoa include CARE, the International Rescue Committee (IRC), the FarmStrong Foundation, Save the Children, Solidaridad, Winrock International and World Vision. In most cases their work has either consisted of direct implementation of projects on child labour or they have included households with child labourers as part of their target group.

Some countries also fund child labour-oriented initiatives with a direct bearing on cocoa. These include the **Netherlands Government**, which provides funds for the Fund Against Child Labour (FBK) and also the above mentioned ACCEL project. The Rijksdienst voor Ondernemend Nederland (Netherlands Enterprise Agency (RVO) overseas the FBK. Under the FBK, so far 26 companies have received subsidies to join projects aimed at ending child labour, including in cocoa. The German development cooperation organisation (**GiZ**) and the Swiss State Secretariat for Economic Affairs (**SECO**) are also funding child labour-related projects in cocoa production.

The **United States Bureau of International Labor Affairs (USDOL ILAB)** works across the US Administration and with stakeholders to advance efforts to end child labour. It has funded numerous projects to eliminate child labour. These include several projects that various agencies in Ghana and Côte d'Ivoire have implemented and that partially or fully focus on ending child labour in cocoa.⁶⁷ USDOL ILAB has also funded several studies on child labour statistics to help inform effective programmes to eliminate child labour; these include the recently published NORC study on child labour prevalence in cocoa production.

65 Jacobs Foundation (2020), CLEF—Child Learning and Education Facility. Available from <https://www.Nestlé.com/sites/default/files/2020-04/2020-clef-factsheet-en.pdf>. Accessed on 28/07/2020. Zurich: Jacobs Foundation.

66 Jacobs Foundation (2020), CLEF and ELAN. Available from <https://jacobsfoundation.org/en/activity/clef-elan/#:~:text=CLEF%20and%20ELAN&text=The%20second%20initiative%2C%20the%20Early,early%20childhood%20development%20and%20nutrition>. Accessed 28/08/2020.

67 E.g. among others by, ICI, ILO, and Winrock International.

1.4.2.1. Networks

In addition to the entities that work in the cocoa communities - or fund organisations that do - there are many other networks and organisations at national and international level that work towards reducing child labour. Such entities contribute to dialogue on subjects that influence child labour and environmental sustainability, including discussions and agreements on farm gate pricing, the living income differential, trade, deforestation and due diligence.

International industry networks include the World Cocoa Foundation (WCF), the International Cocoa Organization (ICCO), the European Cocoa Association (ECA), and the Federation of Cocoa Commerce (FCC).

The **World Cocoa Foundation (WCF)** is a network of over 100 members, including cocoa and chocolate manufacturers, processors, supply chain managers and other companies worldwide, together representing more than 80% of the global cocoa market. The WCF member companies committed to CocoaAction include ADM, Barry Callebaut, Blommer, Cargill, Ferrero, The Hershey Company, Mars, Incorporated, Mondelēz International, Nestlé, and Olam.

The **European Cocoa Association (ECA)** acts a bridge between the EU and cocoa producing companies. ECA's vision includes the study, research and implementation of adequate solutions to any matter affecting the industry, the trading and the logistics of the cocoa sector.

CAOBISCO is the Association of Chocolate, Biscuits and Confectionery Industries of Europe that includes 15 member National Associations as well as direct member companies and affiliated members.

There are a number of **EU nationally based networks** which also have strong linkages with their national government. These include the Dutch Initiative on Sustainable Cocoa (DISCO), the Swiss Platform for Sustainable Cocoa (SWISSCO), Beyond Chocolate (Belgian), and the German Initiative on Sustainable Cocoa (GISCO).⁶⁸ These networks are mostly public private partnerships that focus on improving conditions of farmers, their families, reducing child labour and deforestation.

The **International Partnership for Cooperation on Child Labour in Agriculture (IPCCLA)**, which the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) coordinates, is another important forum for action in agriculture.

Other types of networks include **unions**, such as the International Cocoa Farmers and the International Union of Food, Agricultural, Hotel, Restaurant, Catering, Tobacco and Allied

⁶⁸ Linked to GiZ, the German development aid organisation.

Workers' Associations (IUF), the European Federation of Trade Unions in the Food, Agriculture and Tourism (**EFFAT**) and their counterparts in Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana. In Côte d'Ivoire this includes the Union Générale des Travailleurs de Côte d'Ivoire (**UGTCI**). In Ghana the General Agricultural Workers' Union of Ghana (**GAWU**) is a key actor which also has a focus on child labour. Employers' organisations in both countries are actively participating in discussions on the key topics. All of these entities focus on child labour and environmental sustainability in their programmes.

The **Child Labor Cocoa Coordinating Group (CLCCG)** is a public-private partnership with the aim of rooting out abusive labour practices in the cocoa supply chain, including child labour. The CLCCG was formed after the signing of the Harkin-Engel Protocol and focuses on establishing partnerships to share knowledge and leverage resources on child labour in Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana.

IDH - The Sustainable Trade Initiative builds coalitions to address a wide range of cocoa industry development issues that also cover child labour and sustainability factors.

1.4.2.2. Advocacy organisations

A range of advocacy organisations focus on child labour and environmental sustainability. They include the **Voice Network**, which is a global network of NGOs and trade unions working on sustainability in cocoa with a focus on poverty, deforestation and child labour. **Fern**, which is dedicated to achieving greater environmental and social justice, including forests and forest peoples' rights, also covers child labour in the policies and practices of the European Union. Another example is **Mighty Earth**, which focuses on conserving threatened landscapes and has a special focus on addressing deforestation linked to cocoa using community involvement. Others include The **Fair Labor Association (FLA)**, **Fair Trade Advocacy Office**, **Fair Food**, **Global March Against Child Labour (Global March)**, **Tropenbos** and **EcoCare** in Ghana.

1.5. SUMMARY COUNTRY OVERVIEW

1.5.1. COUNTRY OVERVIEW CÔTE D'IVOIRE

Côte d'Ivoire's economy has grown rapidly over the last few years.⁶⁹ The GDP growth rate was 7.4 % in 2018 and 6.9 % in 2019.⁷⁰ Projections for 2020 are difficult to make because of the uncertainty in the wake of the COVID-19 pandemic.

Cocoa represents up to 30% of total GDP⁷¹, while 70 to 85% of cocoa farmers' income is dependent on cocoa.⁷²

Côte d'Ivoire's population is almost 26 million, with children under the age of 15 making up a very high proportion (42%).⁷³ A further 21% of the population are between the ages of 15 and 24.⁷⁴ The total unemployment rate in the labour force is 3.4%⁷⁵, with 35% of young people between the ages of 15 and 35 unemployed.⁷⁶ Against this background, a development programme targeting these age groups takes on great importance. Approximately one half of the population (49.2%) lives in rural areas, while the remainder lives in urban areas (2018).⁷⁷

In Côte d'Ivoire a high proportion (46.3%) of the population lives below the national poverty line.⁷⁸ The country's HDI rank remains low at 165 out of 189 countries⁷⁹ putting it in the low human development category. Inequality also remains high across various categories, including income and gender inequality.⁸⁰ The Gini index level, which measures inequality, is 41.5 placing the country among the most unequal. The income share of the lowest 20% of

69 World Bank (2020) Côte d'Ivoire Economic Outlook: Understanding the Challenges of Urbanization in Height Charts. Available from <https://www.worldbank.org/en/country/cotedivoire/publication/cote-divoire-economic-outlook-understanding-the-challenges-of-urbanization-in-height-charts>, Accessed 20 08 2020.

70 World Bank, World Bank Database. Available from <https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NY.GDP.MKTP.KD.ZG?locations=CI>. Accessed 15/08/2020.

71 Capillo, A, Somerville-Large, N (2019), Cocoa Sustainable Livelihoods Landscape Study: Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana, London: Fairtrade Foundation.

72 Pluess, J. (November 2018), Children's Rights in the Cocoa-Growing Communities of Côte d'Ivoire, Abidjan: UNICEF Côte d'Ivoire.

73 United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Population Division (2019). World Population Prospects 2019, Volume II: Demographic Profiles (ST/ESA/SER.A/427). NY: UN.

74 Ibid.

75 World Bank (2020), Unemployment, total (% of total labor force) Côte d'Ivoire. Available from <https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SL.UEM.TOTL.ZS>. Accessed 03/12/2020.

76 World Bank (2020) Côte d'Ivoire Economic Outlook: Understanding the Challenges of Urbanization in Height Charts. Available from <https://www.worldbank.org/en/country/cotedivoire/overview>, Accessed 20 08 2020.

77 World Bank, World Bank database. Available from <https://data.worldbank.org/topic/urban-development?locations=CI>. Accessed on 23/06/2020.

78 The poverty line in Côte d'Ivoire used was an equivalent of \$2.96 per person in 2015. World Bank, (2020), The World Bank in Côte d'Ivoire. Accessed 15 08 2020. Available from <https://www.worldbank.org/en/country/cotedivoire/overview>

79 UNDP (2020), Human Development Report 2019: Beyond income, beyond averages, beyond today: Inequalities in human development in the 21st century. NY: UNDP

80 World Bank, World Bank Database. Available from <https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NY.GDP.MKTP.KD.ZG?locations=CI>. Accessed 15/08/2020.

the population is only 5.7% while the top 20% of the population has 47.8%.⁸¹ There are also regional inequalities.⁸²

1.5.1.1. Child poverty

In 2018 a National Multiple Overlapping Deprivations Analysis (MODA)⁸³ was carried out in Côte d'Ivoire. The analysis indicated that, despite economic growth at 7%, the incidence of poverty affected 76% of children under 5 years of age. Almost one quarter of children below that age were deprived in at least three of the six selected measures, while only 12% were not deprived in any. Conditions for older children are not much better.

Child labour data in cocoa production has been discussed in the introduction. The most recent Multiple Indicator Cluster Survey in the Côte d'Ivoire was carried out in 2016 and provides some additional insights.⁸⁴

The survey indicated that there were improvements in many child well-being indicators but practices that are harmful to children's development and low-quality services remain major challenges. This includes the fact that 31% of children are in child labour and 22% of all children work under hazardous child labour conditions. The MODA indicated that 75% of children between the ages of 15 and 16 find themselves in a precarious situation in terms of hazardous work in Côte d'Ivoire.⁸⁵

Cocoa growing regions are situated in the southern part of the country. It is important to note that the statistics on which Figure 2 is based includes all forms of child labour and do not specifically differentiate child labour in cocoa from other types of child labour. It is primarily of interest because it shows the main areas of Côte d'Ivoire where there is child labour in cocoa production.

Data from the NORC study⁸⁶ were collected using different statistical methodologies and only focused on child labour in cocoa production. It is thus not immediately comparable to the data in Figure 2.

81 UNDP (2020), Human Development Report 2019: Beyond income, beyond averages, beyond today: Inequalities in human development in the 21st century. NY: UNDP.

82 UNDP, Human Development Report 2019. Briefing Note Côte d'Ivoire. NY: UNDP.

83 Ministère du Plan et du Développement, Office National de la Population (2018), Analyse des Privations Multiples des Enfants en Côte d'Ivoire. Abidjan : Ministère du Plan et du Développement, Office National de la Population.

84 Ministère du Plan et du Développement (2016), La Situation des Femmes et des Enfants en Côte D'ivoire. Enquête par grappes à indicateurs multiples - Côte d'Ivoire 2016. Abidjan : Ministère du Plan et du Développement, l'Institut National de la Statistique (INS), UNICEF.

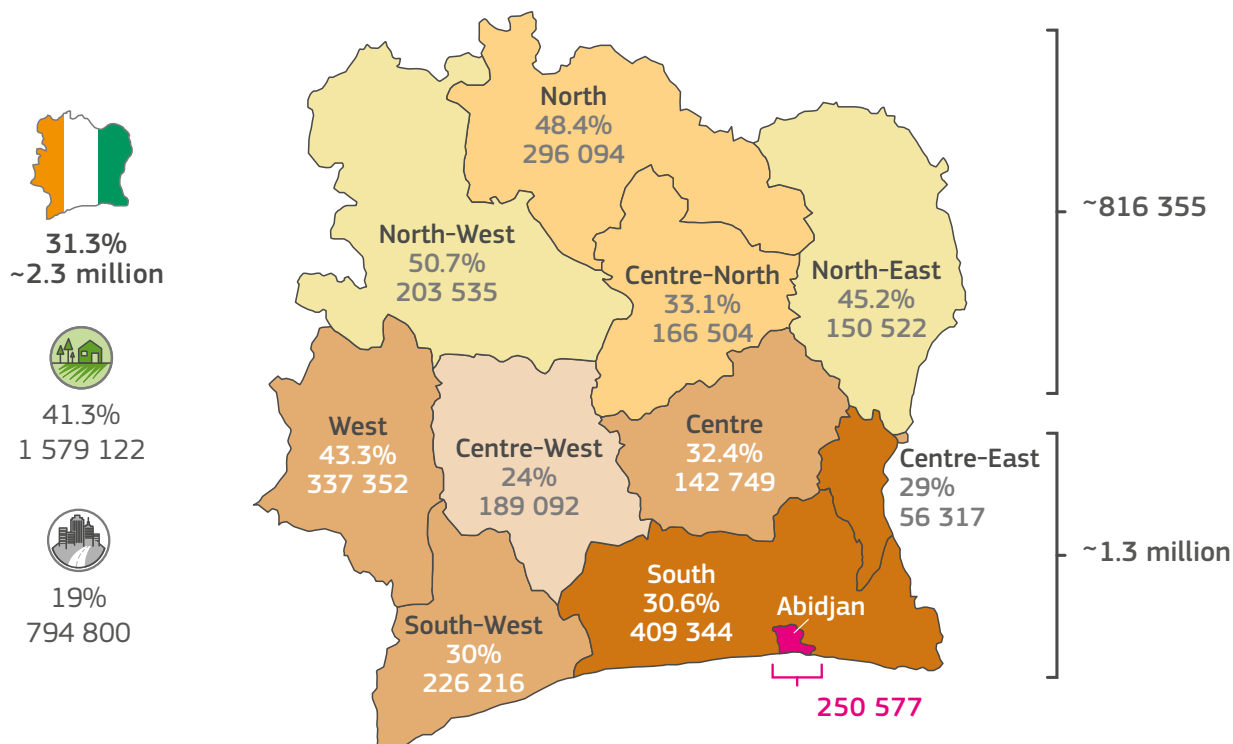
85 As defined in terms of types of child labour that the government has identified as hazardous. This includes many types of agricultural activities.

86 NORC at the University of Chicago (2020), Assessing Progress in Reducing Child Labor in Cocoa Production in Cocoa Growing Areas of Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana. Chicago: University of Chicago.

However, since the NORC study estimated that there are 790,000 children in child labour in cocoa production in Côte d'Ivoire, it may be roughly inferred from Figure 1 that approximately one third of child labour is found in cocoa production.

FIGURE 2
Estimated Child Labour Prevalence and Cocoa Areas in Côte d'Ivoire

Estimated Child Labour Prevalence: Cocoa Growing Areas Indicated in Brown



(Adapted from image provided by UNICEF in 2020 and used permission)

1.5.1.2. Administrative structure and decentralisation

Côte d'Ivoire has 14 districts, which include two urban areas (Abidjan and Yamoussoukro). The districts are divided into 31 regions, 108 préfectures (departments), and 510 sub-prefectures. These are further divided at the smallest administrative level into 201 communes and more than 8,000 villages.

At the decentralised level prefects administer the regions, while districts are headed by an appointed governor. Communes have elected mayors and villages are led by chiefs who are either appointed or succeed according to local traditions. Within the cocoa producing villages there may be local sub-chiefs who represent the often-wide variety of ethnic groups that live in the area, including sub-chiefs of Burkina Faso and Malian origin.

While the country has officially been decentralised since 2011 and has a General Directorate of Decentralisation and Local Development⁸⁷, in practice, lack of funding at local level means that effective decentralisation is still challenging. The country primarily relies on “deconcentration” which means that decision-making and financial budgeting are still primarily at federal level. A new law has been proposed that includes greater financial control by local authorities and autonomous districts and their participation in budget orientation debates.⁸⁸

1.5.1.3. Cocoa pricing along the internal value chain

In 2019, producers received 750 CFA⁸⁹ per kilo of cocoa beans. The CCC valued internal transport at 225 CFA and taxes at 275 CFA. This is a comparatively high level of taxation representing about 40% of the farm gate price per kilo as compared to other cocoa producing countries.⁹⁰

As producers of about 60% of the world’s cocoa, in June 2019 Côte d’Ivoire and Ghana proposed (and the cocoa industry agreed) a minimum price of \$2,600 per metric ton for cocoa beans in international markets. Given the current COVID-19 pandemic, expected pricing for 2020 may be affected, but is difficult to forecast.

1.5.1.4. International migration

During the period 2015-2020, the annual net number of international migrants into Côte d’Ivoire was estimated at 40,000.⁹¹ In 2017 the total number of immigrants residing in Côte d’Ivoire was estimated at 2.3 million.⁹² Of these, the vast majority –are from Burkina Faso (57%) with another large group from Mali (17%). In Côte d’Ivoire there are people who trace their ancestry from one to several generations back to Burkina Faso and Mali.⁹³ They may work in cocoa production but lack Côte d’Ivoire citizenship despite how long their family has lived in the country. Their children often lack proof of birth registration and this can be cited as a factor affecting child labour when such children are unable to gain entry into school.

87 Direction Générale de la Décentralisation et du Développement Local.

88 Jumelages & Partenariats (2020), Côte d’Ivoire : Harmonisation de la loi sur la Décentralisation (06/08/2020), Available from <https://jumelages-partenariats.com/actualites.php?n=6169&art=C%C3%B4ted%E2%80%99Ivoire:HarmonisationdelaloisurlaD%C3%A9centralisation>. Accessed 03/09/2020.

89 On 28 08 2020, 750 CFA was equal to 1.14 Euro according to xe.com

90 The World Bank (July 2019), Au Pays du Cacao Comment Transformer la Côte d’Ivoire, Abidjan: The World Bank.

91 UNDP (2019), World Population Prospects 2019, Available from <https://population.un.org/wpp/Download/Standard/Migration/> Accessed on 23/07/2020.

92 World Bank (2017), Bilateral Migration Matrix 2017, <https://www.worldbank.org/en/topic/migrationremittancesdiasporaissues/brief/migration-remittances-data>. Accessed on 23/07/2020.

93 Adjami, M. (2016), Statelessness and Nationality in Côte d’Ivoire: A study for UNHCR, Geneva: UNHCR.

1.5.1.5. Forced labour

The forced labour statistics for adults in Côte d'Ivoire is estimated as 4.2 per 1,000 cocoa workers.⁹⁴ Most of the child labour in cocoa production occurs within the children's own families. However, an estimated 1.7 children per 1,000 child labourers in cocoa were forced to work by someone other than a parent or family member between 2013 and 2017.⁹⁵

1.5.1.6. Education Côte d'Ivoire

Education is compulsory for children between the ages of 6 and 16 in Côte d'Ivoire. Almost 190,000 children attended pre-primary education in the country with an almost equal percentage for boys and girls (girls have a 1% higher attendance rate).⁹⁶ The net enrolment rate is 7.8 % in pre-primary education.

Four million children attend primary school, with slightly more boys attending than girls (1.7% more boys), with a net enrolment of 91.1%.⁹⁷ There are over 2,100,000 children in general secondary education with an overall net enrolment rate of 43.4%. Girls have a net enrolment rate of 39% and boys 48%. Currently, the number of girls in education still tends to decrease with increasing age. Over 1.2 million children (including adolescents) are out of school, of which about 55% are girls.

The recent NORC study on child labour prevalence found that school attendance among children in agricultural households in cocoa growing areas increased from 58 to 80% in Côte d'Ivoire.⁹⁸

In fact, the challenges for children between the ages of 12 and 17 to complete education are very pronounced.⁹⁹ In Côte d'Ivoire, as an ICI analysis indicates, keeping children in school year after year is a major challenge as enrolment rates decrease as each year goes by.

Literacy levels remain low. Over two million children and young people between the ages of 15 and 24 are not literate; of this number 57% are girls.¹⁰⁰

94 De Buhr, E & Gordon, E (2018) Bitter sweets: prevalence of forced labour and child labour in the cocoa sectors of Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana. New Orleans & Dalkeith, Western Australia: Tulane University & Walk Free (Minderoo) Foundation.

95 De Buhr, E & Gordon, E (2018) Bitter sweets: prevalence of forced labour and child labour in the cocoa sectors of Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana. New Orleans & Dalkeith, Western Australia: Tulane University & Walk Free (Minderoo) Foundation.

96 NORC at the University of Chicago (2020), Assessing Progress in Reducing Child Labor in Cocoa Production in Cocoa Growing Areas of Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana. Chicago: University of Chicago.

97 Ibid.

98 Ibid.

99 ICI (2017), Education and Child Labour Risk for Older Children in Côte d'Ivoire, Available from <https://cocoainitiative.org/knowledge-centre-post/education-and-child-labour-risk-for-older-children-in-cote-divoire/>. Accessed 08/08/2020

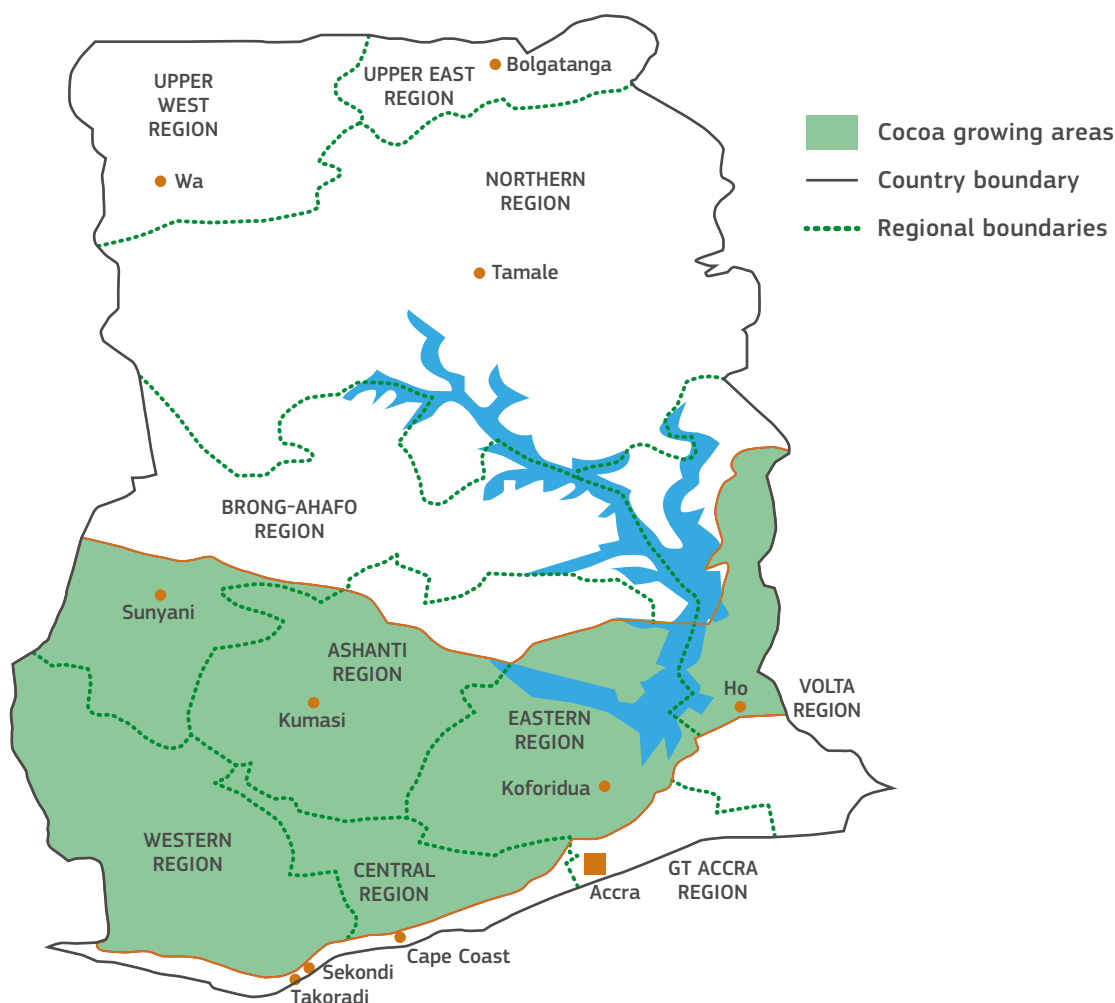
100 UNESCO (2018), Country Education Statistics Côte d'Ivoire. Available from <http://uis.unesco.org/en/country/ci> and <http://data.uis.unesco.org/> accessed on 13/07/2020.

1.5.2. COUNTRY OVERVIEW GHANA

Ghana's economic growth rate was estimated at 6.5% for 2019.¹⁰¹ In Ghana, industry is the largest sector with 34% of GDP, while cocoa represents 1.6% of GDP.¹⁰² Though less than Ghana's population is estimated at almost 30 million. Of these, 52% are under the age of 18.¹⁰³ The rural population comprised of 44% of the total population in 2018.¹⁰⁴

FIGURE 3

Map showing the six cocoa growing regions of Ghana



101 World Bank, World Bank Database. Available from <https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NY.GDP.MKTP.KD.ZG?locations=CI>. Accessed 15/08/2020.

102 Ghana Statistical Service (2019), Rebased 2013-2018 Annual Gross Domestic Product, Accra: Ghana Statistical Service.

103 United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Population Dynamics. (2019), World Population Prospects 2019. Available from <https://population.un.org/wpp/Download/Standard/Population/>. Accessed 23/07/2020.

104 Trading Economics (2020). Ghana GDP Annual Growth Rate | 2000-2020 Data | 2021-2022 Forecast | Calendar. Available from <https://tradingeconomics.com/ghana/gdp-growth-annual>. Accessed 29/06/2020.

Approximately 23.4% of the population lives below the poverty line.¹⁰⁵ As in Côte d'Ivoire, poverty means that farmers often lack the resources to hire adult labour. Cocoa is estimated to account for about two thirds of the estimated 800,000 Ghanaian cocoa farmers' revenue.¹⁰⁶

Ghana has an HDI rank of 142 out of 189 countries¹⁰⁷ and is included in the medium human development category. Although poverty has declined, income inequality, and geographic and gender inequality continue to pose problems.¹⁰⁸

As in Côte d'Ivoire, the Gini index level measuring inequality is high at 43.5.¹⁰⁹ The income share of the lowest 40% of the population is 14.3% while the 10% of the population with the highest incomes have a 32.2% share.¹¹⁰

Ghana is undertaking steps to develop a National Action Plan on Business and Human Rights.¹¹¹ A national baseline assessment serves to identify the state of business and human rights in Ghana to inform the National Action Plan.

In Ghana cocoa is mostly grown in six regions in the southern half of the country.¹¹²

1.5.2.1. Child poverty

A January 2020 report¹¹³ provided evidence that 28.2% of all children under 17 years of age in Ghana live in poverty. Child poverty has a much higher prevalence in rural areas (44.5%) than in urban (9.8%). Poverty is exacerbated in households with lower incomes as they are particularly vulnerable when they face health or other challenges in the absence of sufficient

105 Ibid.

106 ICI (2017), Cocoa Farmers in Ghana Experience Poverty and Economic Vulnerability. Available from <https://cocoainitiative.org/news-media-post/cocoa-farmers-in-ghana-experience-poverty-and-economic-vulnerability/#:~:text=800%2C000%20small%20scale%20cocoa%20farmers,%240.40%2D%240.45%20on%20cocoa>. Accessed 15/06/2020.

107 UNDP (2020), Human Development Report 2019: Beyond income, beyond averages, beyond today: Inequalities in human development in the 21st century. NY: UNDP.

108 AllAfrica (2019), Ghana: 'Inequality Remains Challenge in Ghana, Available from <https://allafrica.com/stories/201908230575.html>. Accessed 15 08 2020. UNDP (2020), Human Development Report 2019: Beyond income, beyond averages, beyond today: Inequalities in human development in the 21st century. NY: UNDP. Tanaka, T., Nuamah, C., Geiger, M. (2018), Ghana's challenges: Widening regional inequality and natural resource depreciation, Available from: <https://blogs.worldbank.org/african/ghanas-challenges-widening-regional-inequality-and-natural-resource-depreciation>. Accessed 20/06/2020.

109 UNDP (2020), Human Development Report 2019: Beyond income, beyond averages, beyond today: Inequalities in human development in the 21st century. NY: UNDP

110 Ibid.

111 Faracik, B. (2017), Study: Implementation of the UN Guiding Principles on Business and Human Rights, Brussels: Directorate-General for External Policies, Policy Department.

112 Map from Amegashie-Duvon, E. (COCOBOD) (2014), Ghana's Sustainability Standards, Certification and Director Dialogue: Producers & Industry, Meeting, Zurich: ICCO (Slide 2).

113 National Development Planning Commission (NDPC), Statistical Service, UNICEF (2020), Accra Multi-Dimensional Child Poverty in Ghana. Accra: NDPC.

and suitable safety nets. The study indicated that a stunning 73.4% of children have been identified as multi-dimensionally poor. That is, they are deprived in several out of eight core dimensions of their lives: nutrition, health, learning and development, child protection, water, sanitation, housing and information.¹¹⁴

In poorer households there is an inverse relationship between the low educational attainment of parents or household heads, and the high multi-dimensional poverty rates across all age groups. These deprivations and high poverty levels make children extremely vulnerable and consequently they are victims of being engaged in the worst forms of child labour. The description of child poverty in Ghana is common to many West African countries, including Côte d'Ivoire.

1.5.2.2. Administrative structure and decentralisation

Ghana's administrative divisions comprise of four geographic plains and 16 regions. The regions are divided into 212 districts, including 151 ordinary districts, 55 municipal districts and six metropolitan districts. These are further sub-divided into town or area councils, and zonal and area councils. The smallest administrative level consists of 16,000 unit committees.

Though Ghana has been committed to decentralisation since the passing of the Local Governance Act in 1993, it was only in 2009 that the country began to devolve functions and responsibilities from the central government to local level. Agriculture was one of the first sectors to be transferred.¹¹⁵ The ultimate goal of devolution is to decentralise authority in fiscal, administrative and political decision making to local levels. Devolution is thus a more comprehensive form of decentralisation than the deconcentration approach of Côte d'Ivoire.

As in Côte d'Ivoire, however, financial constraints result in challenges for adequate service delivery and staffing of offices, especially at the local level.¹¹⁶

1.5.2.3. Cocoa pricing along the internal value chain

For decades the Ghana Cocoa Board's pricing policy has been to pass on a higher share of the Free-on-Board (FOB) price of up to 70-75% to the producer¹¹⁷. The fixed producer price at the beginning of the new season means that, for that whole year, farmers earn the set fixed amount from all Licensed Buying Companies (LBCs). Farmers under certain certification

¹¹⁴ Ibid.

¹¹⁵ Resnick, D. (2018), *The Devolution Revolution: Implications for Agricultural Service Delivery in Ghana*, Washington, D.C.: International Food Policy Research Institute (IFPRI).

¹¹⁶ Ibid.

¹¹⁷ Ayenor, G. K. (2006). *Capsid control for organic cocoa production in Ghana: results of participatory learning and action research*. PhD Thesis. Wageningen University. Wageningen 159pp

programmes may also receive an additional premium for quality and other related brand or label criteria. The remaining 25–30% of the net FoB price is used to cover specific costs. These include the margin of the LBCs; crop financing; haulage; storage; shipping; disinfection; grading; inspection to maintain quality beans and Cocobod and/or government revenue¹¹⁸ Taxes are included in the state's revenue. Under the “net FoB price” certain operational costs, including dealing with pests and diseases, and fertilizer application, are also deducted.

1.5.2.4. International migration

During the period 2015–2020, the annual net number of international migrants into Ghana was estimated at 40,000.¹¹⁹ The total number of international migrants in Ghana is approximately 530,000.¹²⁰ Of these, about 17% are of Burkina Faso origin, while 15% are from Mali. Most of the child migrant workers in Ghana come from the northern regions of the country.¹²¹ It is through the country's northern border that most of the child labourers from Burkina Faso pass.¹²²

1.5.2.5. Forced labour

As in Côte d'Ivoire, most child labour in cocoa production occurs within the children's own families. However, an average of 20 children per 1,000 children working in cocoa were forced to work by someone other than a parent or family member between 2013 and 2017.¹²³

1.5.2.6. Education in Ghana

Education in Ghana is compulsory between the ages of 4 and 15. In primary school, the net enrolment percentage of children was 87% in 2019. Girls' net enrolment stood at 87% and boys' at 86%, representing near gender parity.¹²⁴

In secondary school there is a net enrolment of 57%.¹²⁵ Though gender parity is good, inequities do exist at regional level and may depend on the locality. The effect of income inequalities is

118 Bymolt, R., Laven, A., Tyszler, M. (2018). Demystifying the cocoa sector in Ghana and Cote d'Ivoire. Cocoa marketing and prices. The Royal Tropical Institute (KIT).

119 UNDP (2019), World Population Prospects 2019, Available from <https://population.un.org/wpp/Download/Standard/Migration/> Accessed on 23/07/2020.

120 World Bank (2017), Bilateral Migration Matrix 2017, <https://www.worldbank.org/en/topic/migrationremittancesdiasporaissues/brief/migration-remittances-data>. Accessed on 23/07/2020.

121 Massart, G. (2012), A Study of Child Mobility and Migrant Flows to the Cocoa-Producing Communities in Ghana, Geneva: ICI.

122 Ibid.

123 De Buhr, E & Gordon, E (2018) Bitter sweets: prevalence of forced labour and child labour in the cocoa sectors of Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana. New Orleans & Dalkeith, Western Australia: Tulane University & Walk Free (Minderoo) Foundation.

124 World Bank (2019), Education Data, Available from <https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SE.PRM.TENR.MA?locations=GH> . Accessed 24/08/2020.

125 Ibid.

very strong with students from the poorest quintile being five to six times less likely to access secondary high school. It should be noted, however, that, due to school dropout, an average of only 54% of the children complete the lower secondary level.

Over 450,000 children are out of school, though the government reports that most of these are in the northern, non-cocoa producing areas.¹²⁶ The government's analysis attributes this problem largely due to a shortage of classrooms. The introduction of a double track system, under which students attend school in shifts to maximise the use of available classrooms has, however, created more space for higher enrolment and access since 2018.

In Ghana, school attendance among children in agricultural households in cocoa growing areas increased from 89 to 96% between 2008-09 and 2018-19.¹²⁷

The literacy rate for persons over the age of 15 in Ghana in 2018 was 79%.¹²⁸ Men are more likely to be literate at 84% while women have a literacy rate of 74%. However, statistics for young people between the ages of 15 and 24 are more positive, with an overall literacy rate of 92%. Gender parity has been almost achieved with a difference of less than 1% between females and males.

126 Ministry of Education Ghana, (2018), Education Sector Analysis, Accra: Ministry of Education Ghana.

127 NORC at the University of Chicago (2020), Assessing Progress in Reducing Child Labor in Cocoa Production in Cocoa Growing Areas of Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana. Chicago: University of Chicago.

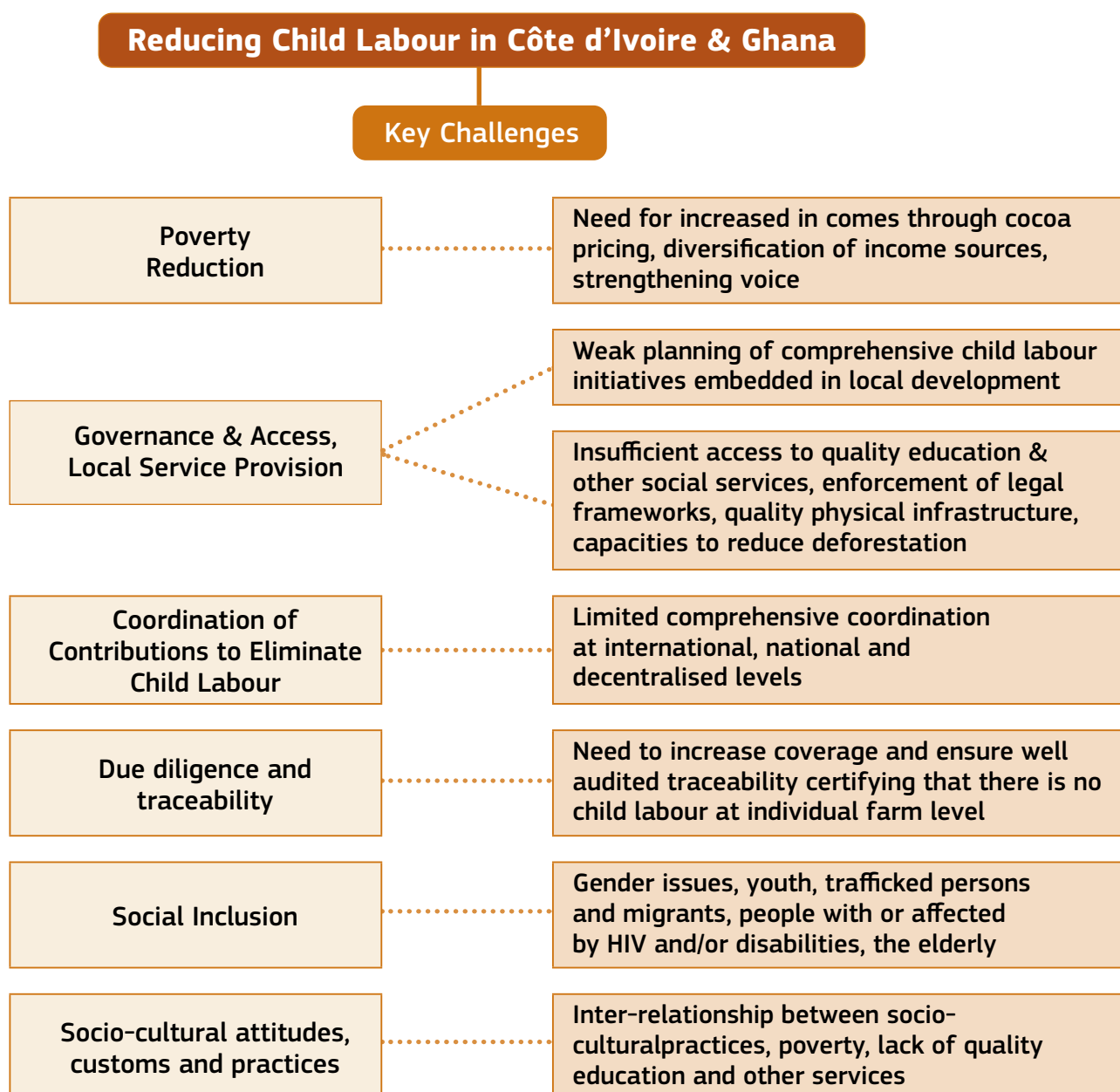
128 World Bank (2018), Literacy Data, Available from <https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SE.ADT.LITR.ZS?locations=GH>. Accessed 24/08/2020.

PART 2

Root causes of child labour and implementation gaps to be addressed

The causes of child labour are multifaceted and solutions need to be well integrated in order to achieve real impact.

FIGURE 4 – Summary of Root Causes of Child Labour and Gaps to be Addressed



While poverty is certainly a core issue, research has shown that systemic inadequacies in the enabling environment, especially at local level, strongly influence the prevalence of poverty and, consequently, child labour. The weak enabling environment also has an impact on the results of child labour elimination initiatives, since it constrains their effectiveness, efficiency and long-term sustainability.

The stakeholders interviewed for this study are mostly in agreement concerning the root causes of child labour and the gaps that need to be addressed. While at the beginning of the research there were still some divergent views among the stakeholders, discussions at country level during exchanges on the Children First in Cocoa PPP helped to consolidate and align opinions on the main issues. A clearer view of the position was made possible by speaking with certain key stakeholders more than once.

Of course, a great deal of research had also been undertaken to identify the challenges, so there was no doubt where the causes lay. Nevertheless, certain factors became clearer and more prominent as the study progressed. As will be seen below in Part 2, straightforward root causes, such as poverty, cannot be viewed in isolation from the gaps in the local and wider enabling environment.

2.1. POVERTY AND RELATED PRODUCTION CHALLENGES



Many interviewees and a great deal of research have cited poverty as a main cause of child labour and vice-versa. This is the reason why some stakeholders believe that, if poverty is not addressed, the issue of child labour cannot be significantly reduced nor eliminated. However, poverty is a multi-dimensional issue and the solution is not as simple as just increasing the farm gate price of cocoa.¹²⁹ A decent and acceptable price is a necessary but not a sufficient condition to address child labour.

¹²⁹ As also indicated in FUNDAMENTALS, ILO Regional Office for Africa (2017), Meta-Analysis of Evaluations on ILO Child Labour Programmes and Projects in Africa 2009-2014, Geneva: ILO.

The need to increase cocoa farmers' earnings is no longer in dispute. However, while monetary increases are relevant, price increases alone are not sufficient to fully address poverty and reduce child labour. Together with improved living incomes for smallholders, cocoa farmers need to be able to access essential goods and adequate services. These include access to quality agricultural inputs, education, health, child and social protection services. The availability of quality and accessible basic infrastructure, especially roads, schools, water and sanitation are also paramount.

Despite the efforts undertaken, the general impact of existing and previous child labour initiatives to reduce poverty has been evaluated as low.¹³⁰ Providing additional amounts on top of basic payments for cocoa are good attempts. However, several stakeholders interviewed insisted that the sums paid are still far from adequate compensation for the labour-intensive nature of producing quality cocoa beans. Some interviewees even insisted that, for real change in poverty to occur, the price should be increased 3-4-fold.

The linkage between poverty and child labour is further evident because, to reduce overall production costs, farmers resort to reducing their labour costs. As a result, farmers rely on child labour since children's work is usually free if they are a member of the household. Multiple interviewees and documents also indicate that children who do not work in their own family household receive only very minimal payment.

The NORC study indicated that the cost of access to public services such as education is also linked to poverty.¹³¹ In particular regarding the cost of children's education related materials and supplies.

Smallholder farmers produce nearly all cocoa beans exported from Ghana and Cote d'Ivoire. The average size of a cocoa farm in Côte d'Ivoire is about eight hectares.¹³² The average size of a cocoa farm in Ghana is smaller than in Côte d'Ivoire with an average size of just over four hectares.¹³³ At the micro or individual level, average farm plot sizes are becoming smaller.¹³⁴ Having small plots dispersed across different locations contributes to low levels of economies

130 As noted in a wide range of evaluation reports on child labour reduction initiatives. For example, in one meta-analysis of projects, it was observed that it takes substantial time and effort—at least two years of project interventions—to have a measurable impact on poverty. FUNDAMENTALS, ILO Regional Office for Africa (2017), Meta-Analysis of Evaluations on ILO Child Labour Programmes and Projects in Africa 2009-2014, Geneva: ILO. Page 17.

131 NORC at the University of Chicago (2020), Assessing Progress in Reducing Child Labor in Cocoa Production in Cocoa Growing Areas of Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana. Chicago: University of Chicago.

132 Based on the research sample of the farms included in the study of Buhr, E & Gordon, E (2018) Bitter sweets: prevalence of forced labour and child labour in the cocoa sectors of Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana. New Orleans & Dalkeith, Western Australia: Tulane University & Walk Free (Minderoo) Foundation.

133 Ibid.

134 Bugri, J. T., and Eric Yeboah, E. (2017), Understanding Changing Land Access and Use by the Rural Poor in Ghana, London: International Institute for Environment and Development.

of scale and lower returns on investments.¹³⁵ The average household size of cocoa producers in Côte d'Ivoire is 7.2 and 5.6 in Ghana.¹³⁶

The current situation of cocoa farmers is incomparable to that of the early 1950s-1960s when cocoa farms were viewed as valuable assets to be passed on to next generations. Today, the real value of cocoa farms has depreciated beyond recognition with few young people aspiring to becoming cocoa farmers.

Smallholder farmers who produce cocoa as their main source of livelihood are often poorly resourced in terms of money and material inputs. Other factors are ageing cocoa trees¹³⁷, soil degradation and plant diseases and pests, such as capsids, black pod and cocoa swollen shoot virus (CSSV). Additional issues include the failure to apply the findings of cocoa research in the form of good agricultural practices;¹³⁸ intensive labour requirements and the cost of the same; low and/or fluctuating international prices of cocoa; and lack of access to affordable credit.¹³⁹ Most small-holder farmers are part of the informal economy, in which they tend to be excluded from labour legislation with no or limited access to social protection.¹⁴⁰ All these factors contribute to the poverty suffered by cocoa farmers.

Given the overall descriptive analysis of smallholder cocoa farmers, it is no surprise they are classified as poor. Poverty in this context can be measured in two ways: (i) monetary poverty, based on household income or consumption, and (ii) deprivation, or the extent to which individuals have access to basic goods and services necessary for their survival, development and general well-being.¹⁴¹

As the World Economic Forum has reported, chocolate is a global US \$130 billion industry with a disproportionately low share of earnings for farmers.¹⁴²

135 Smaller farms have lower returns on investments. Steijn, C. (2018), *Demystifying the cocoa sector in Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana*- Desk Research, Amsterdam: Royal Tropical Institute (KIT)

136 Female headed households are slight smaller with 5.13 persons as compared to typical male headed households at 5.91. Buhr, E & Gordon, E (2018) *Bitter sweets: prevalence of forced labour and child labour in the cocoa sectors of Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana*.

137 Cocoa trees become productive after about 3-5 years and may remain productive for up to 30 years if well cared for.

138 Ayenor, G. K. (2006). *Capsid control for organic cocoa production in Ghana: results of participatory learning and action research*. PhD Thesis. Wageningen University, Wageningen 159pp.

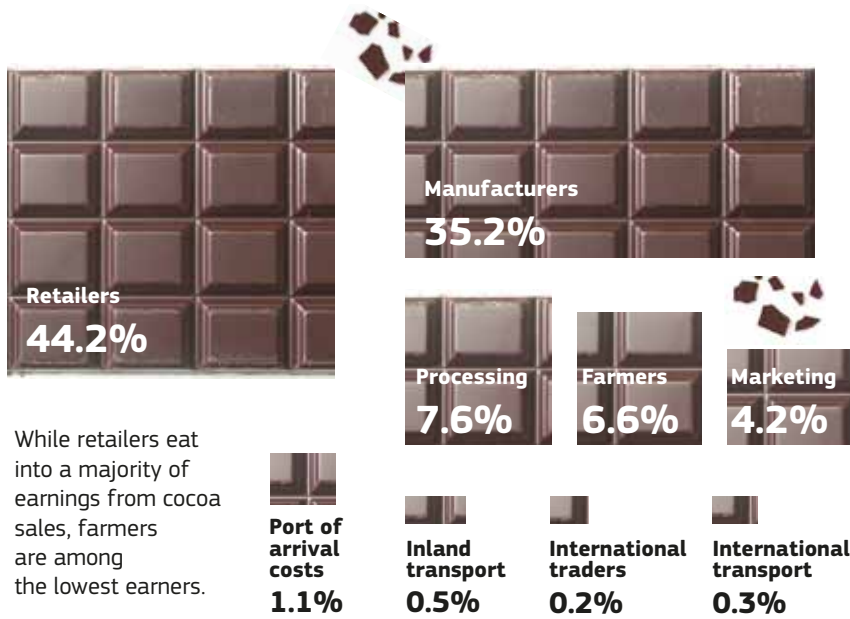
139 Asamoah, M. F. Aneani, S, Ofori, P. F. Branor (2015). *Analysis of Farmers Adoption Behaviour of CRIG Recommended Technologies as a Package: The Case of Some Self-Help Cocoa Farmer Associations in the Eastern Region of Ghana*. CRIG. Scientific Research Publishing Inc.: Available in: <https://www.scirp.org/html/3-300110457598.htm>

140 WFP (2013). *Profile of smallholder farmers in Ghana*. Agricultural Extension Department, Legon Accra: University of Ghana.

141 National Planning Development Commission and Ministry of Planning (NDPC) (2019). *2019 Inclusive development forum and high-level dialogue – Consolidated Report*. Accra: NDPC and Ministry of Planning in collaboration with the UNICEF.

142 World Economic Forum (2020), *Cocoa's Bittersweet Supply Chain*. Available from <https://www.weforum.org/agenda/2020/11/cocoa-chocolate-supply-chain-business-bar-africa-exports/>. Accessed 15/11/2020. Figure was made available for non-commercial use.

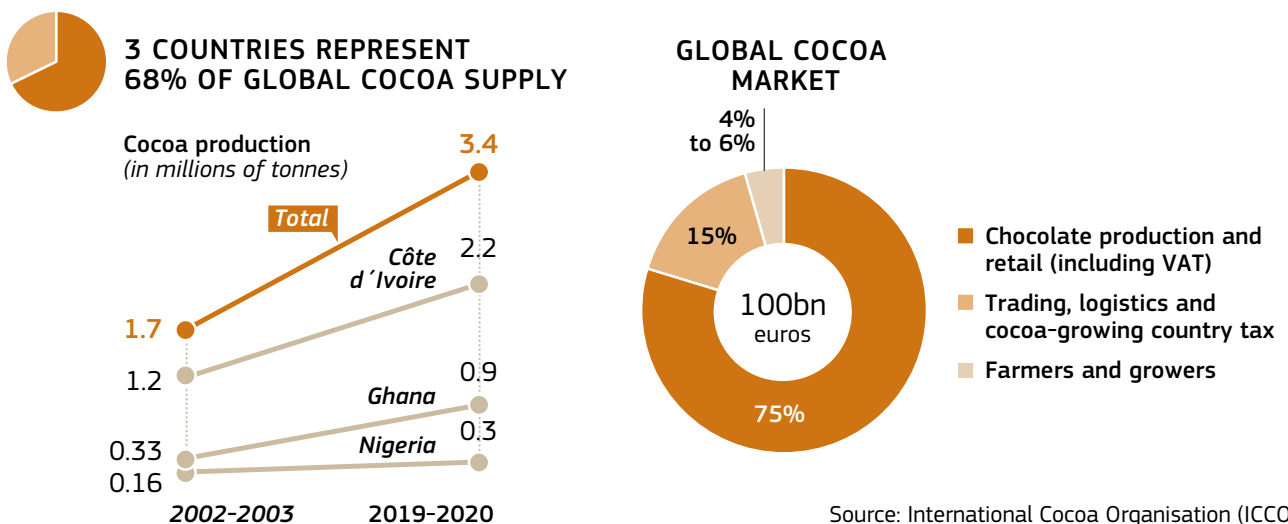
FIGURE 5 – Stakeholders’ Share in the Cocoa Supply Chain



Stakeholder share – Image: Visual Capitalist

Figure 6 below ¹⁴³ also shows the facts about the immense contribution three West African countries to the global cocoa market in stark detail. Here again, the figure makes clear that farmers and growers only receive a small portion of the global value, representing between 4 and 6%.

FIGURE 6 – Contributions to the Cocoa Value Chain



143 Used with permission from ICCO. Graphic published in The Africa Report (2020), Ghana and Côte d'Ivoire taste success in raising price of cocoa, Available from <https://www.theafricareport.com/40945/ghana-and-cote-divoire-taste-success-in-raising-price-of-cocoa/> Accessed 15/08/2020.

Undoubtedly, Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana are the world's top two cocoa producers. Together with Nigeria (which ranks fifth behind Ecuador and Cameroon), the three West African Countries produce 68% of the global cocoa supply. Indeed, 3.4 million tons out of the worldwide total of 5 million tons harvested in the 2019-2020 season were produced by these three West African countries. However, these three ECOWAS (Economic Community of West African States) countries combined obtained only between 4% and 6% of the global revenue from the chocolate industry, which is estimated at over 100 billion euros. Hence, the argument and clamour for a respectable living income for the cocoa farmers in Ghana and Côte d'Ivoire.

2.1.1. MEASURES TO INCREASE INCOMES THROUGH PRICING

Many stakeholders consulted during this study were of the view that the increased financial amount provided through the Living Income Differential (LID) of \$400 per metric ton (MT) and an overall minimum price of \$2,600 per MT on all cocoa sales from 2020-2021 is just a start to reducing poverty. Several interviewees stated that, for real impact, farmers' current income from cocoa should be increased by a substantially greater amount. Indeed, some interviewees said increases of at least 3 times the level of current prices are needed, while others said it should be at least 4-fold. Several people also expressed the belief that challenges still remain to ensuring that increases in prices and/or LID premium actually reaches the farmers. They noted their concern about increases being funnelled away from farmers to other in-country actors who are higher up the value chain.

Analyses that key advocacy stakeholders carried out questioned whether the price increases and additional payments (premiums) currently being offered will be able to bridge the gap and meet actual living income needs.¹⁴⁴ Many variables needed to be considered, which made the research difficult. The challenges identified to achieving a living income included limited access to local services of all types, including farm inputs. Other factors identified were the high number of household members, the remoteness of farms and other factors.¹⁴⁵ In-depth analysis estimated that only 6.9% of male-headed households in cocoa growing areas in Côte d'Ivoire achieved the Living Income Benchmark.¹⁴⁶ The Living Income Benchmark in rural cocoa growing areas of Côte d'Ivoire is estimated to be CFA 3,759,281 (USD 6,517) per year for a

144 Fountain, A.C. and Hütz-Adams, F. (January 2020), Necessary Farm Gate Prices for a Living Income: Existing Living Income Reference Prices are Too Low, Amsterdam: Cocoa Barometer Consortium administered by VOICE Network.

145 Tyszler M., Bymolt R. and Laven A. (November 2018), Analysis of the Income Gap of Cocoa Producing Households in Ghana: Comparison of Actual Incomes with the Living Income Benchmark, Amsterdam: KIT Royal Tropical Institute.
Tyszler, M., Bymolt, R. & Laven, A. (2019), Analysis of the Income Gap of Cocoa Producing Households in Côte d'Ivoire: Comparison of actual incomes with the Living Income Benchmark, Amsterdam: KIT Royal Tropical Institute.

146 The sample size of typical female-headed households was deemed analytically too small to assess and compare to male headed households. Tyszler, M., Bymolt, R. & Laven, A. (2019), Analysis of the Income Gap of Cocoa Producing Households in Côte d'Ivoire: Comparison of actual incomes with the Living Income Benchmark, Amsterdam: KIT Royal Tropical Institute.

typical male-headed household (with up to 4 ha of productive land) comprising 3.5 adults and 3.5 children. A benchmark for female-headed households was not available.¹⁴⁷

In Ghana only 9.4% of typical male- and female-headed households achieved the Living Income Benchmark in 2018.¹⁴⁸ The Ghana study estimated a Living Income Benchmark in rural cocoa growing areas of GHS 21,100 (USD 4,742) per year for a typical male-headed household (with up to 4 ha of productive land) comprising 3.5 adults and 2.5 children. Female-headed households of three adults and two children were estimated to have a Benchmark of GHS 17,806 (USD 4,001) per year.

What is evident is that incomes need to be increased substantially, whether from cocoa and/or other sources, to ensure that farmers can escape poverty. Farmers must also earn sufficiently well to hire and provide decent work to adult labourers as and when needed, instead of relying on child labour.



Ghana with permission © International Cocoa Initiative

The plight of smallholder cocoa farmers is made worse by their very conservative nature.¹⁴⁹ A review of the literature indicates that old and deep-rooted outlook dominates the thinking of many smallholder farmers in West Africa. This affects their ability to integrate new technologies and follow innovative pathways to improve some of their inefficient production methods.¹⁵⁰ Most stick with repeating old agricultural practices without, or with very limited, application of basic mechanisation to reduce drudgery and labour-intensive activities, such

147 Ibid.

148 There was no significant difference between male and female headed households. Tyszler M., Bymolt R. and Laven A. (November 2018), Analysis of the Income Gap of Cocoa Producing Households in Ghana: Comparison of Actual Incomes with the Living Income Benchmark, Amsterdam: KIT Royal Tropical Institute.

149 Buama, M. et.al. (2018), Technical business services for cocoa farmers: Concepts developed and experience from in Côte d'Ivoire, Ghana and Togo, Bonn: Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ) GmbH. Also based on the decades of personal experience of one of the current research team members working with farmers in Ghana.

150 Ibid.

as harvesting. They remain rain-dependent farmers, making little use of irrigation and other available technologies. Indeed, it is only recently that the Cocoa Research Institute of Ghana (CRIG) has been testing and deploying some new technologies, such as the use of drip irrigation in cocoa.¹⁵¹

Several stakeholders stressed that any substantial rises in prices need to be accompanied by means to ensure that producers do not increase production by expanding into new locations. Higher prices could stimulate farmers to start working in new areas, which may mean increased deforestation.

2.1.2. LACK OF DIVERSIFICATION OF INCOME SOURCES

Although cocoa is the main source of income for farmers in cocoa producing areas, many also obtain income from other sources. This reduces the risks from the failure of cocoa production due to environmental or other shocks. There are also cases where farmers are not able to grow sufficient cocoa to meet their income needs, thus leading them intentionally to diversify their income generating activities. Various child labour reduction initiatives also include the development of economic activities other than those reliant on cocoa.

Farmers in the two countries practise diversification by default because of their mixed cropping farming system. Very few systematically, consciously and purposefully diversify.

Research in Ghana indicates that 83% of cocoa farmers already have an income from other crops. Cocoa households in that country earn an average 61% of their income from cocoa, with a further 20% coming from the sale of other crops.¹⁵² In Côte d'Ivoire farmers reported that they receive 66% of their income from cocoa and a further 24% from the sale of other crops. In that country a lower proportion of respondent households reported additional income from a small business or trading than in Ghana, with 21% engaging in a small business or trading.¹⁵³ About half of all respondents in Ghana reported that someone in the household was earning income from a small business or trading.¹⁵⁴

Without serious attention and a multi-sectoral approach to addressing child labour, it is very likely that child labour will simply be shifted away from cocoa to the new income-generating opportunities opened up through diversification. Indeed, it has been observed that farmers

151 B&FT Online (2020), MEDA hands over automated Drip Irrigation Schemes to COCOBOD, Available from <https://thebftonline.com/27/08/2020/meda-hands-over-automated-drip-irrigation-schemes-to-cocobod/> Accessed 28/08/2020.

152 Bymolt, R., Laven, A., Tyszler, M. (2018). Demystifying the cocoa sector in Ghana and Côte d'Ivoire. Chapter 12, Household income, poverty and wealth. The Royal Tropical Institute (KIT).

153 Ibid.

154 Ibid.

who diversify tend to have greater labour needs, and thus resort to having their children fill their labour demand gaps¹⁵⁵. This risk of shifting child labour in a bid to diversify as a means of addressing poverty could be further fuelled by lack of easy access to the credit facilities needed to pay for adult labour and meet other costs. Low-income and petty trade smallholder-investors who diversify are more likely to use child labour, which is illegal but cheaper.

2.1.3. WEAK FARMER BASED ORGANIZATIONS (FBOS) AND VOICE

There are other factors that make cocoa farmers even more vulnerable and the weakest actors in the cocoa value chain. They include a lack of strong, farmer-based organisations (FBOs), normally made up of cooperatives, which can provide farmers with the required counterbalance and bargaining power on key decisions that affect them. The existence of weak farmer organisations also makes it more difficult to organise and provide the quantity and quality of services that smallholder farmers required. Channelling child labour elimination initiatives in collaboration with FBOs is more challenging when FBO capacities are low.

The net effect is that cocoa farmers have become “price takers”. Though they are the majority group in the cocoa commodity value chain - over two million in both countries - they lack a voice, institutional presence and organisational capacity.

Many of the FBOs that are registered are not recognised or visible, mostly because they have not yet received the support that they need to organise themselves. Others FBOs are not yet registered, and there are many farmers who are not members of any FBO. Thus, the lack of formal organisation means that farmers have limited ability to make demands on government, industry actors, NGOs, CSO and donors. They are ill-positioned to attract development services.

Cooperatives in Côte d'Ivoire are more common and active than in Ghana but still face many challenges. They tend to have management challenges. These include having insufficient financial reserves to cover costs, difficulties in recovering costs, and legally registering members.¹⁵⁶ Additional problems include lack of credit to buy new trucks to source greater volumes from farmers in more remote areas.¹⁵⁷ Fortunately, the International Finance Corporation (IFC) and Cargill have provided affordable credit to farmer cooperatives to address this problem but other challenges relating to the financing of operational costs still persist. Many cooperatives also have low numbers of women and young people as members; this

155 Owusu-Amankwah, R. (2015). Certification, Child labour and Livelihood Strategies: An analysis of cocoa production in Ghana, Wageningen: PhD Thesis Wageningen University.

156 GEFAK mbH (2016), Study on the state of farmer cooperatives in the cocoa sector of Côte d'Ivoire, Marburg: GEFAK mbH.

157 International Finance Corporation (2020), Sweetening Prospects for Ivorian Cocoa Co-Ops, Available from <https://www.ifc.org/wps/wcm/connect/newsextcontent/ifcexternalcorporatesite/news+and+events/news/impact-stories/affordable-credit-for-ivoirian-cocoa-co-ops> Accessed 23 09 2020.

is due, in part, to low levels of outreach encouraging women and young people to join.¹⁵⁸ Some FBOs also require that members show land ownership certificates so they can join the organisation and women and young people are less likely to have such documents.¹⁵⁹

FBOs in Ghana also have management difficulties.¹⁶⁰ In addition, few are able to provide their members with cost-saving opportunities. However, motivating farmers to form FBOs is not always successful, as research on 500 Ghanaian FBOs has indicated.¹⁶¹ While external incentives, such as those that projects offer to encourage farmers to organise, did result in increased organisation, the functioning of the FBOs created was generally low.¹⁶² This means that any interventions to stimulate farmers to organise need carefully to determine the best way of achieving that end.

Existing - and new - FBOs need to improve their technical and management capacities to ensure accountability, transparency and enhanced internal democratic governance systems.

2.1.4. COMPLEXITY OF POVERTY AS A CAUSE OF CHILD LABOUR

The challenges associated with child labour and poverty in cocoa and other sectors are complex and intrinsically interrelated. This is why the challenge of reducing child labour remains daunting. It is for the same reason that, despite the appreciable efforts and investments made over the last two decades, stakeholders are only just beginning to understand that a combination of other factors affect poverty in addition to low income from cocoa.

Other poverty-related issues include the challenges around human trafficking, forced labour and the internal migration of tenant farmers. Research has indicated that adult forced labour in Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana is not very high and is primarily limited to recent migrants into the cocoa growing areas.¹⁶³ Where farmers work as tenants, they pay the landowners in the form of a share of the crop which varies according to location and local agreements.

158 GEFAK mbH (2016), Study on the state of farmer cooperatives in the cocoa sector of Côte d'Ivoire, Marburg: GEFAK mbH.

159 Ibid.

160 Francesconi, G.N. & Wouterse, F. (2015), The Health of Farmer-Based Organisations in Ghana: Organisational Diagnostics and Governance Implications, March 2015. *Journal of Development Studies* 51(3):262-273.

161 Ibid.

162 This finding is also in line with research carried out in other countries. Francesconi, G.N. & Wouterse, F. (2015), The Health of Farmer-Based Organisations in Ghana: Organisational Diagnostics and Governance Implications, March 2015. *Journal of Development Studies* 51(3):262-273.

163 De Buhr, E & Gordon, E (2018) Bitter sweets: prevalence of forced labour and child labour in the cocoa sectors of Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana. New Orleans & Dalkeith, Western Australia: Tulane University & Walk Free (Minderoo) Foundation. Verité (February 2019), Assessment of Forced Labor Risk in the Cocoa Sector of Côte d'Ivoire, Amherst: Verité.

There is insufficient quality data relating to agricultural production methods. The lack of access to decent work for adults, further influences poverty as accidents and work-related illnesses also lead to health care costs.

2.2. Governance and access to decentralised service provision

Governance & Access to Local Service Provision:

- Weak planning of comprehensive child labour initiatives embedded in local development
- Weak enforcement of legal frameworks
- Inadequate access to quality education & other services, capacities to reduce deforestation
- Lack of sufficient quality physical infrastructures

As discussed in Section 1.5, decentralisation has not yet been fully achieved in either Côte d'Ivoire or Ghana. The lack of resources at local level strongly impacts the availability of sufficient education and other forms of social services as well as adequate quality physical infrastructure. All of these factors influence the prevalence of child labour. Note that, in Côte d'Ivoire, local level most commonly refers to “sous-préfecture”, while in Ghana local level means the districts.

2.2.1. LIMITED ACCESS TO QUALITY FORMAL GENERAL EDUCATION

In early childhood, primary, junior secondary and senior secondary schools, the quality of education tends to be low in cocoa producing areas, especially in the case of very remote localities.¹⁶⁴ This situation impedes the successful reduction of child labour.

The stakeholders interviewed were unanimous in attributing lack of access to education, poor quality education and an absence of choice in types of education as contributing factors to the prevalence of child labour.¹⁶⁵ According to stakeholders in both producer countries, the lack of

¹⁶⁴ Challenges regarding physical school infrastructure have already been covered in the preceding Section. See statistics on education attendance in Section 2.5.

¹⁶⁵ Also, experience in many countries with child labour indicates that there is a relationship between low quality of education and higher levels of child labour. ILO (2017), *Ending child labour by 2025: A review of policies and programmes*, Geneva: International Labour Organization. FAO (June 2020), *FAO Framework on Ending Child Labour in Agriculture*, Rome: FAO.

trained teachers and poor teaching in many localities discourage parents from sending their children to school.¹⁶⁶ This is particularly true, if it is not apparent to parents that what their children will learn will contribute to a better life for their children and the family.

The recent NORC study on child labour reviewed whether children's work in cocoa producing areas of Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana interfered with their education.¹⁶⁷ The study found that the proportion of children reporting that child labour in cocoa interfered



Ghana with permission © International Cocoa Initiative

with their schooling increased significantly from 5% in 2008/09 to 13% in 2018/19.¹⁶⁸ In Côte d'Ivoire, the proportion of children reporting that work interfered with schooling increased by 3 percentage points, while the proportion of Ghanaian children reporting the same increased by 13 percentage points.

It should be noted that perceptions of education quality can differ depending on the situation. A study carried out for the ICI¹⁶⁹ in Côte d'Ivoire, for example, showed correlations between easily observable factors related to education and levels of child labour in a community. The study focused on such factors as school feeding, class size and the available WASH facilities but did not include factors, such as the quality of teaching and learning. However, the evidence that would allow direct identification of the reasons for these correlations is insufficient. The exact details on the weight of different factors that contribute to the quality of education needs more research.

Overall, the quality of learning in education in Côte d'Ivoire is low and many children have to repeat a year.¹⁷⁰ Given the poor school infrastructure, lack of housing for teachers and the remoteness of many cocoa producing areas, it is especially difficult to attract trained teachers. There were over 330,000 primary school children in Côte d'Ivoire who had to repeat a year

166 E.g., ILAB USDOL (2019), *Child Labor and Forced Labor Report 2018 Ghana*, Washington, D.C.: ILAB USDOL. Thorsen, D. (2012), *Children Working in the Urban Informal Economy: Evidence from West and Central Africa*, Dakar: UNICEF West and Central Africa Regional Office.

167 That is if children are absent in school due to having to work, because of work-related injuries, and/or fatigue from work. NORC at the University of Chicago (2020), *Assessing Progress in Reducing Child Labor in Cocoa Production in Cocoa Growing Areas of Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana*. Chicago: University of Chicago.

168 Ibid.

169 Brüderle, A. (June 2019), *Education quality and child labour: Evidence from cocoa-growing communities in Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana*, Geneva: International Cocoa Initiative.

170 Ministère de l'Éducation Nationale, de l'Enseignement Technique et de la Formation Professionnelle (MENETFP), Direction de la Stratégie de la Planification et des Statistiques (DSPS) (2019). *Statistiques Scolaires de Poche 2018-2019*. République de la Côte d'Ivoire. Abidjan : MENETFP.pay.

according to 2018-2019 statistics; girls had to repeat slightly less frequently. In general, secondary education, about 13% of all students had to repeat a year out of a total of more than 2,110,499. Of these, 59% were boys and 41% were girls. In technical secondary education it is a similar percentage needing to repeat a year, with boys (60%) repeating more frequently than girls (40%).¹⁷¹ Only 60% of students passed their junior secondary school exams with 1% more girls succeeding than boys. For senior secondary school the average pass rate was 47% with girls being 5% more successful.

In Ghana, repeating classes happens much less frequently than in Côte d'Ivoire. An average of 1.7% of girls in primary school repeated a class and 1.9% of boys – a substantial decrease for both when compared with data from before 2010.¹⁷² Repeating classes in lower secondary school averaged 1.6% for both girls and boys.

Despite low class repetition rates, a Ghana National Education Assessment Unit study in 2016 found that, for public schools, 30% of pupils did not meet minimum proficiency on completion of primary school.¹⁷³

A report on accountability in the education sector in Ghana noted that communities in rural areas lack a sense of empowerment to demand teacher accountability regarding performance.¹⁷⁴ They also feel that their concerns and inputs into local policy processes are ignored or not valued.¹⁷⁵ This situation underlines the importance of ensuring that communities have a voice in such fundamental issues affecting them.

Under the Children First in Cocoa PPP there are plans for the Côte d'Ivoire Government to increase the placement of qualified teachers in the most at-risk areas for child labour in cocoa production.

171 Ibid.

172 World Bank Trading Economics (2020), Education Data Ghana, Available from <https://tradingeconomics.com/ghana/indicators-wb-data.html?g=education>. Accessed 01/09/2020.

173 Boys had 2% better results in mathematics than girls while the results were similar for English. Ministry of Education, Ghana Education Service, National Education Assessment Unit (2016), Ghana 2016 National Education Assessment Report of Findings, Accra: Ministry of Education, Ghana Education Service, National Education Assessment Unit.

174 Kyeampong, K. (2017), Accountability in the Education Sector: The Case of Ghana, Country case study prepared for the 2017/8 Global Education Monitoring Report, Accra: UNESCO.

175 Kyeampong, K. (2017), Accountability in the Education Sector: The Case of Ghana, Country case study prepared for the 2017/8 Global Education Monitoring Report, Accra: UNESCO.

2.2.2. VIOLENCE IN SCHOOLS

Sexual, emotional and other abuse in schools reduces parents' willingness to send their children to school.¹⁷⁶ Several interviewees pointed out this challenge and its link to child labour. Past research also indicates that school violence can lead to drop out and to child labour.¹⁷⁷ Studies have shown that children are more likely to drop out of school early if they are subjected to discrimination or violence. For example because of aggressive playground fighting, verbal abuse, intimidation, humiliation, corporal punishment, sexual abuse, gang violence, or other forms of cruel and humiliating treatment – by their peers and teachers, and other school staff.¹⁷⁸ In Côte d'Ivoire, for example, 12.5% of children in primary schools had reported some type of conflict.¹⁷⁹ This included a wide variety of types of violence from beatings, to having to do chores for teachers, sexual abuse and rape. It should be added that the data cover violence from teachers as well as other students. Not only teachers perpetrate violence in school. Bullying and violence between children also occurs and causes problems.¹⁸⁰

A general study on children in Ghana¹⁸¹ indicated that almost all children (94%) between the ages of 1 and 14 had experienced some form of 'discipline' (physical punishment and/or psychological aggression) at home.¹⁸² Several studies in the country have indicated that caning children in school is common and that most teachers are not in favour of its abolishment.¹⁸³ This is, in part, because teachers are not well informed on alternative means of changing children's behaviour.

Programmes to address all forms of violence in schools are already being successfully implemented in some countries. The Safe Schools initiative in Malawi was assessed as good practice, for example, and includes training on alternative methods of changing children's behaviour.¹⁸⁴ In Ghana a specific safe school's project was also implemented between 2004

176 While the following study focused mostly on urban areas, the same holds true for rural areas. Thorsen, D. (2012), *Children Working in the Urban Informal Economy: Evidence from West and Central Africa*, Dakar: UNICEF West and Central Africa Regional Office.

177 There are many studies and reports mentioning this aspect, including UNICEF (2014), *Child Labour and UNICEF in Action: Children at the Centre*. NY: UNICEF.

178 UNICEF (2014), *Child Labour and UNICEF in Action: Children at the Centre*. NY: UNICEF.

179 Ministère de l'Éducation Nationale, de l'Enseignement Technique et de la Formation Professionnelle (MENETFP), Direction de la Stratégie de la Planification et des Statistiques (DSPS) (2019). *Statistiques Scolaires de Poche 2018-2019*. République de la Côte d'Ivoire. Abidjan : MENETFP.

180 Ohene, S.A.; Johnson, K.; Atunah--Jay, S. et al. (2015), *Sexual and physical violence victimization among senior high school students in Ghana: Risk and protective factors*, Elsevier: *Social Science & Medicine* 146 (2015) 266-275.

181 Ghana Statistical Service (2018) *Multiple Indicator Cluster Survey (MICS2017/18)*, Survey Findings Report. Accra, Ghana: GSS.

182 Ibid.

183 Including Yeboah, D. (2020), *Teachers' perceptions of the abolition of caning in Ghanaian schools*, *Issues in Educational Research*, 30(1), 2020.

184 The Safe Schools initiative implemented in Ghana 2004-2008 was focused on reducing gender-based violence. In Malawi, as part of the UNICEF's support to the Malawi Government a Safe Schools programme is being funded that addresses all forms of child safety with focus on violence from all types of Sources. Zegers, M. et al. (2018), *Evaluation of Child Protection Strategy: Evaluation Report*, Lilongwe and Rome: UNICEF, Government of Malawi, Lattanzio. Some other Safe Schools programs focus more on increasing safety and resilience in the case of human and environmental disasters.

and 2008 to reduce gender-based violence in schools.¹⁸⁵ Currently, UNICEF in Ghana continues to support safe schools' initiatives, including through the development of a special guidance resource pack for teachers.

In Côte d'Ivoire, Article 5.9 of Order No. 0111 MENET/CAB of 24 December 2014, which covers the code of conduct for staff of public and private structures under the Ministry of National Education and Technical Education, prohibits "any form of physical, psychological and humiliating punishment against the student".¹⁸⁶ Transgressions are punishable with disciplinary sanctions.

A directive from the Ghana Educational Service prohibits corporal punishment in schools.¹⁸⁷ The Children's Act and the Criminal Offences Act, however, are yet to be amended to harmonise with the directive. This means that, in practice, teachers can still use force. Section 41 of the Criminal Offences Act allows the use of a "blow or other force" against a child under the age of 16 by a parent, guardian, or their delegate, master, and the master of an apprentice, for misconduct or disobedience, so long as the force is reasonable in kind and degree.¹⁸⁸

2.2.3. TEACHERS AWARENESS OF CHILD LABOUR

The limited awareness of teachers regarding child labour issues and their inadequate involvement in identifying child labourers and those at risk of child labour can further contribute to the continuation of the issue. Multiple evaluations of child labour projects cite this challenge. This lack of awareness can also contribute to challenges in class for children. Many studies have shown that children who work after school and at weekends may be tired, unable to concentrate and vulnerable to being disciplined.¹⁸⁹ They may also have difficulties doing their homework and/or studying for tests. If teachers are not aware of the challenges such children face and provide support to address them, it can be problematic for the child. There is, therefore, a risk of dropping out and a higher risk for children involved in child labour.

Some initiatives that contribute to eliminating child labour include awareness raising of teachers and/or involving them in CLMRS or similar programmes. However, not all child labour elimination efforts involve the training of teachers. In addition, while some schoolteachers

185 DEVTECH (2008), Safe Schools Program 2003–2008, Available from <https://devtechsys.com/projects/Safe-Schools-Program/>. Accessed 15/08/2020.

186 Global Initiative to End all Corporal Punishment of Children (2019), Châtiments corporels des enfants en Côte d'Ivoire, Available from <https://endcorporalpunishment.org/reports-on-every-state-and-territory/cote-dlvoire>

187 Department of Children, Ministry of Gender Children and Social Protection and UNICEF Ghana (2018), Position paper on corporal punishment in Ghana Corporal punishment in Ghana: A position paper on the legal and policy issues. Accra: Department of Children, Ministry of Gender Children and Social Protection and UNICEF Ghana.

188 Ibid.

189 Ormert, A. (2018), Links between education and child labour. Brighton: Knowledge, evidence and learning for development. (K4D).

are included in programmes, such as Safe Schools, not all the teachers in a school may be involved and/or trained on child labour issues.

Where former child labourers are introduced back into education, they also need special support in the form of bridging classes or, depending on the case, to simply catch up or become used to being in school again. Teachers need training and support to educate and mentor such children. While this is usually done through CLMRS and other child labour reduction programmes, it is not always done in all cocoa areas.

The lack of adequate education on sexual and reproductive health (SRH) in schools can contribute to dropout rates among girls due to unwanted pregnancies. Boys may also drop out and go into child labour because of the need to provide for a pregnant partner. School dropout is a known contributing factor to child labour as children have few outside activities to occupy them. The risk of sexually transmitted infections is also exacerbated without such education. Any illness can contribute to household poverty, which, in turn, contributes to increased child labour. Children who work after school and during weekends and holidays are also more likely to drop out.¹⁹⁰

2.2.4. SCHOOL FEEDING AVAILABILITY

It is well established that the availability of school feeding can contribute to reducing child labour.¹⁹¹ Many initiatives to reduce child labour in cocoa areas in Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana include a school feeding component, which has been found to be effective. A 2017 study¹⁹² in Ghana notes, for example, that child labour was reduced when school feeding was introduced. Parents reported that they could work for more hours without having to worry about feeding their children. The amount of time and money parents had to spend preparing meals was also reduced.

A mapping of under-nutrition in major cocoa production areas determined that in Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana, over 25% of the children under the age of five suffer stunted growth.¹⁹³ The study found that poor nutrition contributed to poor performance of children in school and dropout, as well as decreased household labour productivity and increased illness of family members. Women also have lower labour productivity and reduced time to care for the family when

190 Understanding Children's Work (UCW) Programme (2016), Child labour and the youth decent work deficit in Ghana: Inter-agency country report. Inter-agency country report, Rome: ILO Office for Italy and San Marino, Centre for Economic and International Studies (CEIS).

191 Brüderle, A. (June 2019), Education quality and child labour: Evidence from cocoa-growing communities in Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana, Geneva: International Cocoa Initiative.

192 Gans-Lartey, E. G. (2017), School Feeding Program as an Incentive for Education in Rural Ghana: The Case of Cocoa Growing Areas, Accra: Institute for Democratic Governance.

193 Stunting: children are too short for their age as the result of chronic undernutrition and/or repeated undernutrition and other poor health circumstances. De Vries, K.; McClafferty, B., Van Dorp, M. (2012), Increasing cocoa productivity through improved nutrition: A call to action, Concept Brief. Wageningen: Global Alliance for Improved Nutrition (GAIN).

household nutrition is poor. Again, lower adult labour productivity may lead to higher reliance on child labour. All these factors contribute to an intergenerational cycle of poverty and under-nutrition. Ensuring that children receive a quality meal at school not only helps attract children to school, it also improves their own nutritional status and their household's overall health status.

The recent NORC survey on the prevalence of child labour also found that children and teachers reported significant benefits from school feeding initiatives in terms of reduced absenteeism and improved attitudes among care givers towards schooling.¹⁹⁴

In 2018 in Côte d'Ivoire, one in three primary schools had a canteen.¹⁹⁵ Similarly, in Ghana, approximately 30% of early childhood and primary school children receive a school meal.¹⁹⁶

2.2.5. LIMITED TECHNICAL VOCATIONAL EDUCATION AND SKILLS TRAINING

Stakeholders of all types interviewed for this study repeatedly mentioned the challenges around school dropout and youth unemployment as causes of child labour. We have already discussed some of the reasons for dropout in previous sections, including poverty, and access to, and quality of schools. Challenges around how far children have to travel to get to secondary schools are particularly noteworthy given that households in the most remote areas are hesitant to send their adolescent children to live in nearby towns.

Worldwide, child labour in agriculture is by far the most common type of child labour accounting for 71% of the total.¹⁹⁷ It is worth noting that, despite this data, training in agriculture receives less attention than other forms of training in most initiatives aimed at eliminating child labour. The FAO has called for increased concentration on decent work for youth, including older children, in agriculture.¹⁹⁸ Gaps that need to be addressed include increasing support for agriculture-related vocational education and training and apprenticeships in non-hazardous working conditions. Specifically, this would include addressing challenges around reducing occupational safety and health (OSH) hazards.

194 NORC at the University of Chicago (2020), *Assessing Progress in Reducing Child Labor in Cocoa Production in Cocoa Growing Areas of Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana*. Chicago: University of Chicago.

195 Ministère de l'Éducation Nationale, de l'Enseignement Technique et de la Formation Professionnelle (MENETFP), Direction de la Stratégie de la Planification et des Statistiques (DSPA) (2019). *Statistiques Scolaires de Poche 2018-2019*. République de la Côte d'Ivoire. Abidjan : MENETFP.

196 The Conversation (2016), *Ghana's school feeding scheme is slowly changing children's lives*, Available from: <https://theconversation.com/ghanas-school-feeding-scheme-is-slowly-changing-childrens-lives-60875> Accessed 25/08/2020.

197 ILO (2017) *Global Estimates of Child Labor 8.7 Alliance*, Geneva: ILO.

198 Dadzie, C.; Mawuko, F.; Namara, S. (2020), *Youth Employment Programs in Ghana: Options for Effective Policy Making and Implementation*, Accra: World Bank.

In Côte d'Ivoire youth unemployment is officially relatively low at about 5% (before COVID-19). In 2013 it was estimated that 35% of young people between 15 and 29 were not in education, employment or training.¹⁹⁹ Many young people work in low productivity or informal activities, including agriculture. In Ghana in 2019, youth unemployment (15–24 years old) was estimated at 9.2% with a slightly higher unemployment rate for males at 9.4% as compared to females at 9.0%.²⁰⁰

There are about 48,000 children in technical secondary schools in Côte d'Ivoire, of whom 48.4% are girls. Almost 43,000 children attend non-formal vocational education.²⁰¹ Enrolment in technical and vocational education and skills training (TVEST) as proportion of the total enrolment in secondary education is 12%.²⁰²

Côte d'Ivoire's national youth policy (2016–2020) includes a strong focus on strengthening employment options for youth in agriculture.²⁰³ However, the policy document notes that past programmes focused on agriculture have not been very successful due to a lack of training of, and interest among young people. Côte d'Ivoire only has one agricultural vocational senior secondary school and one agricultural college.

Technical and vocation and skills training (TVEST) in Ghana has increased over the years but there is a mismatch between the skills supplied and those demanded in the labour market.²⁰⁴ Enrolment in TVEST remains low compared to the size of the population of children aged 12–18 years at 60,000.²⁰⁵ In Ghana, investments to improve existing TVEST structure valued at US\$ 132 million commenced in early 2020.²⁰⁶

The recent NORC study was not able to draw quantitative conclusions regarding the impact of vocational training on child labour because of the small number of children reporting participation in such training.²⁰⁷ Qualitative findings were also limited although children who

199 Data for only up to age 24 was not available. OCDE (OECD) (2017), Examen du bien-être et des politiques de la jeunesse en Côte d'Ivoire, Paris : Projet OCDE-UE Inclusion des jeunes. OECD (2020), Youth Inclusion Project. Available from: <http://www.oecd.org/dev/inclusivesocietiesanddevelopment/youth-inclusion-project.htm>. Accessed 04/12/2020.

200 World Bank, World Bank Database (Unemployment). Available from <https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SL.UEM.1524.ZS?locations=GH>. Accessed 16/08/2020.

201 Disaggregated data by sex was not available.

202 UNESCO (2018), Country Education Statistics Côte d'Ivoire. Available from <http://uis.unesco.org/en/country/ci> and <http://data.uis.unesco.org/> accessed on 13/07/2020.

203 Ministère de la Promotion de la Jeunesse, de l'Emploi des Jeunes et du Service Civique (MPJEJSC) (2016), La Politique Nationale de la Jeunesse et les Stratégies, Abidjan: Ministère de la Promotion de la Jeunesse, de l'Emploi des Jeunes et du Service Civique.

204 Ministry of Education Ghana, (2018), Education Sector Analysis, Accra: Ministry of Education Ghana.

205 Ibid.

206 Construction Review Online (2020), Ghana commence upgrade of TVET infrastructure, Available from <https://constructionreviewonline.com/2020/01/ghana-commence-upgrade-of-tvet-infrastructure/> Accessed 10/09/2020.

207 NORC at the University of Chicago (2020), Assessing Progress in Reducing Child Labor in Cocoa Production in Cocoa Growing Areas of Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana. Chicago: University of Chicago.

participated in the study did indicate interest in more and longer access to vocational and skills training. Caregivers were likewise interested in the increased access to TVEST for their children.

In its qualitative analysis, the recent NORC study on child labour²⁰⁸ found that young people were more likely to use protective gear in agriculture if they had received OSH training. Again, quantitative data analysis could not, however, indicate a statistically significant difference due to the relevant sub-sample size. Qualitatively, post-training, boys reported more changes in their safety practices than girls, though the study indicated that this may be because boys report using more chemicals and sharp tools as part of their agricultural work. Notably, children reported feeling more empowered to implement safety practices when their parents had also attended OSH training. This finding confirms the importance of focusing on decent work conditions for all, not just for children.

2.2.6. APPRENTICESHIP AND SKILLS TRAINING

Aside from formal vocational education and government certified, non-formal training (in private institutions), many of the youth in both countries are engaged in apprenticeship-type training. Such training may be organised through government initiatives or parastatal bodies, such as the well-organised, country-wide *Chambre National de Métiers* (National Artisans' Chamber) (CNM) in Côte d'Ivoire. Informal apprenticeships are also common.

Child labour initiatives in both countries have focused on enabling children to participate in apprenticeship and technical skills training. While such learning is appreciated, the duration is often considered too short to achieve the level of skills needed to be fully capable of carrying out the tasks required.²⁰⁹ The type of training offered is more often focused on skills such as hairdressing/barbering, carpentry, tailoring and welding. Training may also focus on agriculture, but to a lesser degree. In the case of one project in Ghana that ended in 2019, for example, 14% of the youth participants were introduced to sustainable agriculture techniques. Students reported having been able to acquire a modest income from produce sales.²¹⁰

Promoting children's apprenticeships in cocoa can have risks, however. Currently, older children and young people in their twenties, can be brought into hazardous cocoa production activities

208 NORC at the University of Chicago (2020), *Assessing Progress in Reducing Child Labor in Cocoa Production in Cocoa Growing Areas of Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana*. Chicago: University of Chicago.

209 E.g. Bowen R, Adomaa F, (2019), *Final Performance Evaluation of Mobilizing Community Action and Promoting Opportunities for Youth in Ghana's Cocoa-Growing Communities (MOCA) Project Final Evaluation Report*, Accra: MPAQ International, LLC. Zegers, M. (2019), *Eliminating Child Labor in Cocoa Growing Communities (ECLIC)*, Washington, D.C.: IMPAQ International, LLC.

210 Bowen R, Adomaa F, (2019), *Final Performance Evaluation of Mobilizing Community Action and Promoting Opportunities for Youth in Ghana's Cocoa-Growing Communities (MOCA) Project Final Evaluation Report*, Accra: MPAQ International, LLC.

on the pretext of receiving an apprenticeship in cocoa farming.²¹¹ Such apprentices do not receive a wage but do obtain food and lodging, as well as some cash to cover expenses. At the end of the season, they may be provided with a small lump sum or gift. The lack of monitoring of the situation of older children and youth in such settings is a challenge that needs to be addressed.

Ensuring that adults have the skills needed to improve cocoa production and the capacities to diversify their incomes is also important. One study indicated that only 17% of adult farmers in cocoa-growing areas in Côte d'Ivoire had received any training related to their activity over the previous five years.²¹² In Ghana, the same study found a higher percentage, 49%. In Ghana, however, respondents said that they had only received 1-2 days of training within the last five years. Also, male respondents in both countries had received significantly more training than females.²¹³

2.2.7. EXAMPLES OF EXISTING AND PLANNED AGRICULTURE YOUTH TRAINING INITIATIVES

One interesting initiative with a focus on agriculture that deserves attention is the five-year MASO agriculture training programme²¹⁴ that ends in 2020.²¹⁵ The programme is focused on creating employment opportunities for youth between the ages of 15 and 25 who had dropped out of school, mostly in cocoa-farming communities in Ghana. The project includes the establishment of agro-academies to equip and motivate young people to enter cocoa farming as a business, generate entrepreneurship skills and provide a peer platform for youth. The programme also works to strengthen the enabling environment by focusing on improving land, finance and markets.

A large new programme, the Cocoa Rehabilitation Programme, is being launched in Ghana. It aims to replant cocoa farms affected by swollen shoot disease.²¹⁶ The programme is expected to recruit and train 50,000 young people in the next five years to help support its implementation. While those under 18 can only be involved if the work is explicitly non-hazardous, the programme does indicate that there is potential for youth employment in the sector.

211 Verité (February 2019), *Assessment of Forced Labor Risk in the Cocoa Sector of Côte d'Ivoire*, Amherst: Verité.

212 Bymolt, R., Laven, A., Tyszler, M. (2018), *Demystifying the cocoa sector in Ghana and Côte d'Ivoire*. Chapter 9, Cocoa producer groups, certification, training and credit, Amsterdam: The Royal Tropical Institute (KIT).

213 Ibid.

214 MASO: "Next Generation Cocoa Program", Youth Powered MASO (2020), Home page. Available from <https://www.masogh.org/> Accessed 01/12/2020.

215 Aflatoun International, (2016), *MASO Programme to Educate Young Cocoa Farmers Launched in Ghana*, Available from <https://www.aflatoun.org/maso-programme-educate-young-cocoa-farmers-launched-ghana/> Accessed 05/09/2020.

216 Through a \$600 million receivable-backed syndicated loan facility, of which 2/3 will be used to rejuvenate farms and productivity enhancement activities. Graphic Online (2020), *Government to replant swollen shoot-affected cocoa farms*, Available from <https://www.graphic.com.gh/news/general-news/government-to-replant-swollen-shoot-affected-cocoa-farms.html> Website consulted 26/09/2020.

2.2.8. ENTREPRENEURSHIP AND LITERACY SKILLS

Many of the projects implemented to address child labour include training on entrepreneurship and literacy. Initiatives, such as the promotion of village savings and loan associations (VSLA) and diversification of income sources, will not achieve the desired results, if such knowledge and management skills are not well developed²¹⁷ Poor levels of literacy and a lack of knowledge about entrepreneurship, including basic record keeping, marketing and other subjects, contribute to poverty and the continued cycle of dependence on child labour.

Initiatives to improve the literacy of people who need management skills have been shown to be essential in helping them keep records, plan, manage logistics and look after their finances.²¹⁸ As a consequence, literacy also contributes to these people's ability to formalise their informal activities by organising themselves and registering with farmer-based organisations or other formalising actions.²¹⁹ It has been found in the past that, due to limited financial resources, some literacy programmes have not been long or intensive enough to ensure the creation of adequate skills.²²⁰

2.2.9. LIMITED ACCESS TO QUALITY SOCIAL AND AGRICULTURAL SUPPORT SERVICES

As stated in previous sections, the lack of access to quality education and basic social services poses a major challenge and is intimately related to the persistence of poverty. It also affects the ability to bring about sustainable reductions in child labour and obstructs efforts to increase school attendance.

Gaps in the enabling environment need to be addressed if greater success is to be achieved in eliminating child labour. These gaps include the enforcement of legal and regulatory frameworks, and local development planning that is sufficiently funded to be able to address infrastructure and other issues at community level.

The limited technical, human resource and material capacities of social service providers also impede the ability of government to provide the support needed. Donors, the cocoa

217 International Labour Office, Evaluation Office (2019), Independent High-level Evaluation: ILO's Strategy and Actions towards the Formalization of the Informal Economy, 2014–18, Geneva: ILO.

218 International Labour Office, Evaluation Office (2019), Independent High-level Evaluation: ILO's Strategy and Actions towards the Formalization of the Informal Economy, 2014–18, Geneva: ILO. As noted in a wide range of evaluation reports on child labour reduction initiatives. Including in FUNDAMENTALS, ILO Regional Office for Africa (2017), Meta-Analysis of Evaluations on ILO Child Labour Programmes and Projects in Africa 2009-2014, Geneva: ILO.

219 Ibid.

220 Zegers, M. (2019), Eliminating Child Labor in Cocoa Growing Communities (ECLIC), Washington, D.C.: IMPAQ International, LLC.

industry and private and non-governmental service providers cover up to 15-20% of cocoa households in terms of child labour elimination initiatives. The ability of local authorities to support and integrate with such programmes is limited. For example, the poor logistics and transport capacities of government service providers impede their participation in initiatives independently of external service providers.

Cocoa industry stakeholders interviewed for the study affirm their willingness to increase coverage of child labour elimination initiatives, such as the CLMRS and similar initiatives, to 100% of the cocoa households in their value chains.²²¹ Many of the strategy documents drawn up by industry networks and foundations also indicate their targets eventually to reach all cocoa producing households with CLMRS initiatives. However, reaching these targets is costly, particularly where the local government's enabling environment to provide and support child labour elimination initiatives is limited.

Fair trade and certification methods show that farmers who have received a complete package of support services appear to have benefited from them.²²² These services included training, credit, and farm inputs (fertilisers, agrochemicals, cocoa seedlings, equipment), together with guidance on how to organise in groups. Provision of only some of these services has been found to result in mixed or more modest benefits, including in terms of reducing child labour.²²³ A holistic approach to implementing standards and certification in combination with other services is therefore essential for success.

2.2.10. CHILD LABOUR REDUCTION INITIATIVES AND CHILD PROTECTION

The cocoa industry concentrates mostly on implementing the CLMRS approach, while other agencies adopt similar programmes. Some programmes also include other, more global approaches, in which child labour is just one component among other challenges being addressed. While there are some discussions about the differences between the approaches to reducing child labour, overall, they are all community-based and involve working with local leaders and community groups. It has become apparent that it is important to address all forms of child labour in a community, not just those linked to cocoa production. This recognition is based on the observation that children may shift from child labour in cocoa to another type of work.

221 Most of the community-based initiatives focus on identification, withdrawal/remediation and/or prevention of child labour, monitoring of (ex)child labourers, community support activities such as education, WASH infrastructure, income generating activities and other actions in response to local needs.

222 Ingram, V. et al (2018), The Impacts of Cocoa Sustainability Initiatives in West Africa, Sustainability 2018, 10, 4249, Basel: MDPI.

223 Ingram, V. et al (2018), The Impacts of Cocoa Sustainability Initiatives in West Africa, Sustainability 2018, 10, 4249, Basel: MDPI.

The CLMRS and other child labour reduction initiatives tend to include various child protection-related components. In addition to linking to government child protection mechanisms, CLMRS also plays a key due diligence role including assessing cocoa supply-chain child labour risks, identifying issues, remediation, tracking and reporting cases of child labour.

The CLMRS approach also includes support for capacity strengthening of farmer-based organisations, thus contributing to organising the value chain. Communities where CLMRS and similar approaches are implemented also often benefit from other support such as for education and other physical infrastructure, capacity strengthening, livelihoods and diversification, and gender awareness raising.

The CLMRS is well accepted as a good practice²²⁴ but it requires a great deal of complex and intensive focus on each community to achieve success. The limited capacities inherent in the enabling environment prevent the CLMRS and other child labour elimination initiatives at community level from achieving their full potential.

The cost per beneficiary of the community-based initiatives is estimated as relatively high and therefore difficult to scale up.²²⁵ Much of the cost depends on the specific local context and the types of activities included in the initiative.²²⁶ Various methods are being tried to reduce costs, such as working through cocoa cooperatives.²²⁷

It should be noted that the governments of Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana implement child protection programmes as part of their child well-being strategies. Good practices present in child protection systems include several components to support children holistically:

- Birth registration support
- Ending child abuse, exploitation, neglect and early marriage
- Protecting the rights of children with disabilities
- Legal justice for children to help protect children from abuse, neglect and exploitation
- Ensuring juvenile justice²²⁸ for children in conflict with the law

A functioning child protection system ensures that children in child labour and/or whose rights have been infringed in other ways are identified, their cases managed and followed up.

Data are collected on each case, kept and included in local and national data systems. The purpose goes beyond the tracking of the individual child and helps inform progress and planning of future policies and plans.

224 Cocoa Plan Nestlé (2017), Tackling Child Labour: 2017 Report, Geneva: Cocoa Plan Nestlé, International Cocoa Initiative (ICI). NORC at the University of Chicago (2020), Assessment of Effectiveness of Cocoa Industry Interventions in Reducing Child Labor in Cocoa Growing Areas of Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana. Chicago: University of Chicago.

225 Ibid.

226 Laboulle, O. & Wilson, S. (2017), Effectiveness Review of Child Labour Monitoring Systems in the Smallholder Agricultural Sector of Sub-Saharan Africa: Review of Emerging Good Practices, Geneva: International Cocoa Initiative (ICI).

227 Cocoa Plan Nestlé (2017), Tackling Child Labour: 2017 Report, Geneva: Cocoa Plan Nestlé, International Cocoa Initiative (ICI).

228 Juvenile justice initiatives address the issues of children who are in conflict with the law.

Child labour may be linked to, or include challenges associated with any or all of the factors under the heading of child protection.

It is certain that the child protection systems in Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana are not yet fully functional in cocoa producing areas. There are gaps in the development of comprehensive case management methods, their implementation and follow up. There are also many challenges with regard to addressing the special issues of children who have been trafficked for child labour or for other purposes. In both countries there is a lack of sufficient safe locations where trafficked children can be placed.

Stakeholder interviews indicate that existing programmes pay too little attention to the interplay between abuse, neglect and exploitation overall, since the strongest focus is on child labour. Children in child labour may also be victims of additional violations. Community child protection committees may be trained to identify such cases where a child is not engaged in labour but nevertheless needs intervention. In practice, however, in line with their due diligence requirements, industry-financed programmes naturally focus on child labour primarily.

2.2.11. SOCIAL PROTECTION

Social protection includes a wide range of support mechanisms that can have a major influence in reducing poverty, production risks and, consequently, in reducing child labour. Adequate social protection helps prevent households from relying on child labour as a coping strategy in the face of poverty and economic insecurity.²²⁹ They include access to:

- Cash transfers to especially vulnerable households, stipends and in-kind transfers
- Health, accident, and agricultural insurance
- Unemployment and old-age pensions

Social protection may be organised through government support, donor funded development programs, and traditional community-based mechanisms.

Large-scale reviews of past child labour policies and programmes concluded that exposure to individual and collective shocks are some of the main causes of child labour.²³⁰ These may include environmental shocks, such as drought, but also individual ones, such as accidents and illness in the household.

In the case of child labour in cocoa production, there are gaps in many areas falling under the heading of social protection. These include inadequate and/or non-existing health insurance

²²⁹ ILO (2018), Ending child labour by 2025: A review of policies and programmes, Second edition, Geneva: ILO.

²³⁰ Ibid.

and unemployment coverage, work-related injury, disabilities, agriculture production insurance and pensions for persons working in cocoa production and their families.

There is insufficient evidence that targeted child labour cash transfers for especially vulnerable households involved in cocoa production will be fully effective in stopping child labour. Cash transfer safety nets have been shown to contribute to reducing child labour in certain situations but may also contribute to increases in child labour if the cash is invested to increase productivity.

In Ghana the Livelihood Empowerment Against Poverty (LEAP) programme is a cash transfer mechanism for vulnerable households.²³¹ Cash transfers provided through the LEAP programme are intended, in part, to help reduce child labour. Cash transfer programmes to reduce child labour need to be carefully targeted and managed so that they do not inadvertently lead to increased employment children.

Farmers in both countries face challenges in accessing social protection mechanisms, such as agriculture insurance that can protect them from environmental shocks. Pests, diseases, weather and other disaster-related events can all result in crop failure. Aside from plant diseases, disasters such as the **COVID19 pandemic** can contribute lower production. The illness of farm workers, the cost of farm inputs, and more complicated cocoa transport logistics are all affected. An ICI study has already indicated that, during the COVID19 pandemic there has been a greater reliance on child labour in cocoa communities due to the challenging situation.²³²



Côte d'Ivoire, © Mei Zegers, 2019

Reviews indicate that providing crop insurance can be challenging, since it is complex to manage in the case of cocoa.²³³ However, to ensure that an insured farmer qualifies for reimbursement it is necessary to assess the yield per hectare before and after a difficult harvest. Farmers may, further, be tempted to apply pest and disease management techniques less actively, since they know they will be paid even, if the harvest is affected.²³⁴

231 Ibid.

232 ICI (2020), Hazardous Child Labour in Côte d'Ivoire's Cocoa Communities During COVID-19, Geneva: ICI.

233 Swisscontact (2017), Micro-Insurance for Cocoa Farmers, West Jakarta: Swisscontact Indonesia Country Office.

234 Ibid.

2.2.12. LIMITED CAPACITIES TO REDUCE DEFORESTATION AND OTHER ENVIRONMENTAL CHALLENGES

An environmental sustainability analysis conducted for this study indicates that predominantly unregulated and/or uncertified cocoa production in both countries has caused massive deforestation, including in areas vulnerable to desertification. Statistics indicate that Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana lost 17% and 13% of their forest cover respectively between 2001 and 2017, primarily as a result of agricultural encroachment.²³⁵

Change in land use, particularly deforestation, is the second largest reason for “land use caused climate change”.²³⁶ In discussions about the unremitting rates of deforestation, farmers complain bitterly about the unpredictability of the weather. Deforestation is also linked to reductions in biodiversity, among other challenges.

The importance of deforestation ranks very high in the European Commission's agenda, including its Green Deal.²³⁷ The expansion of land used for agriculture is the cause of 80% of global deforestation. EU institutions, civil society, industry and other stakeholders are demanding regulation of agricultural commodities' supply chains to protect the world's remaining forests and the people that depend on them. In response, a recent EU communication on the subject²³⁸ proposed a list of initial actions that need to be undertaken. They include the establishment of an EU observatory on deforestation and associated subjects; improved forest monitoring systems; coordination among research institutes and sharing of innovative practices. The communications stress the importance of dialogue between the EU and its partners across the world, the dynamic involvement of the private sector and active consultations with civil society.²³⁹

The increasingly poor quality of existing land used in cocoa production and the desire for increased production has contributed to intensified deforestation in Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana. This means that low yields per hectare in existing areas result in poverty in a context where the production costs are high, especially labour. This leaves smallholder farmers with very narrow margins. In a bid to cut costs, smallholders look for cost reductions, which leads to employing child labour and expanding farm sizes into (protected) forest areas to increase yields per hectare.

235 World Cocoa Foundation (2019), Action Plans to End Deforestation Released by Governments of Côte d'Ivoire & Ghana and Leading Chocolate & Cocoa Companies, Utrecht: World Cocoa Foundation.

236 European Commission (2019), Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament, the Council, the European Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions Stepping up EU Action to Protect and Restore the World's Forests, {SWD (2019) 307 final}, Brussels: European Commission.

237 A European Green Deal, (2020), Available from <https://ec.europa.eu/info/strategy/priorities-2019-2024/european-green-dealen>

238 European Commission (2019), Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament, the Council, the European Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions Stepping up EU Action to Protect and Restore the World's Forests, {SWD (2019) 307 final}, Brussels: European Commission.

239 Ibid.

Cocoa farmers have thus been moving further into forested areas and away from established settlements. This has led to many other challenges in addition to the grave environmental impact of deforestation. Child labour in protected forest areas is particularly problematic as such areas are remote and difficult to monitor, making them especially vulnerable to high levels of child labour in especially hazardous conditions. Trafficking of children internally and across the border from Burkina Faso and Mali is particularly problematic in these areas.²⁴⁰

The remoteness of such localities also means that there is comparatively lower availability of education and other services. In particular, education in formal school structures is problematic in protected forested areas in Côte d'Ivoire as it is illegal to build schools in such localities. The reason is that, as no one is supposed to be in the protected areas, schools should not be needed. These complex issues are intrinsically interrelated.

Deforestation cannot be attributed only to cocoa production. It must be added that in most of the cocoa growing areas of the sub-region, gold mining is also rife.²⁴¹ In Ghana, such mines account for about one third of the gold mined in the country.²⁴² This illegal activity not only makes the labour force available for cocoa growing scarce and expensive, it also destroys the rivers and degrades the soils that create the ecosystem required for sustainable cocoa production. Where these practices have persisted unabated, rivers and soils become contaminated with heavy metals (e.g., mercury) with the attendant health implications.²⁴³ Illegal small-scale gold mining is further associated with lack of worker safety.²⁴⁴

Child labour is also found in small scale mining.²⁴⁵ One industry stakeholder indicated that there can be child labour in cocoa and in mining in the same locality. Several stakeholders pointed out the importance of ensuring that, if a child is withdrawn from child labour in cocoa, that the child should be prevented from going into other forms of child labour, such as mining.

240 Verité (February 2019), Assessment of Forced Labor Risk in the Cocoa Sector of Côte d'Ivoire, Amherst: Verité.

241 Ayenor, G. K., J. Kuwornu, A. A. Duah, J. S. et. (2015). Final Report on Assessment of the Environmental and Socio-economic Impacts of Small-Scale Illegal Surface Mining in the Cocoa Landscape in Ghana. Internal Consultancy Report. Ghana Cocoa Board's Ghana Cocoa Platform. Sponsored by United Nations' Development Programme in Ghana. Accra: UNDP.

242 Modern Ghana (2020), Galamsey Now Threatens Our Cocoa Industry! Available from <https://www.modernghana.com/news/1030723/galamsey-now-threatens-our-cocoa-industry.html>. Accessed 20/09/2020.

243 Ayenor, G. K., J. Kuwornu, A. A. Duah, J. S. et. (2015). Final Report on Assessment of the Environmental and Socio-economic Impacts of Small-Scale Illegal Surface Mining in the Cocoa Landscape in Ghana. Internal Consultancy Report. Ghana Cocoa Board's Ghana Cocoa Platform. Sponsored by United Nations' Development Programme in Ghana. Accra: UNDP.

244 Nakua, E.K., Owusu-Dabo, E., Newton, S. et al. (2019), Injury rate and risk factors among small-scale gold miners in Ghana, *BMC Public Health* 19, 1368 (2019).

245 Osei-Tutu, J., Abebe, T. (2018), Tensions and controversies regarding child labor in small-scale gold mining in Ghana, *African Geographical Review*, DOI: 10.1080/19376812.2018.148039; ILAB USDOL (2019), Child Labor and Forced Labor Report 2018 Ghana, Washington, D.C.: ILAB USDOL.

2.2.13. LACK OF SUFFICIENT AND QUALITY PHYSICAL INFRASTRUCTURE

Many of the stakeholders interviewed emphasised the continued lack of sufficient and quality physical infrastructure as a key factor influencing the prevalence of child labour. Various documents reviewed for the current research stress that a lack of decent roads is a key factor leading to poverty in cocoa producing areas.²⁴⁶ Poverty and levels of child labour are clearly interlinked.



Côte d'Ivoire © Mei Zegers

Efforts have been undertaken to improve roads and bridges in cocoa producing areas in Ghana but much remains to be done. Likewise, Côte d'Ivoire still has many poor tertiary roads. While the availability of decent roads varies across the cocoa

producing areas, especially in the rainy season, the challenges persist in many localities. In Ghana, for example, there are approximately 3,000 Licensed Buying Companies (LBCs), buying points to which farmers have to carry heavy bags of cocoa on foot because of poor roads or a lack of transportation.²⁴⁷

The cost of inputs, such as fertiliser and pesticides, is also multiplied due to the poor road infrastructure. All of these factors affect farmer poverty which, as already discussed, has an impact on the prevalence of child labour. Furthermore, as one stakeholder indicated, it is common knowledge that the most qualified persons refuse postings to remote areas due to lack of social services, especially a proper education for their own children.

Quite apart from the challenges for cocoa production, poor road infrastructure causes other, related problems. It is also a contributing factor in the inability to attract teachers to remote areas.²⁴⁸ The lack of schools within easy travelling distance and low quality and/or insufficient

246 In Steijn, C. (2018), *Demystifying the cocoa sector in Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana- Desk Research*, Amsterdam: Royal Tropical Institute (KIT). *Cocoa Post* (2019), *Bad Roads A Setback To Cocoa Production In Ghana's Top Cocoa District*, Available from <https://thecocoapost.com/bad-roads-a-setback-to-cocoa-production-in-ghanas-top-cocoa-district/> Accessed 20/07/2020.

247 Barrientos, S.W & Asenso Akyere, K. (2012). *Mapping sustainable production in Ghanaian cocoa*, Report to Cadbury. Institute of Development Studies & University of Ghana in Steijn, C. (2018), *Demystifying the cocoa sector in Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana- Desk Research*, Amsterdam: Royal Tropical Institute (KIT).

248 World Bank (2020), *Addressing child labour in cocoa production in West Africa. Building on lessons learned from child labour interventions*. Washington, D.C.: World Bank

numbers of classrooms further remain major impediments to encouraging parents to send their children to school instead of to child labour. Information from cocoa production zones in Côte d'Ivoire, for example, indicate that 9% of children in primary school have to travel at least three kilometres to school.²⁴⁹ This situation is particularly problematic in the most remote areas where the levels and types of child labour, including children trafficked into child labour, are most likely to be most complicated.



Road to local school in cocoa producing area, Côte d'Ivoire, Ó Mei Zegers, 2019

Children have noted difficulties getting to local schools when rains have washed out roads or because the roads are in a poor state for other reasons. The time needed to get to school is substantially increased in such cases. Parents see a lack of safety and the risk of accidents on the roads as an obstacle to sending their children to school.²⁵⁰ Consequently, they may prefer to keep their children at home and engage them in child labour.²⁵¹

Inadequate water and a lack of sanitation and hygiene (WASH) conditions in schools pose further difficulties.²⁵² This

affects all children. The lack of adequate and private WASH conditions can particularly lead to absenteeism and drop out among girls who have started their menstruation. Much of the research across the world indicates that dropouts from school are more likely to be engaged in child labour.²⁵³

In Côte d'Ivoire there is also a regulation that permanent school structures are not allowed to be built in protected forest areas. Again, these are areas with high levels of risk in terms of child labour exploitation.

249 Ministère de l'Éducation Nationale, de l'Enseignement Technique et de la Formation Professionnelle (MENETFP), Direction de la Stratégie de la Planification et des Statistiques (DSPS) (2019). Statistiques Scolaires de Poche 2018-2019. République de la Côte d'Ivoire. Abidjan : MENETFP.

250 According to the field experience of ICI implementing numerous initiatives in cocoa localities.

251 Ibid.

252 For example, in Côte d'Ivoire 71% of primary schools in rural areas have no water and 14% of secondary schools have water (2019 data). WHO UNICEF JMP (2019), Côte d'Ivoire Data, Available from <https://washdata.org/data/school#!/> Accessed 09/08/2020.

In Ghana the situation is somewhat better with 73% of primary schools in rural areas having water WHO UNICEF JMP (2019), Ghana country data, Available from <https://washdata.org/data/school#!/> Accessed 09/08/2020.

253 There are many studies available on the ILO and ICI websites that discuss the link between school dropout and child labour.

The number of health centres, social welfare offices and justice centres where child labour cases can be reported are limited in many cocoa producing localities. In Côte d'Ivoire it was determined that nearly half of the communities in cocoa areas did not have access to any type of health services within a radius of less than 10 km (neither infrastructure, nor community workers).²⁵⁴

This situation discourages the reporting of health problems and adds to their cost when conditions are left untreated, in turn adding to household poverty. Where police centres or other official places to report cases of child labour are situated far away, people may also be hesitant to report them.

2.3. COORDINATION TO ELIMINATE CHILD LABOUR

Governance & Access to Local Service Provision:

Limited comprehensive coordination at international, national and decentralised levels

Attempts to improve coordination on child labour in cocoa production at a national level among ministries, other agencies and the cocoa industry have met with challenges. Many interviewees for the current study emphasised that this situation has prevented child labour elimination initiatives from achieving full impact. Child labour coordination bodies have been established but have failed to integrate their actions and respond in a sufficiently coherent, inter-ministerial manner. Coordination among donors, including those from industry, and others seeking to reduce child labour in cocoa production also continued to be challenging, as the focus was more on exchanging information than actual collaboration through joint efforts.

The lack of coverage across cocoa communities continues to be problematic but as coverage increases, managing the complexity of integrating initiatives becomes even more essential. Given the intention of the cocoa industry substantially to scale up CLMRS coverage of cocoa producing communities in their value chains, ensuring good coordination becomes especially critical.

254 In 2014-2015. AFD & Barry Callebaut (2016). Cocoa farmers' agricultural practices and livelihoods in Côte d'Ivoire. Available from <https://www.afd.fr/sites/afd/files/2017-09/24-notes-techniques.pdf>. Accessed on 31/07/2020.

Currently there are increasing efforts to improve coordination, especially in the context of PPP Children First in Cocoa discussions. This is particularly true in Côte d'Ivoire. Data sharing on child labour initiatives is already happening. Donors, including those from industry-sponsored initiatives, report to national data collection systems, such as the SOSTECI in Côte d'Ivoire and the national coordinating bodies in Ghana.

Based on stakeholder interviews and documentation, however, the finding of this study is that coordination is less effective at local level. While it has to be said that there are attempts at working together at local level (district/prefecture/sous prefecture²⁵⁵ and community level), the conclusion has to be drawn that there are still gaps in terms of effective coordination, especially with regard to the need for more efficient and collaborative joint efforts. Government stakeholders in both countries made this point as well as several international interviewees.

The lack of effective coordination results in inefficiency and limited assimilation of the many international development donor and industry-funded initiatives into local government systems.

While there is information sharing with, and involvement of local authorities at (sub)district level and with the local chiefs in communities, there is only limited integration of interventions in *(sub)district development plans*. Where such plans already exist, non-governmental interventions – whether funded by the private sector or other donors – are rarely adopted during the drafting of the local plan.

Several stakeholders interviewed, including representatives from industry, lamented the fact that a number of development actors may be contributing to reducing child labour through a range of interventions in the very same community. While some initiatives may be more generally focused on fair trade and not contributing to a programme like CLMRS, they may still have an effect on the prevalence child labour through such actions as poverty reduction approaches. Some interviewees even stated that they have found that the very same households may be working with more than one development entity. The recent NORC study on the prevalence of child labour also identified the same issue in the qualitative section of the study.²⁵⁶

The CLMRS and other child labour reduction initiatives do include participatory methods to identify locally needed inputs. These participatory methods include engagement with community leaders and community members. However, there are still gaps when funding is not available to address all of the many needs that communities identify.

255 For ease of reference, from here forward only use the term “(sub)district” will be used.

256 NORC at the University of Chicago (2020), *Assessing Progress in Reducing Child Labor in Cocoa Production in Cocoa Growing Areas of Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana*. Chicago: University of Chicago.

Donors cannot fund all the development of all the cocoa producing communities in Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana. It is notable, however, that more needs to be done to streamline initiatives and provide inputs that strengthen local government capacities. Within this context, ensuring that farmers' voices are heard at local government level and not only at community level will need additional attention.

2.4. INSUFFICIENT DUE DILIGENCE AND TRACEABILITY

Due diligence and traceability:

Need to increase coverage and ensure well audited traceability certifying that there is no child labour at individual farm level

Due diligence studies have already been conducted in Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana.²⁵⁷ Some comments on due diligence and associated traceability actions are, however, important as part of the current analysis. A recent study on due diligence requirements along supply chains indicated that all actors need to play a responsible due diligence role for full effectiveness and fairness.²⁵⁸ The due diligence study did not focus only on cocoa but on a range of different supply chains related to the EU market.²⁵⁹ The study concluded that mandatory due diligence would be particularly effective as opposed to relying mostly on voluntary agreements.

The current study also found that **mandatory agreements have the general support of the main EU cocoa industry actors**. The due diligence supply chain study indicated that EU state-based oversight bodies will need to be set up and sanctions for non-compliance introduced. Increased focus on digital technology tools to identify, address and eliminate human rights infringements, including child labour, will be important. In practice, the main EU cocoa industry actors support the child labour elimination initiatives already in use and intend to scale up digital approaches as part of their efforts.

²⁵⁷ Smit, L.; Bright, C.; McCorquodale, R.; et. al. (2020), Study on Due Diligence Requirements Through the Supply Chain, Brussels: European Commission.

²⁵⁸ Ibid.

²⁵⁹ Ibid.

A strong focus on developing more robust traceability systems is intended to be part of the PPP Children First in Cocoa initiative, which is a key step in the right direction.²⁶⁰

The large companies in the cocoa industry have fully agreed that they will take responsibility for their value chain with regard to child labour and forced labour, and for other social factors, such as poverty reduction and environmental sustainability. Major companies are already engaged in implementing specific programmes, such as CLMRS, in cocoa communities and already carry out due diligence. Most of these companies still need to scale up their efforts to cover their entire value chains. Some smaller companies that make social and environmental support explicitly part of their cocoa products already have mechanisms in place to try to ensure coverage of their value chains. The companies that are already working on traceability and certification are not, however, the only buyers of cocoa in the two countries.

Estimates are that as much as 50% of the cocoa beans passes through other channels which are less controlled.²⁶¹ This means that, even when the major companies and some specific smaller companies protect their value chains, there will still be gaps in the application of due diligence. In many cases, this is done through small and medium enterprises which are harder to control.

In some instances, the companies conduct traceability activities directly, while in other cases there are partnerships with other organisations, including fair trade organisations that provide certification according to agreed standards.

2.4.1. CHALLENGES TO IMPLEMENTING TRACEABILITY

Stakeholders interviewed for this study cited several main challenges with regard to implementing traceability. Some of these include issues around verification of child labour and other conditions at farm level²⁶² and the risk of bean mixing and other forms of tampering with cocoa beans. The level of clarity of traceability forms and/or the logistics of transmitting data on a given amount of beans can also be problematic.

Given that most of the child labour occurs in the actual cocoa plantations, many of which are remote, it is difficult and expensive to conduct full investigations all the way to farm level, particularly as most farms are small²⁶³ and may have plots that are spread across a relatively wide area. Farmers may use various means of communication to warn workers that a team of

260 World Cocoa Foundation (2019), 2019 Partnership Meeting Summary: Drivers of Change, Berlin, Germany, October 23-24, 2019. Abidjan, Accra, Washington, D.C.: World Cocoa Foundation.

261 According to several industry stakeholders who were interviewed.

262 As some major donors and industry representatives interviewed indicated.

263 As indicated in Section 2.5, in Côte d'Ivoire average size is 8 hectares in Côte d'Ivoire and 4 in Ghana.

inspectors is on the way and that they should ensure that any children are quickly hidden in the dense foliage that often surrounds plantations. As a result, most traceability programmes are based in farmers' groups and rely on peer verification. Such peer verification is, of course, less reliable than official direct verification through independent inspectors.

It is noteworthy to state that there is a very high cost associated with complete and intensive transparency in traceability and other cocoa bean verification schemes. For example, traceability schemes may include making risk profiles of each household, including the number of children in each.²⁶⁴ In addition, a household's access to livelihoods and services may be tracked. Some stakeholders even noted that the high cost of such audits could be better spent on working in communities to implement CLMRS and/or other child labour reduction schemes.

Trials of new traceability systems using digital technology to strengthen traceability and implement other aspects of due diligence have been carried out and are expected to be scaled up. The methodology includes the mapping of farms in Côte d'Ivoire using affordable smart phones.

Once fully operational, information on bean production and purchases would be linked to the information on the farms mapped. Global Positioning System (GPS) technology is integrated into the monitoring mechanisms and may also include the use of drones to verify the situation. This is particularly important in terms of tracking deforestation but, if sufficiently detailed, evidence of child labour could also be collected. The main challenge in this regard is that the forest/tree cover inherent to cocoa production makes this type of detailed imaging more challenging. Using the collected data, cloud-based data analysis would then help pinpoint and, if necessary, suspend individual sources of supply in response to violations. Some²⁶⁵ farmers will, however, need interventions to help support their households to avoid devastating consequences.

Some methods such as "block chain", using digital technologies to trace beans are being developed and implemented. Block chain, while still under development and testing for cocoa, provides the opportunity to track beans from the farm to the shelf. While these methods can be useful, they are not without complications. This is particularly the case if beans are not effectively identified as child labour free at farm level.

264 According to one interviewee.

265 World Cocoa Foundation (2019), 2019 Partnership Meeting Summary: Drivers of Change, Berlin, Germany, October 23-24, 2019. Abidjan, Accra, Washington, D.C.: World Cocoa Foundation.

As stated, farmers may hide child labourers, with the result that they may not be identified, thereby complicating matters. One recent study on block chain in cocoa in Côte d'Ivoire²⁶⁶ concluded that, while the technology has potential, considerable further development is needed. Some of the problems identified included the lack of digital technology skills among farmers and the development of the technology itself.

One key challenge is the lack of resources to include government labour inspectors, agriculture department staff and other local government officials in auditing. This means that there is limited scope for collaboration involving local government in implementing due diligence systems at local level. While industry is responsible for the protection of its value chain as part of its due diligence responsibilities, the involvement in the processes and the awareness of local authorities regarding the situation on the ground in their local areas is necessary.

2.5. SOCIAL INCLUSION CHALLENGES



Social inclusion is an important consideration in any discussion on child labour, including child labour in cocoa. The stakeholders interviewed often stressed the need to identify especially vulnerable households, primarily because they are most likely to have children in labour and/or at risk of child labour. In working to eliminate child labour it is therefore necessary to consider especially vulnerable groups and related issues, including gender, out-of-school children, youth, migrants/trafficked persons, people with disabilities, those living with or affected by HIV, and the elderly (including elderly cocoa farmers).

²⁶⁶ Center for Agriculture and Rural Cooperation (2020), Blockchain: an opportunity to improve the traceability of sustainable cocoa in Côte d'Ivoire, Available from <https://www.cta.int/en/blog/all/article/blockchain-an-opportunity-to-improve-the-traceability-of-sustainable-cocoa-in-cote-d-ivoire-sid019abea6a-09ac-4b03-b065-4474ff19900a>. Accessed 10/09/2020.

Some of the concerns regarding women and girls, persons with disabilities and other vulnerable groups have already been discussed in previous sections. In this section there is a more specific focus on social inclusion as a cause and consequence of child labour.

According to the stakeholders interviewed, challenges around social inclusion are more problematic in Côte d'Ivoire than in Ghana. The lack of a strong voice to speak on behalf of the most vulnerable in decision making regarding child labour and other community issues impedes progress. The participation of vulnerable groups in decision making thus still needs more attention in both countries.

2.5.1. GENDER ISSUES

In Côte d'Ivoire females head 18% of households²⁶⁷ with 31% in Ghana.²⁶⁸ In both countries female-headed households in cocoa areas were not found to have statistically significant higher poverty rates than male-headed households.²⁶⁹

Research has shown that, contrary to some narratives, female-headed households in cocoa producing areas in Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana typically do own some land.²⁷⁰ The amount of land owned is, however, smaller than for male-headed households. Regardless of this finding, women's access to and decision-making over land remains problematic in both countries.

Gender issues remain problematic, particularly regarding attitudes towards the role of women in community decision making. Women are not well represented in community decision-making bodies that may discuss cocoa production and the prevalence of child labour. Some exceptions do exist, as discussed in Section 2.6 on socio-cultural aspects, where women in Ghana may be involved in community decision-making on specific issues.

The recent NORC study on the prevalence of child labour²⁷¹ confirmed the role of gender-related tasks, such as the responsibility of girls to fetch water, which results in girls' absenteeism. The availability of water and sanitation on school grounds and in the community was found to contribute to improved attendance among girls. It also helped reduce the insecurity felt by girls surrounding access to sanitation.

267 According to the most recent Demographic and Health Survey (Institut National de la Statistique (INS) et ICF International (2012) Enquête Démographique et de Santé et à Indicateurs Multiples de Côte d'Ivoire 2011-2012. Calverton, Maryland, USA : INS et ICF International)

268 World Bank (2014), Ghana GH: Female Headed Households, Available from <https://www.ceicdata.com/en/ghana/population-and-urbanization-statistics/gh-female-headed-households#:~:text=Ghana's%20GH%3A%20Female%20Headed%20Households,number%20of%2033.800%20%25%20for%202014>. Accessed 09/08/2020.

269 Bymolt, R., Laven, A., Tyszler, M. (2018), Demystifying the cocoa sector in Ghana and Côte d'Ivoire. Chapter 12, Household income, poverty and wealth. Amsterdam: The Royal Tropical Institute (KIT).

270 Ibid.

271 NORC at the University of Chicago (2020), Assessing Progress in Reducing Child Labor in Cocoa Production in Cocoa Growing Areas of Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana. Chicago: University of Chicago.

Sometimes there are practical reasons that lead to an under-representation of women in development initiatives aimed at reducing child labour in cocoa. In some cases, implementers faced challenges in finding sufficiently literate women to participate in groups such as Community Child Labour Committees.²⁷² Such committees have been established, or strengthened, if already in existence, in cocoa communities in order to implement the CLMRS and the child protection systems approach.

Some actions to reduce child labour include only a limited number of female direct field workers. This affects the ability of projects/initiatives to communicate with and involve women in decision-making processes.

2.5.2. YOUTH ISSUES

Several stakeholders interviewed pointed out that employment of out-of-school older children and young people in decent work conditions still receives too limited attention. While efforts are being made to provide education for older children, there is still inadequate coverage to provide alternatives to hazardous labour. Educational opportunities for older children need to be more robustly and effectively addressed.

Given that a large proportion of the population is 24 or younger in Côte d'Ivoire (63%)²⁷³ and that in Ghana 51% of the population is under the age of 18²⁷⁴, this is an alarming situation. It shows that much needs to be done to address the challenge of who will replace the ageing farmers and how.

As the FAO²⁷⁵ has pointed out “Rural youth are looking for a better livelihood in the cities”. They are also not automatically interested in working in the difficult conditions common in agriculture.

The challenge of addressing the situation of young people in rural areas is urgent. Not only because their drive and energy is needed to address the many challenges in cocoa production. The lack of jobs in urban areas to accommodate youth coming in from rural areas also means that poverty is transferred from the countryside to the towns and cities. This may contribute

272 E.g. Zegers, M. (2019), *Eliminating Child Labor in Cocoa Growing Communities (ECLIC)*, Washington, D.C.: IMPAQ International, LLC.

273 United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Population Division (2019). *World Population Prospects 2019, Volume II: Demographic Profiles (ST/ESA/SER.A/427)*. NY: UN.

274 Ibid.

275 Food and Agriculture Organisation (2014), *Contribution to the 2014 United Nations Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) Integration Segment*, Available from <https://www.ceicdata.com/en/ghana/population-and-urbanization-statistics/gh-female-headed-households#:~:text=Ghana's%20GH%3A%20Female%20Headed%20Households,number%20of%2033.800%20%25%20for%202014>. Accessed 01 06 2020. Page 2.

to greater inequity in urban areas and lead to social unrest.²⁷⁶ High numbers of unemployed youth - and those unwillingly working in hazardous conditions in rural areas - can similarly contribute to economic and social problems.

It should be noted that many young people, even in the most remote areas, have access to social media through different channels and are thus aware of other lifestyles and opportunities. In Côte d'Ivoire 61% of inhabitants in rural areas use a mobile phone.²⁷⁷ Ghana aims to cover 95% of the country with internet by the end of 2020.²⁷⁸ It is outdated to think that people in the rural cocoa areas are unaware of the outside world and do not use digital technologies. In fact, research in Ghana has shown that internet use in rural areas increases farm income by 20.1%.²⁷⁹

2.5.3. TRAFFICKING AND MIGRANTS

Migrant households (37%) have been found to fall into the poorest category²⁸⁰ of households significantly more frequently than non-migrants (21%).²⁸¹ Persons identified as international migrants, even if having lived in Côte d'Ivoire for generations, face challenges concerning land ownership though this situation has started to improve over recent years.²⁸² It should be added, however, that land ownership is a complex issue and is mostly grounded in customary law, despite changes to allow non-indigenous people to enter into lease agreements.²⁸³ In fact, the cocoa industry has recognised the challenges inherent to land ownership and is contributing to the development of programmes to address land tenure issues.²⁸⁴

Persons who work as tenants on land that others own are especially vulnerable to exploitation and hazardous work conditions. They may resort to child labour, particularly from within their own families, to meet targets that the landowners set. Estimates indicate that as much as three quarters of cocoa production may come from such farms.²⁸⁵

276 Ibid.

277 Autorité de Régulation des Télécommunications de Côte D'Ivoire (ARTCI) (2019), Panorama des Télécommunications/ TIC en Côte d'Ivoire, Abidjan :

278 ARTCI.Telegeography (2019), COMMS Update Ghana aims to increase internet penetration to 95% by end-2020, Available from <https://www.commsupdate.com/articles/2019/10/30/ghana-aims-to-increase-internet-penetration-to-95-by-end-2020/> Accessed 17/09/2020.

279 Siaw, A. et al (2020), The Impact of Internet Use on Income: The Case of Rural Ghana, April 2020 Sustainability 12(8):1-16.

280 Lowest 20 % of the population in terms of income.

281 Bymolt, R., Laven, A., Tyszler, M. (2018), Demystifying the cocoa sector in Ghana and Côte d'Ivoire. Chapter 12, Household income, poverty and wealth. Amsterdam: The Royal Tropical Institute (KIT).

282 Pluess, J. (November 2018), Children's Rights in the Cocoa-Growing Communities of Côte d'Ivoire, Abidjan: UNICEF Côte d'Ivoire.

283 Ibid.

284 E.g. provision of the Meridia FarmSeal, World Cocoa Foundation (2019), 2019 Partnership Meeting Summary: Drivers of Change, Berlin, Germany, October 23-24, 2019. Abidjan, Accra, Washington, D.C.: World Cocoa Foundation.

285 Capillo, A, Somerville-Large, N (2019), Cocoa Sustainable Livelihoods Landscape Study: Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana, London: Fairtrade Foundation.

2.5.4. PERSONS WITH DISABILITIES

Children with disabilities that do not prevent them from engaging in physical work are at higher risk of child labour due to lack of educational adaptations for them in schools.²⁸⁶ In other words, they are more likely to be out of school and available for work. This includes children with cognitive disabilities that make them less reluctant to refuse child labour, those with hearing difficulties and other impairments. In this context, it is useful to note that Article 31 of the New European Consensus on Development²⁸⁷ stresses that “the EU and its Member States will take into account the specific needs of persons with disabilities in their development cooperation.”

Strong statistical data on disabilities specifically in cocoa producing areas is lacking so overall data is used in the following discussion. There were 453,000 persons with disabilities in Côte d'Ivoire at the last census in 2014. Approximately 90% have a physical disability and 10% have a cognitive disability.²⁸⁸ Of these 58% are men and 42% women. A high percentage (70%) of these disabled people live in rural areas.²⁸⁹

The prevalence of children between the ages of 4 and 17 with disabilities in Ghana is 130,000 (1.6%).²⁹⁰ Very few of these children go to school, with enrolment reported as just 0.2 to 0.4% of the total children enrolled.²⁹¹ Children with commonly treatable disabilities, such as dyslexia, drop out due to lack of support and misunderstanding of their learning disability.²⁹²

Three percent of Ghanaians are classified as persons with disability (PWD). Generally, the percentage of females (3.1%) with disability is slightly higher than males (2.9%). There are more PWD in the rural areas compared to the urban centres. Sight/visual impairment accounted for 40.1% of disabilities followed by physical disability (25.4%). Speech impairment accounted for the lowest percentage (13.7%).

286 UNICEF (2014), *Child Labour and UNICEF in Action: Children at the Centre*. NY: UNICEF Also e.g. on the situation in Ghana despite on-going efforts to improve the situation. “despite steady progress and a strong legislation and policy framework, students with disabilities must perform the same tasks within the same time frame as their peers, occupy desks placed far from teachers and are often physically punished by teachers for behavioral challenges; moreover, teaching is not differentiated” UNESCO (2020), *Global Education Monitoring Report 2020, Inclusion and education: All means all*, Paris: UNESCO, page 43.

287 European Parliament, European Commission (2017), *The New European Consensus on Development Official Journal of the European Union*, C210, Volume 60, 30 June 2017, Brussels: European Parliament, European Commission.

288 Data on children with APA News (2019), *Environ 453 000 personnes handicapées dénombrées en Côte d'Ivoire*. Available from <http://apanews.net/fr/news/environ-453-000-personnes-handicapees-denombrees-en-cote-divoire>. Accessed 10/06/2020.

289 APA News (2019), *Environ 453 000 personnes handicapées dénombrées en Côte d'Ivoire*. Available from <http://apanews.net/fr/news/environ-453-000-personnes-handicapees-denombrees-en-cote-divoire>. Accessed 10/06/2020.

290 Ministry of Education Ghana, (2018), *Education Sector Analysis*, Accra: Ministry of Education Ghana.

291 Ibid.

292 Mensah, L. (2015), *Long Beaten for Inattention, Some Ghanaian Children With Learning Disabilities Finally Get Effective Education*, Available from <https://globalpressjournal.com/africa/ghana/long-beaten-for-inattention-some-ghanaian-children-with-learning-disabilities-finally-get-effective-education/> Accessed 09/09/2002.

2.5.5. THE ELDERLY

Globally, the average age of farmers is 60.²⁹³ In the case of Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana, the average age of cocoa farmers is lower but still averages 50.²⁹⁴ Average life expectancy in Côte d'Ivoire is 57 and in Ghana it is higher at 64.²⁹⁵ Tools to help automate tasks in cocoa production are limited. Elderly farmers may therefore still have to work hard physically despite not having the capacity to do so. The elderly may also have other tasks, such as caring for orphaned family children who have may have lost their parents due to HIV/AIDS or for other reasons.

Furthermore, the challenge of reducing production costs in cocoa is also related to the average age of cocoa farmers in both countries: the adoption rate of new technologies among older farmers may be lower leading to lower cocoa yields per hectare and incomes, thus contributing to higher levels of poverty.²⁹⁶

2.5.6. PEOPLE LIVING WITH AND/OR AFFECTED BY HIV

Child labour can be a consequence of living in a house where HIV affects one of its members.²⁹⁷ The same applies, of course, to households affected by other illnesses, including COVID-19. Severe illness can lead to greater poverty due to the reduction in able-bodied adult workers. Child orphans are at greater risk of being in child labour. While the prevalence of HIV has decreased over recent years, new cases are still added every year. The time needed to travel to access treatment and the secondary side effects of antiretroviral medication also impact productivity.

In Côte d'Ivoire the HIV prevalence rate (the percentage of people living with HIV) among adults (15–49 years) was 2.6% (3.5% among women; 1.7% for men) in 2018.²⁹⁸ This means that there were 430,000 adults living with HIV, of which 260,000 were women. In Ghana the HIV incidence for adults (15–49 years) is 1.7% (2.4% for women and 1.1% for men).²⁹⁹ It

293 Food and Agriculture Organisation (2014), Contribution to the 2014 United Nations Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) Integration Segment, Available from <https://www.un.org/en/ecosoc/integration/pdf/foodandagricultureorganization.pdf> Accessed 01/06/2020.

294 Steijn, C. (2018), Demystifying the cocoa sector in Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana- Desk Research, Amsterdam: Royal Tropical Institute (KIT).

295 World Bank (2018) Life Expectancy Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana. Available from: <https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SP.DYN.LE00.IN?locations=CI> Accessed 15/10/2020.

296 Steijn, C. (2018), Demystifying the cocoa sector in Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana- Desk Research, Amsterdam: Royal Tropical Institute (KIT).

297 ILO (2020), HIV, AIDS and child labour, Available from <https://www.ilo.org/ipecc/facts/related/HIVAIDS/lang--en/index.htm>. Accessed 25/08/2020.

298 UNAIDS (2019), Country Overview Côte d'Ivoire (2018 data), Available from <https://www.unaids.org/en/regionscountries/countries/ctedivoire> Accessed 23/06/2020.

299 Ibid.

should be noted that Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana are among the six countries accounting for 80% of the HIV burden among the 25 countries in the West and Central Africa region.³⁰⁰ These statistics on HIV are important but they do not take account of the number of family members affected by the illness of their household member(s). Thus, many more people are affected by HIV than just the ones who have tested positive.

Although efforts to address HIV are substantial in both countries, there is still much more needed to address this issue and integrate it into child labour initiatives. In Côte d'Ivoire 63% of persons living with HIV receive anti-retroviral medication.³⁰¹ In Ghana only about half of all persons living with HIV receive such medication.³⁰²

The need to link child labour initiatives to existing HIV-related health and other support services is just one aspect. Households affected by HIV should be counted among the groups prioritised for support together with families of persons with disabilities or others who are especially vulnerable.

2.6. SOCIO-CULTURAL ATTITUDES, CUSTOMS AND PRACTICES

Socio-cultural attitudes, customs and practices:

Inter-relationship between attitudes, customs, practices and child labour prevalence

While awareness of the negative impact of child labour has increased, some socio-cultural attitudes, customs and practices allow the practice to persist. This is particularly true where poverty, a lack of education and the absence of access to other services are prevalent. Stakeholders interviewed for this study, evaluation reports on projects implemented in Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana, as well as other documentation, all support this view.

300 UNICEF (2019), 2018 ANNUAL REPORT: For every child in West and Central Africa, Dakar: UNICEF Regional Office for West and Central Africa.

301 UNAIDS (2019), Country Overview Côte d'Ivoire (2018 data), Available from <https://www.unaids.org/en/regionscountries/countries/ctedivoire> Accessed 23/06/2020.

302 UNAIDS (2019), Country Overview Ghana (2019 data) Available from: <https://www.unaids.org/en/regionscountries/countries/ghana> Accessed 29/08/2020.

Stakeholders and documents indicate that much has been done in the media and through direct interventions in communities to draw attention to the need to eliminate child labour.

Some interviewees pointed out that parents want the best for their child and do understand that is best for their child to go to school. Cocoa farmers themselves point to their poverty and their lack of access to quality education and other social services, citing them as key causes leading them to employ their own children in child labour.³⁰³ This includes the parents of children who are trafficked. While this may apply in some cases, it is also true that parents may be tricked or coerced into sending their child away or are simply too poor to feed them at home.³⁰⁴



Côte d'Ivoire with permission © International Cocoa Initiative

One key interviewee pointed out that, despite the messaging, there is also still some reticence among various educated persons to condemn child labour outright.

Some of the ethnic groups in Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana share common history and ancestry. Consequently, there are many similarities between the two countries in terms of socio-cultural values and norms. However, there are also differences due to their respective colonial pasts and the specificities of living under different political contexts.

Several aspects need to be considered regarding attitudes towards child labour. These include local views regarding:

- The age at which a child is no longer considered a child
- The need for children to help their family when they are in poverty
- The need for children to learn skills that will help them when they are older
- Attitudes and practices with regard to gender, persons with disabilities, single parent households, persons affected by HIV and other vulnerable groups

³⁰³ As indicated to the research authors and in various documentation.

³⁰⁴ Counter-Trafficking Data Collaborative (CTDC) (2020), The Counter Trafficking Data Collaborative Global Data Hub On Human Trafficking, Available from <https://www.ctdatacollaborative.org/> Accessed 25/08/2020

Though officially in Ghana, the minimum age for engaging children in light work³⁰⁵ is pegged at 13 years of age, the communities see age categories differently. The cocoa growing communities generally define a child as any person below approximately 12 years of age. Children in rural farming settings are seen as maturing more quickly than their urban counterparts.³⁰⁶ According to research, most communities agree that light work for children in cocoa communities is fixed at 12 years but children as young as 9 and 10 have been observed engaging in what they characterise as light work.³⁰⁷

Care givers may reject the entire concept of stopping child labour in their family outright as they find the demands to be unreasonable. This is particularly relevant with regard to parents' views that children need to be socialised and learn useful skills. Access to quality formal and non-formal education to help children learn necessary and locally useful skills to gain a living is challenging in many localities. As such households then prefer to ensure that their child at least learns the skills needed for cocoa production. Some well-tested training materials that ICI developed stress these differences between light work, regular, and hazardous labour and should be widely disseminated.³⁰⁸

Especially vulnerable children from poor female-headed households, those living with and/or affected by HIV³⁰⁹, people with disabilities, and others more likely to be poor have even fewer alternatives. They may not only have lower income levels, but attitudes towards such households also makes them more vulnerable to exploitation, including to child labour.

One other factor that is often forgotten is the need to build on existing supportive social norms. There are good practice examples of very good awareness raising materials on child labour in cocoa production. However, there is a gap with regard to including positive local traditions to enhance change. Building on positive local traditions to address child labour is applicable to both boys and girls.

305 Government of Ghana (1998), The Children's Act, 1998, Act 560, Accra: Government of Ghana.

306 Ministry of Youth and Employment (2008), Hazardous Child Labour Activity Framework For the Cocoa Sector in Ghana, Hazardous Child Labour Activity Framework For the Cocoa Sector in Ghana (June 2008). Accra: Ministry of Youth and Employment.

307 Ibid.

308 ICI (2020), Our Tools, 08 12 2020. Available from <https://cocoainitiative.org/our-work/our-tools/>

309 Note that "affected by HIV" indicates that the family members are affected because one or more of the family members is living with HIV. These terms are the official terms that UNAIDS uses.

PART 3

Solutions for child labour systems building in a multi-stakeholder process



The discussion in this section of the best potential pathways to contribute to the elimination of child labour and the establishment of sustainable cocoa production includes suggestions based on good practices and lessons learned from various initiatives. The suggestions also consider inputs from the wide range of stakeholders who were interviewed and analysis of the large amount of documentation collected. All the solutions need to be addressed to achieve real change in the context of holistic, integrated impact.

There is a clear need for a paradigm shift. New answers are required - more of the same isolated and uncoordinated efforts will not work. Facilitation and delivery of collectively designed and well-coordinated multi-stakeholder processes that thrive on collective learning and action for positive change are imperative.

Scaled-up, integrated and well-coordinated approaches are needed to obtain high and sustainable impact to eliminate child labour. Poverty, and access to quality, appropriate education and other social services are intertwined challenges that must be addressed to bring about real change in the issue of child labour.

A transformative, multi-stakeholder agenda is required to eliminate child labour and produce cocoa sustainably. The transformative agenda approach focuses on three areas: leadership; coordination; and accountability.³¹⁰ The agenda can be implemented using a results-based management system, on which due diligence actions can be based. For the long-term sustainability of actions taken, there needs to be a strong focus on empowering the enabling environment.

Multi-stakeholder process platforms should be established at three levels: international; national; and at decentralised or operational level. At the operational level key actors in producing districts and communities should be fully involved.

The required **systems approach embraces collective stakeholder learning** and allows for a review of potential actions for change within a multiple perspectives approach. A systems approach includes using feedback from field experiences to improve the implementation of actions to reduce child labour and deforestation. As also discussed in the recent webinar on the NORC study³¹¹ on the prevalence of child labour, consensus building through dialogue should form the foundation of the iterative process. This approach to change based on interactive learning is consistent with the on-going PPP Children First in Cocoa initiative started in Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana. The systems approach will thus help inform institutional reforms, tailor policy formulation and coordinate actions.

Exchanges in multi-stakeholder platforms can also contribute to eliminating some of the misunderstandings between development actors regarding the most appropriate actions to reduce child labour.

310 Krueger, S.; Derzsi-Horvath, A.; Steets, J. (2016), IASC Transformative Agenda: A Review of Reviews and Their Follow-Up, Berlin: Global Policy Institute.

311 Webinar held on October 27, 2020. NORC at the University of Chicago (2020), Assessing Progress in Reducing Child Labor in Cocoa Production in Cocoa Growing Areas of Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana. Chicago: University of Chicago.

It was possible to identify clear trends and options from the research even if **every potential solution also has some drawbacks**. For example, focusing only on improving conditions in cocoa-producing areas can lead to increased migration from poor areas. This may in turn lead to increased deforestation as land is cleared for more cocoa production. It is useful to bear in mind that there is no single, or even a few, “best” solutions. Rather, a combination of good approaches is needed with a strong focus on modernising the entire value chain and improving the integration of various initiatives.

3.1. POVERTY REDUCTION

Summary of key solutions

1. Increase cocoa farm gate prices and further develop other means to increase cocoa farmers' incomes.
2. Develop and implement methods to modernise the cocoa value chain to reduce poverty and child labour.
3. Train and engage children from age 15 and adults in modernised cocoa production and ancillary activities in decent work conditions. Emphasis on youth employment.
4. Carry out market assessments and provide training on economic diversification activities.
5. Implement agroforestry mechanisms in cocoa producing areas.
6. Expand and strengthen functioning of Village Savings and Loan Schemes (VSLs) in cocoa growing areas.
7. Formalise informal cocoa activities across cocoa growing areas.

The root causes of child labour in cocoa and the product's relationship with poverty and deforestation have been extensively described in Part 2. Poverty's multiple dimensions and how it is embedded in more complex issues have also been illustrated.

3.1.1. COCOA PRICING

The need to address poverty, increase yields per hectare and improve incomes in cocoa production in Ghana and Cote d'Ivoire cannot be overstated. It is long overdue. The solutions are not straightforward and there are no simple formulae. A commendable point of departure is the Living Income Differential (LID) of US \$ 400/MT on all cocoa sales from 2020-2021 and the minimum price of US\$ 2,600 /MT for the year 2020-2021. Increases in the payment of higher farm gate prices will need considerable attention well into the future. If farm-gate prices are too low, it makes it difficult for farmers to obtain a decent livelihood for themselves and their families.

Companies, including retailers, can commit to ensuring that prices at the farm gate are further increased and provide support for various initiatives to contribute to eliminating child labour and deforestation. The financial cost of achieving an entirely child labour-free value chain and eliminate deforestation is high. While industry and government can be expected to invest, other funding mechanisms also need to be identified. These could include increasing the price of cocoa products at retail level by a small amount. Though a small increase for the consumer, this could, nevertheless, make a real difference for farmer households. While there are differences of opinion among stakeholders on increasing retail prices³¹², in combination with other initiatives in cocoa communities, this could be an important step.

However, as previously stated, monetary income alone is necessary but still an insufficient step to solve child labour and deforestation problems. There is also a need to reduce existing social and agriculture institutional service gaps. Where such services exist and are weak, they have to be strengthened.

Addressing farmer poverty through modernization of agriculture is expected to deliver efficiency in the cocoa production system. This can be done using the sustainable intensification (SI)³¹³ approach to the extent that this is feasible and applicable in cocoa. SI is a system where agricultural yields per hectare are increased without adverse environmental impact and without the conversion of additional non-agricultural land.



Ghana with permission © International Cocoa Initiative

312 Nieburg, O. (2017), Paying the Price of Chocolate: Breaking cocoa farming's cycle of poverty, Available from <https://www.confectionerynews.com/Article/2014/07/10/Price-of-Chocolate-Breaking-poverty-cycle-in-cocoa-farming> Accessed 15/09/2020.

313 Pretty, J. & Bharucha, P. (2014), Sustainable intensification in agricultural systems, *Annals of Botany*, Volume 114, Issue 8, December 2014, Pages 1571–1596.

Modernising the existing agricultural system is the main theme of Ghana's Food and Agricultural Development Policy (FASDEP II).³¹⁴ The FASDEP II is similar to the Africa-wide policy framework as captured in the Comprehensive African Development Policy (CAADP) and can be strengthened.³¹⁵ Good practices and lessons learned can be replicated within both countries.

Implementing the changes needed requires institutional and technical capacities that provide support to the many scattered smallholder farmers. Strengthening is needed of FBOs and those farmers who are not yet organised to position them to be able to receive these services. Furthermore, farmers need to be consulted and actively participate in research and delivery of technologies through Local Agriculture Research Committees (LARC).³¹⁶ LARCs can be used to improve yields per hectare and make farmers more competitive. LARCs consist of 7-10 persons who work intensively with research scientists to co-design and set research agendas that meet their specific needs. LARCs then continue to feed in knowledge about local farming systems during the research process, including the dissemination of results.

Farm consolidation to improve scale could further enhance competitiveness. The dominant land tenure arrangements suggest this could only be achieved as part of a gradual, medium- to long-term objective.

Intensification of production for much higher yields per hectare must also be considered but with caution when the overall goal is to promote sustainable cocoa production. Indeed, stakeholders interviewed are concerned about farmers moving into new areas and causing deforestation as a response to rises in the price of cocoa. This means that the development of GPS and other forms of monitoring will play an important role in identifying and following up on transgressions.

Focus on the development of improved technologies is needed. Especially on new varieties and hybrids that do not sacrifice quality for increased quantity. Other production enhancing measures include improving soil fertility/amendments; better pest and disease management and good agricultural practices aimed at increasing yields per hectare.

314 Ministry of Food and Agriculture (MoFA) (2009) Food and Agriculture Sector Development Policy (FASDEP II), Accra: MOFA.

315 Office of the Special Adviser on Africa (OSAA) (2015), Comprehensive Africa Agriculture Development Programme (CAADP), Available from [https://www.un.org/en/africa/osaa/peace/caadp.shtml#:~:text=Comprehensive%20Africa%20Agriculture%20Development%20Programme%20\(CAADP\),-Photo%3A%20FAO%20Olivier&text=The%20Comprehensive%20Africa%20Agriculture%20Development,growth%20and%20prosperity%20for%20all](https://www.un.org/en/africa/osaa/peace/caadp.shtml#:~:text=Comprehensive%20Africa%20Agriculture%20Development%20Programme%20(CAADP),-Photo%3A%20FAO%20Olivier&text=The%20Comprehensive%20Africa%20Agriculture%20Development,growth%20and%20prosperity%20for%20all). Accessed 20/08/2020.

316 Ayenor, G.K., A. van Huis, N.G Röling & B. Padi, D. Obeng-Ofori 2007. Assessing the effectiveness of Local Agricultural Research Committee approach in diffusing sustainable cocoa production practices: The case of capsid control in Ghana. *International Journal of Agricultural Sustainability*. 5:2-3, 109-123.

Any new approaches should be critically examined and their implementation coordinated. This calls for collaboration using participatory technology development involving scientists and industrialists from the two countries, EU and others. Input from cocoa producers is also necessary, that is, to take into account farmers' felt needs and circumstances for better adoption rates and use.

3.1.2. DIVERSIFICATION

Diversification is critical for smallholder cocoa farmers to increase their incomes and reduce the risk of relying only on one source of income. Many farmers in Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana have already diversified. Several of the stakeholders interviewed suggested increased diversification as an essential alternative means for farmers to earn additional income to improve their livelihoods. However, it is not as simple as might be supposed.

There are several reasons why, despite low incomes from cocoa, farmers have, to a large extent (apart from a few who have moved into rubber production), still remained in cocoa production. Cocoa still provides income security due to reliable institutional arrangements, especially in terms of a ready market for the product. For this reason, support for further diversification must come with the availability of a reliable market, access to credit and an institutional support system that usually does not exist for other agricultural commodities (i.e. in Ghana).

Negotiations, adhering to quality standards, contractual terms involving logistics, timely delivery are usually way beyond the scope and abilities of even the FBOs. There are also risks that child labour is transferred from cocoa production to other types of hazardous work. While diversification may be a great idea, therefore, it also leaves farmers asking many questions.

The promotion of diversification needs to be accompanied by suitable market assessments and training. There are many types of activities that could be suitable but they will vary by location and should be locally identified. There will also be a need to align types of trades with skills, entrepreneurship and literacy training, as further discussed in Section 3.2.8.

3.1.3. AGROFORESTRY

Adopting agroforestry farming helps to protect forest resources, improves biodiversity, encourages interactions within the ecosystems and preserves a better environment. For this reason, agroforestry certainly represents an alternative farming system that is more consistent with sustainable cocoa production, except that it may not be ideal for immediate cash returns. It can be explored in both countries. While it could contribute to short-term food security needs, it would only be a source of income over the medium- or longer-term. It takes time for agroforestry to provide sufficient product for sale.

3.1.4. STRENGTHENING ECONOMIC EMPOWERMENT

Village Savings and Loan Schemes (VLS) can facilitate easy access to loans and credit for investments and emergencies. Such schemes may operate in the context of agriculture or other diversified activities. Most VLS groups include savings, credit and support mechanisms for household emergencies. Various types of VLS can also be developed separately in communities to support and address the needs of different types of groups. They can be women-only or mixed groups. They can also be focused on people who engage in non-agricultural activities.

Youth groups can form their own VSLAs where they can learn and practice how to manage their financial resources. Ensuring that all VLS include vulnerable community members, such as persons with disabilities, those living with and/or affected by HIV, migrants and trafficked persons, is key. VLS can further be integrated into FBOs, as is already happening in many cases. Some schemes will (eventually) focus on saving and lending substantial amounts. Others may, at least initially, be more focused on ensuring sufficient funds to meet household emergencies.

3.1.5. MECHANISMS FOR FORMALISING INFORMAL ACTIVITIES

The development of effective *mechanisms* to further support formalising informal cocoa activities and those in diversified economic activities is necessary. This means designing mechanisms to promote membership of various formal FBOs, registering independently as businesses or becoming members of other formal business associations. The registration of village and loans groups as business groups is an example of a way of supporting the formalising of economic activities.

There is a need for farmers to be able to *formalise their informal activities*. This may apply to their cocoa production work as well as to their other diversified economic activities. Formalisation can take place through direct individual business registration or through membership of officially registered FBOs (including cooperatives).³¹⁷ Formally recognised producers and other business owners have easier access to various services, especially social protection and financial institutions.³¹⁸

317 International Labour Office, Evaluation Office (2019), Independent High-level Evaluation: ILO's Strategy and Actions towards the Formalization of the Informal Economy, 2014–18, Geneva: ILO.

318 International Labour Office, Evaluation Office (2019), Independent High-level Evaluation: ILO's Strategy and Actions towards the Formalization of the Informal Economy, 2014–18, Geneva: ILO.

3.2. STRENGTHENING CAPACITIES FOR LOCAL DEVELOPMENT TO ELIMINATE CHILD LABOUR

Summary of key solutions

1. Integrate and strengthen comprehensive, synergistic district plans and direct actions on child labour elimination at community level. Monitor evidence of reduced child labour.
2. Expand targeted social and child protection coverage in cocoa producing areas including targeted cash transfers and other social safety net support, birth registration, case data management.
3. Scale up and strengthen farmer-based organisations and monitor for evidence of implementation of initiatives to reduce child labour.
4. Strengthen community bodies to address child labour.
5. Comprehensively deliver essential services including quality education, school feeding, and other social services in cocoa producing communities.
6. Expand and integrate CLMRS and other child labour reduction initiatives into a comprehensive well-functioning child protection system.
7. Develop and implement participatory actions to ensure sustainable cocoa production with special attention to decreasing deforestation.
8. Conduct capacity analysis conducted to identify the strengths, weaknesses, and opportunities of each actor across social services and strengthen capacities accordingly.
9. Increase and/or renovate physical infrastructure in line with needs to address poverty and improve social and agricultural service delivery in cocoa producing areas with high risk of child labour.
10. Identify and use digital tools (GPS, drones, mobile technology, tablets) and other forms of (farm) monitoring digital tools.

At the decentralised level, capacities of all kinds need strengthening to eliminate child labour for responsible and sustainable cocoa production. With regard to the elements that will help address these issues, the root causes and gaps identified in Part 2 need to be considered as part of planning.

Based on the research, several main areas were identified that need attention to ensure that the enabling environment to eliminate child labour functions effectively. Without a well-functioning enabling environment at decentralised level, there will never be enough sustainable impact to reduce child labour. In summary, the areas identified as requiring attention include the need for strengthened governance and enforcement of relevant rules and regulations, physical infrastructure, addressing social service gaps on child protection, social protection, education, and health. Within this context, a focus on increasing decent working conditions for all, including adults, is necessary. In addition, with regard to direct actions to address child labour, it is important to build and expand on existing mechanisms, including the CLMRS, Fairtrade, and other related efforts.

While child labour projects and initiatives cannot address all the issues, it is nevertheless vital to consider them. Government and non-state implementing agencies need to address them as well in order to achieve comprehensive impact and eradicate child labour. It should be noted that many cocoa industry and other international donors already take account of most of these issues.

The financial capacity to address the existing local gaps is low and needs to be improved. Increasing the investment necessary to close gaps requires more focus than is currently the case. Concerted efforts are required to increase inputs but there is also a real need to focus on the efficiency of development actions aimed at reducing child labour.

At local level, the key stakeholders that should be included in planning and actions are the cocoa communities, government staff,³¹⁹ religious and informal traditional and other leaders, trade unions, FBOs, and other civil society organisations (CSO). National and local NGOs, foundations, fair trade certifying agencies and any other key relevant stakeholders working in the district are also relevant.

Stronger local coalitions need to be developed between key stakeholders. This will require strengthening the capacities for local development planning, and the implementation and enforcement of legal frameworks (districts, prefecture/sous prefectures, communities). This includes strengthening practical logistics at the disposal of local authorities to provide social services at community level.



Côte d'Ivoire © Mei Zegers

319 Including social and community development workers, labour inspectors, agriculture extension workers, judiciary, police, and others.

It will also require giving producers and their workers a stronger voice, together with their communities as a whole, in the decision making that affects them. To ensure their voices are effective, a focus is needed on strengthening farmers' organisations and other community groups. Attention should be paid to ensuring that the voices of women, children and youth, people with disabilities, households living with and/or affected by HIV are fully heard and represented in decision making.

Value chain stakeholders, including government, donors, industry, NGOs, foundation and others need to increase their focus on the local context across the board. As the research has shown, the complex interplay of local factors has to be considered and solutions found in a systems approach. Unless issues such as macro- and micro-economics, socio-cultural matters, policy, the decentralisation of governance structures, the available infrastructure and access to quality social services are addressed, it will not be possible to achieve the ultimate objective of eliminating child labour.

The construction of physical Infrastructure with an emphasis on roads, accessible schools, health and one-stop support/referral offices is a very important component of any effort to reduce poverty. Good roads also help ensure access of local populations to social services including education and health. This will require a great deal of investment but is likely to result in long-term impact to reach the overall objective.

3.2.1. COMPREHENSIVE JOINT APPROACHES

While the strengthening of overall local governance is needed, direct actions at community level need more comprehensive and synergistic approaches. In the short and medium term, CLMRS and child protection are needed to work in cooperation and to formally fit together into a national framework.

Major cocoa industry actors are rightly very concerned about the responsible reduction of child labour risks so that their value chains do not involve child labour. Likewise, they are also aware of the need to reduce deforestation. This is also required and expected as part of existing and strengthened due diligence mechanisms. Several key cocoa actors (Mondelez, Cargill, Nestlé etc, alone and in collaboration) aim to cover 100% of their value chains. Fair trade systems also aim to expand their coverage. While the industry approach is understandable, however, as several interviewees pointed out, it can be inefficient over the longer term due to limited coordination and collaboration at local level.

Central to the implementation of effective mechanisms is building on the good practices and lessons learned from past experience obtained through previous interventions. Key to this is the finding that, at community level, the CLMRS and similar approaches to eliminate child

labour are generally effective. Yes, they could have much greater impact if the conditions in the enabling environment were improved. However, on a broader scale, these good practices need to fit within the governments' child protection systems in the two countries. Lessons learned indicate that efficiency, effectiveness and sustainability are greater when the government, private sector, multi-lateral donors and development implementation agencies work together.

The research findings thus indicate that good practices, such as the CLMRS approaches, can and should be more integrated with government mechanisms

on child protection. It is not a case of stating that either one or the other is needed, but rather that the two are complementary. There is therefore a need for better integration of the efforts of external actors (cocoa industry, fair trade actors, NGOs, etc.) into local government structures.

The resource challenges that the Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana governments face in fully implementing a complete child protection system in all cocoa production areas with high focus on child labour are daunting.

An in-depth analysis that the ILO conducted has found that, when governments, employers and their organisations, trade unions, and other relevant civil society organisations join forces, appropriate laws and regulations can be developed and implemented.³²⁰ Innovative ways can be found to enforce them, to prevent hazardous child labour and to promote safe and decent youth employment for those legally old enough to work. It is important, therefore, that supply chain stakeholders are directly involved in identifying and addressing the issues at all levels, including the local level.

Some efforts have already been made to develop a system with defined roles and responsibilities for different development partners, including those from the cocoa industry and its foundations, together with national and local government representatives. These will need to be reviewed, solidified and formally agreed at local level. As discussed in previous

It is advisable to continue with the CLMRS and to integrate it further into the national child protection system. This may include:

- feeding CLMRS data into the national child labour and child protection database
- using these data to improve content and the targeting of government programmes
- referring specific cases of child labour and households at risk of child labour to government social services
- making greater use of government services for the delivery of prevention and remediation activities.

³²⁰ ILO (2018), Towards the urgent elimination of Hazardous Child Labour, Geneva: ILO.

sub-sections, a results-based management system is needed to track the extent to which the cocoa stakeholders and implementers³²¹ adhere to, and execute the tasks inherent to their roles.

At local level, effective joint actions will require that external actors organise and go beyond occasional joint visits with local government staff to the communities, instead developing more integrated synergies in line with local development plans. Genuine efforts to engage in joint implementation and creation of synergies are thus necessary, so that technical capacities at local government level are further developed.³²² It is essential to ensure that initiatives to eliminate child labour in specific communities are complimentary and do not overlap with others in the same households.

Given that the governments of both countries are ultimately responsible for the well-being of their citizens, there needs to be much more attention to strengthening decentralised local service providers. External actors can continue to give support to protect their value chains, as is demanded in their due diligence responsibilities, which are expected to become even more demanding in the future.

3.2.2. LOCAL DEVELOPMENT PLANNING, LOCAL BY-LAWS AND ENFORCEMENT

New local development plans, including in non-cocoa growing areas, where other forms of child labour exist, should pay increased attention to eliminating child labour and deforestation. This should be done through dialogue at local level involving representatives of the stakeholders concerned. Development plans will need to take account of children's overall well-being, paying particular attention to abused, neglected and exploited children. Child labour should be clearly identified and integrated in planning under these headings, with an emphasis on the need to enforce laws on child trafficking.

In this regard, local development plans may include support for the development of relevant local by-laws, something which has been shown to be a good practice in other countries.³²³ Such laws have good potential for application as they are developed and enforced at district, sub-district and/or community level. It should be noted that local chiefs can and do make by-laws, which could be particularly helpful.

321 (Government and non-state actors)

322 The researchers recognise that local government staff may be frequently reassigned to other locations. In that regard, however, they will take their skills with them. Even if they arrive in non-cocoa growing localities, many of the child labour and other development issues will be similar. Thus, their acquired skills will not be wasted.

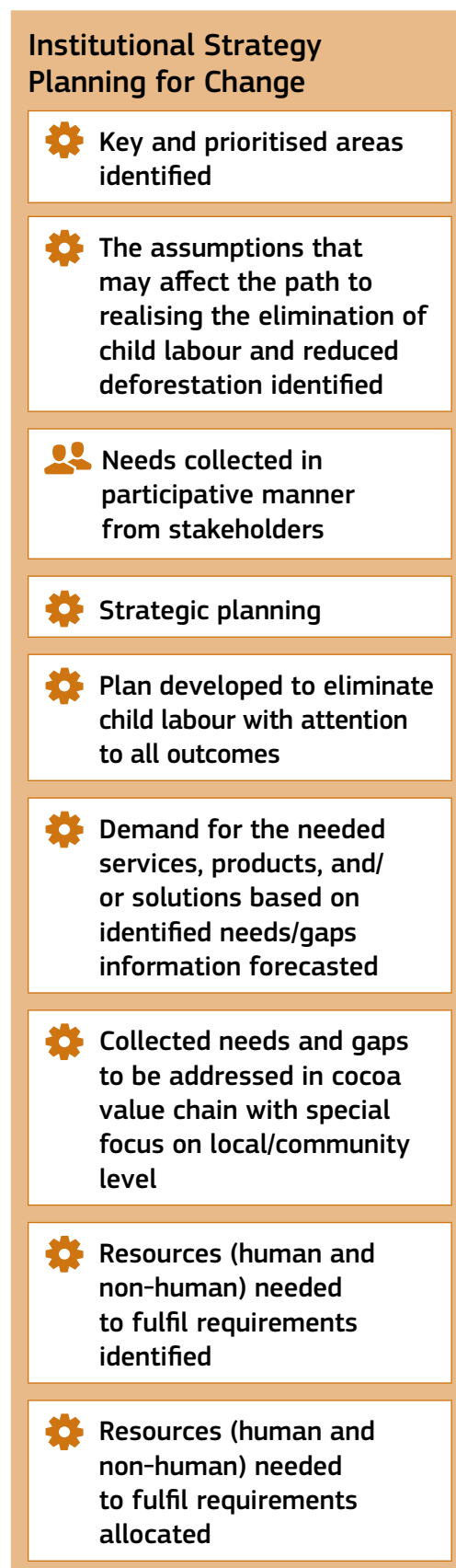
323 E.g., in a coffee project in Uganda. Stop Child Labour (September 2018), Getting Down to Business: Accelerating Joint Action Towards A Child Labour Free World, The Hague: Stop Child labour, HIVOS.

Some of the types of initiatives that can be considered involve a single mechanism or a combination of several, such as the **landscape oriented Integrated Area-Based Approach (IABA)** to achieve Child Labour Free Zones (CLFZ), CLMRS and other child labour reduction approaches. The IABA³²⁴ is already included in the Ghana National Plan of Action on Child Labour but has so far only been partially implemented.

The IABA is a method based on the strengthening of local systems, especially of local government and CSO stakeholders, to address child labour issues. However, to function effectively, the IABA requires a network of child labour focal points at national level and committees at local level that communicate on a regular basis. Monthly meetings are held at local level that involve local government staff, such as from the ministries of Labour, Education, Social/Child/Family welfare, Justice, Agriculture, Planning, and other civil servants. Civil society representatives also take part. In the case of Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana, this would include representatives of employers' and workers' organisations, local NGOs and implementing agencies at community levels.

The effective integration of such mechanisms into child protection systems will be vital. It is important, therefore, that the capacities to enforce laws and regulations are in place. This requires sufficient and well-trained legal specialists/lawyers/judges on child protection issues, in general, and on child labour, in particular.

FIGURE 7
Planning Phases for
Decentralised Change



324 IPEC (2013), Integrated area-based approach as a strategy for laying foundations for child labour-free zones - A case of Busia, Kilifi and Kitui Districts in Kenya, Dar Es Salaam: ILO Country Office for United Republic of Tanzania, Kenya, Rwanda and Uganda.

Furthermore, the writers of local development plans are advised to consider expanding social protection mechanisms across the range of subjects under this subject area.

In this regard, local government and others contributors to local development plans will need to be aware of, and possess the required technical capacities in child protection and social protection. This includes child labour issues and initiatives to withdraw children and keep them out of labour. The training needs on these subjects will need to be assessed in each locality and training provided accordingly, so that planners have the necessary capacities to identify and develop objectives and targets.

3.2.3. STRENGTHENING OF FARMER BASED ORGANISATIONS

It is crucial to support the formation, development, strengthening, management and sustainability of FBOs, including cooperatives. FBO development is not a panacea but a good vehicle to reach out to many farmers and connect them to services and opportunities. FBOs further provide opportunities for proper targeting and sourcing of primary commodity producers and their produce into a formal, structured trading system.

A strong FBO can become a focal point for developmental activities for an entire community. Strong FBOs have countervailing powers to negotiate and to access financial, technical and other services. They are attractive to government, private sector and NGOs for any social, economic and environmental intervention. For these reasons, they are critical as one of the pillars for sustainable cocoa production and are key to the economic, social and environmental transformation of cocoa communities. When strengthened, they can participate in research and development, which facilitates policy development and adoption of technologies.

However, when good governance, democratic culture, transparency and accountability measures are not observed and encrypted into the operations of FBOs, they can become yet another tool for some more successful farmers to exploit weaker ones.

Stronger FBOs, including cooperatives with the requisite support, training and management capabilities, could have their own insurance schemes that could have a positive effect on the entire community. The adoption of digital payments by some FBOs is further improving transparency and facilitating reliable and speedy payments.

For other stakeholders to take FBOs more seriously, cocoa farmers need to have a strong, overarching body at the top. Such a body should not only represent FBOs at the decision-making table to approve policy, but should also be able to articulate farmers' perceived needs and give them a voice. While there are workers' and employers' organisations that can provide support in dialogue, having their own apex body is important for FBOs to ensure full focus on their particular issues.

A strengthened FBO within an empowered community is certainly not the panacea or “silver bullet” that will address all the complex issues. However, a reliable FBO is definitely a frontline “response or device” against low yields per hectare, low incomes, poverty, child labour, child trafficking, and indiscriminate deforestation. Well functioning FBOs can also at least somewhat compensate for a lack of traceable systems directly to primary sources of cocoa beans.

3.2.4. COMMUNITY STRENGTHENING

In addition to FBOs, there are other well-grounded, community-based institutions in Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana, such as chieftaincies, religious bodies and other traditional organisations. There is more likelihood of success when formal and informal traditional leaders actively participate in designing and implementing measures to address child labour and/or deforestation threats. Many existing initiatives already work with such institutions but this can be scaled up. Indeed, they could be (further) strengthened to contribute



Côte d'Ivoire © Mei Zegers

more intensively to sustainable cocoa and community development. These entities could give greater voice to communities and encourage their active participation on sustainable cocoa development issues (social, economic and environmental).

With the support of community institutions and organisations, existing committees or entities could be supported to address child labour and related issues by:

- establishing and/or strengthening child protection committees at community and district/sous-prefecture level concerning their functions, child labour, awareness raising methods, identification of children needing support, official referral systems and how to contact local government social service providers.
- ensuring that community child protection committees are well coordinated and work together with other community-based groups (e.g., health, parent-teacher associations).
- awarding communities, sub-districts/sous prefectures, districts/prefectures in recognition of incrementally successful results, e.g., providing certificates and material support in the form of textbooks, water points, etc.
- providing stipends to selected community child protection actors.
- including women's participation.
- ensuring children are given a voice (ensuring the participation of girls and boys).

In this respect, the need to establish platforms for community dialogue connected to the proposed Multi-Stakeholder Process (MSP) at the decentralised level is imperative. The following principles espoused by Woodhill and Rolling (2001)³²⁵ and recast by Ayenor et al., (2015)³²⁶ could be helpful at the district and community levels:

1. Establish appropriate platforms (district and community levels)
2. Establish the mandate and legitimacy of the dialogue process
3. Clearly define the scope of the dialogue
4. Engage relevant stakeholders within each level (e.g., social welfare staff, forestry staff, representatives from the Ministry of Agriculture, farmers organisations etc)
5. Integrate of existing institutions and processes (district assemblies and/or chiefs)
6. Establish incentives for participation
7. Coordinate with other levels of MSP
8. Ensure effective facilitation
9. Use a variety of methodologies (i.e., multi-stakeholder facilitation processes, social learning³²⁷ and experiential learning tools)
10. Establish and monitor performance questions and indicators covering child labour, forest cover, farmer income levels, school attendance etc.

3.2.5. CHILD PROTECTION SYSTEMS AND CHILD LABOUR WITHDRAWAL AND PREVENTION MECHANISMS

In Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana there is an increasing focus on further fully extending *child protection system programmes* to more localities. Child protection methods include the identification of child labourers, the management of their cases and the monitoring of their situation. Child protection also includes addressing the importance of increasing **birth registration**, which is vital for many reasons. Ensuring children's births are registered give children a legal identity that entitles them to education, social protection (as available) and, later, voter and other democratic rights. Access to justice for children who have been the victim of, or have been accused of, crimes is another key component in the framework of child protection systems. It should be recognised that children may be accused of crimes within labour exploitation or contribute to violence against other children in labour situations. Where children have been trafficked, their ability to obtain justice and support needs special attention.

325 Rolling, N. and Woodhill, J. (2001). From Paradigm to Practice: Foundations, Principles and Elements for Dialogue on Water, Food and Environment. Background Document for National and Basin Dialogue Design Workshop. Bonn, December 1 and 2, 2001.

326 Ayenor, G. K., J. Kuwornu, A. A. Duah, J S. et.al. (2015). Final Report on Assessment of the Environmental and Socio-economic Impacts of Small-Scale Illegal Surface Mining in the Cocoa Landscape in Ghana. Internal Consultancy Report. Ghana Cocoa Board's Ghana Cocoa Platform. Sponsored by United Nations' Development Programme in Ghana. Accra: UNDP.

327 Continuous peer based and/or larger community-based learning

As indicated in Part 1, most industry and other international donor programmes use the CLMRS and other child labour reduction approaches as part of their activities and/or fair-trade certification methods. There are also efforts to increase birth registration and other child protection actions. Birth registration should continue to receive particular attention in future initiatives.

The CLMRS method is part of the way in which much of the larger cocoa industry-sponsored programmes implement their due diligence responsibilities. The two methodologies of CLMRS (and similar approaches) and child protection are largely coherent and have been harmonised, but further coordination and integration is important.

It is not realistic to expect the cocoa industry to abandon its own methodologies until an independent, government-led child protection system is fully functional in terms of financing, technical capacities and the ability to reach and cover all cocoa communities.

This is primarily because it will take time to build the system and direct action is needed now. Currently, it will not be possible, therefore, for the industry to give up its CLMRS, traceability, fair trade collaboration and certification activities. Over the short and medium term, all industry efforts will need to maintain a laser focus on the full range of initiatives that they can implement to reduce child labour and strengthen sustainability.

Over the long term, however, the ultimate goal should be a functioning government-managed child protection system, including identification and remediation of cases of child labour, access to justice and follow-up of cases.

Furthermore, over the long term, the cocoa industry will need to continue to identify and assess its human rights challenges as part of its due diligence responsibilities. This should include setting up internal mechanisms for reporting and responding to cases, embedded at local authority and institutional level.³²⁸ Naturally, all the other components under the child protection heading also need strengthening as they are inter-related. The goals of adequate physical infrastructures, education and training, and access to health and other social services should be achieved simultaneously.

The building and strengthening of child protection systems includes actions such as child labour case identification, referral, case management (remediation) and follow up. The advantage of the child protection case management system is that it also tracks other kinds of mistreatment that can occur in tandem with child labour, such as neglect, trafficking, abuse, child marriage and others. This approach can help in understanding the complexity of an individual child's

328 District/sous préfecture

case. If data are then properly tracked and analysed, local and national statistics can be drawn from them.

It should be noted that, given the insufficient resources available, the child protection case management approach cannot by itself initially provide direct support for each identified case of child labour like the CLMRS approach does. That is because there is not enough financial support for transport/data management, technical and human capacities, as explained in Part 2. Consequently, the CLMRS and other child labour reduction initiatives are still needed in the communities. As a first step, however, and as a minimum, all child labour cases in CLMRS and other child labour reduction programmes should be entered into the government case management tracking system at local level if there is one.

In Côte d'Ivoire, the government is supporting a system under which a community social worker goes into communities and spends six months to develop a local child protection programme. This can be a part of, or in addition to a CLMRS programme. The Côte d'Ivoire government is currently working to further expand child protection programmes using this methodology. Including the CLMRS in any existing local child protection case management systems would be useful. Doing so could also provide useful data over the longer term to further inform and improve initiatives to eliminate child labour.

3.2.6. CHILD LABOUR CASE MANAGEMENT IN A CHILD PROTECTION SYSTEM

Several things need to be considered for effective child labour case management in a child protection system. This includes clearly identifying different types of children needing child protection support, with separate identification of children in child labour. Child labour cases will also need to identify sub-details on the origin and age of child, the number of hours worked, the kind of child labour, whether the child is in school or not, and other relevant information. Such data can then be integrated into a national digital data collection system, i.e., a Child Protection Case Management Information Management System (CPIMS). Where currently there are such systems as SOSTECI, a comprehensive CPIMS could integrate SOSTECI data in Côte d'Ivoire. In Ghana, ensuring that child labour is clearly identified in the CPIMS will similarly help ensure more comprehensive recognition of the multi-faceted issues³²⁹ affecting children in labour.

The CLMRS and child protection systems can serve to inform and enhance each other. An integrated system is, in fact, no different from what is available in the EU and many other countries. Such a system is often labelled as part of a national social welfare system. The

³²⁹ Abuse, neglect, exploitation, poor nutrition, disability if any, and other vulnerability aspects as relevant.

system has to be adapted to country situations but, overall, it is a logistics management system for children needing protection.

To achieve child protection coverage, including the elimination of child labour, the technical capacity of local government staff will need to be strengthened. This should cover a range of local government and local civil society staff working in the identification and referral of cases of child labour. The exercise would need to include actors, such as labour inspectors/officers, local police, social workers, school inspectors, agricultural extension workers, local chiefs and other leaders. Health workers will need to be trained in identifying injuries and illnesses associated with hazardous child labour in cocoa and other activities. Resources to ensure that local government staff can regularly visit communities to identify, refer and follow-up on cases will be essential.

Interventions under which non-state implementing agencies work side-by-side with district/sous prefect staff will need to be designed. Resources will be needed to implement such actions.

3.2.7. BIRTH REGISTRATION

Increased support for birth registration is necessary. Proof of birth registration is usually required for school attendance. It is important to note, however, that birth registration is vital not only for education but also to have a legal identity, citizenship, access to social services and justice, and eventual voting rights.

The researchers noted that some stakeholders who were interviewed were focused on eliminating birth registration as a requirement to access formal education. However, while in the short term this may help more children enter education, over the longer term, not ensuring birth registration of each and every child will be detrimental their rights as children and adults. Support for birth registration initiatives is thus key and should continue to receive special focus in child labour initiatives.

3.2.8. SOCIAL PROTECTION

Protection from health, environmental and personal social shocks³³⁰ has been identified as a notable gap to be addressed. The strengthening of social protection systems is important to help give protection against such shocks. Analysis is needed of the relationship between child labour and wider social protection coverage in terms of health care insurance/assistance,

³³⁰ Such as divorce, abandonment, adolescent pregnancy.

agriculture insurance, disability insurance and other social protection mechanisms in order to have a greater impact on eliminating child labour.

Once the analysis is complete more targeted support can be planned, i.e., to address the poverty that contributes to child labour. It is recommended, therefore, to increase the focus on ensuring that the most vulnerable families in or at risk of child labour can get access to cash transfers or material support. While the experience with cash transfers is mixed, well-targeted support can be beneficial. It is key that such targeted cash transfers link effectively with other child labour initiatives in cocoa production areas or they will be less effective.

Linking households to other available safety nets in cocoa-producing communities is also key. This means coordination with other government and non-state development actors who provide support for access to health care and other forms of insurance.

Agriculture insurance that protects farmers from environmental and other disasters needs attention.³³¹ Reviews indicate that the provision of crop insurance can be challenging since it is complex to manage in the case of cocoa.³³² However, to ensure that an insured farmer qualifies for reimbursement it is necessary to assess how much yield per hectare would have been before and after a difficult harvest. Farmers may, further, be tempted to apply pest and disease management techniques less actively, since they know they will be paid even if the harvest is affected.³³³

3.2.9. ACCESS TO QUALITY EDUCATION

An increased focus is needed on improving access to quality education and other social services.

This includes:

- Ensuring quality, formal early, primary and secondary education
- Strengthening the pedagogical skills of teachers, including ending corporal punishment and other violence in schools
- School feeding
- Support for children vulnerable to child labour to attend school, with school materials, uniforms and other materials supplied as needed

³³¹ FAO (2018) Climate Smart Agriculture Sourcebook. 08 08 2020. Available from <http://www.fao.org/climate-smart-agriculture-sourcebook/enabling-frameworks/en/>

³³² Swisscontact (2017), Micro-Insurance for Cocoa Farmers, West Jakarta: Swisscontact Indonesia Country Office.

³³³ Ibid.

- Bridging classes for children who have dropped out of school and are in child labour or at risk of child labour, so that they can be reintegrated into education.
- Support to access birth registration, so that children can be officially enrolled in education.
- Labour market-relevant vocational and technical skills training and literacy training for youth and adults.

There is already much experience and many good practices with providing such bridging education with children in cocoa producing areas. Additional support for children who are able and willing to reintegrate into education should be stimulated and supported.

Children and youth should be educated on child labour, child trafficking and violence against children including through peer education in the school setting.

Special attention needs to be placed on social inclusion of vulnerable groups - e.g., girls/women, youth, children and household with persons with disabilities and/or living with and/or affected by HIV, migrants and trafficked children and others.

3.2.10. PEDAGOGY AND SCHOOL-BASED COUNSELLING

Access to quality education - through joint public private investments, such as CLEF and Elan, as well as other education programmes will require support in terms of teacher capacities and training. It is recommended that the EU and other donors provide support to initiatives, such as CLEF and ELAN. These initiatives are fundamental to ensuring that children have good health and start education well and early instead of being taken to the fields.

Teacher and in-service training should, as already stated, include awareness of, and information on child labour and other child rights issues. Training teachers on using ILO's Supporting Children's Rights through Education, the Arts and the Media (SCREAM)³³⁴ modules on child labour awareness raising could also be beneficial and should be supported.

Good practices gained from past projects include training teachers to mentor individual children who may be especially vulnerable for a variety of reasons. Personal support for such children, which may include psycho-social counselling, has been found to be helpful under several child labour projects.³³⁵ This type of mentoring is especially useful in cases where children have experienced trauma in combination with labour exploitation, such as in trafficking or other cases of abuse.

³³⁴ ILO (2019) SCREAM: Supporting Children's Rights through Education, the Arts and the Media. Available at <https://www.ilo.org/ipecc/Campaignandadvocacy/Scream/lang--en/index.htm>. Also available in French.

³³⁵ As observed in projects that the lead researcher for the current study observed during evaluations in Indonesia, Madagascar, Uganda, Zambia.

3.2.11. SCHOOL FEEDING

Starting in early education and going at least through primary school, considerable importance should be placed on provision of school feeding programmes. As stated in Part 2, school feeding has been found to have a profound impact on school attendance and ensuring that children go to school and not into child labour.

In rural schools, gardens initiatives can provide at least part of the inputs for school feeding programmes. Such gardens can also serve to motivate and provide an early understanding of the importance of agriculture. Teachers can also use the gardens for educational purposes in a project-oriented approach to teach mathematics, biology and other sciences.

Naturally, hazardous work in school gardens should be avoided. There have been instances where school children have been involved in school gardening for many hours after school for the benefit of teachers. It is therefore necessary for school inspectors and community groups to monitor these situations.

3.2.12. EDUCATION AND DIGITAL TECHNOLOGY

The situation with COVID19, but also because of the remoteness of many cocoa production areas, means that more innovative methods of making education available are needed. This may include a combination of distance education using digital and physical tools and materials with in-person follow up from teachers.

One example of good practice, ENEZA³³⁶, which provides education through SMS (texting) on simple phones, could be assessed for potential scaling up. Such methods can also serve to strengthen the training for local teachers, whether they are officially certified or not. Similarly, such methods can also be used to support those providing training in literacy. Literacy and numeracy training need to be given over sufficiently long periods to ensure that participants fully acquire the necessary skills.

3.2.13. TVEST AND DECENT WORK FOR OLDER CHILDREN AND YOUTH (15 THROUGH 17 AND 18-24)

Particular attention is needed to **increase focus on skills development and employment of older children and youth** in decent working conditions. Taking into account the practical difficulties of integrating young people into employment in general, offering support to

336 ENEZA Education (2020), Learning Never Stops, Available from: <https://enezaeducation.com/> Accessed 23/08/2020.

facilitate meaningful engagement in cocoa production and ancillary activities could be useful. Specifically, this means a greater emphasis on addressing issues affecting older children in the age bracket 15 - 17 years old and young people aged 18 to 24.

Regarding children under 18, this means identifying permitted work for different age groups in activities related to cocoa production.

3.2.14. EDUCATION AND TRAINING IN COCOA AND ANCILLARY ACTIVITIES

Empowering cocoa communities to play an active role in identifying ancillary activities in the value chain will uncover many opportunities. Ancillary activities may include FBO record keeping and simple logistics planning, warehouse management, GPS mapping of farms, marketing and other management subjects related to cocoa production. Young people can also play supporting roles as apprentices in agriculture extension training activities within communities and in carrying out tasks such as organic compost making. In addition, ancillary work may also cover other subjects, such as making wooden pallets for cocoa bags, work tools and equipment, and jute bags.

When providing technical vocational education and skills training (TVEST) it is vital to ensure that there is sufficient employment available at local level. Lessons learned from past experience indicate that a proper analysis of the labour market needs to be carried out for TVEST graduates.³³⁷

Too often, only very elementary labour market assessments are made that do not take account of local issues, such as the ability of young people to find employment away from their villages of origin. This is particularly problematic for girls, whose parents may not welcome their under-age daughter living away from the village and working in towns. Even attending training in towns away from family can be viewed as problematic, for example if places where girls can be safely housed cannot easily be identified. However, this observation does not mean that boys should be given training and employment opportunities in towns but not girls. What it does mean is that such factors need to be carefully considered when identifying potential types of training and locations.

More places are required at agriculture training schools to achieve greater impact concerning the inclusion of older children and youth in cocoa production and other forms of employment. This means providing more agriculture schools or schools with agriculture departments from

³³⁷ Based on observations of a range of projects on vocational education and skills training (VEST) or that include VEST components that one of the two authors of this report implemented.

junior secondary school upwards. Such schools need to focus on the development of ancillary agriculture technical skills.

Governments of the two countries may need assistance from industry, donors in establishing or strengthening such institutions to provide jobs and sustain their interest in cocoa and/or agriculture – curbing migration to Europe.

In line with the need for youth skill development, the reinvigoration of the existing Farming Institute concept should be supported. Such institutes provide short courses in agricultural colleges in specific practical skills for youth after junior secondary or senior secondary school.

Shorter training modules can also be developed for youth on how to engage in cocoa ancillary activities. A World Bank study in Ghana indicated that ³³⁸ youth training and employment strategies should focus on several categories. In the case of rural areas this would entail (1) uneducated youth in rural areas, (2) educated youth (secondary) in rural areas; (3) educated youth (tertiary) in rural areas. The study cited the usefulness of promoting agriculture and agribusiness; training in renewable energy such as solar, green construction, and sports.

Analysis of past good practices has further indicated that successful interventions with youth are those that offer training accompanied with apprenticeship practice, entrepreneurship training and promotion.³³⁹

The governments of the two countries may need assistance from industry and donors in establishing or strengthening such institutions to provide jobs and maintain the interest of young people in cocoa and/or agriculture, thereby curbing their desire to migrate to urban settings or, more adventurously, to Europe.

In line with the need for youth skills development, support needs to be given to the reinvigoration of the existing concept of farming institutes. Such institutes provide short courses in agricultural colleges in specific practical skills for young people after they have left junior secondary or senior secondary school.

Shorter training modules could also be developed for young people on how to engage in activities ancillary to cocoa production. A World Bank study³⁴⁰ in Ghana indicated that youth training and employment strategies should focus on a number of target groups. In the case

338 Dadzie, C.; Mawuko, F.; Namara, S. (2020), Youth Employment Programs in Ghana: Options for Effective Policy Making and Implementation, Accra: World Bank.

339 Losch B. (November 2016), Structural Transformation to Boost Youth Labour Demand in Sub-Saharan Africa: The Role of Agriculture, Rural Areas and Territorial Development, Geneva: ILO.

340 Dadzie, C.; Mawuko, F.; Namara, S. (2020), Youth Employment Programs in Ghana: Options for Effective Policy Making and Implementation, Accra: World Bank.

of rural areas this would entail: (1) uneducated youth in rural areas; (2) educated youth (in secondary education) in rural areas; and (3) educated youth (in tertiary education) in rural areas. The study cited the usefulness of promoting agriculture and agribusiness, training in renewable energy, such as solar, green construction, and sports.

3.2.15. OCCUPATIONAL SAFETY AND HEALTH AND DECENT WORK AND OLDER CHILDREN

In similar fashion, there needs to be a greater emphasis on ensuring that occupational safety and health (OSH) tools and techniques are applied to reduce existing hazards in cocoa. This includes improved OSH for adults to achieve decent work for all. If incomes, OSH and other aspects of decent working conditions increase, the interest of young people in working in the cocoa industry is likely to grow. This will also help address the need to reinvigorate the cocoa production sector and improve the adoption of new agricultural methods.

In terms of cocoa production itself, young people could be asked to use their creative skills to suggest solutions on how to reduce hazardous work. Competitions aimed at young people could be organised to stimulate their participation, so that they can contribute ideas and be rewarded with prizes for the best ones. This should help raise awareness of the importance of non-hazardous work to the benefit of older children and adults, while also contributing to possible innovations in production methods.

A recent FAO³⁴¹ framework on ending child labour in agriculture also stresses how important it is to focus on the employment of older children in non-hazardous, decent work conditions. This calls for a greater emphasis on reducing occupational and safety hazards as well as monitoring the total number of working hours.

One stakeholder interviewed suggested an example good practice being implemented in Peru, Albania and Serbia that might be considered in the context of cocoa in Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana. The practice involved the registration of children under the age of 18 who work in agriculture and then tracking their situations and overall development. Digital technologies that directly engage children and young adults in such systems using mobile phones may be useful in this regard.

Ensuring that children, young people and adults understand that continuous social learning³⁴² and other on-going forms of education are key for long-term poverty reduction and success in becoming economically empowered is key. This means that for adults, too, a focus on the

341 FAO (2020) FAO framework on ending child labour in agriculture. Rome: FAO.

342 Social learning takes place in a wide community context, mostly through interaction with peers.

importance of learning is useful. This includes a focus on entrepreneurship and literacy training, as required. Basic management skills, including financial management, marketing, logistics management, stock keeping/warehousing, worker and time management and planning may be considered. Various international agencies have developed tools and modules for this purpose that can be used directly or adapted.³⁴³

3.2.16. LINKING ELIMINATION OF CHILD LABOUR IN COCOA WITH DEFORESTATION

As discussed in Part 2, child labour is linked to deforestation. This is especially true in the case of trafficking, as children are more commonly hidden in the most remote areas where deforestation for cocoa production occurs. Poverty, poor yields per hectare in existing plantations and other related factors, such as depleted soils, lead to deforestation. Access for children to education and other social services in such areas is particularly problematic.

To address these issues a number of efforts need to be intensified. They include the following:

- Reviewing conditions in forested areas and analysis of rules and regulations regarding access to education for children in protected areas.
- Relocating households, as required, in line with laws and regulations.
- Strengthening the capacities of relevant district level staff of public institutions jointly to address child labour and forest resource management.
- Enforcing rules and regulations, including the application of punitive measures, as required.
- Sharing situations cases identified with media and integrating them into SBCC methods, while protecting the identity of persons involved.
- Using participatory methods to develop local by-laws and locally appropriate tools for reducing child labour in protected forest and nearby areas.
- Ensuring participation in decision-making regarding land use as related to cocoa (and possible diversified commodities), and forest protection.
- Including the development of agro-forestry as part of forestry protection and food production for sustainable cocoa production.

3.2.17. DIGITAL TECHNOLOGIES AND REDUCING CHILD LABOUR

Much more consideration needs to be given to the development and promotion of digital technologies in tackling the issues outlined above. While many efforts are underway, the potential of increasing use of and access to innovative digital technologies is clear. Digital

343 E.g., ILO, FAO, Positive Planet

technology can contribute to measures to address all the challenges associated with child labour and deforestation. Currently, digital technologies are already applied to identify and monitor child labour cases (and those at risk of child labour). Various digital technology methods are also being used to plan cacao production and marketing, logistics, child education, cooperative and association management, identifying and tracking farms through GPS and for other tasks. In addition to handheld and desk top devices, drones are also being used for GPS tracking.



Ghana – Creative Commons

While the subject of digital technology development is cross-cutting, as it applies to many subject areas linked to achieving the goal of eliminating child labour, it also deserves its own special sub-heading. Examples of its application include efforts to use simple mobile phones to strengthen general education³⁴⁴ and technical and vocational education and skills training (TVEST). There are also existing good practices of using digital technology for simple financial management³⁴⁵ that can be scaled up. One programme that has been used to develop digital technologies for application in agriculture, with a special focus on youth, is ending in December 2020.³⁴⁶ It has been running for 35 years and will be leaving behind a large collection of information and methods that could be of interest.

A new programme in Ghana that the Mastercard Farmer Network and Rabobank are developing, is establishing a digital platform that makes it safer and simpler for smallholder farmers to grow their businesses.³⁴⁷ It would be useful to explore ways in which this could be used by cocoa farmers, particularly in areas with high vulnerability to child labour.

344 ENEZA, for example, works in Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana using such technology. ENEZA Education (2020), Learning Never Stops, Available from: <https://enezaeducation.com/> Accessed 23/08/2020. Also, see Ministère de l'Éducation Nationale de Côte d'Ivoire, (2020), Les Enseignants Préconisent l'Adoption des Approches Pédagogiques de GEZCI. (Global E-Schools and Communities Initiative), Available from <http://www.education.gouv.ci/communiquede-presse-sbc/> Accessed 15/09/2020.

345 Positive Planet (2020), Positive Planet International Afrique de l'Ouest et Centrale. Available from <http://positiveplanetinternational.org/projects/zone/2/afrique-de-louest-et-centrale.html> Accessed 08/07/2020.

346 Technical Centre for Agricultural and Rural Co-operation (CTA) (programme ends in December 2020) Youth, digitalisation and climate resilience are CTA's priority intervention areas. Available from <https://www.cta.int/en/about-cta>. Website consulted 06/05/2020.

347 PYMNTS.com (2019), Mastercard Launches Digital Sales Platform For Farmers (in Emerging Markets) Available from <https://www.pymnts.com/mastercard/2019/mastercard-launches-digital-sales-platform-for-farmers/> Website consulted 01/09/2020.

Digital technologies can be particularly useful in motivating and engaging older young people, who can also contribute ideas for its further development. Young people can be trained to use digital technology to support cocoa production, logistics management, GPS monitoring of farms in forested areas, and for other tasks. Competitions and prizes can be used to encourage young people to identify further opportunities for innovation and progress in the use of digital technology in subjects related to the cocoa value chain, education and social services, and the monitoring of child labour and farms in forested areas.

In addition, it will be especially necessary to integrate digital technology systems that are used in CLMRS into child data protection systems. This also means that users of systems other than CLMRS should use and integrate digital technologies so that the information gathered is more reliable, valid and efficiently collected. In both countries data on child labourers and those at risk are held in larger databases, such as SOSTECI, and in child protection information management systems. The further development of such database should be explored.

3.3. COORDINATION OF INTERNATIONAL AND NATIONAL LEVEL SYSTEMS

Summary of key solutions

1. Develop well organised multi-stakeholder process through the Transformative Agenda (focus on leadership, coordination, and accountability) at international, national, and decentralised level.
2. Harmonise and strengthen legal and regulatory frameworks and their enforcement.
3. Establish mechanisms at national and local level (district/sous-préfecture) where vertical and horizontal joint planning, communications and coordinated implementation of synergistic actions is based.
4. Develop detailed operational plans with clear roles and responsibilities of planners and implementing stakeholders based on the identified root causes and gaps.
5. Ensure written evidence of alignment of initiatives with Government and International Plans, Conventions, and Guidelines.
6. Strengthen partnerships and cross border agreements between Côte d'Ivoire, Ghana, Burkina Faso, and Mali.
7. Scale up agreements and initiatives for the return and reintegration of trafficked children to return home.
8. Implement methods for quantitative and qualitative data collection and sharing of information from international to national to local and the reverse being implemented.

Internationally, many networks and discussion groups have focused on child labour and sustainable cocoa production. The proliferation of such forums has been beneficial to discussions but has also led to the need for more concerted and streamlined coordination between the major stakeholders. This study is intended to provide inputs for consideration into this dialogue.

An important, overarching international mechanism is the recently launched *EU Multi-Stakeholder Dialogue for Sustainable Cocoa*.³⁴⁸ This platform is expected to play a key role in addressing child labour and sustainability issues. It aims to manage the cocoa value chain in

³⁴⁸ Sustainable Cocoa Initiative (2020), *EU Multi-Stakeholder Dialogue for Sustainable Cocoa: Concept Note*, Brussels: Sustainable Cocoa Initiative.

a way that addresses consumers' demand for cocoa products that are free from all types of exploitation, give farmers fair prices and are environmentally sustainable.

The EU Multi-Stakeholder Dialogue for Sustainable Cocoa³⁴⁹ has several objectives:

- To advance the responsible practices of EU businesses involved in cocoa supply chains
- To feed into other relevant Commission initiatives (e.g., on due diligence, deforestation)
- To feed into the policy dialogue between the EU and the producer countries
- To identify projects supporting sustainable cocoa production.

Stakeholder inputs into the sustainable cocoa initiative will contribute to other relevant European Commission initiatives such as:

- the implementation of trade and sustainable development aspects under Economic Partnership Agreements.
- upcoming international cooperation programmes (including strengthened coordination between the support programmes of the EU and its Member States, partner countries, and international organisations).
- possible horizontal mandatory legislation on corporate governance encompassing due diligence at the EU level.
- a planned legislative proposal to minimise the risk of deforestation associated with products placed on the EU market³⁵⁰;
- relevant initiatives under the Circular Economy Action Plan (CEAP)³⁵¹ such as:
 - the development of legislation on “green claims”,³⁵²
 - transparency initiatives under the Farm to Fork (F2F) Communication which is at the heart of the European Green Deal aiming to make food systems fair, healthy and environmentally-friendly.³⁵³

These discussions should take account of the dialogues concerning the facilitation of trade relations and trade integration processes, including investment flows and economic partnerships as related to cocoa.

349 Ibid.

350 European Commission (2020), Deforestation and forest degradation – reducing the impact of products placed on the EU market. Available from <https://ec.europa.eu/info/law/better-regulation/have-your-say/initiatives/12137-Minimising-the-risk-of-deforestation-and-forest-degradation-associated-with-products-placed-on-the-EU-market> Accessed 22/09/2020.

351 See Section 3.7 on food in particular European Commission (2020b), Circular Economy Action Plan For a Cleaner and More Competitive Europe # Green Deal, Available from <https://ec.europa.eu/environment/circular-economy/pdf/newcirculareconomyactionplan.pdf> Accessed 22/09/2020.

352 “Green claims are assertions made by firms about the environmentally beneficial qualities or characteristics of their goods and services. They can refer to the manner in which products are produced, packaged, distributed, used, consumed and/or disposed of. In addition to environmental aspects, these claims are sometimes defined to include the socially responsible or ethical manner in which products are produced and distributed.” OECD (2011), Environmental Claims Findings and Conclusions of the OECD Committee on Consumer Policy, Paris: OECD. Page 3.

353 European Commission (2020), Farm to Fork Strategy – for a fair, healthy and environmentally-friendly food system, Available from <https://ec.europa.eu/food/farm2forken> Accessed 22/09/2020.

The roles of small and medium enterprises (SMEs) along the value chain should not be ignored, since they are responsible for most of the estimated 50%³⁵⁴ of the value chain not covered by the major cocoa companies. Their role and responsibility in any due diligence programme should be discussed and agreed with them.

Evidence and research-based exchanges on agricultural development with a special focus on cocoa will be needed to inform the discussions, particularly as rapid technical innovations and production methods based digital technologies advance.

In addition to the inputs from governments of the producer countries, cocoa industry networks, the EU, its member states and their bilateral agencies, and specialised agencies, such as the ILO, UNICEF, FAO and UNEP should also make contributions to the discussions. Existing industry networks, with their long experience and stake in the deliberations, have a key role. Researchers, NGOs and rights advocacy groups could also be asked to contribute. The ICI, as a multi-stakeholder organisation, could further provide support for the bridging of policy and other gaps between stakeholders.

Other essential stakeholders are workers' organisations, e.g., the International Union of Food, Agricultural, Hotel, Restaurant, Catering, Tobacco and Allied Workers' Associations (IUF), the European Federation of Trade Unions in Food, Agriculture and Tourism (EFFAT) and the International Cocoa Farmers Organisation (ICFO) at international level. Sub-groups within the Sustainable Cocoa Initiative will also need to address child labour, decent income for farmers, and deforestation and forest degradation.

All relevant EU, regulatory and policy frameworks need to encourage sustainable cocoa production, as well as consumer participation and trust. While mechanisms already exist to obtain input from EU citizens, these need to be specifically oriented to gather information from the consumers of cocoa products. This can be achieved using media and other communications methods.

354 According to interviewees.

3.3.1. COORDINATED NATIONAL SYSTEMS BUILDING: PLANNING, INSTITUTIONS, POLICIES, LAWS, REGULATIONS, AND IMPLEMENTATION

Consultations at national level need to expand to encompass more key stakeholders, including the EU and other major actors. Horizontal communications, joint planning and implementation of synergistic actions are needed at each level, including giving a voice to all key local stakeholders.

Using a systems approach based on international and national inter-relationships is, therefore, essential. There should be clear targets for different phases as progress is made. Improvements in the system will increase exponentially, if feedback from data generated within the system are applied to improve its functioning.

The research team has noted the huge amount of research already undertaken, but also the low levels of implementation given the knowledge gained. What is most often forgotten is, therefore, precisely the information feedback loop from experience gained in applying development methods. The result is that progress is limited, as only some data are used to inform and improve the existing system. For this reason, systems need to have vertical feedback channels from international and national levels to community level and vice versa. However, the data also need to be used all along the way.

It should be remembered, therefore, that data from the community level need to be consistently and more effectively used to feed back into and inform district planning. Most stakeholders interviewed noted that there is a need to improve coordination and alignment between all the implementing agencies in both countries. In particular, there is a need to move away from relying on information sharing between implementing agencies and calling that “coordination”.

The need to further **align corporate practices, trade and implementation of initiatives with national priorities** was stressed many times during the interviews, particularly those with national stakeholders. Of course, all initiatives and approaches should be aligned with the overarching labour conventions and guiding documents.

National stakeholders emphasised that, in the past, though addressed planning documents, implementing actors have tended to develop their own programmes and only afterwards state how they could fit into national planning. As part of the development of the new national child labour plans expected in both countries, the intervention matrix needs to define standard task descriptions for all the actors involved. This means setting out clear and detailed roles and responsibilities so that actors can be clearly held accountable.

Sporadic interventions that do not ensure the sustainability of actions and lack buy-in from key actors into the official plans chain should be avoided unless the development plan is amended as a result of feedback during implementation.

It is recommended to integrate planning for the elimination of child labour in all development policies and plans. While there are references to child labour in a range of development plans in both countries, this still needs more attention. Similarly, National Child Labour Plans need to integrate references to other relevant areas of attention such, a national youth policy or a national nutrition policy, should they exist.

Comprehensive and sustainable economic development or investment to reduce poverty in cocoa communities will not happen if the enabling environment is not conducive. Appropriate Institutional reforms and adjustments at the decentralised level in both countries will be paramount in this regard. Key local public institutions may need to be strengthened and linked to central government for proper policy coordination and implementation. These institutions will not only ensure that smallholder cocoa farmers can access essential social services, but also contribute to critical infrastructural development (i.e., roads, electricity and water etc.).

It is also important to strengthen governance mechanisms to plan, integrate and implement initiatives on the basis of a risk-oriented governance roadmap. This may include identifying locations at high risk of child labour in cocoa production. The ICI community child labour risk calculator is a tool that could be used for this purpose³⁵⁵ to find cocoa production localities with relatively high poverty, difficulties in accessing services issues (distance and infrastructure) and environmental fragility. Within this context, special attention should be paid to high-risk groups, including women and girls, people with disabilities, trafficked and migrant children of tenant farmers, the elderly in general, and elderly producers in particular.

Where large scale investments are made to address child labour and other human rights and environmental issues, it is necessary to ensure that a holistic approach is maintained. Some interviewees warned of the need to avoid “cherry picking” and only providing funds for a selected problem with the result that funding is insufficient for other gaps that need to be addressed.

The strengths offered by each stakeholder can be maximised if multi-stakeholder coordination is done well at the national and decentralised level. At the decentralised level, it is important not simply to divide up a cocoa producing area and allocate responsibility for addressing child labour and sustainability to a single or a few government and other agencies. Rather, the strengths, weaknesses and opportunities offered by each actor need to be considered.

355 ICI (2020), Our Tools, 08/12/2020. Available from <https://cocoainitiative.org/our-work/our-tools/>

Decisions can then be taken at local level about how best to assign tasks and collaborate, building on the qualities of each stakeholder. This can then be linked to the Result Based Management (RBM) process with clear measures and recognition of success. This approach will require a great deal of governance capacity support at local authority level as it will demand a mechanism different to that currently being implemented in most localities. However, if there is an increased focus on improving collaboration and efficiency, then it will provide for a well-grounded structure at local level.

3.3.2. LEGAL AND REGULATORY FRAMEWORK IMPLEMENTATION

As stated in Part 2, the key issues at national level indicate that, while legal and policy frameworks exist and continue to be developed further, harmonising, implementation and enforcement need further attention. A gap analysis on the harmonising of laws, regulations, policies is needed to verify and ensure consistency, coherence and complementarity at all levels. This includes an analysis of enforcement gaps regarding child labour within the child protection system and the best methods to develop a strengthened system for application of laws and regulations, including local by-laws.

The enforcement of existing laws and regulations and the implementation of policies will never be successful if no functional system exists to make this happen at local level. Decision making on governance mechanisms still takes place at national level. It is recommended, therefore, that methods to increase and strengthen enforcement are well articulated in governance planning documents. This can include increasing the focus on the development of local judicial systems to pay more attention to child labour cases and for local inspection systems to broaden and involve more actors. The development and implementation of a monitoring system for the enforcement of laws and regulations on child labour are advisable.

3.3.3. VERTICAL AND HORIZONTAL GOVERNMENT MANAGED COORDINATION MECHANISMS

While the governments in both countries have relevant coordinating bodies, their profiles need to be more prominent in terms of their roles and responsibilities for achieving the rights and well-being of their citizens. Much better coordination of the wide range of cocoa stakeholders within the producer countries of Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana is needed.

In terms of governance, coordination between ministries horizontally at national level (e.g. education, agriculture, forestry, health, labour, social welfare and others) and at decentralised levels requires attention.

Vertical communications from national down to local and vice versa need to be further facilitated in order to inform overall planning at national level. Currently, while there are some systems in place to gather and compile data, they are not nationwide and need scaling up, and their quality needs to be improved.

Feedback loops comprising high-quality data on child labour identification, monitoring, remediation and progress on related issues that influence the prevalence of child labour need to be well defined and coordinated in order to strengthen planning. In this context, further support is needed to help the governments to play their coordinating roles at decentralised level. Coordination mechanisms should not be multiplied needlessly but, wherever possible, aligned within existing government structures to ensure efficiency.


Decentralised coordination should be strengthened based on the specific needs identified in different localities within the cocoa producing areas. An organisational development analysis using a systems methodology is needed to determine the strengths and gaps in coordination and achieve this result. While the current study was able to identify the overall challenges, more specific analysis is needed to determine the organisational (governance) development and coordination needs locally. This is particularly necessary at district level and could be implemented within the context of establishing an IABA in those areas.

Coordination should go beyond merely exchanging information and general planning. It should include the creation of clear joint actions and development of synergies around initiatives at local level, preferably including regular streamlined digital communications methods.³⁵⁶


³⁵⁶ E.g., Local WhatsApp and/or similar groups.


FIGURE 8


Relationship Management and Coordination


 **People and entities relations built to strengthen relationships towards achieving the overall objective**


 **Relationships strengthened for strategy design, implementation including governments, cocoa value chain industry, coca communities, public**

 **Communities involved and included in decision-making on issues affecting them**

 **Effective, long-lasting relationships with local community groups identified, established and retained**

 **Long-lasting relationships with other third-party organisations identified, implemented and retained**

 **Effective and long-lasting platforms and relationships between cocoa value chain stakeholders formed, established and retained**

 **Effective and long-lasting relationships with the general public identified, established and retained**

3.3.4. INCREASING PARTNERSHIPS ON CROSS BORDER AGREEMENTS: CÔTE D'IVOIRE, GHANA, BURKINA FASO, MALI

Given the challenges regarding cross-border trafficking described previously, more focus could be placed on this issue through a multi-stakeholder process driven nationally with inputs from the border countries. This will require the identification of triggers in countries of origin, including poverty and the major unapproved routes that human traffickers use. At border crossings, systems should be put in place involving local communities to identify and report human traffickers.

The existing agreements between the countries need to be enforced with a clear demonstration of the consequences for human traffickers who go through borders with child and adult forced labourers is necessary. For enforcement to be effective, the capacities of personnel at border crossings to identify children being trafficked should be further strengthened. This includes raising more awareness of the eventual consequences of trafficking on the children and their families. It also needs to include capacity strengthening of local authorities in border areas on how to work with communities to identify and report cases of child trafficking.

The replication at additional border locations of the border police brigades currently being deployed in Côte d'Ivoire needs further support. In addition, agreements and initiatives for the return and reintegration of trafficked children need to be scaled up. Direct collaboration with government and border officials and communities in Burkina Faso and Mali should be part of these initiatives.

3.4. DUE DILIGENCE: AGREEMENTS AND IMPLEMENTATION

Summary of key solutions

1. Development of detailed operationalised Results-Based Management (RBM) system to track accountability within agreed to due diligence actions (mandatory and non-mandatory agreements and traceability systems and tools developed).
2. All planning and implementing stakeholders are included in due diligence RBM system.
3. Targets for implementation phases identified and adopted, guidelines developed and disseminated.
4. Accountability of institutions and individuals is tracked and monitored.
5. Clear and feasible regulations established and implemented to govern Due Diligence RBM including penalties.

To bring about real change, a comprehensive, legally binding framework and collective action plans are necessary. They should be well integrated and aligned to cocoa producing and EU member government policies and to relevant corporate policies and practices in order to be effective. They should also include agreed due diligence mechanisms. In this respect, due diligence should be an obligation on all companies that place cocoa or cocoa products on the EU market, as key cocoa industry stakeholders have indicated.³⁵⁷ They stressed the need to provide a common framework through which all cocoa value chain stakeholders are required to show how they identify and mitigate human rights and environmental risks. This includes all actors, including SMEs.

Furthermore, due diligence needs to cover not just industry but also the cocoa producer countries themselves. Producer countries have a critical role and responsibility in ensuring that cocoa value chains are free from child labour and that deforestation is halted. In addition, they need to guarantee that all other ratified ILO fundamental principles and human rights, including child rights, are respected.

The research has found that stakeholders view the issue of due diligence as very critical. Interviewees drawn from key industry stakeholders and cocoa-producing government researchers agree that some mandatory as well as voluntary agreements will be needed.

³⁵⁷ Barry Callebaut, Fairtrade, Mars Wrigley, Mondelez International, Rainforest Alliance, VOICE Network (2019)

They suggested that such agreements need to focus on bilateral agreements with the Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana governments as well as with industry. The interest that several of the industry stakeholders have shown in mandatory agreements is particularly noteworthy. The main reason they cite is that all industry participants should be equally required to contribute to fighting child labour and addressing other human rights and environmental challenges. They noted that, currently, buyers of about 50% of the cocoa production still do not engage in any form of child labour and/or sustainability programmes or certification. They added that there is, therefore, a need to “level the playing field”.

Discussions on due diligence, traceability strengthening and associated data collection and management are already taking place between the cocoa industry, the governments of Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana, and the EU.

The EU has recently funded research on the subject of due diligence of products from developing countries.³⁵⁸ The resulting report indicates a clear need for transparent due diligence mechanisms embedded in robust voluntary and mandatory agreements. The researchers involved in this study support the EU's findings and recommendations and, for this reason, they will not be repeated here.

Based on interviews and detailed document analysis, this study agrees with both the stipulations provided in the European Cocoa Association's (ECA) Position Paper, the “Joint Position Paper on the EU's policy and regulatory approach to cocoa” signed by Barry Callebaut, Fairtrade, Mars Wrigley, Mondelez, Rainforest Alliance and the Voice Network in 2019, and CAOBISCO'S position statement.³⁵⁹ It is noted that the position papers affirm and support the approaches and guidelines from the main documents concerning business obligations relating to human rights and sustainability. These include the UN Guiding Principles on Business and Human Rights³⁶⁰, and the OECD-FAO Guidance for Responsible Agricultural Supply Chains³⁶¹. FERN, Tropenbos International and the Fairtrade Advocacy Office also recently published a study on regulatory options for the EU regarding cocoa supply chains.³⁶² The study concluded that a combination of options would have the greatest impact, i.e., bilateral agreements with cocoa producer country governments and due diligence regulations covering cocoa supply chain

358 Smit, L.; Bright, C.; McCorquodale, R.; et. al. (2020), Study on Due Diligence Requirements Through the Supply Chain, Brussels: European Commission.

359 These were cited in Section 1.3.4 ECA (2019), European Cocoa Association Position Paper on Due Diligence, Brussels: European Cocoa Association. Barry Callebaut, Fairtrade, Mars Wrigley, Mondelez International, Rainforest Alliance, VOICE Network (2019), Joint position paper on the EU's policy and regulatory approach to cocoa. Brussels: Barry Callebaut, Fairtrade, Mars Wrigley, Mondelez International, Rainforest Alliance, VOICE Network. CAOBISCO (2020), CAOBISCO Statement Due Diligence, Brussels: CAOBISCO,

360 United Nations Human Rights Office of the High Commissioner, (2011), Guiding Principles on Business and Human Rights, Geneva: United Nations.

361 OECD-FAO (2016), OECD-FAO Guidance for Responsible Agricultural Supply Chains, Paris: OECD.

362 Brack, D. (2019), Towards Sustainable Cocoa Supply Chains: Regulatory Options for the EU. Brussels: Fern, Tropenbos International, and Fairtrade.

companies operating in the EU. Additionally, the study recommends a review of, and possible amendments in competition laws to help companies address the problem of low prices for producers by allowing them to increase collaboration for long-term sustainability purposes.³⁶³

Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana could be asked to produce their own position paper as part of the policy dialogue process. In this way, their opinions would be clearly heard and they could also state how they view their own key responsibilities with regard to the implementation of due diligence and traceability. Ideally, such country position papers would incorporate the views of a range of key national stakeholders. As the CAOBISCO Position Paper indicates, the EU must engage in dialogue with the cocoa producing countries to create the right framework of agreement to drive change.³⁶⁴

An EU due diligence strategy needs to consider the multiple aspects that need to be addressed truly to achieve the elimination of child labour and stop deforestation. The specific issues that contribute to poverty need to be reviewed and discussed.

It is essential in this context to consider some of the most critical suggestions put forward to date that the research has found to be well aligned with the analysis of the results from this study. These include suggestions from the above-mentioned position papers.³⁶⁵ The following paragraphs draw on these position papers and other inputs from stakeholders interviewed, as well as documentation reviewed for this study.

The current study aims to propose some initial solutions and directions to take in developing voluntary and mandatory agreements and due diligence systems. However, the study cannot be exhaustive as the development of these mechanisms will require discussion with, and the participation of the key stakeholders. Overall suggestions are proposed below.

Companies should be required to:

1. Detail *how they will adhere* to the laws, regulations, agreements, policies and development planning of the producer countries. This includes all labour laws and regulations, whether they occur in the formal or informal economy setting and as applicable to children and adults. Noting that environmental sustainability is linked to child labour they will likewise detail how they will adhere to all existing and future laws, regulations and agreements pertaining forest and biodiversity protection in the countries.

363 Ibid.

364 CAOBISCO (2020), CAOBISCO Statement Due Diligence, Brussels: CAOBISCO

365 These were cited in Section 1.3.4 ECA (2019), European Cocoa Association Position Paper on Due Diligence, Brussels: European Cocoa Association. Barry Callebaut, Fairtrade, Mars Wrigley, Mondelez International, Rainforest Alliance, VOICE Network (2019), Joint position paper on the EU's policy and regulatory approach to cocoa. Brussels: Barry Callebaut, Fairtrade, Mars Wrigley, Mondelez International, Rainforest Alliance, VOICE Network. CAOBISCO (2020), CAOBISCO Statement Due Diligence, Brussels: CAOBISCO.

2. Detail how they will adhere to and *integrate their actions* - whether business or development initiatives - with national child labour, youth, decent work and environmental protection plans at national and local level. In addition, operationalised details on this integration should be clearly stipulated in all proposed initiatives and projects.
3. Provide support for the development of national traceability systems that extend beyond the existing industry-managed systems. Traceability systems should be clear and streamlined to enable the application of practical and efficient methods. Where possible, digital systems, such as blockchain, should be tested and integrated, if found to be good practice. Physical (source, environmental conditions) and social (child labour, forced labour) traceability of cocoa beans need to be included in the traceability system. Noting that it is not feasible to physically audit child labour on each (remote) farm, it is recognised that community groups and FBOs will participate in traceability. To address challenges regarding hidden child labour, the system should regularly audit as close to the farm level as feasible and include unannounced audit visits, even in remote areas. Reporting needs to be transparent and include sharing of findings with child protection committees in cocoa localities for follow up.
4. Provide commitments to implement ILO core conventions, and other ILO and human rights conventions that Côte d'Ivoire and/or Ghana have ratified. This includes those that are specific to child labour but also other ILO labour standards and human rights conventions, most particularly the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child.³⁶⁶ Other commitments include, but are not limited to, the Guiding Principles on Business and Human Rights³⁶⁷, the OECD-FAO (2016), Guidance for Responsible Agricultural Supply Chains; and the Voluntary Guidelines on the Responsible Governance of Tenure³⁶⁸. Where the standards in international law exceed those in national laws, companies will seek to meet the spirit of the international standard.³⁶⁹
5. Embed the above mechanisms and commitments in company strategies, policies, plans and management systems. In accordance with the OECD Due Diligence Guidance for Responsible Business Conduct³⁷⁰, they should identify and present operationalised descriptions of how risks of actual and potential adverse impacts on people, the environment and society associated with the enterprise's operations, products or services will be mitigated.³⁷¹
6. Provide regular reporting on *how* and *where* companies select localities for cocoa sourcing, interventions to address child labour, deforestation and other development initiatives. The choice of cocoa sourcing and intervention locations should not only

366 United Nations Human Rights Office of the High Commissioner, (2011), Guiding Principles on Business and Human Rights, Geneva: United Nations.

367 Ibid.

368 FAO, CFS Committee on World Food Security (2012), Voluntary Guidelines on the Responsible Governance of Tenure of Land, Fisheries and Forests in the Context of National Food Security, Rome: FAO.

369 ECA (2019), European Cocoa Association Position Paper on Due Diligence, Brussels: European Cocoa Association.

370 OECD (2018), OECD Due Diligence Guidance for Responsible Business Conduct, Paris: OECD.

371 Ibid.

include easily accessible and well-serviced localities. Development interventions should, in particular, be oriented towards localities carrying the highest risk of child labour and deforestation.

7. Have independent, third-party specialists conduct audits, as indicated in the ECA position paper.³⁷² Such reports will be provided, together with companies' own progress reports, to the EU for review on a regular basis (timing to be determined).
8. Contribute to the development and implementation of national cocoa sustainability standards as aligned with global conventions children's rights, the new African standards, and any other relevant agreements and standards. Support endeavours to achieve a good level of convergence and coherence between the standards.
9. Contribute to the development and implementation of potential mitigation strategies in case of crisis, emergencies and disasters on child labour and other aspects that impact responsible and sustainable cocoa production. This includes situations such as COVID19, political crisis, droughts and others.

EU role and responsibilities in the framework of due diligence should include:

1. Reviews of company due diligence, traceability methods, reporting on interventions and integration into government systems need to be conducted using tried and tested operational methods to identify compliance fairly and accurately.
2. Development of legal penalties for non-compliance to help ensure that there is a real impact on reducing child labour and deforestation. Using a participatory dialogue approach, agreement on time-bound penalties should be reached with companies, governments and other stakeholders.
3. Operationalised definitions of standards that will be accepted as evidence of compliance should be defined and agreed, i.e., standards should be accompanied by clear practical definitions that detail how it will be decided whether a standard is being fully applied.

The roles and responsibilities of the country governments in the framework of due diligence are to contribute to the development and implementation of the due diligence system in all the aspects cited above. This is in line with the solutions proposed in Section 3.4.

It is necessary to see the due diligence approaches as part of broader efforts to address child and forced labour. Good practices, lessons learned and technical support can be gained from linking to broader efforts.

Due diligence should not become an overly costly exercise that only serves as a punitive system for non-compliance. It should be very clear which *representative core measures* will

³⁷² ECA (2019), European Cocoa Association Position Paper on Due Diligence, Brussels: European Cocoa Association.

be used to ascertain compliance. It is easy for a due diligence system to become too detailed, while funding may be better used to address the root causes and reduce the gaps that affect the prevalence of child labour.

Consensus is needed among all partners on the core measures, which need to be clear and developed by technical experts with experience in child labour in cocoa production. Governments, international agencies, the ICI and relevant international NGOs can be associated in the discussions. Such core measures would only be for traceability purposes, so other, more detailed measures, including factors such as orphanhood and disability status would still need to be collected and integrated into child protection, CLMRS and other child labour reduction systems. Core measures could, for example, include whether the farm household children under 18 are in any form of education; not in child labour; in non-hazardous labour for ages 15 + (or whatever age is agreed).

3.4.1. ALLIANCE 8.7 AND DUE DILIGENCE

Linking due diligence efforts to the Alliance 8.7 system will be helpful. Such efforts are well aligned with the previously discussed solutions to child labour overall and the due diligence aspects in particular. Pathfinder countries are expected to turn their commitments to eliminate child labour into action. At a national level, Pathfinder countries convene strategic planning workshops on Target 8.7³⁷³ (to explore opportunities for collaboration and define national priorities). Determining how the due diligence agreements fit with and are integrated with Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana Alliance 8.7 Pathfinder country initiatives will be valuable. Then implementing the conclusions from such an analysis will be necessary.

3.4.2. THE TRANSFORMATIVE AGENDA AND RESULTS BASED MANAGEMENT

Adopting the transformative agenda approach can lead to greater impact and results. This means establishing comprehensive results-based management (RBM) of all people and organisations (actors) who contribute directly or indirectly to the result. It includes mapping out their work processes, products and services, showing how they contribute to the outcomes being pursued. This information is then used to identify appropriate measures of progress.

373 Sustainable Development Goal Target 8.7 states: "Take immediate and effective measures to eradicate forced labour, end modern slavery and human trafficking and secure the prohibition and elimination of the worst forms of child labour, including recruitment and use of child soldiers, and by 2025 end child labour in all its forms." ILO (2020), ILO Contributions to Achieve Target 8.7. 15/09/2020. Available from <https://www.ilo.org/global/topics/sdg-2030/goal-8/target-8-7/lang--en/index.htm>

The proposed RBM system³⁷⁴ should be extended to include the monitoring of the due diligence system. This should not be too difficult as many companies are already implementing RBM or similar methods. The reason for proposing RBM is to ensure that objectives and outputs/targets are clearly worded in operationalised terms for easy measurement. Normally, commonly used development frameworks, such as logical frameworks, theory of change and others, include similarities with RBM. However, RBM tends to be more specific in that it assigns roles and responsibilities to individuals within company/agency management structure and enables staff to be held accountable in a concrete way for the implementation of their assigned duties.

Rather than relying on the usual development indicators at each level, the RBM would need to be applicable to all parts of plans and programmes down to the local level, even community level, thereby contributing to accountability. Accountability of government and non-government staff at individual level is recommended as part of the overall system. Such methods have been implemented in Kenya since 2007 as part of its Vision 2030 strategic plan.³⁷⁵ Useful lessons from the Kenyan experience and from other African countries can be applied to attaining the objectives concerning child labour and sustainable cocoa production.³⁷⁶

Participatory planning to address child labour issues using a multi-sectoral approach to tackle the issues should identify the roles and responsibilities for each group and individual taking part in the processes. Targets for the actors then need to be clearly stated in the context of an RBM approach.

It should be noted that achieving a results-oriented culture is as much about changing behaviours as it is about improving systems, tools and capacities.

Experience³⁷⁷ indicates that implementing good RBM can be challenging in development programmes. Poor regulations governing the RBM, interference from senior staff or political leaders, poor attitudes towards change, weak monitoring and evaluation, poor design and adoption of relevant technologies have all been identified as challenges in past initiatives. However, it should be noted that, currently, many different methods that use objectives, indicators, targets, operationalised outputs and other such elements already exist. The main intention of RBM is to integrate these factors into overall planning processes in the same way that they are used in private enterprise management. It should be noted that the United Nations also uses RBM to monitor and evaluate staff and overall progress. By being aware of the possible challenges to implementing RBM in local settings, it will be possible to design methods to overcome them.

374 (Government and non-state actors)

375 Kenya Vision 2030 (2020), Results Based Management, Available from <http://vision2030.go.ke/project/results-based-management/> Accessed 30/08/2020.

376 Langat, G., Otundo, M. (2018), Result Based Management and Performance of Projects in Public Sector, Nairobi: University of Nairobi.

377 Ibid.

3.4.3. DATA MANAGEMENT

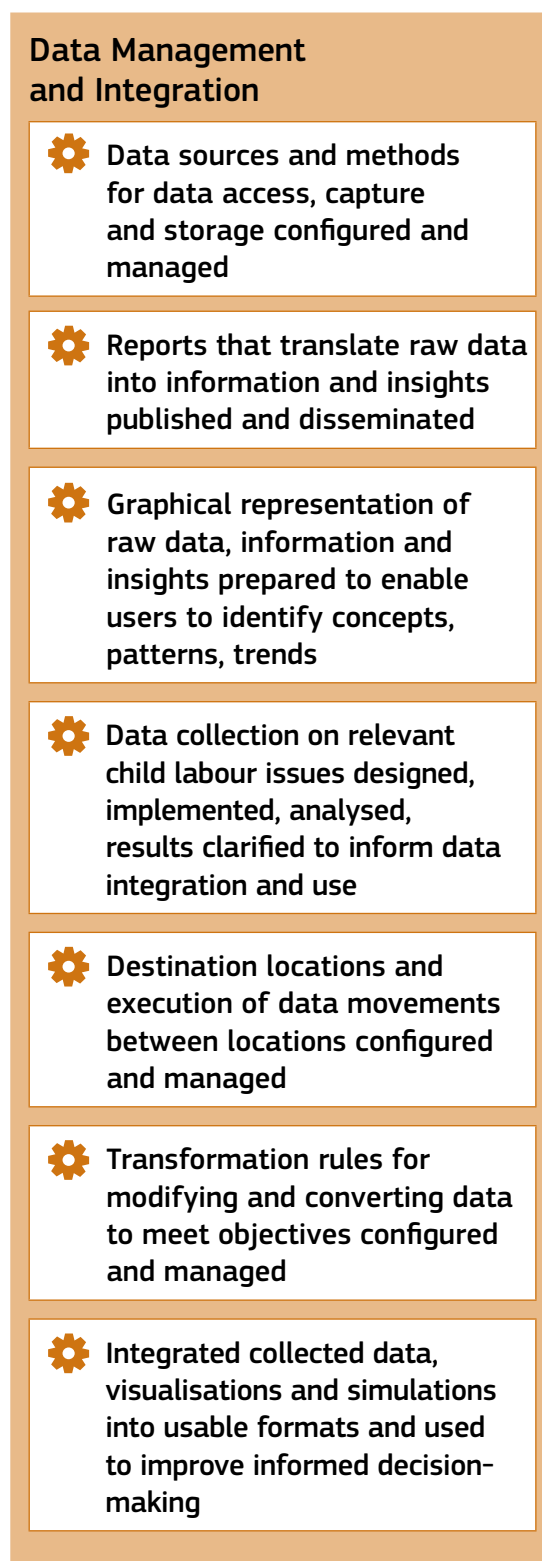
The development of a mainstreaming tool to integrate the child labour dimension and decent work in all key commodity sectors - not only cocoa - requires some attention. This is to overcome the challenges that may occur when children are displaced from cocoa into other commodity production chains.

Stakeholders interviewed for this study stressed the need to collect more qualitative data on a large scale as opposed to mostly collecting it in individual communities to inform community planning. Qualitative information is seen as important for the accurate planning and prioritising of national and regional policies and implementation plans.

Another point frequently mentioned was the importance of having more granular and evolving data on child labour by age category and by different types of work, level of exposure to hazardous work and time allocation. Regarding age, details should be collected in accordance with whether the child is allowed to engage in light work for his/her age and whether it is in non-hazardous labour, if between 15/16 and 18 years old.

A further challenge that some stakeholders cited and which needs consideration is the data that the cocoa industry and/or other non-government actors collect. Some stakeholders noted the importance of involving local government for authentication of data at source. How data are collected, and the ethics and quality of data collection need discussion. This subject may be covered in dialogue between industry, international organisations, the EU and other stakeholders.

FIGURE 9
Components of functioning child labour data management system



Additional data management and analysis solutions include:

- Improving quantitative and qualitative data collection and analysis.
- Channelling child protection data collected at local level up through local government to inform national data systems under a separate heading for child labour.
- Reviewing data on a *specified* regular basis and using the data collected to inform and improve the functioning of systems at each level.
- Establishing a community of practice online on child labour in Ghana and Côte d'Ivoire involving the increased use of digital technologies and platforms to share good practices, lessons learned, solutions to issues, (e.g. Slack, whatsapp groups, project management platforms), instead of relying on email and in-person meetings.

3.5. SOCIAL INCLUSION

Summary of key solutions

Clear inclusion in all child labour policies, laws and regulations, child labour reduction actions to gender, youth, people with disabilities, trafficked persons and migrants, elderly, people living with and/or affected by HIV.

Ensuring that special attention is paid to vulnerable groups and, where necessary, developing specific mechanisms to address their needs, should be part of any child labour initiative. Efforts should include a focus on women and girls, out-of-school children, youth, migrants/trafficked persons, people living with and/or affected by HIV and the elderly, including elderly cocoa farmers. Ensuring the rights of children with disabilities in education and promoting their inclusion in education are also as an essential part of any initiatives on child labour.

Gender issues need vital consideration. Most child labour elimination initiatives focus on ensuring girls are included. It is key that all future initiatives and actions likewise ensure that attention is placed on the inclusion of girls, including in TVEST training.

Considerable effort should be focused on identifying more women to operate in the field as staff in child labour reduction initiatives, including management positions on the ground. Due to the remoteness of many of the cocoa communities, several agencies have indicated that it can be very difficult to identify qualified women to work in such locations.³⁷⁸ However, it is

³⁷⁸ For ethical reasons the agencies concerned are kept anonymous. However, it should be noted that the information is based in an analysis of child labour project evaluations and direct evaluations that one of the research team members conducted.

evident from experience in the field that having a strong presence of women on the staff is important for effective work in the communities. Community women, including local women leaders, are responsive to women field workers. While men can also be good role models, ensuring the inclusion of women field workers is also relevant to showing how women can play key roles as local development officials and to motivating and encouraging girls to do the same.

Support is needed for the development and enforcement of regulations to ensure that girls do not drop out of school, if they become pregnant and/or enter into child marriage.

Consideration should also be given to the fact that adult hired workers on cocoa plantations, both female and male, may also work in hazardous and exploitative conditions and therefore deserve protection. The challenges of migrant (tenant) workers and their children, children and adults who have been trafficked, particularly cross-border, need to be taken into account. Children who are trafficked are particularly vulnerable to physical abuse in addition to labour exploitation.³⁷⁹

Ensuring decent work for all, not only for older children but also for adults and, especially, persons with diminished physical abilities, requires a particular focus. The work of elderly persons in cocoa plantations, especially for long hours in hazardous conditions, requires a response within this context. The age at which a person can no longer carry out heavy physical work varies from person to person.

It is essential to consider the wider context in which child labourers or those at risk of child labour are identified. Existing initiatives to reduce child labour often provide some support for households, such as helping them to diversify income, developing village savings and loan schemes, and other approaches to increase income. However, specifically identifying tenant farmers and their particular situations, and children with disabilities or households affected by disabilities and/or HIV is not common when conducting child labour identification exercises. Having data on the household situation regarding the status of its members can help inform planning for future initiatives, so that they are more relevant to the conditions of such households. All cases of forced labour therefore need to be identified and the relevant laws and regulations applied to their cases. The data from these their cases need to be consolidated and used to inform future planning.

379 Construction Review Online (2020), Ghana commence upgrade of TVET infrastructure, Available from <https://constructionreviewonline.com/2020/01/ghana-commence-upgrade-of-tvet-infrastructure/> Accessed 10/09/2020.

3.6. COUNTRY SPECIFIC SOLUTIONS FOR CÔTE D'IVOIRE AND GHANA

The evidence collected during the study, from interviews with key stakeholders and documentation, indicates that the overall root causes, gaps, and solutions are similar in the two countries. Stakeholders said that differences are more a question of the scale of the challenges and solutions. The main solutions for national planning, such as addressing poverty, strengthening coordination and capacities, scaling up CLMRS, birth registration, better access to quality education and others, are the same. The principal differences are to be found at the decentralised level. The physical environment, the availability and quality of services, social and cultural specificities and other elements vary from locality to locality. For this reason, the recommendations remain the same with the caveat that, as recommended, it is essential to ensure that at district/sous préfecture level planning and implementation is carried out using participatory multi-stakeholder methods.

3.6.1. CÔTE D'IVOIRE

1. **Strengthening support to ensure children are registered at birth**, in particular in the case of multi-generational immigrants and children of unknown parents or others who would otherwise be stateless.³⁸⁰ The challenges regarding statelessness and the labelling of children as non-Ivorian, even if their family has lived in the country for generations, should be addressed. Being labelled as “other” not only adds to their vulnerability and difficulties in accessing services, but can also add to identity confusion. A child’s nationality strongly influences social identity and thus her or his development.³⁸¹
2. **Increasing the focus on strengthening cooperatives management in Côte d’Ivoire.** As stated in Part 2, there are more cooperatives in Côte d’Ivoire than in Ghana but they face many challenges. Given that cooperatives have also acted as channels for initiatives on child labour - and are likely to do so even more in the future - strengthening their capacities is essential. Any initiative to address child labour through a cooperative need to conduct an organisational capacities assessment to ensure that the cooperative is capable of implementing the actions expected. If it is not and it is possible to provide support to bridge any capacity gaps, such support should be given.

380 Adjami, M. (2016), *Statelessness and Nationality in Côte d’Ivoire: A study for UNHCR*, Geneva: UNHCR. See page 39.

381 UNCCT (2019), *Handbook: Children affected by the foreign-fighter phenomenon: Ensuring a child rights-based approach*. Geneva: UNCCT.

3.6.2. GHANA

1. **Eliminate illegal surface mining which is continuing to upsurge and is a major threat to sustainable cocoa production in Ghana.** The cumulative negative impact of illegal surface mining in cocoa growing areas in Ghana requires urgent attention, now. These mining activities cannot coexist with sustainable cocoa production in their present destructive form. Such mining is among the biggest threats to sustainable cocoa production and the environment. For over a decade now, there have been intermittent upsurges of illegal surface mining fuelled by the strong belief of some young people that it is the only way out of poverty. Illegal mining's many aspects and how it threatens sustainable cocoa production need investigation.
2. **Institutional reforms required at the Ghana Cocoa Board, especially at CRIG.** Some institutional reforms, which started in COCOBOD need to be deepened, including those relate to child labour. The following are suggestions to further strengthen COCOBOD and its services to farmers and the cocoa industry:
 - Strategic review is required of COCOBOD's working methods to better align them with current global objectives, including quicker response to international business conduct guidelines, the SDGs and strengthening internal capacity for sustainable cocoa production and marketing.
 - Research recommendations need to be applied to ensure farmers implement improved technological packages. The Cocoa Research Institute of Ghana (CRIG) has been concerned for some decades as to why farmers are not adopting improved technologies. Ayenor³⁸², Aneani³⁸³ and Asamoah³⁸⁴ have all addressed this subject but CRIG has not made adjustments that could change the narrative. CRIG needs to act on the recommendations made in the studies.
 - CRIG should be open and collaborate more to benefit from other world perspectives. This requires collaboration with universities that specialise in, or have specialised departments focusing on agriculture. It also includes putting into action theories developed regarding the democratisation of science in agricultural research in Ghana.³⁸⁵ This means the involvement of beneficiaries in design, implementation and decision-making when applying research results.

382 Ayenor, G.K., A. van Huis, N.G Röling & B. Padi, D. Obeng-Ofori (2007). Assessing the effectiveness of Local Agricultural Research Committee approach in diffusing sustainable cocoa production practices: The case of capsid control in Ghana. *International Journal of Agricultural Sustainability*. 5:2-3, 109-123.

383 Aneani, F, V. M. Anchirinah, F. Owusu-Ansah & M. Asamoah (2012). Adoption of Some Cocoa Production Technologies by Cocoa Farmers in Ghana. Accra: Social Science & Statistics Unit, Cocoa Research Institute of Ghana.

384 Asamoah, M. F. Aneani, S, Ofori, P. F. Branor (2015). Analysis of Farmers Adoption Behaviour of CRIG Recommended Technologies as a Package: The Case of Some Self-Help Cocoa Farmer Associations in the Eastern Region of Ghana. CRIG. Scientific Research Publishing Inc.: Available from: <https://www.scirp.org/html/3-300110457598.htm> Accessed 01/09/2020.

385 Funtowicz, S. and Ravetz, J., 1993. "Science for the post-normal age", *Futures*, 31(7): 735-755.

- The number of partnerships between COCOBOD and farmers' organisations, industry actors and research firms, need to increase through multi-stakeholder platforms at national and decentralised levels.

3.7. Social Behaviour Change communications

Summary of key solutions

1. Scale up, further improve and use awareness raising methods; use community oriented Social Behaviour Change (SBCC) approaches.
2. Develop a SBCC strategy guide to inform the interventions and disseminate to child labour and deforestation reduction stakeholders.

As part of the capacity strengthening of local government and other implementers of child labour initiatives, an important focus needs to be placed on awareness raising oriented to social behaviour change communications (SBCC).³⁸⁶ One lesson learned from evaluations of child labour projects is the importance of advocacy and awareness raising with all stakeholders vertically and horizontally along the value chain,³⁸⁷ i.e. vertically from national to the decentralised level in districts/sous prefecture and communities and horizontally to cover all relevant stakeholders at each level.

A key element of the communications should be to ensure that relevant actors at national, local and community level understand and apply the ILO convention definition of child labour. National laws on these definitions need to be clearly disseminated in local languages. It is particularly necessary to explain the difference between light work for younger children, regular non-hazardous work for older children and hazardous child labour.

While in Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana national level stakeholders are sufficiently aware of the issues overall³⁸⁸, at the decentralised level much more needs to be done. Awareness raising of all stakeholders concerning laws, regulations and policies is critical. Translation into local

³⁸⁶ Health Communication Collaborative (2016), SBCC for Emergency Preparedness Implementation Kit, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University.

³⁸⁷ Zegers, M. (2019), Interim Performance Evaluation: Supporting Sustainable and Child Labor Free Vanilla Growing Communities in Sava, Madagascar. Arlington, VA: MSI.

³⁸⁸ With some exceptions as advocacy and awareness raising is a continual process.

languages and preparation of easily understood materials for appropriate dissemination will be required. These materials can also be combined with other awareness-raising methods on child labour and decent work for all in communities.

While many of the existing awareness raising methods on child labour being used in Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana can be identified as a good practice,³⁸⁹ there are nonetheless areas that need scaling up and improvement. A review of good practices indicates that a comprehensively oriented approach using a range of mechanisms is likely to lead to considerable behaviour change among all stakeholders, including community members.

It should be noted that SBCC is a strategic means to combine communication approaches to promote changes in knowledge, attitudes, practices, norms, beliefs and behaviours.³⁹⁰ The difference between SBCC and simple awareness raising or Behaviour Change Communications (BCC) is the greater emphasis on bringing about social change, as opposed to focusing primarily on the level of the individual.

SBCC is an evidence-based method that is designed using existing data. It follows a systematic process, analysing the problem in order to define barriers and motivators to change. A comprehensive set of tailored interventions that promote the desired behaviours is developed. Interventions should be context specific to achieve the required impact.

A good SBCC strategy guides the design of interventions, establishes intended audiences, sets behavioural communication objectives and determines consistent messages, materials and activities across channels.³⁹¹

Rather than having different tools and images in the same geographical areas, it is more effective for messaging on child labour to be similar and thus recognisable to the target audience. Messaging on the linkages between child labour and environmental sustainability, including deforestation, can be integrated into the materials. Naturally, messaging can be adapted to specific localities but overall consistency is necessary to ensure that the messaging is reinforced. This is where effective coordination and collaboration are critical to success.

Encouraging community participation, peer awareness raising and the formation of support groups in schools further help to anchor long-term change. Examples of effective good practices³⁹² methods may include certificates and prizes for communities that meet child

389 E.g. as noted among others in the evaluation of an ICI project in Zegers, M. (2019), *Eliminating Child Labor in Cocoa Growing Communities (ECLIC)*, Washington, D.C.: IMPAQ International, LLC.

390 Health Communication Collaborative (2016), *SBCC for Emergency Preparedness Implementation Kit*, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University

391 Ibid.

392 Based on one of the author's past experience of various good practices observed and evaluated in health and nutrition-oriented projects such as in Madagascar and in child labour in Kenya.

labour reduction and environmental sustainability targets.³⁹³ They may also include community card games, such as collecting and sharing cards with messages.

Furthermore, good practice analysis indicates that the implementation of Supporting Children's Rights through Education, the Arts and the Media (SCREAM) modules with community members can be very effective.³⁹⁴ SCREAM is participatory and fits well within an SBCC approach. The methodology includes a special module specifically on child labour in agriculture.³⁹⁵

Basing communications in positive traditions, such as mutual support and focusing on the importance of the child using storytelling, proverbs and other means can also be used more frequently to increase focus on social and individual behaviour change. In Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana past experience has indicated that involving traditional authorities, especially if they make local by-laws, is useful because of the respect shown for traditional authorities and their decisions³⁹⁶. In Ghana, various development agencies are, for example, working with female traditional leaders referred to as "Queen Mothers." Queen Mothers are part of the culture of the Akan people who live in some of the cocoa regions.³⁹⁷ They are the embodiment of motherhood, so taking care of the well-being of children, especially girls, is a priority. The role of Queen Mothers in decision making on social issues and poverty is already well anchored in society.

Some of the SBCC methods can also be used to explain and promote the use of RBM techniques.

Given the challenges surrounding the employment of older children it is also necessary to develop and implement SBCC regarding the importance of youth employment in decent work in agriculture and related areas. Recipients of these communications include local government stakeholders, local leaders and educators, as well as young people themselves. Young people need to be encouraged to participate in, and learn about agriculture, and they need to be anchored in accessible quality agricultural education. Awareness raising in communities, including through peer education, about the benefits and usefulness of agricultural work in non-hazardous settings and decent work overall would be beneficial. Activities may include meetings, and collecting and sharing the success stories of young people involved in agriculture and ancillary activities. Examples of young people using digital technologies in agriculture and ancillary activities could help raise the interest of their peers.

393 Some of the text in this and the following paragraphs is based on recommendations of one of the authors of the current report in an evaluation report of a project on child labour in cocoa production in Côte d'Ivoire.

394 E.g. ILO SCREAM and others. Footnote: ILO (2019) SCREAM: Supporting Children's Rights through Education, the Arts and the Media. Available at <https://www.ilo.org/ipecc/Campaignandadvocacy/Scream/lang--en/index.htm>. Also available in French.

395 ILO (2016), SCREAM: Module spécial sur le travail des enfants dans l'agriculture, Geneva: ILO

396 Zegers, M.; Cownie, D.; Torniyie, E. et. al. (2015), Protecting Children from Violence: A Comprehensive Evaluation of UNICEF's Strategies and Programme Performance, Ghana Country Case Study, New York: UNICEF Evaluation Office.

397 Mensah, C. A.; Antwi, K. A.; Dauda, S. (2014), Female Traditional Leaders (Queen Mothers) and Community Planning and Development in Ghana, Environmental Management and Sustainable Development ISSN 2164-7682, 2014, Vol. 3, No. 1, Accra: Macrothink Institute.

3.7.1. MESSAGING DEVELOPMENT: STAKEHOLDERS IN THE EU, CÔTE D'IVOIRE AND GHANA

Stakeholders interviewed indicated that there are several issues needing attention to improve communications to bring about change at a national and global level.

Three main areas of focus for messaging have been identified, together with one main mechanism for use in discussions with decision makers in producer and EU countries, and with consumers.

1. **Share official information on the prevalence of child labour in cocoa producer areas.**
2. **Advertise/message about the efforts that governments, industry and fair-trade organisations are currently undertaking and plan to undertake to start communicating the problems and causes of child labour and deforestation.** The current, negative focus on these issues is needed to stimulate change. However, suggestions of hopelessness regarding possible progress should be countered to avoid consumer backlash. It should be explained that boycotting cocoa products is not the answer to these challenges, as farmers and their families will lose income and suffer increased poverty over the immediate term. Instead, messaging should encourage consumers to stay informed about the situation regarding the extent to which companies are addressing the issues and inspire them to clearly voice their opinions on these matters.
3. **Explain the need to increase retail prices,** at least by a little, to support special programmes supporting development in cocoa producing areas. This may include explaining the need to address gaps in education and other social service provision, building of infrastructure and other local development needs. Furthermore, to increase understanding of the need for higher prices, as some companies are already doing, focus messaging on increasing appreciation for the complexity of chocolate making and controlling quality in chocolate and other cocoa-based products.

It will be useful for the EU to provide support to develop mechanisms for consumers to obtain direct and transparent information on fair products that are made respecting human rights (no child labour no forced labour) and through sustainable means of production. This would mean linking consumers with entities that focus on standards (Fairtrade, Rainforest Alliance, as well as producer governments) and/or those that focus on incorporating block chain technologies. At producer level this would also require ensuring that data on child labour are collected in a transparent way down to farm level. Working with brands willing to confirm their respect of all the requirements based on external and transparent audits of impact results on child labour would be helpful.

It is also necessary to ensure that the messaging to consumers is uniform across the EU. Currently, labelling schemes on the food market vary. Products may carry labels indicating that they are fair trade, organic, child labour free, slave free, environmentally safe and other labels. There is therefore a danger of confusing consumers and leaving room for fraud, thereby eroding the labels' overall credibility.³⁹⁸

Within the framework of the UN Convention of the Rights of the Child it would also be useful to involve children and young people in the discussions. This means inviting children and young people in the EU and in Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana to contribute to the discussions on eliminating child labour in cocoa and deforestation. This could, among other means, be organised through the participation of children and young people in cocoa event panels. They may further contribute through sharing videos and other forms of messaging on human rights and environmental sustainability issues linked to cocoa via social media, radio and television.³⁹⁹

Existing groups within the EU, such as Erasmus Plus⁴⁰⁰, can contribute to this process. ARS4Progress⁴⁰¹ is an EU-supported organisation that can also provide support for identifying local groups and mediate with coordinating groups in the EU and in Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana.

One platform active in Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana is the U Report movement⁴⁰². This movement focuses on supporting positive local change using Facebook Messenger and WhatsApp. In Côte d'Ivoire, for instance, UNICEF is helping the Ministry of Youth implement its activities, one example of which is the sharing of discussion points on media platforms and asking young people to share their opinions on the subjects raised. Another media youth group in Côte d'Ivoire is the Jeunes Rapporteurs.



Curious Minds - Radio Ghana

In Ghana there is also the youth media organisation "Curious Minds"⁴⁰³ that operates radio stations and social messaging. The Ghana Community Radio Network (GCRN) also shares information from, and useful to young people.

398 Squicciarni, M.P. & Swinnen, J. (2016), *The Economics of Chocolate*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

399 Note that radio and television remain important media tools in Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana.

400 European Commission (2020), Erasmus+ Available from <https://ec.europa.eu/programmes/erasmus-plus/nodeen> Accessed 10/09/2020.

401 ARS4Progress (2020), ARS4Progress About Available from <http://www.arsprogress.eu/our-projects/> Accessed 07/07/2020.

402 U Report (2020), U Report (Overview) Available from <https://ureport.in/> Accessed 15 08 2020.

403 Curious Minds (2020), What we do. Available from <https://cmghana.org/what-we-do/> Accessed 10 10 2020.

In Ghana, the National Youth Advisory Board (NYAB) brings together children and young people up to the age of 25. Plan International helps sponsor the group. The NYAB comprises of 40 representatives from 10 regional youth advisory boards drawn from local junior and senior child rights clubs. The NYAB provided inputs to the Ghana Child and Family Welfare Policy and the “Girls Making Media” initiative. It has also provided input into a global evaluation of violence against children.⁴⁰⁴ At the time, one representative of the NYAB summarised their overall role as: “We need to be the voice for the children”.

Other youth groups in both countries that could be involved are the scouting groups and various faith-based youth groups.

3.8. Proposed key areas of change

Most stakeholders interviewed stated that better joint and harmonised collective action plans are needed. Interviewees strongly stressed that the preparation of action plans requires the full participation of all key stakeholders; these are the governments of Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana, the EU and its member states, private sector actors along the cocoa value chain and other non-state key stakeholders. Consequently, this study does not aim to be prescriptive. The evidence and analysis in the report provides suggestions for further dialogue to develop actions plans among key stakeholders.

Final action plans should include agreements to be implemented under a legally binding framework. They should incorporate result-based management (RBM) mechanisms that include intensive monitoring and auditing of the targets identified.

Some main areas of attention for implementation are discussed in the current section. A proposed detailed road map (see Annex 1) provides additional suggestions for areas of focus and priorities for short-, medium- and long-term planning. The road map also identifies the main stakeholders for each proposed component.

Governments of Cocoa Producer Countries

It should be noted that the key actors for the elimination of child labour and deforestation remain the governments and peoples of Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana. Their views on their own roles and responsibilities and those of other actors should have full consideration. The governments

404 Zegers, M.; Cownie, D.; Tornjyie, E. et. al. (2015), Protecting Children from Violence: A Comprehensive Evaluation of UNICEF's Strategies and Programme Performance, Ghana Country Case Study, New York: UNICEF Evaluation Office.

of these two countries have the ultimate responsibility for the well-being of the children and adults who are working in the cocoa value chain.

Cocoa Private Sector

Small, medium and large cocoa private sector enterprises need to work together to achieve the elimination of child labour and deforestation. Actions to address these challenges should not be limited to large companies – they must include small and medium enterprises. Many of the smaller and medium enterprises, and some larger ones, are currently not engaged in due diligence.

The private sector should prioritise scaling up current and planned initiatives. These include the CLMRS and the subjects identified in the Public-Private-Partnership (PPP) Children First in Cocoa frameworks, as well as the CLEF, ELAN, school nutrition, birth registration, and education including TVEST. The private sector should also continue the development and scaling up of the PPP in Côte d'Ivoire and support the full development of the PPP in Ghana.

During the initial stage (1-2 years), companies will be required to develop their systems to accommodate the voluntary and mandatory due diligence agreements. Small and medium enterprises (SME) active in the value chain should be formally required to adhere to mandatory due diligence. This would include national and international SMEs and extend to large companies not currently engaged in due diligence in their cocoa value chains.

The most crucial actions will have to be addressed and integrated during the initial period, with special attention being paid to capacity strengthening, poverty reduction, production modernisation, birth registration, and improving access to education and other social services. School feeding should be an integral part of these actions.

Fair trade organisations, advocacy networks, standard setting organisations and implementing agencies all have key roles to play in ensuring proper implementation of due diligence. This is especially relevant down at farm level, so that child labour is not hidden but objectively identified, audited and addressed.

International organisations will fulfil their mandates to support the governments of Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana in executing policies and strategies that eliminate child labour and encourage sustainable cocoa production.

3.8.1. EUROPEAN UNION SUPPORT

As cocoa exports from the two major producing countries of Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana represent 70% of all cocoa entering the EU, the EC is in a good position to help tackle child labour and deforestation. This includes developing sustainable social and environmentally responsible solutions with the two governments, EU institutions, EU Member States, multinational chocolate manufacturers, private sector service providers, civil society and other key stakeholders.

The mechanisms through which the EU can collaborate and join forces with other existing initiatives are clear. At country level, linking EU policy dialogue with the governments of Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana to the PPP Children First in Cocoa discussions is one example.

A critical consideration in dialogue and planning is to focus on aligning corporate practices along the cocoa value chain with national priorities. In this regard, stakeholder interviewees consistently noted the usefulness of the EU as mediator in policy dialogue between all partners.

In addition to EU headquarters, the country delegations and the embassies of the EU Member States will have a substantial role to play in dialogue with two governments of the two countries. As at international level, specialised agencies with strong experience specifically related to child labour in cocoa, including the International Cocoa Initiative (ICI), International Labour Organization (ILO), United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) and the World Bank should play key roles.

For the design and implementation of actions at country level – supplementary to the Governments of Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana – ICI, the ILO, UNICEF, FAO and World Bank are again specific entities for direct partnership with the EU. ICI as a foundation comprising the chocolate industry, civil society, farming communities and national governments is the most directly focused organisation on the subject matter. Together with the other key actors it can play a role in supporting the implementation of many of the recommendations. Notably in terms of mediating stakeholder dialogue, innovation, learning, advocacy, most of the capacity building required, as well as the due diligence and community development aspects.

3.8.2. PROPOSED PRIORITY FUNDING AREAS EUROPEAN UNION

The EU will not be the only donor to support the proposed main areas of focus. However, according to key stakeholders interviewed, and based on other evidence from the research analysis, the subjects listed in table below should have priority. While the list has many components, stakeholders who were interviewed for the study insisted that all of the issues need to be addressed to obtain real impact. The EU may not be able to fund all of the proposed

components, however, partial contributions may be made to join efforts with other donor partners. Determining the most appropriate EU funding mechanisms for each action requires further analysis.⁴⁰⁵

1. Support at International Level

- 1.1. Dialogue and support for the development, coordination and implementation of the EU Multi-Stakeholder Dialogue for Sustainable Cocoa (Cocoa Platform)
- 1.2. Development of mandatory and voluntary due diligence agreements, monitoring of implementation
- 1.3. Communications and awareness raising with a focus on children and youth in EU Member States with those in Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana.
- 1.4. Awareness raising and capacity strengthening of cocoa private sector actors to enable them to fully implement mandatory and voluntary agreements.
- 1.5. Communications between children and youth in EU Member States with those in Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana to address child labour and deforestation.

2. Support at National Level

- 2.1. Policy dialogue to design a time-bound agreement with cocoa producing countries, including robust measures to reduce child labour by addressing the root causes and gaps that contribute to child labour.
- 2.2. The development of Child Labour Elimination Plans for Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana 2021-2026. Ensuring integration of the CLMRS and other child labour reduction mechanisms into the national child labour system in both countries. The implementation of both mechanisms in a coordinated framework with focus on joint efforts.
- 2.3. Participation and mediation in dialogue for the Public-Private-Partnership (PPP) Children First in Cocoa framework. Better coordination and integration of government systems with private and international donor-funded initiatives. Contribution to identified components under the PPP, including CLEF, ELAN, birth registration, social protection, targeted cash transfers for vulnerable families in or at risk of child labour, following dialogue with donor stakeholders. Support for further development of the PPP Children First in Cocoa in Ghana.
- 2.4. Research into mechanisms to strengthen decentralisation of government budget support and local taxation to local level to ensure that more financing is available at local level to address child labour, root causes and decrease associated gaps.

⁴⁰⁵ This is outside the scope of the Terms of Reference of the current research and requires EU specialists on the most current available funding mechanisms.

- 2.5. Adaptation of due diligence systems to the national situation in Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana.
- 2.6. Strengthening data systems, management and use of data on child labour and sustainable cocoa production, including support for the development of effective feedback loops of high-quality data and improved monitoring, evaluation, reporting, and accountability including of the Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana governments.
- 2.7. Intellectual exchanges between the EU, Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana research institutions. Research may address child labour, poverty, including agricultural development, and digital technology tools that can be used at decentralised level.
- 2.8. Regional cooperation with Mali and Burkina Faso on human trafficking of children for labour.
- 2.9. Development Impact Bonds (DIB) and Sustainable Impact Bonds (SIB) initiatives being explored in Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana. These bonds are results-based contracts, in which private investors provide pre-financing for social programmes and public sector agencies pay back investors their principal plus a return if, and only if, these programmes succeed in delivering social outcomes.⁴⁰⁶
- 2.10. Coordination/integration of actions and services of non-state actors with cocoa producer government systems (collaboration on prevention/remediation, transfer of data, coordination among them and with public systems and services).

3. Support at Decentralised Level - District/Sous-Préfecture Authorities

- 3.1. Development of planning and implementation of child labour and sustainable cocoa production through landscape integrated area-based approaches (multi-stakeholder platforms), including a focus on improving coordination and integration of child protection and social protection government programmes with those of non-state actors (industry financed, other donors, NGOs.) through EU Budget support with SMART indicators.
- 3.2. Capacity strengthening of members of the multi-stakeholder platform following a training needs gap analysis. Capacity strengthening of government social workers, labour inspectors, police/justice officials, border officials, agricultural extension workers for service delivery on child labour elimination and deforestation.
- 3.3. Strengthening and scaling up farmer-based organisations (including cooperatives).
- 3.4. Birth registration plan development, implementation and monitoring.
- 3.5. Strengthening data systems and use of data on child labour and sustainable cocoa production.

⁴⁰⁶ Center for Global Development (2020), Investing in Social Outcomes: Development Impact Bonds, Available from <https://www.cgdev.org/page/investing-social-outcomes-development-impact-bonds-0> Website consulted 01 06 2020.

4. Support for Community-Based Actions

- 4.1. Scaling up CLMRS and similar child labour reduction methods, including trafficked children/forced labour.
- 4.2. Poverty reduction: support for income-generating activities/diversification, application of the living income differential, village savings and loan schemes, farmer training. Special focus on developing TVEST and employment options for decent work for children 15-18 years old and youth from cocoa households, including in agriculture and ancillary activities.
- 4.3. Quality education, including secondary and technical, vocational, and skills training for non-hazardous work.
- 4.4. School feeding.
- 4.5. Local infrastructure, especially in education, in accordance with community needs, with specific focus on at-risk child labour and deforestation areas.
- 4.6. Coordination/integration of practical actions and services of non-state actors with cocoa producer government systems (collaboration on prevention/remediation, transfer of data).

3.8.3. EU ROLE AND RESPONSIBILITIES ON SUPPORTING DUE DILIGENCE

The EU's role and responsibilities in supporting due diligence includes:

1. Reviews of company due diligence, traceability methods, reporting on interventions and integration into government systems.
2. Development of legal penalties for non-compliance to help ensure that genuine impact is achieved in reducing child labour and deforestation. The implementation of agreements on penalties for companies, governments and other stakeholders should be applied in time-limited stages.
3. Definitions of standards that will be accepted as evidence of compliance should be defined and agreed. Standards should be accompanied with clear practical descriptions that detail how decisions are made regarding whether a standard is being fully applied.

3.8.4. KEY IMPLEMENTATION PARTNERS

The key entities to be included in dialogue with the EU and other stakeholders are summarised here. The list is not exhaustive. Key stakeholders may decide to include other stakeholders through dialogue. A detailed full mapping resource that lists additional relevant stakeholders is available on request.

Côte d'Ivoire

Comité National de Surveillance des Actions de Lutte contre la traite, l'exploitation et le travail des enfants (CNS), Système d'Observation et de Suivi du Travail des Enfants en Côte d'Ivoire (SOSTECI)

Confédération Générale des Entreprises de Côte d'Ivoire - Patronat ivoirien (CGECI)

Groupement des Exportateurs (GEPEX)

Groupement des Négociants Internationaux/ Association des Exportateurs Ivoiriens de Cacao (GNI)

Ministère De L'agriculture et du Développement Rural

Ministère de l'Emploi et de la Protection Sociale (MEPS)

Ministère de la Famille, Cellule de Lutte contre la Traite, l'Exploitation et Travail des Enfant (CLTETE)

Ministère de la Santé

Ministère du Plan et du Développement

Other functional ministries including decentralised offices

Union Générale des Travailleurs de Côte d'Ivoire (UGTCI).

Ghana

COCOBOD

EcoCare

Ghana Employers' Association

General Agricultural Workers' Union of Ghana (GAWU)

Human Trafficking Management Board (HTMB)

Ministry of Employment and Labour Relations (MELR), Child Labour Unit

Ministry of Food and Agriculture

Ministry of Gender, Children and Social Protection

National Steering Committee on Child Labour (NSCCL)

Other functional ministries including decentralised offices, national NGOs

International and bilateral organisations

Beyond Chocolate (Belgium)

Caobisco

European Cocoa Association (ECA)

European Commission

European Federation of Trade Unions in the Food, Agriculture and Tourism (EFFAT)

Fair Food

Fair Labor Association (FLA)
Fair Trade Advocacy Office
Fairtrade International
Federation of Cocoa Commerce (FCC)
FERN
Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO)
German development cooperation organisation (GIZ) German Initiative on Sustainable Cocoa (GISCO)
Global March Against Child Labour (Global March)
HIVOS/Stop Child Labour
IDH - The Sustainable Trade Initiative
International Cocoa Initiative (ICI)
International Cocoa Organization (ICCO)
International Labour Organization (ILO), ILO IPEC + Global Flagship Programme
International NGOs including: CARE, International Rescue Committee (IRC), the FarmStrong Foundation, Save the Children, Solidaridad, Winrock International, World Vision
International Union of Food, Agricultural, Hotel, Restaurant, Catering, Tobacco and Allied Workers' Associations (IUF)
Mighty Earth
Netherlands Enterprise Agency (RVO), Fund against Child Labour (FBK), Sustainable Cocoa (DISCO)
Rainforest Alliance
Soldaridad
Swiss Platform for Sustainable Cocoa (SWISSCO)
Swiss State Secretariat for Economic Affairs (SECO)
Tropenbos
UNICEF
United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP)
United States Bureau of International Labor Affairs (USDOL ILAB)
Voice Network
World Bank
World Cocoa Foundation
World Food Programme

3.8.5. FUNDING: COORDINATED EU, BILATERAL, PRODUCER GOVERNMENT AND INDUSTRY STREAMS

The lack of available funding at local government level to provide sufficient educational and other social services has been found to obstruct the reduction of child labour in cocoa producing areas. Local needs to address child labour root causes and gaps can only be sustainably addressed with greater decentralised budget allocations. An in-depth analysis of the taxation and fiscal distribution system in Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana is beyond the scope of the current research. It is evident, however, that decentralised taxation and federal budget allocations need reviewing.

The implementation of innovative mechanisms to fund local government initiatives should also be reviewed. These may include Development Impact Bonds (DIB) and Sustainable Impact Bonds (SIB), as are already being explored in Côte d'Ivoire with the support of the World Bank and the iGravity organisation.⁴⁰⁷ These bonds are results-based contracts in which private investors provide pre-financing for social programmes and public sector agencies pay back investors their principal plus a return if, and only if, these programmes succeed in delivering social outcomes.⁴⁰⁸ EU support for these mechanisms through the existing investment guarantee tools that target child labour and sustainability could be useful and are recommended.

3.9. CONCLUDING REMARKS

The cocoa value chain is very large. It begins in humble farms in Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana, where cacao is grown, and it ends (by way of example) on a supermarket shelf in the EU as a chocolate bar. The problem that cocoa is produced using child labour and that it contributes to deforestation and other forms of environmental damage can no longer be ignored.

A holistic and comprehensive approach is required if meaningful help is to be given cocoa communities in eliminating of child labour and deforestation. The complexity and interplay of the socio-cultural, economic, institutional and physical environment necessitate this.

407 See <https://www.igravity.net/>

408 Center for Global Development (2020), Investing in Social Outcomes: Development Impact Bonds, Available from <https://www.cgdev.org/page/investing-social-outcomes-development-impact-bonds-0> Website consulted 01/06/2020.

Ending child labour and establishing sustainable cocoa production are of great symbolic importance, as they seem to represent absolute values. They are ends in themselves and the reason for the commissioning of this report.

What makes the cocoa value chain extraordinary, and the possibility of successful outcomes for quality initiatives better than average, is that it is still concentrated in two countries and one political entity, the EU. If a strong will can be translated into real joint actions, change is possible and will reduce child labour and deforestation.

The causes of child labour are clear though strongly intertwined. There is no one main reason for child labour and deforestation. A simple list of causes, ranging from the most to the least important causes of child labour would be impossible to make, and would serve no purpose. While the interplay of causal factors is impossible to disentangle, some root causes are clear.

The economic choices taken by the farmers in the first stage of the value chain are forced upon them. Engaging children in work on the cocoa farms and encroaching into forested areas are, in fact, not free choices, but the result of the situations in which farmers find themselves. Poverty has made farmers vulnerable to health shocks, environmental disasters and deteriorating farming conditions. Consequently, especially where initiatives to reduce child labour have not been implemented, child labour persists. An inability, especially at decentralised level, to provide adequate access to quality education and other social services contributes to persistent poverty. The still limited coverage of child labour and deforestation reduction efforts add to the continuing problems.

The lack of coordinated efforts to engage in sufficient joint and effectively harmonised actions are key impediments towards achieving real change. Due diligence and traceability are being only partially implemented. Approximately half of all cocoa industry actors, particularly small and medium sized businesses, but also some larger enterprises are not engaged in the due diligence needed to ensure that there is no exploitation of child or forced labour or of the environment. Actual traceability efforts directly audited at farm level are rare and challenging. The limited social inclusion of especially vulnerable persons in both initiatives and in managing efforts to address child labour and deforestation is impeding the achievement of results. This includes insufficient attention to gender issues, households affected by disabilities and/or HIV, elderly farmers, and migrant and trafficked workers, including children.

In conclusion, only a comprehensive, well-coordinated effort at all levels will achieve the goal of eliminating child labour in the cocoa value chain. Key solutions cannot be selected in a partial manner. The key stakeholders include the governments of Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana, the cocoa industry, international development partners, and international and national civil society. All these stakeholders need to come together and work together, with each taking on specific roles and responsibilities for the elimination of child labour and the establishment of sustainable cocoa production.

THE INTEGRATED SOLUTIONS PROPOSED ARE:

OVERARCHING

1. **Multi-stakeholder process platforms established and functioning at all levels to eliminate child labour and ensure that cocoa is produced sustainably.**
 - Develop a multi-stakeholder process through a transformative agenda at **international** (such as, the EU Sustainable Cocoa Initiative), **national** (participation and mediation in Public-Private-Partnership (PPP) Children First in Cocoa Framework) and **local** (decentralised level with focus on leadership, coordination and accountability).
 - Implement at each level, from national to local, mechanisms for vertical and horizontal **communications, joint planning and coordinated implementation** of synergistic actions.
 - **Develop plans** to address all of the root causes and gaps to eliminate child labour.
 - Develop landscape **integrated area-based approaches at decentralised level.**

2. **Systems approach adopted with continual improvement of initiatives based on consistent feedback from quantitative and qualitative data collected on child labour elimination initiatives and child labour prevalence.**
 - Develop a **systems approach guide** detailing methods to enable collective stakeholder learning and regular review of potential actions for change.
 - Implement methods for vertical and horizontal **quantitative and qualitative data collection.** Integrate collected feedback into planning channels from international and national to community level, the reverse and horizontally at each level.

3. **Operationalised result-based management system (RBMS) developed and implemented, building on and expanding due diligence accountability systems of all stakeholders**
 - Develop a **methodology guide for RBMS** to be used to measure contributions to tracking of progress on objectives, reviews company due diligence, traceability methods and regularly reports on interventions and integrates into government systems
 - Develop **clear targets** for implementation phases as progress is made and implement the RBMS system to assure accountability.
 - Develop **legal penalties** for non-compliance to ensure genuine impact and define standards accepted as evidence of compliance.

SPECIFIC

4. Partnerships and initiatives of Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana Governments and corporate actors aligned with international conventions, standards, guidelines, national policies and plans

- Improve and/or strengthen existing **partnerships and cross-border agreements** among the Economic Community of West Africa States (ECOWAS) - Côte d'Ivoire, Ghana, Burkina Faso, and Mali.
- **Scale up agreements** and implementation of initiatives for the identification, return and reintegration of trafficked children to return home to Burkina Faso and Mali.
- **Align corporate practices**, trade and implementation of initiatives with national priorities and overarching labour conventions, and with international business and human rights guidance documents.
- Ensure that **child labour elimination is directly cited** and fully integrated into all economic development policies and plans, especially in agriculture-related economic activities or investments. Including in the design and monitoring of the plans.

5. Strengthened enabling environment for reduced child labour and deforestation with particular attention to local development planning and implementation, and localities at high-risk.

- Strengthen the **legal, regulatory frameworks and institutions**, and ensure improved enforcement to eliminate child labour.
- Develop the expansion of well targeted **social protection** mechanisms to help protect from environmental, health, social and other shocks (which lead to higher dependence on child labour).
- Develop (new) or adapt existing **local development plans** to be more comprehensive, integrated, strengthened and synergistic with regard to child labour in child protection systems.
- Integrate and maintain, over the short, medium, and long term, **Child Labour Monitoring and Remediation System (CLMRS)** and other child labour initiative approaches into Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana Government child protection mechanisms, while at the same time expanding coverage of such initiatives and child protection overall.
- Conduct **capacity analysis** to identify the strengths, weaknesses and opportunities of each actor regarding local development planning and implementation for eliminating child labour. Include focus on social workers, labour inspectors/officers, agricultural extension officers, school inspectors, health workers, teachers, police/gendarmerie, community field workers, etc. Conduct capacity analysis to identify the strengths, weaknesses and opportunities of each stakeholder.
- Develop and/or strengthen **service delivery** capacities of key institutions for local development planning, implementation and enforcement of legal frameworks (districts, prefecture/sous prefectures, communities) with particular attention paid to social inclusion of especially vulnerable groups and high-risk areas. There should be a strong

focus on joint actions between industry and donor-supported programmes with local government staff for on-the-job learning and implementation of actions on child labour and deforestation. This includes identification and remediation of child labourers or potential child labourers.

- Increase construction of **physical infrastructure** with an emphasis on roads, accessible schools, health, child protection infrastructure and/or one-stop referral locations for children in, or at risk of child labour and/or other exploitation, abuse and neglect.
- Improve **quality and access to general education**, including well-planned school feeding programmes and education on children's rights and decent work in agriculture.
- Strengthen the provision of **child protection services**, including access to birth registration, and the provision of support to children suffering from abuse, neglect and other forms of exploitation.

6. Poverty of cocoa producers and ancillary activity workers reduced in a context of improved decent work conditions within an environmentally sustainable environment

- Continue and scale up efforts to ensure that **price and income** from cocoa at the farm gate continues to increase.
- Develop and implement **modern, non-hazardous production** using sustainable intensification of cocoa production methods to increase agricultural yields per hectare without adverse environmental impact and without the need to convert additional, non-agricultural land.
- Train farmer household children (in line with their interests) and adults from the age of 15 on **modern cocoa production, including a focus on occupational safety and health (OSH)** methods in agriculture.
- Further develop Global Positioning System (GPS) and other forms of **farm monitoring** tools to identify and follow up transgression into new forest areas.
- Accompany promoting the **diversification of economic activities** with suitable market assessment and training.
- Develop **agroforestry** as means of contributing to short-term food security needs and, over the medium- or longer-term, as an income source in both countries.
- Provide support for expanding **village savings and loan schemes (VSLs)** and access to formal financial services.
- Develop effective mechanisms to further support **formalising informal cocoa activities** and informal activities promoted as part of diversification efforts.

7. Increased and strengthened farmer-based organisations and giving communities a voice for effective functioning and contributing to reducing child labour

- Establish, where necessary, strengthen and scale up new and existing **FBOs** to increase productivity and decent work for all and environmentally sustainable conditions.
- Strengthen **community bodies** to address child labour, integrate actions effectively into child protection systems and ensure sustainable cocoa production.

8. Social behaviour change communications on child labour elimination and deforestation strengthened and effective

- Develop and implement a good **social behaviour change communications** (SBCC) strategy guide to inform the behaviour change interventions, based on existing effective practices.

ADDITIONAL COUNTRY-SPECIFIC PROPOSALS :

9. Côte d'Ivoire

- Ensure that there are functioning mechanisms for **birth registration** of children of multigenerational immigrants and children of unknown parents or others who would otherwise be stateless are functional and that children obtain proof of birth registration.
- Strengthen the **management of cooperatives** to address child labour.

10. Ghana

- Identify and implement **institutional reforms** in the Ghana Cocoa Board, including at CRIG for improved service delivery.
- Analyse how **illegal mining** is related to, and influences child labour in cocoa production; identify solutions and implement them.

RECOMMENDATIONS TO KEY STAKEHOLDERS

1. Governments of cocoa producer countries

- The key actors for the elimination of child labour and deforestation remain the governments and the people of Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana. Full consideration should be given to their views on their own roles and responsibilities and those of other actors. The governments of these two countries **carry the ultimate responsibility** for the well-being of the children and adults who are working in the cocoa value chain.

2. Cocoa private sector

- It is important for **small, medium and large cocoa private sector** enterprises to join together to work towards eliminating child labour and deforestation. Actions to address these challenges should not be limited to large companies but must include small and medium enterprises. Many of the smaller and medium enterprises, but also some of the larger ones, are not currently engaged in due diligence.
- The private sector should focus strongly on **scaling up current and planned initiatives**. These include the CLMRS and the subjects identified in the Public-Private-Partnership (PPP) Children First in Cocoa framework; for example, the Child Learning and Education Facility (CLEF), Early Learning and Nutrition Facility (ELAN), school nutrition, birth

registration and education, including Technical and Vocational Education and Skills Training (TVEST). In addition to continuing the development and scaling up of the PPP in Côte d'Ivoire, the full development of the PPP should be further supported in Ghana.

- During the initial stage (1-2 years), all companies should be required to develop their systems to accommodate **voluntary and mandatory due diligence** agreements and implement such systems if they do not yet have them in place. Small and medium enterprises (SME) active in the value chain should be formally required to adhere to mandatory due diligence. This includes national as well as international SMEs. It also includes large companies that do not currently carry out due diligence in their cocoa value chains.
- During the initial period, the **most crucial actions and their integration need to be addressed**. Over the short-term, special attention should be placed on capacity strengthening, poverty reduction, production modernisation, birth registration, improvement of access to quality education and other social services. School feeding should be an integral component of all education actions.

3. Fair trade organisations, advocacy networks, standard setting organisations and implementing agencies

- All have key roles to play in ensuring appropriate implementation of **due diligence**. This is especially true at farm level so that child labour is not hidden but objectively identified, audited and addressed.

4. International organisations

- Will implement their **mandate to support** the governments of Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana to implement policies and strategies that are relevant to child labour elimination and sustainable cocoa production.

References

- Accelerating action for the elimination of child labour in supply chains in Africa (ACCEL Africa), Available from <https://www.ilo.org/ipecc/projects/global/WCMS698536/lang--en/index.htm> Accessed 05/05/2020.
- Adjani, M. (2016), Statelessness and Nationality in Côte d'Ivoire: A study for UNHCR, Geneva: UNHCR.
- Aflatoun International, (2016), MASO Programme to Educate Young Cocoa Farmers Launched in Ghana, Available from <https://www.aflatoun.org/maso-programme-educate-young-cocoa-farmers-launched-ghana/> Accessed 05/09/2020.
- African Development Bank & Barry Callebaut (2016). Cocoa farmers' agricultural practices and livelihoods in Côte d'Ivoire. Available from <https://www.afd.fr/sites/afd/files/2017-09/24-notes-techniques.pdf>. Accessed on 31/07/2020.
- African Development Bank Group (2019), African Development Bank, Credit Suisse, Industrial and Commercial Bank of China and Ghana Cocoa Board ink \$600 million loan agreement to boost cocoa production, Available from <https://www.afdb.org/en/news-and-events/press-releases/african-development-bank-credit-suisse-industrial-and-commercial-bank-china-and-ghana-cocoa-board-ink-600-million-loan-agreement-boost-cocoa-production-32628>. Accessed 01 09 2020.
- AllAfrica (2019), Ghana: 'Inequality Remains Challenge in Ghana, Available from <https://allafrica.com/stories/201908230575.html>. Accessed 15/08/2020.
- Alliance 8.7 (2020a), Alliance 8.7 is an Inclusive Global Partnership Committed to Achieving Target 8.7 of the 2030 Sustainable Development Goals. Available from: <https://www.alliance87.org/the-alliance/> Accessed 20/06/2020.
- Alliance 8.7 (2020b), Pathfinder Countries, Available from <https://www.alliance87.org/pathfinder-countries/> Accessed 01/09/2020
- Amegashie-Duvon, E. (COCOBOD) (2014), Ghana's Sustainability Standards, Certification and Director Dialogue: Producers & Industry, Meeting, Zurich: ICCO (Slide 2).
- Aneani, F, V. M. Anchirinah, F. Owusu-Ansah & M. Asamoah (2012), Adoption of Some Cocoa Production Technologies by Cocoa Farmers in Ghana. Accra: Social Science & Statistics Unit, Cocoa Research Institute of Ghana.
- APA News (2019), Environ 453 000 personnes handicapées dénombrées en Côte d'Ivoire. Available from <http://apanews.net/fr/news/environ-453-000-personnes-handicapees-denombrees-en-cote-divoire>. Accessed 10/06/2020.

- ArcGIS (2020), Cocoa Industry in the Côte d'Ivoire, <https://www.arcgis.com/apps/Cascade/index.html?appid=dd19d4b6444e492da5b069d62d2c3ecb>, Accessed 30/06/2020
- Barometer/Downloadfiles/2018%20Cocoa%20Barometer%20180420.
- ARS4Progress (2020), ARS4Progress About Available from <http://www.arsprogress.eu/our-projects/> Accessed 07/07/2020.
- Asamoah, M. F. Aneani, S, Ofori, P. F. Branor (2015). Analysis of Farmers Adoption Behaviour of CRIG Recommended Technologies as a Package: The Case of Some Self-Help Cocoa Farmer Associations in the Eastern Region of Ghana. CRIG. Scientific Research Publishing Inc.: Available from: <https://www.scirp.org/html/3-300110457598.htm> Accessed 01/09/2020.
- Association for the Development of Education in Africa (Undated), Reducing Teacher Absenteeism: Solutions for Africa, Policy Brief, Harare: Reducing Teacher Absenteeism: Solutions for Africa.
- Autorité de Régulation des Télécommunications de Côte D'Ivoire (ARTCI) (2019), Panorama des Télécommunications/TIC en Côte d'Ivoire, Abidjan : ARTCI.
- Ayenor, G. K. (2006). Capsid control for organic cocoa production in Ghana: results of participatory learning and action research. PhD Thesis. Wageningen: Wageningen University.
- Ayenor, G.K., A. van Huis, N.G Röling & B. Padi, D. Obeng-Ofori 2007. Assessing the effectiveness of Local Agricultural Research Committee approach in diffusing sustainable cocoa production practices: The case of capsid control in Ghana. *International Journal of Agricultural Sustainability*. 5:2-3, 109-123.
- Ayenor, G. K., J. Kuwornu, A. A. Duah, J S. et.al. (2015). Final Report on Assessment of the Environmental and Socio-economic Impacts of Small-Scale Illegal Surface Mining in the Cocoa Landscape in Ghana. Internal Consultancy Report. Ghana Cocoa Board's Ghana Cocoa Platform. Sponsored by United Nations' Development Programme in Ghana. Accra: UNDP.
- Barry Callebaut, Fairtrade, Mars Wrigley, Mondelez International, Rainforest Alliance, VOICE Network (2019), Joint position paper on the EU's policy and regulatory approach to cocoa. Brussels: Barry Callebaut, Fairtrade, Mars Wrigley, Mondelez International, Rainforest Alliance, VOICE Network.
- B&FT Online (2020), MEDA hands over automated Drip Irrigation Schemes to COCOBOD, Available from <https://thebftonline.com/27/08/2020/meda-hands-over-automated-drip-irrigation-schemes-to-cocobod/>. Accessed 28/08/2020.
- Boateng, D.O., Codjoe, F.N.Y. and Ofori, J. (2014). Impact of illegal small-scale mining (Galamsey) on cocoa production in Atiwa district of Ghana. *International Journal of Advance Agriculture Research*, 2, 89-99 pp.

- Bowen R, Adomaa F, (2019), Final Performance Evaluation of Mobilizing Community Action and Promoting Opportunities for Youth in Ghana's Cocoa-Growing Communities (MOCA) Project Final Evaluation Report, Accra: MPAQ International, LLC.
- Brüderle, A. (June 2019), Education quality and child labour: Evidence from cocoa-growing communities in Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana, Geneva: International Cocoa Initiative.
- Buama, M. et.al. (2018), Technical business services for cocoa farmers: Concepts developed and experience from in Côte d'Ivoire, Ghana and Togo, Bonn: Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ) GmbH.
- Bugri, J. T., and Eric Yeboah, E. (2017), Understanding Changing Land Access and Use by the Rural Poor in Ghana, London: International Institute for Environment and Development.
- Bymolt, R., Laven, A., Tyszler, M. (2018), Demystifying the cocoa sector in Ghana and Côte d'Ivoire. Chapter 6, Land. Amsterdam: The Royal Tropical Institute (KIT).
- Bymolt, R., Laven, A., Tyszler, M. (2018), Demystifying the cocoa sector in Ghana and Côte d'Ivoire. Chapter 9, Cocoa producer groups, certification, training and credit, Amsterdam: The Royal Tropical Institute (KIT).
- Bymolt, R., Laven, A., Tyszler, M. (2018), Demystifying the cocoa sector in Ghana and Côte d'Ivoire. Chapter 12, Household income, poverty and wealth. Amsterdam: The Royal Tropical Institute (KIT).
- CAOBISCO (2020), CAOBISCO Statement Due Diligence, Brussels: CAOBISCO.
- Capillo, A, Somerville-Large, N (2019), Cocoa Sustainable Livelihoods Landscape Study: Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana, London: Fairtrade Foundation.
- Centre for Agricultural and Rural Co-operation (CTA) (programme ends in December 2020) Youth, digitalisation and climate resilience are CTA's priority intervention areas. The programme is ending in December 2020. Available from <https://www.cta.int/en/about-cta>. Website consulted 06/05/2020.
- Center for Agriculture and Rural Cooperation (2020), Blockchain: an opportunity to improve the traceability of sustainable cocoa in Côte d'Ivoire, Available from <https://www.cta.int/en/blog/all/article/blockchain-an-opportunity-to-improve-the-traceability-of-sustainable-cocoa-in-cote-d-ivoire-sid019abea6a-09ac-4b03-b065-4474ff19900a> Accessed 10/9/2020.
- Center for Global Development (2020), Investing in Social Outcomes: Development Impact Bonds, Available from <https://www.cgdev.org/page/investing-social-outcomes-development-impact-bonds-0> Website consulted 01 06 2020.
- Child Labour Unit of the Labour Department Ministry of Employment and Social Welfare (MESW) (2016), Hazardous Child Labour Activity Framework for Ghana (HAF). Accra: Child Labour Unit MESW.

- Choudhary, V. et al. (2015), Ghana: Agricultural Sector Risk Assessment: Risk Prioritization, Washington, DC: World Bank Group.
- Cocoa Barometer (2018), Cocoa Barometer. Available from <https://www.voicenetwork.eu/cocoa-barometer/> Accessed 10/02/2020.
- Cocoa Plan Nestlé (2017), Tackling Child Labour: 2017 Report, Geneva: Cocoa Plan Nestlé, International Cocoa Initiative (ICI).
- Cocoa Post (2019), Bad Roads A Setback To Cocoa Production In Ghana's Top Cocoa District, Available from <https://thecocoapost.com/bad-roads-a-setback-to-cocoa-production-in-ghanas-top-cocoa-district/> Accessed 20/07/2020.
- Commodafrica (2019), La campagne cacao 2019/20 lancée en Côte d'Ivoire et au Ghana, avec un prix en hausse de 8 à 10%. Available from <http://www.commodafrica.com/01-10-2019-la-campagne-cacao-201920-lancee-en-cote-divoire-et-au-ghana-avec-un-prix-en-hausse-de-8>. Accessed 09/06/2020.
- Construction Review Online (2020), Ghana commence upgrade of TVET infrastructure, Available from <https://constructionreviewonline.com/2020/01/ghana-commence-upgrade-of-tvet-infrastructure/> Accessed 10/09/2020.
- Council of the European Union (2020), Outcome of Proceedings, Council Conclusions on EU Priorities in UN Human Rights Fora in 2020. Brussels: General Secretariat of the Council.
- Counter-Trafficking Data Collaborative (CTDC) (2020), The Counter Trafficking Data Collaborative Global Data Hub On Human Trafficking, Available from <https://www.ctdatacollaborative.org/> Accessed 25 08 2020.
- Curious Minds (2020), What we do. Available from <https://cmghana.org/what-we-do/> Accessed 10 10 2020.
- Dadzie, C.; Mawuko, F.; Namara, S. (2020), Youth Employment Programs in Ghana: Options for Effective Policy Making and Implementation, Accra: World Bank.
- De Buhr, E & Gordon, E (2018) Bitter sweets: prevalence of forced labour and child labour in the cocoa sectors of Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana. New Orleans & Dalkeith, Western Australia: Tulane University & Walk Free (Minderoo) Foundation.
- Department of Children, Ministry of Gender Children and Social Protection and UNICEF Ghana (2018), Position paper on corporal punishment in Ghana Corporal punishment in Ghana: A position paper on the legal and policy issues. Accra: Department of Children, Ministry of Gender Children and Social Protection and UNICEF Ghana.
- De Vries, K.; McClafferty, B., Van Dorp, M. (2012), Increasing cocoa productivity through improved nutrition: A call to action, Concept Brief. Wageningen: Global Alliance for Improved Nutrition (GAIN).

- DEVTECH (2008), Safe Schools Program 2003-2008, Available from <https://devtechsys.com/projects/Safe-Schools-Program>. Accessed 15/08/2020.
- ECA (2019), European Cocoa Association Position Paper on Due Diligence, Brussels: European Cocoa Association.
- Embode (2016), Children at the Heart; Assessment of Child Labour and Child Slavery in Côte d'Ivoire's Cocoa Sector and Recommendations to Mondelez International, Hong Kong: Embode Ltd.
- ENEZA Education (2020), Learning Never Stops, Available from: <https://enezaeducation.com/>. Accessed 23/08/2020.
- European Commission (2019), Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament, the Council, the European Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions Stepping up EU Action to Protect and Restore the World's Forests, {SWD (2019) 307 final}, Brussels: European Commission.
- European Commission (2020), Circular Economy Action Plan For a Cleaner and More Competitive Europe # Green Deal, Available from <https://ec.europa.eu/environment/circular-economy/pdf/newcirculareconomyactionplan.pdf>. Accessed 22/09/2020.
- European Commission (September 2020), Commission launches initiative for more sustainable cocoa production. Available from https://ec.europa.eu/international-partnerships/news/commission-launches-initiative-more-sustainable-cocoa-production_en. Accessed 25/11/2020.
- European Commission (2020), Deforestation and forest degradation – reducing the impact of products placed on the EU market. Available from <https://ec.europa.eu/info/law/better-regulation/have-your-say/initiatives/12137-Minimising-the-risk-of-deforestation-and-forest-degradation-associated-with-products-placed-on-the-EU-market> Accessed 22/09/2020.
- European Commission (2020), Erasmus+ Available from <https://ec.europa.eu/programmes/erasmus-plus/nodeen>. Accessed 10/09/2020.
- European Commission (2020), Farm to Fork Strategy – for a fair, healthy and environmentally-friendly food system, Available from <https://ec.europa.eu/food/farm2forken>. Accessed 22/09/2020.
- European Parliament, European Commission (2017), The New European Consensus on Development Official Journal of the European Union, C210, Volume 60, 30 June 2017, Brussels: European Parliament, European Commission.
- EU FLEGT Facility (2020) Available from <http://www.euflegt.efi.int/home>. Accessed 09/02/2020.

- FAO, CFS Committee on World Food Security (2012), Voluntary Guidelines on the Responsible Governance of Tenure of Land, Fisheries and Forests in the Context of National Food Security, Rome: FAO.
- FAO (2014), Contribution to the 2014 United Nations Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) Integration Segment, Available from <https://www.un.org/en/ecosoc/integration/pdf/foodandagricultureorganization.pdf>. Accessed 01/06/2020.
- FAO (2020) FAO framework on ending child labour in agriculture. Rome: FAO
- Faracik, B. (2017), Study: Implementation of the UN Guiding Principles on Business and Human Rights, Brussels: Directorate-General for External Policies, Policy Department.
- Fountain, A. C. & Huetz-Adams, F 2018, Cocoa barometer 2018, Cocoa Barometer. Available from: <http://www.cocoabarometer.org/Cocoa>
- Fountain, A.C. and Hütz-Adams, F. (January 2020), Necessary Farm Gate Prices for a Living Income: Existing Living Income Reference Prices are Too Low, Amsterdam: Cocoa Barometer Consortium administered by VOICE Network.
- Francesconi, G.N. & Wouterse, F. (2015), The Health of Farmer-Based Organisations in Ghana: Organisational Diagnostics and Governance Implications, March 2015. *Journal of Development Studies* 51(3):262-273.
- FUNDAMENTALS, ILO Regional Office for Africa (2017), Meta-Analysis of Evaluations on ILO Child Labour Programmes and Projects in Africa 2009-2014, Geneva: ILO.
- Funtowicz, S. and Ravetz, J., 1993. "Science for the post-normal age", *Futures*, 31(7): 735-755.
- Gans-Lartey, E. G. (2017), School Feeding Program as an Incentive for Education in Rural Ghana: The Case of Cocoa Growing Areas, Accra: Institute for Democratic Governance.
- GEFAK mbH (2016), Study on the state of farmer cooperatives in the cocoa sector of Côte d'Ivoire, Marburg: GEFAK mbH.
- Ghana Cocoa Board, (2020) About Us, Available from <https://cocobod.gh/ObjectivesFunctionsBoard.php>. Accessed 06/06/2020)
- Ghana Statistical Service (2018) Multiple Indicator Cluster Survey (MICS2017/18), Survey Findings Report. Accra, Ghana: GSS.
- Ghana Statistical Service (2019), Rebased 2013-2018 Annual Gross Domestic Product, Accra: Ghana Statistical Service.
- Global Conference on the Sustained Eradication of Child Labour IV (2017), Buenos Aires Declaration on Child Labour, Forced Labour and Youth Employment, 14-16 November 2017, Buenos Aires: Alliance 8.7.

- Global Initiative to End all Corporal Punishment of Children (2019), Châtiments corporels des enfants en Côte d'Ivoire, Available from <https://endcorporalpunishment.org/reports-on-every-state-and-territory/cote-divoire-fr/>. Accessed 30/08/2020.
- Government of the Republic of Côte d'Ivoire (2017), National Action Plan: Fight Against Trafficking, Exploitation and Child Labour. Abidjan: Government of the Republic of Côte d'Ivoire.
- Government of Ghana, UNICEF, ILO and International Cocoa Initiative (December 2017), National Plan of Action: Towards Achieving Sustainable Development Goal (SDG) 8.7 (PHASE II (NPA2)): For the Elimination of the Worst Forms of Child Labour in Ghana (2017 – 2021), Accra: Government of Ghana, UNICEF, ILO and International Cocoa Initiative.
- Graphic Online (2020), Government to replant swollen shoot-affected cocoa farms, Available from <https://www.graphic.com.gh/news/general-news/government-to-replant-swollen-shoot-affected-cocoa-farms.html>. Website consulted 26/09 /020.
- Health Communication Collaborative (2016), SBCC for Emergency Preparedness Implementation Kit, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University.
- ICI (2017), Cocoa Farmers in Ghana Experience Poverty and Economic Vulnerability. Available from <https://cocoainitiative.org/news-media-post/cocoa-farmers-in-ghana-experience-poverty-and-economic-vulnerability/#:~:text=800%2C000%20small%20scale%20cocoa%20farmers,%240.40%2D%240.45%20on%20cocoa>. Accessed 15/06/2020.
- ICI (2020), Hazardous Child Labour in Côte d'Ivoire's Cocoa Communities During COVID-19, Geneva: ICI.
- ICI (2020), ICI Strategy, Geneva: ICI.
- ICI (2020), Our Work, Available from <https://cocoainitiative.org/our-work/our-work/supply-chain/>. Accessed 10/10/2020.
- ILAB USDOL (2019), Child Labor and Forced Labor Report 2018 Ghana, Washington, D.C.: ILAB USDOL.
- ILO (2007), Rooting out Child Labour from Cocoa Farms, Paper No. 2 Safety and health hazards, Geneva: ILO-IPIEC.
- ILO (2016), SCREAM: Module spécial sur le travail des enfants dans l'agriculture, Geneva: ILO.
- ILO (2017), Ending child labour by 2025: A review of policies and programmes, Geneva: International Labour Organization.
- ILO (2017) Global Estimates of Child Labor 8.7 Alliance, Geneva: ILO.
- ILO (2017), ILO policy guidelines for evaluation: Principles, rationale, planning and managing for evaluations, 3RD edition. Geneva: ILO.

- ILO (2018), Ending child labour by 2025: A review of policies and programmes, Second edition, Geneva: ILO.
- ILO (2018), Towards the urgent elimination of Hazardous Child Labour, Geneva: ILO.
- ILO, Evaluation Office (2019), Independent High-level Evaluation: ILO's Strategy and Actions towards the Formalization of the Informal Economy, 2014–18, Geneva: ILO.
- ILO (2019) SCREAM: Supporting Children's Rights through Education, the Arts and the Media. Available at <https://www.ilo.org/ipecc/Campaignandadvocacy/Scream/lang--en/index.htm>. Also available in French.
- ILO (2020), Fundamental Principles and Rights at Work: About the Declaration, Available from <https://www.ilo.org/declaration/thedeclaration/lang--en/index.htm>. Accessed 15/09/2020.
- ILO (2020), Normlex Home, Ratification by conventions, Ratifications of C138, countries that have not ratified this Convention. Available from <https://www.ilo.org/dyn/normlex/en/f?p=1000:1::NO::>. Accessed 20 02 2020.
- ILO (2020), Normlex Home, Ratification by conventions, Ratifications of C182, countries that have not ratified this Convention. Available from <https://www.ilo.org/dyn/normlex/en/f?p=NORMLEXPUB:11310:0::NO:11310:P11310INSTRUMENTID:312327:NO> Accessed 20/02/2020.
- ILO (2020) What is child labour: Defining child labour. Available from <https://www.ilo.org/ipecc/facts/lang--en/index.htm>. Accessed 05/01/2020.
- ILO (2020), HIV, AIDS and child labour, Available from <https://www.ilo.org/ipecc/facts/related/HIVAIDS/lang--en/index.htm>. Accessed 25/08/2020.
- ILO and UNICEF (2021) Child Labour: Global estimates 2020, trends and the road forward, ILO and UNICEF, New York,
- ILO, Evaluation Unit (2012). Policy Guidelines for Results-Based Evaluation Principles, Rationale, Planning and Managing for Evaluations. p. 45. Geneva: ILO.
- IPEC (2013), Integrated area-based approach as a strategy for laying foundations for child labour-free zones - A case of Busia, Kilifi and Kitui Districts in Kenya, Dar Es Salaam: ILO Country Office for United Republic of Tanzania, Kenya, Rwanda and Uganda.
- Ingram, V. et al (2018), The Impacts of Cocoa Sustainability Initiatives in West Africa, Sustainability 2018, 10, 4249, Basel: MDPI.
- International Finance Corporation (2020), Sweetening Prospects for Ivoirian Cocoa Co-Ops, Available from <https://www.ifc.org/wps/wcm/connect/newsexcontent/ifcexternalcorporatesite/news+and+events/news/impact-stories/affordable-credit-for-ivoirian-cocoa-co-ops>. Accessed 23/09/2020.
- Jumelages & Partenariats (2020), Côte d'Ivoire : Harmonisation de la loi sur la Décentralisation (06 08 2020), Available from <https://jumelages-partenariats.com/actualites>.

php?n=6169&art=C%C3%B4ted%E2%80%99Ivoire:HarmonisationdelaloisurlaD%C3%A9centralisation. Accessed 03/09/2020.

- Kenya Vision 2030 (2020), Results Based Management, Available from <http://vision2030.go.ke/project/results-based-management/>. Accessed 30/08/2020.
- Krueger, S.; Derzsi-Horvath, A.; Steets, J. (2016), IASC Transformative Agenda: A Review of Reviews and Their Follow-Up, Berlin: Global Policy Institute.
- Kyeampong, K. (2017), Accountability in the Education Sector: The Case of Ghana, Country case study prepared for the 2017/8 Global Education Monitoring Report, Accra: UNESCO.
- Laboulle, O. & Wilson, S. (2017), Effectiveness Review of Child Labour Monitoring Systems in the Smallholder Agricultural Sector of Sub-Saharan Africa: Review of Emerging Good Practices, Geneva: International Cocoa Initiative.
- Langat, G., Otundo, M. (2018), Result Based Management and Performance of Projects in Public Sector, Nairobi: University of Nairobi.
- Leissle, K. (2018), Cocoa, Cambridge, UK: Polity Press.
- Losch B. (November 2016), Structural Transformation to Boost Youth Labour Demand in Sub-Saharan Africa: The Role of Agriculture, Rural Areas and Territorial Development, Geneva: ILO.
- Massart, G. (2012), A Study of Child Mobility and Migrant Flows to the Cocoa-Producing Communities in Ghana, Geneva: ICI.
- Maurer, Ralph (2012), Lessons Learned, Utilising lessons learned from project evaluations in policy decision making. I-evaluation Think Piece, No. 1. Geneva: ILO.
- Mensah, C. A.; Antwi, K. A.; Dauda, S. (2014), Female Traditional Leaders (Queen Mothers) and Community Planning and Development in Ghana, Environmental Management and Sustainable Development ISSN 2164-7682, 2014, Vol. 3, No. 1, Accra: Macrothink Institute.
- Mensah, L. (2015), Long Beaten for Inattention, Some Ghanaian Children With Learning Disabilities Finally Get Effective Education, Available from <https://globalpressjournal.com/africa/ghana/long-beaten-for-inattention-some-ghanaian-children-with-learning-disabilities-finally-get-effective-education/> Accessed 09/09/2002.
- Mighty Earth (2020), An "Open Secret:" Illegal Ivorian Cocoa. 20 11 2020 Available from <https://www.mightyearth.org/an-open-secret-illegal-ivorian-cocoa/>
- Ministère de l'Éducation Nationale, de l'Enseignement Technique et de la Formation Professionnelle (MENETFP), Direction de la Stratégie de la Planification et des Statistiques (DSPS) (2019). Statistiques Scolaires de Poche 2018-2019. République de la Côte d'Ivoire. Abidjan : MENETFP.
- Ministère de l'Éducation Nationale de Côte d'Ivoire, (2020), Les Enseignants Préconisent l'Adoption des Approches Pédagogiques de GEZCI. (Global E-Schools and Communities

Initiative), Available from <http://www.education.gouv.ci/communique-de-presse-sbc/>
Accessed 15/09/2020.

- Ministère de l'Emploi et de la Protection Sociale (2017), Arrêté Déterminant la Liste des Travaux Dangereux Interdits aux Enfants, Arrêté No 2017-017 MEPS/CAB 02 Juin 2017. Accra : Ministère de l'Emploi et de la Protection Sociale.
- Ministère de la Promotion de la Jeunesse, de l'Emploi des Jeunes et du Service Civique (MPJEJSC) (2016), La Politique Nationale de la Jeunesse et les Stratégies, Abidjan : Ministère de la Promotion de la Jeunesse, de l'Emploi des Jeunes et du Service Civique.
- Ministère du Plan et du Développement (2016), La Situation des Femmes et des Enfants en Côte D'ivoire. Enquête par grappes à indicateurs multiples - Côte d'Ivoire 2016. Abidjan : Ministère du Plan et du Développement, l'Institut National de la Statistique (INS), UNICEF
- Ministère du Plan et du Développement (2016), Le Plan de Développement 2016-2020. Abidjan : Ministère du Plan et du Développement.
- Ministère du Plan et du Développement, Office National de la Population (2018), Analyse des Privations Multiples des Enfants en Côte d'Ivoire. Abidjan : Ministère du Plan et du Développement, Office National de la Population.
- Ministry of Food and Agriculture (MoFA) (2009) Food and Agriculture Sector Development Policy (FASDEP II), Accra: MOFA.
- Ministry of Education, Ghana Education Service, National Education Assessment Unit (2016), Ghana 2016 National Education Assessment Report of Findings, Accra: Ministry of Education, Ghana Education Service, National Education Assessment Unit.
- Ministry of Education Ghana, (2018), Education Sector Analysis, Accra: Ministry of Education Ghana.
- Ministry of Youth and Employment (2008), Hazardous Child Labour Activity Framework For the Cocoa Sector in Ghana. Ministry of Youth and Employment (2008), Hazardous Child Labour Activity Framework for the Cocoa Sector in Ghana (June 2008). Available from <https://cocoainitiative.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/07/hazardousghanaframework.pdf>. Accessed 09/08/2020. Accra: Ministry of Youth and Employment.
- Modern Ghana (2020), Galamsey Now Threatens Our Cocoa Industry! Available from <https://www.modernghana.com/news/1030723/galamsey-now-threatens-our-cocoa-industry.html>. Accessed 20/09 /020.
- Nakua, E.K., Owusu-Dabo, E., Newton, S. et al. (2019), Injury rate and risk factors among small-scale gold miners in Ghana, BMC Public Health 19, 1368 (2019).
- National Development Planning Commission (NDPC), Statistical Service, UNICEF (2020), Accra Multi-Dimensional Child Poverty in Ghana. Accra: NDPC.

- National Planning Development Commission and Ministry of Planning (NDPC) (2019). 2109 Inclusive development forum and high-level dialogue – Consolidated Report. Accra: NDPC and Ministry of Planning in collaboration with the UNICEF.
- Nieburg, O. (2017), Paying the Price of Chocolate: Breaking cocoa farming's cycle of poverty, Available from <https://www.confectionerynews.com/Article/2014/07/10/Price-of-Chocolate-Breaking-poverty-cycle-in-cocoa-farming>. Accessed 15/09/2020.
- NORC at the University of Chicago (2020), Assessment of Effectiveness of Cocoa Industry, Interventions in Reducing Child Labor in Cocoa Growing Areas of Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana. Chicago: University of Chicago.
- NORC at the University of Chicago (2020), Assessing Progress in Reducing Child Labor in Cocoa Production in Cocoa Growing Areas of Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana. Chicago: University of Chicago.
- OECD (2011), Environmental Claims Findings and Conclusions of the OECD Committee on Consumer Policy, Paris: OECD.
- OECD-FAO (2016), OECD-FAO Guidance for Responsible Agricultural Supply Chains, Paris: OECD.
- OCDE (OECD) (2017), Examen du bien-être et des politiques de la jeunesse en Côte d'Ivoire, Paris: Projet OCDE-UE Inclusion des jeunes.
- OECD (2018), OECD Due Diligence Guidance for Responsible Business Conduct, Paris: OECD.
- OECD (2020), Youth Inclusion Projet. Available from : <http://www.oecd.org/dev/inclusivesocietiesanddevelopment/youth-inclusion-project.htm>. Accessed 04/12/2020.
- Office of the Special Adviser on Africa (OSAA) (2015), Comprehensive Africa Agriculture Development Programme (CAADP), Available from [https://www.un.org/en/africa/osaa/peace/caadp.shtml#:~:text=Comprehensive%20Africa%20Agriculture%20Development%20Programme%20\(CAADP\),-Photo%3A%20FAO%20Folivier&text=The%20Comprehensive%20Africa%20Agriculture%20Development,growth%20and%20prosperity%20for%20all](https://www.un.org/en/africa/osaa/peace/caadp.shtml#:~:text=Comprehensive%20Africa%20Agriculture%20Development%20Programme%20(CAADP),-Photo%3A%20FAO%20Folivier&text=The%20Comprehensive%20Africa%20Agriculture%20Development,growth%20and%20prosperity%20for%20all). Accessed 20/08/2020.
- Ohene, S.A.; Johnson, K.; Atunah--Jay, S. et.al. (2015), Sexual and physical violence victimization among senior high school students in Ghana: Risk and protective factors, Elsevier: Social Science& Medicine 146 (2015) 266-275.
- Orrnert, A. (2018), Links between education and child labour. Brighton: Knowledge, evidence and learning for development. (K4D).
- Osei-Tutu, J., Abebe, T. (2018), Tensions and controversies regarding child labor in small-scale gold mining in Ghana, African Geographical Review, DOI: 10.1080/19376812.2018.148039.
- Owusu-Amankwah, R. (2015). Certification, Child labour and Livelihood Strategies: An analysis of cocoa production in Ghana, Wageningen: PhD Thesis Wageningen University.

- Pluess, J. (November 2018), Children's Rights in the Cocoa-Growing Communities of Côte d'Ivoire, Abidjan: UNICEF Côte d'Ivoire.
- Positive Planet (2020), Positive Planet International Afrique de l'Ouest et Centrale. Available from <http://positiveplanetinternational.org/projects/zone/2/afrique-de-louest-et-centrale.html>. Accessed 08/07/2020.
- Pretty, J. & Bharucha, P. (2014), Sustainable intensification in agricultural systems, *Annals of Botany*, Volume 114, Issue 8, December 2014, Pages 1571–1596.
- PYMNTS.com (2019), Mastercard Launches Digital Sales Platform For Farmers (in Emerging Markets) Available from <https://www.pymnts.com/mastercard/2019/mastercard-launches-digital-sales-platform-for-farmers/>. Website consulted 01/09/2020.
- Ravetti, C. (April 2020), The Effects of Income Changes on Child Labour: A Review of Evidence from Smallholder Agriculture, Geneva: International Cocoa Initiative.
- Ravetti, C. (May 2020), The Effect of Cash Transfers on Child Labour: A Review of Evidence from Rural Contexts, Geneva: International Cocoa Initiative
- Resnick, D. (2018), The Devolution Revolution: Implications for Agricultural Service Delivery in Ghana, Washington, D.C.: International Food Policy Research Institute (IFPRI).
- Reuters Ghana (2019), Ivory Coast cocoa floor price seen as small step toward ending child labour. Available from <https://af.reuters.com/article/commoditiesNews/idAFL8N23L3DJ>. Accessed 10/02/2020.
- Rohlman, D.S. et al. (2015). A 10-month prospective study of organophosphorus pesticide exposure and neurobehavioral performance among adolescents in Egypt, in *Cortex*, January 2016, Vol. 74, pp. 383-395.
- Rolling, N. and Woodhill, J. (2001). From Paradigm to Practice: Foundations, Principles and Elements for Dialogue on Water, Food and Environment. Background Document for National and Basin Dialogue Design Workshop. Bonn, December 1 and 2, 2001.
- Rusman, A; de Adelhart Toorop, et al (2018), Cocoa Farmer Income. The household income of cocoa farmers in Côte d'Ivoire and strategies for improvement. Amsterdam: True Price.
- Sefa-Nyarko, C; Kyei, P; Mwambari. D. (2018), Transitions from Primary to Lower Secondary School: A Focus on Equity (Ghana Case Study), Accra: Master Card Foundation.
- Siaw, A. et al (2020), The Impact of Internet Use on Income: The Case of Rural Ghana, *April 2020 Sustainability* 12(8):1-16.
- Smit, L.; Bright, C.; McCorquodale, R.; et. al. (2020), Study on Due Diligence Requirements Through the Supply Chain, Brussels: European Commission.
- Smith, S & Sarpong, D (2018), Living Income Report Rural Ghana. Cocoa growing areas of Ashanti, Central, Eastern, and Western Regions. Series 1, Report 1, 21 September 2018.

Prepared for: The Living Income Community of Practice, ISEAL, Sustainable Food Labour, GiZ. London: ISEAL.

- Squicciarni, M.P. & Swinnen, J. (2016), *The Economics of Chocolate*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Steijn, C. (2018), *Demystifying the cocoa sector in Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana- Desk Research*, Amsterdam: Royal Tropical Institute (KIT).
- Stop Child Labour (September 2018), *Getting Down to Business: Accelerating Joint Action Towards A Child Labour Free World*, The Hague: Stop Child labour, HIVOS.
- Sustainable Cocoa Initiative (2020), *EU Multi-Stakeholder Dialogue for Sustainable Cocoa: Concept Note*, Brussels: Sustainable Cocoa Initiative.
- Swisscontact (2017), *Micro-Insurance for Cocoa Farmers*, West Jakarta: Swisscontact Indonesia Country Office.
- Tanaka, T., Nuamah, C., Geiger, M. (2018), *Ghana's challenges: Widening regional inequality and natural resource depreciation*, Available from: <https://blogs.worldbank.org/african/ghanas-challenges-widening-regional-inequality-and-natural-resource-depreciation>. Accessed 20 06 2020.
- Telegeography (2019), *COMMS Update Ghana aims to increase internet penetration to 95% by end-2020*, Available from <https://www.commsupdate.com/articles/2019/10/30/ghana-aims-to-increase-internet-penetration-to-95-by-end-2020/>. Accessed 17/09/2020.
- The Africa Report (2020), *Ghana and Côte d'Ivoire taste success in raising price of cocoa*, Available from <https://www.commsupdate.com/articles/2019/10/30/ghana-aims-to-increase-internet-penetration-to-95-by-end-2020/>. Accessed 15/08/2020.
- The Conversation (2016), *Ghana's school feeding scheme is slowly changing children's lives*, Available from: <https://theconversation.com/ghanas-school-feeding-scheme-is-slowly-changing-childrens-lives-60875>. Accessed 25/08/2020.
- The Living Income Community of Practice (2020), Available from <https://www.living-income.com/> Accessed 19/02/2020.
- The World Bank (July 2019), *Au Pays du Cacao Comment Transformer la Côte d'Ivoire*, Abidjan: The World Bank.
- Thorsen, D. (2012), *Children Working in the Urban Informal Economy: Evidence from West and Central Africa*, Dakar: UNICEF West and Central Africa Regional Office.
- Trading Economics (2020). *Ghana GDP Annual Growth Rate | 2000-2020 Data | 2021-2022 Forecast | Calendar*. Available from <https://tradingeconomics.com/ghana/gdp-growth-annual>. Accessed 29/06/2020.
- Tulane University (July 2015), *Survey Research on Child Labor in West African Cocoa Growing Areas*, New Orleans: Tulane University.

- Understanding Children's Work (UCW) Programme (2017), Not Just Cocoa: Child Labour in the Agricultural Sector in Ghana (Document cover children in cocoa and other forms of agriculture), Geneva, Rome: ILO, Centre for Economic and International Studies (CEIS).
- Tyszler M., Bymolt R. and Laven A. (November 2018), Analysis of the Income Gap of Cocoa Producing Households in Ghana: Comparison of Actual Incomes with the Living Income Benchmark, Amsterdam: KIT Royal Tropical Institute.
- Tyszler, M., Bymolt, R. & Laven, A. (2019), Analysis of the Income Gap of Cocoa Producing Households in Côte d'Ivoire: Comparison of actual incomes with the Living Income Benchmark, Amsterdam: KIT Royal Tropical Institute.
- UNAIDS (2019), Country Overview Côte d'Ivoire (2018 data), Available from <https://www.unaids.org/en/regionscountries/countries/ctedivoire>. Accessed 23/06/2020.
- UNAIDS (2019), Country Overview Ghana (2019 data) Available from: <https://www.unaids.org/en/regionscountries/countries/ghana>. Accessed 29/08/2020
- UNCCT (2019), Handbook: Children affected by the foreign-fighter phenomenon: Ensuring a child rights-based approach. Geneva: UNCCT.
- UNDP (2019), World Population Prospects 2019, Available from <https://population.un.org/wpp/Download/Standard/Migration/>, Accessed on 23/07/2020.
- UNDP (2020), Human Development Report 2019. Briefing Note Côte d'Ivoire. NY: UNDP.
- UNDP (2020), Human Development Report 2019: Beyond income, beyond averages, beyond today: Inequalities in human development in the 21st century. NY: UNDP
- Understanding Children's Work (UCW) Programme (2016), Child labour and the youth decent work deficit in Ghana: Inter-agency country report. Inter-agency country report, Rome: ILO Office for Italy and San Marino, Centre for Economic and International Studies (CEIS).
- Understanding Children's Work (UCW) Programme (2017), Not Just Cocoa: Child Labour in the Agricultural Sector in Ghana (Document covers children in cocoa and other forms of agriculture), Geneva, Rome: ILO, Centre for Economic and International Studies (CEIS).
- UNESCO (2018), Country Education Statistics Côte d'Ivoire. Available from <http://uis.unesco.org/en/country/ci> and <http://data.uis.unesco.org/> accessed on 13/07/2020.
- UNESCO (2020), Global Education Monitoring Report 2020, Inclusion and education: All means all, Paris: UNESCO.
- UNICEF (2014), Child Labour and UNICEF in Action: Children at the Centre. NY: UNICEF.
- UNICEF (2018), Country Office Annual Report 2018, Abidjan: UNICEF.
- UNICEF (2019), 2018 ANNUAL REPORT: For every child in West and Central Africa, Dakar: UNICEF Regional Office for West and Central Africa.

- UNICEF (2020) Definition Youth, available from <https://www.un.org/en/sections/issues-depth/youth-0/index.html>. Accessed 04/04/2020.
- United Nations Human Rights Office of the High Commissioner, (2011), Guiding Principles on Business and Human Rights, Geneva: United Nations.
- United Nations (2020), About the Sustainable Development Goals. Available from <https://www.un.org/sustainabledevelopment/sustainable-development-goals/>. Accessed 20/02/2020.
- United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Population Dynamics. (2019), World Population Prospects 2019. Available from <https://population.un.org/wpp/Download/Standard/Population/>. Accessed 23 07 2020.
- United Nations Evaluation Group (2016), Norms and Standards for Evaluation, New York: United Nations Evaluation Group.
- United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Population Division (2019). World Population Prospects 2019, Volume II: Demographic Profiles (ST/ESA/SER.A/427). NY: UN.
- UNSTATS SDG 8.7 (2020), available from <https://unstats.un.org/sdgs/metadata/?Text=&Goal=8&Target=8.7>. Accessed 03/03/2020.
- U Report (2020), U Report (Overview) Available from <https://ureport.in/>. Accessed 15/08/2020.
- Verité (February 2019), Assessment of Forced Labor Risk in the Cocoa Sector of Côte d'Ivoire, Amherst: Verité.
- Wessel, M., Foluke Quist-Wessel, F. (2015) Cocoa Production in West Africa, a Review and Analysis of Recent Developments. NJAS – Wageningen Journal of Life Sciences. Vol 74-75. December 2015, Pages 1-7.
- WFP (2013). Profile of smallholder farmers in Ghana. Agricultural Extension Department, Legon Accra: University of Ghana.
- WHO UNICEF JMP (2019), Côte d'Ivoire Data, Available from <https://washdata.org/data/school#!/> Accessed 09/08/2020.
- WHO UNICEF JMP (2019), Ghana country data, Available from <https://washdata.org/data/school#!/> Accessed 09/08/2020.
- World Bank (2014), Ghana GH: Female Headed Households, Available from <https://www.ceicdata.com/en/ghana/population-and-urbanization-statistics/gh-female-headed-households#:~:text=Ghana's%20GH%3A%20Female%20Headed%20Households,number%20of%2033.800%20%25%20for%202014>. Accessed 09/08/2020.

- World Bank (2017), Bilateral Migration Matrix 2017, <https://www.worldbank.org/en/topic/migrationremittancesdiasporaissues/brief/migration-remittances-data>. Accessed on 23/07/2020.
- World Bank (2018), Literacy Data, Available from <https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SE.ADT.LITR.ZS?locations=GH>. Accessed 24/08/2020.
- World Bank Trading Economics (2020), Education Data Ghana, Available from <https://tradingeconomics.com/ghana/indicators-wb-data.html?g=education>. Accessed 01/09/2020.
- World Bank (2019), Education Data, Available from <https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SE.PRM.TENR.MA?locations=GH>. Accessed 24/08/2020.
- World Bank (2020) Côte d'Ivoire Economic Outlook: Understanding the Challenges of Urbanization in Height Charts. Available from <https://www.worldbank.org/en/country/cotedivoire/publication/cote-divoire-economic-outlook-understanding-the-challenges-of-urbanization-in-height-charts>, Accessed 20/08/2020.
- World Bank (2020) World Bank Database (Unemployment). Available from <https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SL.UEM.1524.ZS?locations=GH>. Accessed 16/08/2020.
- World Bank, (2020) World Bank Database. Available from <https://data.worldbank.org/topic/urban-development?locations=CI>. Accessed on 23/07/2020
- World Bank (2020) World Bank Database. Available from <https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NY.GDP.MKTP.KD.ZG?locations=CI>. Accessed 15/08/2020.
- World Bank (2020), Addressing child labour in cocoa production in West Africa Building on lessons learned from child labour interventions. Washington, D.C.: World Bank.
- World Bank (2020), Unemployment, total (% of total labor force) Côte d'Ivoire. Available from <https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SL.UEM.TOTL.ZS>. Accessed 03/12/2020.
- World Cocoa Foundation (2016), Cocoa Action Roadmap 2016-2020, Washington, DC: WCF.
- World Cocoa Foundation (2019), Action Plans to End Deforestation Released by Governments of Côte d'Ivoire & Ghana and Leading Chocolate & Cocoa Companies. Utrecht: World Cocoa Foundation.
- World Cocoa Foundation (2019), 2019 Partnership Meeting Summary: Drivers of Change, Berlin, Germany, October 23-24, 2019. Abidjan, Accra, Washington, D.C.: World Cocoa Foundation.
- World Economic Forum (2020), Cocoa's Bittersweet Supply Chain. Available from <https://www.weforum.org/agenda/2020/11/cocoa-chocolate-supply-chain-business-bar-africa-exports/>. Accessed 15/11/ 2020.
- Yeboah, D. (2020), Teachers' perceptions of the abolition of caning in Ghanaian schools, *Issues in Educational Research*, 30(1), 2020.

- Youth Powered MASO (2020), Home page. Available from <https://www.masogh.org/> Accessed 01/12/2020.
- Zegers, M.; Cownie, D.; Tornyie, E. et. al. (2015), Protecting Children from Violence: A Comprehensive Evaluation of UNICEF's Strategies and Programme Performance, Ghana Country Case Study, New York: UNICEF Evaluation Office.
- Zegers, M. et al. (2018), Evaluation of Child Protection Strategy: Evaluation Report, Lilongwe and Rome: UNICEF, Government of Malawi, Lattanzio.
- Zegers, M. (2019), Interim Performance Evaluation: Supporting Sustainable and Child Labor Free Vanilla Growing Communities in Sava, Madagascar. Arlington, VA: MSI.
- Zegers, M. (2019), Eliminating Child Labor in Cocoa Growing Communities (ECLIC), Washington, D.C.: IMPAQ International, LLC.

ANNEX 1 – Suggested Road Map of Proposed Solutions

Detailed solutions road map proposal based on research findings: increasing the Impact of Child Labour Initiatives through Poverty Reduction, Strengthened Enabling Environments and Increased Organisation and Voice of Farming Stakeholders.

Indicators remain descriptive because they should be defined through multi-stakeholder participation.

OVERALL IMPACT OBJECTIVE: CHILD LABOUR REDUCED AND COCOA PRODUCED SUSTAINABLY IN CÔTE D'IVOIRE AND GHANA OVER 5-YEAR PERIOD									
Outcomes and Actions	Remarks	Descriptive Indicator(s)	Priority	Key Responsible Entities					
				CI & GH Govt	EU & MS	CI Actors	IDP	N & L CSO	
OVERARCHING STRATEGIC OUTCOMES									
1. Multi-stakeholder process platforms established and functioning at all levels to eliminate child labour and ensure that cocoa is produced sustainably.	1. Using a Transformative Agenda approach focusing on three areas: leadership; coordination; and accountability for operationalisation. 2. Collectively design and coordinate multi-stakeholder processes based in collective learning and action for positive change.	Multi-stakeholder process platforms established and functioning as evidenced by operational plans and monitoring mechanisms based on root causes and gaps to eliminate child labour.	VH	++	++	++	++	++	++
ACTIONS:									
1.1. Develop a multi-stakeholder process through a transformative agenda at international, national and decentralised level with focus on leadership, coordination and accountability.	Process design to focus on strengthening leadership, coordination, and accountability mechanisms at all levels and for all initiatives and value chain steps.	Multi-stakeholder process through the Transformative Agenda at international, national, and decentralised level developed.	VH	++	++	++	++	++	++

<p>1.2. Implement at each level, from national to local, mechanisms for vertical and horizontal communications, joint planning and coordinated implementation of synergistic actions.</p>	<p>3. Expand national level consultations to include more key stakeholders, including the EU and other major actors. 4. Inclusion of the voice of all key local stakeholders at decentralised level. 5. Improve coordination among all the implementers in both countries. 6. Ensure that initiatives to eliminate child labour in specific communities are complimentary and do not overlap with the same households. 7. Ensure that coordination does not only consist of information sharing between implementers but includes the development of joint actions to create synergies.</p>	<p>Mechanisms established at national and local level (district/sous-préfecture) where joint planning, communications and coordinated implementation of synergistic actions is based.</p>	<p>VH</p>	<p>++</p>	<p>+</p>	<p>+</p>	<p>+</p>	<p>+</p>	
<p>1.3. Develop plans to address all of the root causes and gaps to eliminate child labour.</p>	<p>8. Through dialogue and consensus building of EU/EU member states with producer Governments. 9. Social dialogue producer governments, workers' & employers' organisations, cocoa industry representatives, other stakeholders.</p>	<p>Detailed operational plans based on the identified root causes and gaps available.</p>	<p>VH</p>	<p>++</p>	<p>++</p>	<p>+</p>	<p>+</p>	<p>+</p>	
<p>2. Systems approach adopted with continual improvement of initiatives based on consistent feedback from quantitative and qualitative data collected on child labour elimination initiatives and child labour prevalence.</p>	<p>10. Ensure information/data feedback loop from experience in applying development methods to learn from and improve the existing system. 11. Improvements of impact will increase exponentially if feedback from data generated is consistently applied using systems approach. This approach continuously informs institutional reforms, tailored policy formulation, and coordinated actions. 12. Interactive learning for change approach is consistent with the on-going PPP Children First in Cocoa initiative initiated in Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana</p>	<p>Systems approach developed and evidence of using feedback from implementation of actions/initiatives and child labour prevalence to inform and improve approaches and initiatives</p>	<p>VH</p>	<p>++</p>	<p>++</p>	<p>++</p>	<p>++</p>	<p>++</p>	
<p>ACTIONS:</p>									
<p>2.1. Develop a systems approach guide detailing method to enable collective stakeholder learning and regular review of potential actions for change.</p>	<p>13. Vertical and horizontal application of mechanisms at different levels included in guide.</p>	<p>Systems approach guide developed.</p>	<p>VH</p>	<p>++</p>	<p>++</p>	<p>++</p>	<p>+</p>	<p>+</p>	

<p>2.2. Implement methods for vertical and horizontal quantitative and qualitative data collection and integrate feedback into channels from international and national to community level, the reverse and horizontally at each level.</p>	<p>14. Ensure that feedback verification is carried out on a continuous basis with adaptation to ensure appropriateness of actions as required. Vertical between levels from international to community level. Horizontal exchanges between stakeholders at each level should be assured. Special attention to district level use of data at horizontal level.</p>	<p>Methods for quantitative and qualitative data collection and sharing of information from international to national to local and the reverse being implemented.</p>	<p>VH</p>	<p>++</p>	<p>+</p>	<p>+</p>	<p>+</p>	<p>+</p>
<p>3. Operationalised result-based management system (RBMS) developed and implemented, building on and expanding due diligence accountability systems of all stakeholders</p>	<p>15. Ensure more comprehensive and specific measures than relying on the usual development indicators at each level.</p> <p>16. Include tools and actions for monitoring and tracking within RBM system.</p> <p>17. Companies due diligence:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Provide commitments to implement ILO core conventions, and other ILO and human rights conventions that Côte d'Ivoire and/or Ghana have ratified. • Detail how they will support and adhere to the sustainability standards, laws, regulations, agreements, policies, development planning and implementation of the producer countries. • Provide support for the development of national traceability and mitigation systems that extend beyond the existing industry managed systems. Traceability systems should be clear and streamlined to enable the application of practical and efficient methods. • Embed the mechanisms and commitments in company strategies, policies, plans and management systems. • Provide regular reporting on how and where companies select localities for cocoa sourcing, interventions to address child labour, deforestation and other development initiatives audited by third-party specialists. <p>18. EU should review cocoa industry due diligence using operationalised measures and develop legal penalties for lack of compliance. Standards need to be well-defined operationally.</p> <p>19. Producer countries should contribute to development and implementation of due diligence systems including through participation in RBM systems.</p>	<p>Established and Functioning Result-Based Management System</p>	<p>H</p>	<p>++</p>	<p>+</p>	<p>++</p>	<p>+</p>	<p>+</p>

ACTIONS:									
3.1. Develop a methodology guide for RBMS to be used to measure contributions to tracking of progress on objectives.	20. Ensure that the RBMS is applicable in all facets of plans and programmes down to community level and is applicable to individuals involved in implementing all actions.	Detailed operationalised RBMS guide to track accountability within agreed to due diligence actions (mandatory and non-mandatory agreements and traceability systems and tools developed)	VH	++	++	++	+	++	
3.2. Develop clear targets for implementation phases as progress is made and implement the RBMS system to assure accountability.	21. Establish clear and feasible policies procedure manuals to govern RBMS including on penalties for interference from others and non-compliance. 22. Clearly state targets for the actors in RBMS implementation documents. 23. Track accountability of individuals at each level among producer government and non-Government staff, Private Sector, International Organizations and other actors involved in planning and implementation through development coordination and monitoring mainly through producer country governments as part of the overall system.	Targets for implementation phases identified and adopted. Number of new policies, guidelines and regulations developed Accountability of individuals being tracked and monitored. Clear and feasible regulations established and implemented to govern RBM including penalties	H	++	+	++	+	+	
SPECIFIC OUTCOMES									
4. Partnerships and initiatives of Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana Governments and corporate actors aligned with international conventions, standards, guidelines, national policies and plans	24. Corporate actors ensure that their policies take into account SDGs, ECOWAS protocols and Conventions including African Agenda 2030, Government policies and other relevant guiding documents.	Written evidence of alignment of initiatives with Government and International Plans, Conventions, and Guidelines	H	++	++	+	++	+	

ACTIONS:									
<p>4.1. Improve and/or strengthen existing partnerships and cross-border agreements among the ECOWAS countries – Côte d'Ivoire, Ghana, Burkina Faso, and Mali.</p>	<p>25. Using the incoming and existing national, International and ECOWAS Multi-stakeholder networks and platforms to coordinate and share intelligence on migration and human trafficking and improve law enforcement within the ECOWAS Sub-region.</p>	<p>Partnerships and cross border agreements between Côte d'Ivoire, Ghana, Burkina Faso, and Mali strengthened</p>	<p>H</p>	<p>++</p>	<p>+</p>	<p>+</p>	<p>+</p>	<p>+</p>	<p>+</p>
<p>4.2. Scale up agreements and implementation of initiatives for the identification, return and reintegration of trafficked children to return home to Burkina Faso and Mali.</p>	<p>26. Collaborate directly with the Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana government and border officials and communities in the countries of origin. 27. Also ensure return and integration internally for children trafficked from within Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana to cocoa producing areas.</p>	<p>Scaled up agreements and initiatives for the return and reintegration of trafficked children to return home.</p>	<p>H</p>	<p>++</p>	<p>+</p>	<p>+</p>	<p>+</p>	<p>+</p>	<p>+</p>
<p>4.3. Align corporate practices, trade and implementation of initiatives with national priorities and overarching labour conventions, and with international business and human rights guidance documents.</p>	<p>28. International and national companies in the cocoa value chain and child labour related initiatives contextualize, harmonize with national priorities, and mainstream their activities including at decentralised level. 29. Develop as part of the expected new national child labour plans in both countries, a detailed intervention matrix of country priorities that defines the terms of reference for all actors involved in Child labour and/or sustainable cocoa production. 30. All donor funded projects assessed by Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana government's policy planning and coordination authority (i.e., National Development Commission of Ghana) and be aligned with existing National Action Plans and Policies on child labour before implementation to address gaps, avoid duplications and enhance complementarities for maximum impacts.</p>	<p>Evidence of alignment of corporate practices, trade and initiatives implementation with national priorities and overarching labour conventions and international business and human rights guidance documents</p>	<p>H</p>	<p>++</p>	<p>++</p>	<p>+</p>	<p>++</p>	<p>+</p>	<p>+</p>

<p>4.4. Ensure that child labour elimination is directly cited and fully integrated into all economic development policies and plans, especially in agriculture-related economic activities or investments. Including in the design and monitoring of the plans.</p>	<p>31. Integrate references in child labour plans to other relevant areas such as to the National Youth Policy, National Nutrition and Agricultural investment policies.</p>	<p>Child labour elimination is cited in development policies and plans</p>	<p>H</p>	<p>++</p>	<p>+</p>	<p>+</p>	<p>+</p>	<p>+</p>	
<p>5. Strengthened enabling environment for reduced child labour and deforestation with particular attention to local development planning and implementation, and localities at high-risk.</p>	<p>32. Use participatory and multi-stakeholder process approaches for planning, coordination and implementation including connecting key 33. Prioritise initiatives in high-risk areas where existing and vulnerability to child labour are prevalent and available education and other social services are weak. 34. Identify isolated localities with least access to education and other social services and highest potential risk of child labour including trafficking.</p>	<p>Functioning education and other social services in cocoa producing communities capacity to comprehensively deliver essential services to reduce child labour</p>	<p>VH</p>	<p>++</p>	<p>++</p>	<p>+</p>	<p>++</p>	<p>++</p>	
<p>ACTIONS:</p>									
<p>5.1. Strengthen the legal, regulatory frameworks and institutions, and ensure improved enforcement to eliminate child labour.</p>	<p>35. Conduct a gap analysis to verify and ensure consistency, coherence and complementarity of laws, regulations, policies at all levels. 36. Include assessment of enforcement challenges and implement solutions to strengthen enforcement. 37. Increasing focus on local judicial systems development to pay more attention to child labour cases and for local inspection systems to broaden and involve more actors.</p>	<p>Legal and Regulatory Frameworks and their implementation strengthened</p>	<p>H</p>	<p>++</p>	<p>+</p>	<p>+</p>	<p>+</p>	<p>+</p>	
<p>5.2. Develop the expansion of well targeted social protection mechanisms to help protect from environmental, health, social and other shocks (which lead to higher dependence on child labour).</p>	<p>38. Include analysis of the relationship between child labour and wider Social Protection subject coverage. That is, with regard to health care insurance/assistance, agriculture insurance, disability insurance for more effective impact on eliminating child labour and other social protection mechanisms. Support the further development of social protection mechanisms</p>	<p>Social protection coverage expanded and implemented in cocoa producing areas.</p>	<p>H</p>	<p>++</p>	<p>+</p>	<p>+</p>	<p>+</p>	<p>+</p>	

<p>5.3. Develop (new) or adapt existing local development plans to be more comprehensive, integrated, strengthened and synergistic with regard to child labour in child protection systems.</p>	<p>39. Pay special attention in District level plans on the enforcement of laws on child labour and child trafficking. Ensure local level dialogue with representatives of concerned stakeholders to develop the inputs.</p> <p>40. Integrate in the short and mid-term, CLMRS and other community-based approaches—including fair trade certifications systems—into the child protection system.</p> <p>41. Place special focus on the planning and implementation for expanding initiatives such as the Integrated Area-Based Approach (IABA) to achieve Child Labour Free Zones (CLFZ), CLMRS and other child labour reduction approaches.</p> <p>42. Create a one-stop support/referral offices as important component of any effort to reduce poverty and eliminate child labour</p> <p>43. Including attention to non-cocoa growing areas where other forms of child labour exist such as mining, other agricultural work.</p> <p>44. Increase attention to the elimination of child labour and deforestation</p>	<p>More comprehensive, integrated, strengthened and synergistic district plans and direct actions on child labour elimination at community level developed and being implemented with evidence of reduced child labour.</p>	H	++	+	+	+	+
<p>5.4. Integrate and maintain, over the short, medium, and long term, CLMRS and other child labour initiative approaches into Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana Government child protection mechanisms, while at the same time expanding coverage of such initiatives and child protection overall.</p>	<p>45. Focus on the ultimate goal of ensuring a functioning Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana government managed child protection system including identification and remediation of cases of child labour, access to justice, and follow-up of cases.</p> <p>46. Over the short and medium term, CLMRS and other child labour initiatives continue until child protection is satisfactorily functioning as evidenced that child labour prevalence and other abuses, exploitation and neglect are reduced.</p> <p>Ensure that identified cases of child labour consider the complexity of the individual case including aspects such as abuse, neglect, trafficking, a child marriage and others.</p>	<p>CLMRS and other child labour reduction initiatives are scaled up and integrated into functioning a functioning child protection system in cocoa producing areas.</p>	VH	++	++	++	++	++

<p>5.5. Conduct capacity analysis to identify the strengths, weaknesses and opportunities of each actor regarding local development planning and implementation for eliminating child labour.</p>	<p>47. Link this to the RBMS process with clear measures and recognition of success. Provide governance capacity support at local authority level to manage this identification approach for improved collaboration and efficiency to achieve a well-grounded structure at local level.</p> <p>48. Take decisions how best to assign tasks and collaborate to building on the qualities of each stakeholder.</p>	<p>Capacity analysis conducted to identify the strengths, weaknesses, and opportunities of each actor.</p>	H	+	+	+	+	+
<p>5.6. Develop and/or strengthen service delivery capacities of key institutions for local development planning, implementation and enforcement of legal frameworks (districts, prefecture/sous prefectures, communities) with particular attention paid to social inclusion of especially vulnerable groups and high-risk areas. There should be a strong focus on joint actions between industry and donor-supported programmes with local government staff for on-the-job learning about child labour and deforestation.</p>	<p>49. Through the established multi-stakeholder platforms, identify challenges and address them at all levels including strengthening technical and institutional capacities at the decentralised level where most child labour issues occur.</p> <p>50. Include strengthening of practical logistics for local authorities to provide social services at community level.</p> <p>51. Key focus needed on:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Government staff including teachers, labour and school inspectors, child protection and social and community development staff, judiciary, police/gendarmes, agriculture extension workers. • Religious and informal traditional and other leaders, trade unions, farmer-based organisations, and other Civil Society Organisations (CSO), National and local NGOs, Foundations, fair trade certifying agencies and any other key relevant stakeholders working in the district (youth groups, women's groups, people with disabilities, HIV affected households) 	<p>52. Improved institutional capacity for local development planning, implementation, enforcement of legal frameworks, and to comprehensively deliver essential services to reduce child labour.</p> <p>53. Services being delivered to households with child labour or at risk of child labour.</p>	VH	++	++	+	++	++
<p>5.7. Increase construction of physical infrastructure with an emphasis on roads, accessible schools, health, child protection infrastructure and/or one-stop referral locations for children in, or at risk of child labour and/or other exploitation, abuse and neglect.</p>		<p>Physical infrastructure increased in line with local needs.</p>	VH	++	+	+	+	+

<p>5.8. Improve quality and access to general education, including well-planned school feeding programmes and education on children's rights and decent work in agriculture.</p>	<p>54. Educate children and youth against child labour, child trafficking and violence against children including through peer education. 55. Strengthen pedagogy skills of teachers including ending corporal punishment and other violence in schools. 56. Increase access to and quality of education on agriculture including on avoidance of hazardous working conditions. Increase especially quality programs for post-primary children on decent work in agriculture. 57. Starting in early education and through at least primary school, increase school feeding programs. 58. Develop rural school gardens initiatives to provide at least part of the inputs for school feeding programs. Use gardens to motivate and provide an early understanding of the importance of agriculture. Motivate and train teachers to use the school gardens for their pedagogy in a project-oriented approach to teach mathematics, biology, and other sciences from their practice. 59. Ensure that hazardous work in the school gardens is avoided. School inspectors and community groups to monitor the situation regarding possible hazardous work in school gardens.</p>	<p>Quality education and with school feeding implemented in all primary schools and junior secondary schools in cocoa producing areas.</p>	<p>VH</p>	<p>++</p>	<p>++</p>	<p>++</p>	<p>++</p>	<p>++</p>
<p>5.9. Increase focus on birth registration, reducing child abuse and neglect in combination with child labour and other forms of exploitation.</p>		<p>Complete coverage of birth registration. Programs developed and implemented on the interactions between child labour and other exploitation, abuse and neglect with prevalence reduced.</p>	<p>VH</p>	<p>++</p>	<p>++</p>	<p>++</p>	<p>++</p>	<p>+</p>

6. Poverty of cocoa producers and ancillary activity workers reduced in a context of improved decent work conditions within an environmentally sustainable environment			VH	++	++	++	++	++
ACTIONS:								
6.1. Continue and scale up efforts to ensure that price and income from cocoa at the farm gate continues to increase.	Build on and augment farmer income based on the Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana government and industry agreements on minimum price per metric tons and the Living Income Differential (LID) initiatives	Prices and incomes of cocoa farmers increased.	VH	++	++	++	++	++
6.2. Develop and implement modern, non-hazardous production using sustainable intensification of cocoa production methods to increase agricultural yields per hectare without adverse environmental impact and without the need to convert additional, non-agricultural land.	60. Through exchange of technology, knowledge and research programmes between producing countries and European member states, focus on the development of improved technologies, that do not sacrifice quality but aim at increasing yields per hectare. 61. Promote collaboration between scientists and industry from the two countries and EU, considering farmers' felt needs and circumstances into account for better adoption rates and use (i.e., adoption of the Local Agricultural Research Committee approach).	Methods established and being implemented to modernise the value chain and proof of integration of initiative to reduce poverty and child labour.	H	++	+	++	+	+
6.3. Train farmer household children (in line with their interests) and adults from the age of 15 on modern cocoa production, including a focus on occupational safety and health (OSH) methods in agriculture.	In farmer-based organisations and communities through agricultural extension and training of Government and private/NGO providers, peer education.	Number of children and adults engaged I modernised cocoa production in decent work conditions	H	++	+	++	+	+
6.4. Further develop Global Positioning System (GPS) and other forms of farm monitoring tools to identify and follow up transgression into new forest areas.	Build on existing data and initiatives where Information Technology Communication or digital tools such as GPS technology and drones are being employed for monitoring and tracking of deforestation and use of child labourers	GPS, drones, and other forms of farm monitoring digital tools identified and applied for monitoring and implementation.	H	++	++	++	++	+

6.5. Accompany promoting the diversification of economic activities with suitable market assessment and training.	62. Determine the types of activities that can be suitable by location. Align types of trades with appropriate skills, entrepreneurship, and literacy training as relevant. 63. Ensure that support for diversification comes with availability of a reliable market, access to credit and an institutional support system.	Market assessments and training on diversification activities completed.	P	+	+	+	+	+
6.6. Develop agroforestry as means of contributing to short-term food security needs and, over the medium- or longer-term, as an income source in both countries.	Build on existing projects on agroforestry (i.e., Kuapa kokoo with some industry actors)	Agroforestry mechanisms implemented in cocoa producing areas.	P	+	+	+	+	+
6.7. Provide support for expanding village savings and loan schemes (VSLs) and access to formal financial services.	64. Promote support for various types of VSLs to address the needs of different types of groups. 65. Including women's groups and youth groups. Ensure that VSLs include vulnerable community members such as persons with disabilities, affected by HIV, migrants, and trafficked persons 66. Integrate VSLs further into FBOs.	Expanded Village Savings and Loan Schemes (VSLs) functioning in cocoa growing areas and access to formal financial services	P	+	+	+	+	+
6.8. Develop effective mechanisms to further support formalising informal cocoa activities and those in diversified economic activities.	67. Design mechanisms for promoting membership in various formal farmer-based organisations, registering independently as businesses, or becoming members of other formal business associations.	Formalising of informal cocoa activities completed across cocoa growing areas.	H	++	+	+	++	+
7. Increased and strengthened farmer-based organisations and giving communities a voice for effective functioning and contributing to reducing child labour		Farmer-based organisations increased and strengthened and evidence of implementation of initiatives to reduce child labour.	H	++	+	++	++	++

ACTIONS:									
<p>7.1. Establish, where necessary, strengthen and scale up new and existing FBOs to increase productivity in decent work for all and environmentally sustainable conditions.</p>	<p>68. Ensure that FBOs can effectively serve as a frontline “response or device” against low yields per hectare, low incomes, poverty, child labour, child trafficking, indiscriminate deforestation, and lack of traceability systems to primary sources</p> <p>69. Develop a well-strengthened apex body for the range of FBOs. The apex body should not only to represent farmers at the decision-making table to approve every policy, but should be an entity that articulates farmers’ felt needs and gives them voice.</p> <p>70. Strengthen Farmer-Based-Organisations to avail of agriculture modernisation services and health insurance schemes that could positively affect the entire community.</p>	<p>Strengthened and scaled up FBOs including to avail of modernised agriculture services</p>	H	++	+	++	++	++	
<p>7.2. Strengthen community bodies to address child labour, integrate actions effectively into child protection systems and ensure sustainable cocoa production.</p>	<p>71. Ensure social inclusion of women, youth, and other vulnerable groups in decision making in community bodies.</p>		H	++	+	++	++	++	
<p>8. Social behaviour change communications on child labour elimination and deforestation strengthened and effective</p>		<p>Social Behaviour Change Communications on child labour elimination and deforestation strengthened and effective.</p>	P	++	+	++	+	++	

ACTIONS:									
<p>8.1. Develop social behaviour change communications (SBCC).</p>	<p>72. Include awareness raising with all stakeholders vertically and horizontally along the value chain. Awareness raising of all stakeholders on laws, regulations, and policies is important 73. Use local language and clear materials for sufficient dissemination including on national laws and regulations 74. Particular emphasis is needed to explain the difference between light work for younger children, regular non-hazardous work for older children and hazardous child labour. 75. Combine materials with other SBCC methods on child labour and decent work for greater behaviour change among all stakeholders, including community members.</p>	<p>Awareness raising methods are improved and use SBCC approaches. Relevant actors at national, local and community level understand and apply the ILO convention definition of child labour</p>	<p>P</p>	<p>++</p>	<p>+</p>	<p>++</p>	<p>+</p>	<p>++</p>	
<p>8.2. Develop and implement a good SBCC strategy guide to inform the behaviour change interventions.</p>	<p>76. Clearly define the intended audiences, set behavioural communication objectives, and determine consistent messages, materials, and activities across channels. 77. Implement effective messaging on child labour using recognisable materials to the target audience. Build on positive traditional communications mechanisms. Integrate messaging on the linkages between child labour and environmental sustainability, including deforestation. 78. Encourage community participation and the development of peer awareness raising and support groups in schools to anchor long term change. 79. Support the implementation of the Supporting Children's Rights through Education, the Arts, and the Media (SCREAM) modules with community members. Particularly the special module specifically on child labour in agriculture. 80. Use SBCC methods to explain and promote the use of Results-Based Management Techniques with stakeholders who will be associated with RBM.</p>	<p>SBCC strategy guide to inform the interventions available and being used.</p>	<p>P</p>	<p>++</p>	<p>+</p>	<p>++</p>	<p>+</p>	<p>++</p>	
<p>9. Country-specific solutions for key locally prevalent challenges implemented in Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana</p>			<p>H</p>						

COUNTRY SPECIFIC SOLUTIONS FOR CÔTE D'IVOIRE								
ACTIONS:								
9.1. Mechanisms for birth registration of children of multigenerational immigrants and children of unknown parents or others who would otherwise be stateless are functional and children obtain proof of birth registration functioning.		Birth registration of all children of immigrants and unknown parents is strengthened and applied.	P	CI	++	++	+	+
9.2. Cooperatives management in Côte d'Ivoire to address child labour strengthened.	Conduct an organisational capacities assessment to ensure that cooperatives are capable of implementing expected actions on child labour. Provide support to bridge any capacity gaps identified. (Cooperatives of cocoa producers are more widely established in Côte d'Ivoire)	Capacity gaps identified and gaps filled as evidenced in reduced child labour among cooperative members.	P	CI	++	+	+	+
COUNTRY SPECIFIC SOLUTIONS FOR GHANA								
9.3. Institutional reforms at Ghana Cocoa Board promoted including at CRIG for improved service delivery identified and implemented.	81. Conduct strategic review of COCOBOD's working methods to better align with current global objectives such as SDGs and strengthening internal capacity for sustainable cocoa production and marketing. 82. Promote application of research recommendations to ensure farmers implement improved technological packages. 83. CRIG to collaborate with universities that specialise in or have specialised departments focusing on agriculture. 84. Improve partnerships of COCOBOD with farmers' organizations, industry actors, and research firms, through multi-stakeholder platforms at national and decentralized levels.	Institutional reforms at Ghana Cocoa Board especially at CRIG implemented.	H	GH	++			
9.4. Analysis of how illegal mining is related to, and influences child labour in cocoa production carried out, solutions identified and implemented.	Include in study of illegal mining the threats that it poses to sustainable cocoa production.	Analysis conducted of how illegal mining is related to, is influenced by, and influences child labour in cocoa production.	P	++	++	++	++	+

ANNEX 2 – Webinar Report

PRESENTATION OF THE FINDINGS



The European Commission organised a conference on 8 March 2021, where the authors of the study had an opportunity to present the results especially to those who have contributed to the study.

It is critical that all actors are on board if the recommendations put forward by the report are to be adopted. The report calls for multi-stakeholder platforms at all levels, and in particular at decentralised level (districts, sous-préfectures) with an integrated implementation with sufficient allocation of funding to address gaps comprehensively.

The participants wholeheartedly supported the findings of the study and appreciated the breadth and comprehensiveness of the report and its far reaching recommendations. One of the key issues raised was how to mobilise all actors towards implementation of the findings.

The EC thanked the consultants for the independent report. The added-value comes from the integrated and comprehensive nature of the study. The need for an integrated approach that tackles education, child protection, the reinforcement of rules, and the other issues raised, must be the main take-away and something all stakeholders must take on board, if child labour is to be effectively tackled, and ultimately eliminated.

The EC recognised that a lot has been done, but much more is required, and it has demonstrated its commitment with the recent launch of the [sustainable cocoa initiative](#) and the consultation of the proposed [EU legislation on Sustainable Corporate Governance](#).

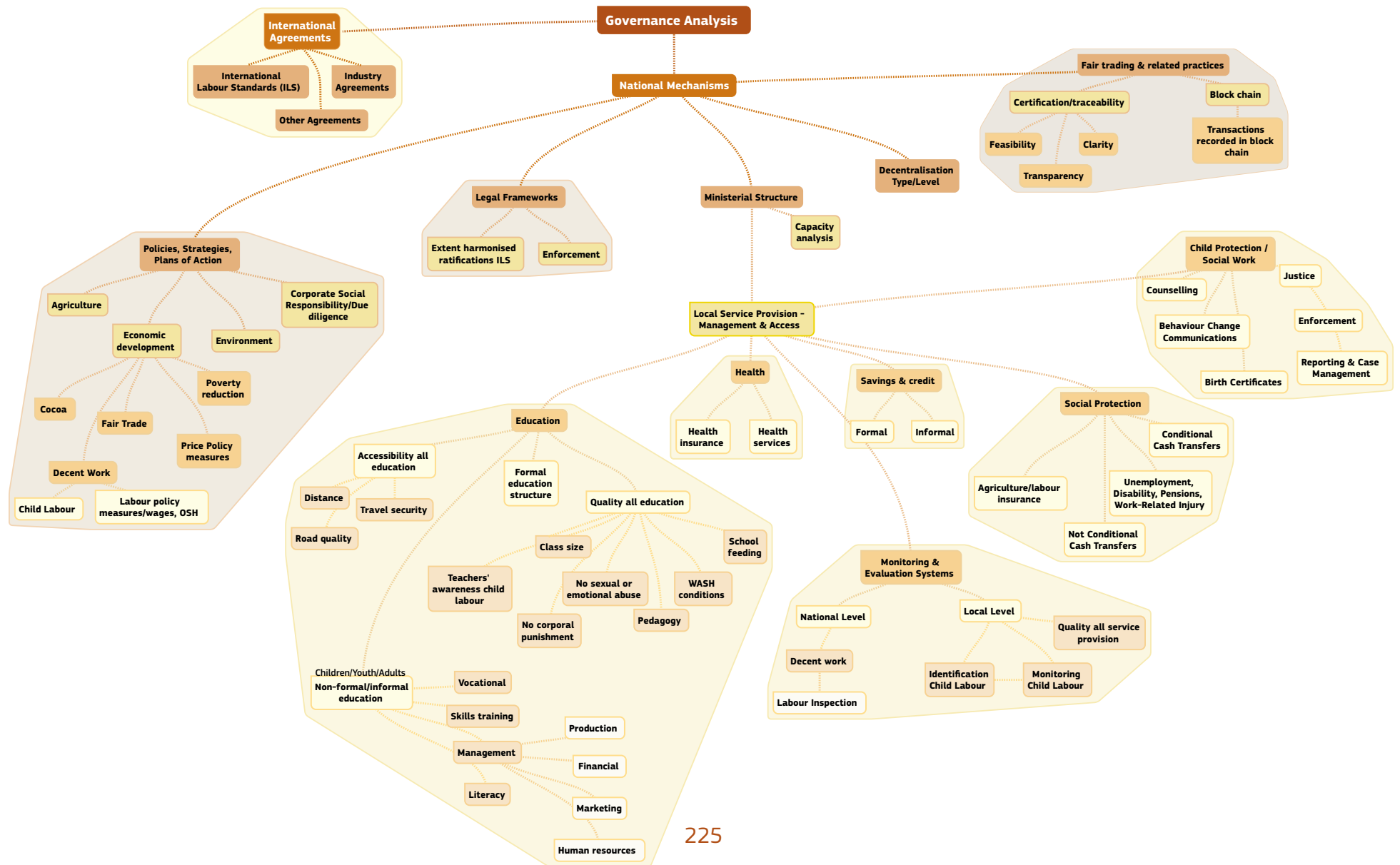
The EC fully supports the conclusion of the study that calls for an integrated approach and national alliances that must include the governments, the private sector and civil society organisations working together in a strategic alliance, at local, regional and international levels.

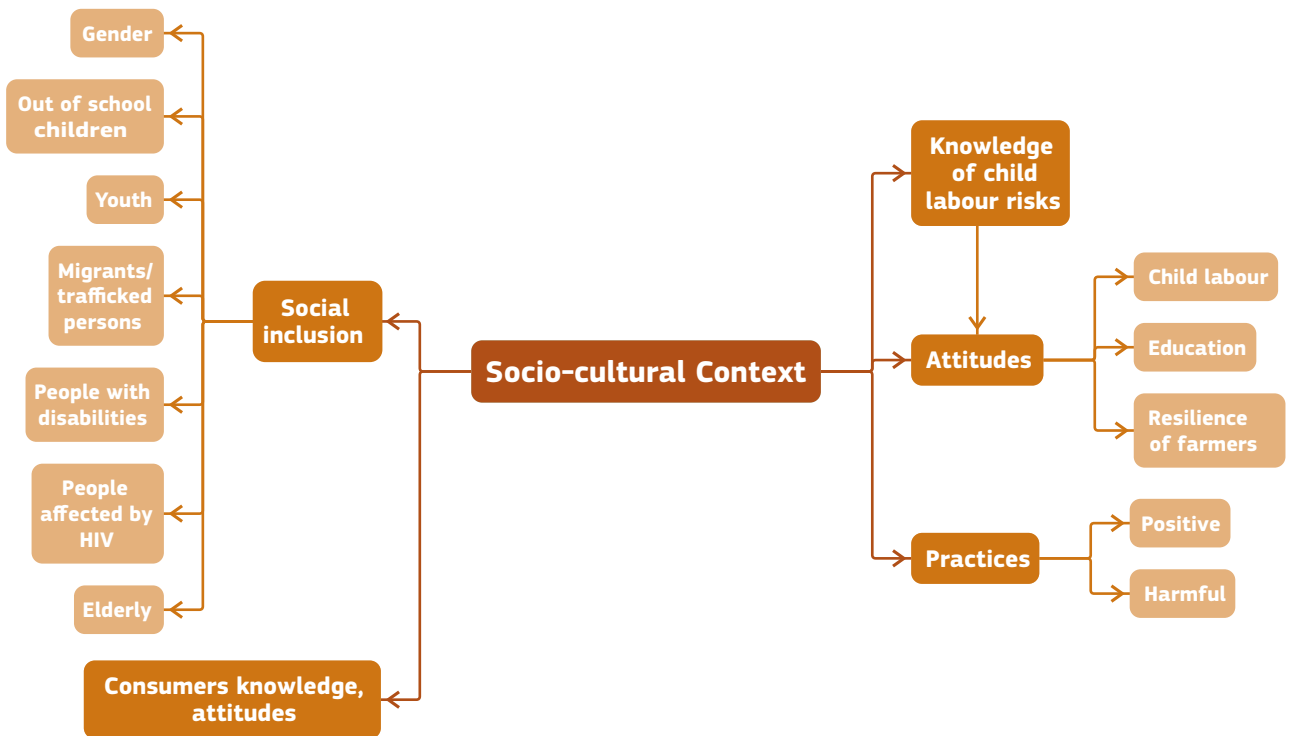
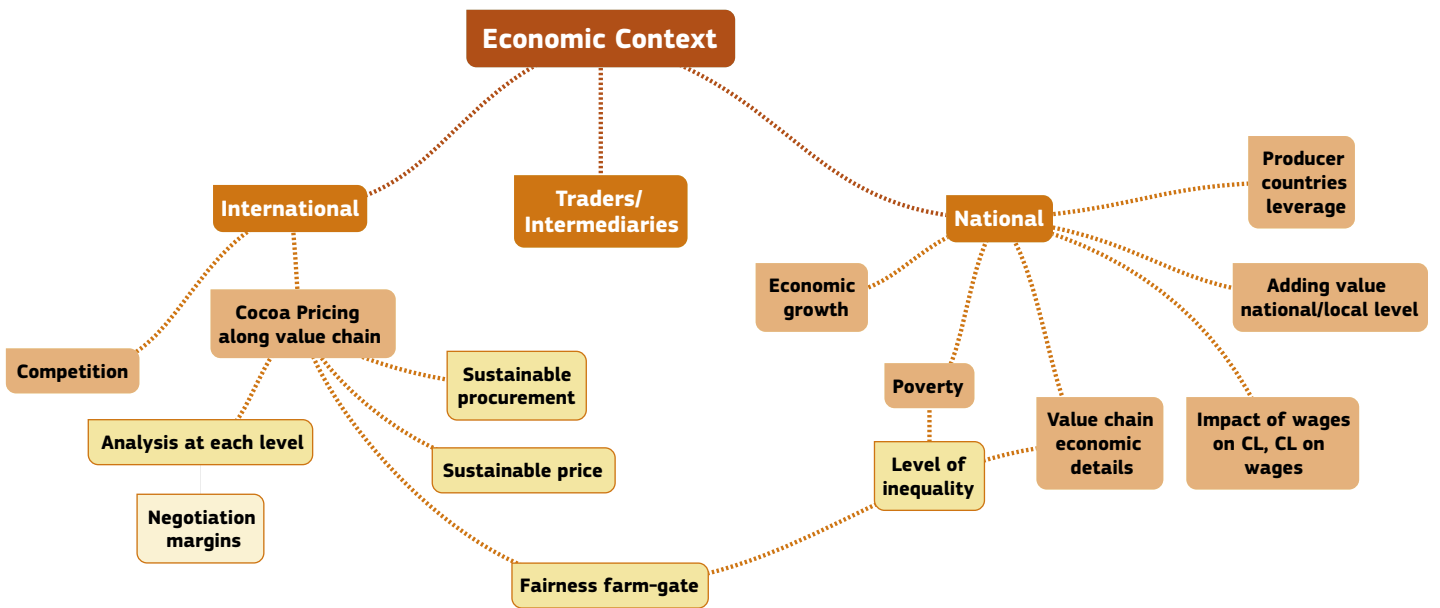
The elimination of child labour is a clear priority for the EU, and the European Commission President, Ursula von der Leyen, has called for a [zero tolerance of child labour in EU trade policies](#), which is in line with the EU's commitments to its values.

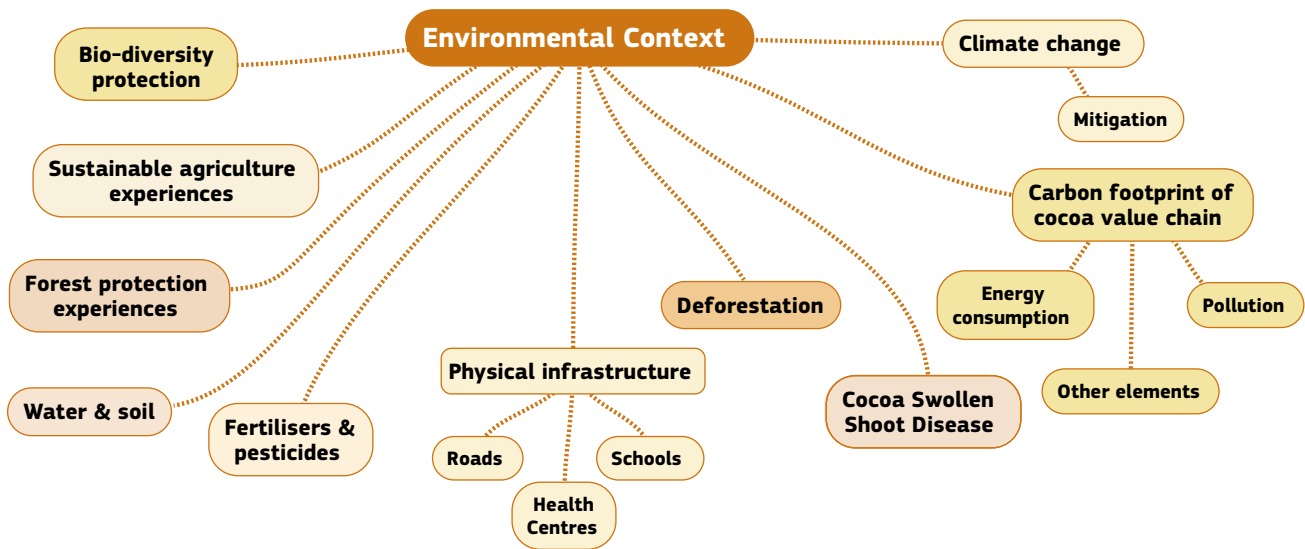
The EC expressed its hope that this study can kick-start a renewed impetus and calls on all the stakeholders at the table to come together to implement the findings of the study.

- [Link to the programme and the presentation of the event](#)
- [Link to the recorded session](#) (password to access the video: 08032021)

ANNEX 3 – Mapping of Components Influencing Child Labour

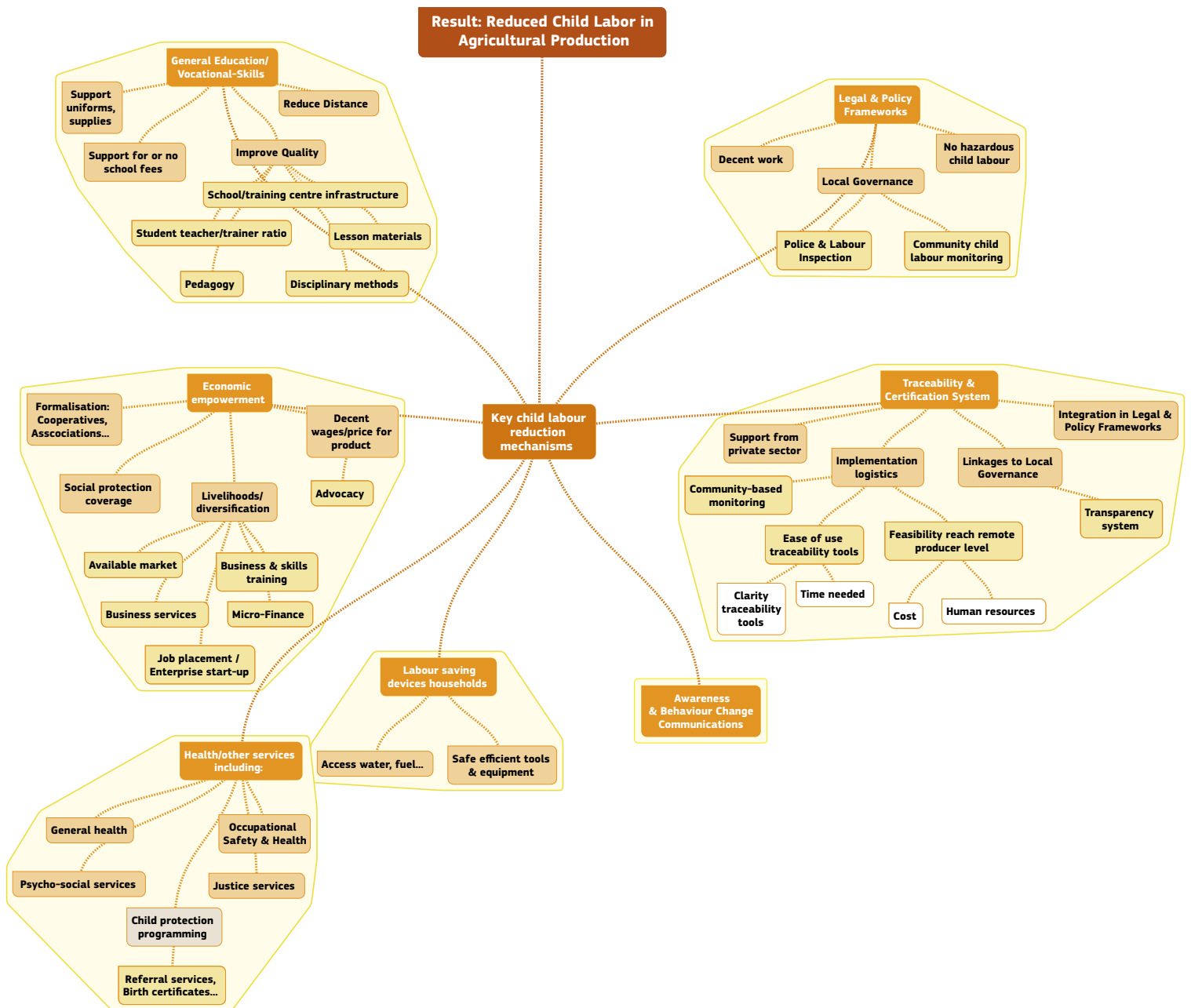






ANNEX 4

Mapping of Key Child Labour reduction Mechanisms



ANNEX 5

Stakeholders' Entities Interviewed

Note: for privacy reasons names and titles of persons interviewed are not included

Stakeholder entity, interviewee name, date of interviews	Date(s) 2020	Number of Persons
1. ARS4Progress (EU Youth Organisation)	07/08	1
2. Barry-Callebaut	27/04	2
3. Beyond Beans	18/06	2
4. Beyond Chocolate	09/07	1
5. Caobsico	30/06, 06/08	3
6. Cargill	16/06	2
7. Cocoapreneurship	21/05	1
8. CTA (Technical Centre for Agricultural and Rural Co-operation)	06/08	1
9. De Montfort University	21/04	1
10. EC, DEVCO	16/06	1
11. EC DEVCO	06/03, 07/07, 16/07	1
12. EC DEVCO	02/06	1
13. EC DEVCO	02/06	2
14. EC DEVCO	13/08	1
15. EC DEVCO	07/10	1
16. EC DG Employment	07/08	2
17. EC, DG Justice	24/07	1
18. EC DG Trade	22/07	1
19. ECA	20/05	1
20. EFFAT	31/07	1
21. Equipose	15/04	1
22. Fairchain	27/02	1
23. Fairtrade	22/05	1
24. FAO	10/06	3

25. Farmstrong Foundation	19/06, 22/08	1
26. FERN	30/04	1
27. FERRERO	17/07	1
28. GiZ, GISCO	04/05	1
29. Global March	13/08	1
30. HIVOS/Stop Child Labour	14/05	1
31. ICCO	28/04	1
32. ICFO	23/07	1
33. ICI	03/04, 21/05, 26/06, 02/07, 07/09	1
34. IDH	28/02	1
35. Igravity	20/07	2
36. ILO	19/08, 28/04, 29/06, 19/08	2
37. ILO IPEC	16/05	1
38. IUF	03/06	1
39. Jacobs Foundation	12/05	1
40. KIT	12/06	1
41. Mars	27/05	2
42. Mighty Earth	11/06	1
43. Mondelez	11/06	1
44. Nestlé	29/05	1
45. OHCR	04/05	1
46. OLAM	29/05	1
47. Positive Planet	09/06	1
48. Prime Social Enterprise	14/05	1
49. Rainforest Alliance	08/06	2
50. RVO	03/07	3
51. Save the Children	02/06	1
52. Social Entrepreneurship Initiative, Utrecht University, The Netherlands	05/06	1
53. Solidaridad Headquarters	18/08	2
54. SUCDEN	22/05	1

55. Sustainable Foodlab,	21/07	1
56. Symrise & Shinergise Partners Ltd	(written inputs) 22/06	1
57. TAS Consulting Agency	09/07	1
58. Tropenbos	29/06	1
59. UN Global Compact	05/06	2
60. USDOL ILAB/ CLCCG (Child Labor Cocoa Coordinating Group)	15/05, 01/09	2
61. Voice Network	12/06	1
62. Winrock	03/06	1
63. World Bank	21/08	4
64. World Cocoa Foundation	15/06, 01/09	4
Total number of interviewed persons		87 persons

CÔTE D'IVOIRE STAKEHOLDERS

Agency	Date(s) 2020
1. CGECI (Confédération Générale des Entreprises de Côte d'Ivoire – Patronat ivoirien)	26/06
2. CIM (Comité interministériel de lutte contre la traite, l'exploitation et le travail des enfants)	25/06
3. CNS (Comité National de Surveillance des actions de lutte contre la Traite, l'Exploitation et le Travail des Enfants)	24/06
4. SOSTECI (Système d'Observation et de Suivi du Travail des Enfants en Côte d'Ivoire)	28/06
5. CNS – SOSTECI (Système d'Observation et de Suivi du Travail des Enfants en Côte d'Ivoire, - Mbatto)	28/06
6. ENEZA	07/07
7. European Union Delegation	20/05, 22/08
8. ICI (International Cocoa Initiative Côte d'Ivoire)	28/04, 25/05, 12/06
9. ILO (BIT)– Côte d'Ivoire	10/06, 26/06, 02/09
10. Millenium Challenge Account Côte d'Ivoire (MCA-CI) – Education Project (includes San Pedro cocoa production area)	27/06

11. Ministère de l'Emploi de la Protection Sociale	25/06, 19/07
12. Ministère de la Famille Cellule de Lutte contre la Traite, l'Exploitation et Travail des Enfant (CLTETE)	24/07
13. Ministère de la Santé	23/07
14. Positive Planet, Côte d'Ivoire	09/06
15. Save The Children, Côte d'Ivoire	09/06
16. UGTCl (Union Générale des Travailleurs de Côte d'Ivoire)	29/07
17. UNICEF Côte d'Ivoire	18/06, 12/06, 17/06, 08/08, 02/09, 26/06
18. World Bank Côte d'Ivoire	21/08

GHANA STAKEHOLDERS

Agency	Date(s) 2020
1. Agence Francaise de Developpement (AFD) Ghana	19/05
2. National Steering Committee on Child Labour (NSCCL)	16/07
3. Cocoa Abrabopa Farmers Association (Ghana)	22/07
4. Cocoa Mmaa (Ladies) Farmers Cooperative	27/07
5. Cocoa Research Institute of Ghana (CRIG) of COCOBOD	11/05
6. EcoCare	05/05
7. European Union Delegation Ghana	14/05, 30/07
8. FAO Ghana	13/05
9. General Agricultural Workers' Union of Ghana (GAWU)	27/08
10. International Cocoa Initiative (ICI) Ghana	31/07
11. Kuapa Kookoo Limited	29/07
12. Ministry of Food and Agriculture	20/08
13. Ministry of Gender, Children and Social Protection	07/08
14. World Cocoa Farmers' Organization	28/07
15. National Development Planning Commission	17/07
16. Positive Planet	14/06
17. Rainforest Alliance Ghana	08/05
18. Solidaridad	28/07
19. UNICEF Ghana	30/07

ANNEX 6

Research Assumptions

The assumptions made for the implementation of the research activities generally remained very relevant within the period under review. Namely the assumptions were:

- Political, economic and health stability in both countries, as a key requirement for the achievement of the overall goal and objectives of the research
- The high-level ongoing dialogue between the two major producing countries is deepened and sustained during the research period
- Continuous and enhanced commitment from both countries for successful implementation of SDG 8 Target 7.⁴⁰⁹ SDG 8.7 is “Take immediate and effective measures to eradicate forced labour, end modern slavery and human trafficking and secure the prohibition and elimination of the worst forms of child labour, including recruitment and use of child soldiers, and by 2025 end child labour in all its forms”.⁴¹⁰
- EU member states and the two West African countries continue their commitment to SDG 8.7.
- Stakeholders at international level and in the countries of Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana are willing and able to contribute to the research.
- The number of working days allocated to the intertwined, complex, and large assignment is sufficient to carry out the assignment.

The need for stability in the two countries regarding health was acknowledged in the first assumption. It was not anticipated, however, that there would be such very important global public health concerns as result of the COVID19 pandemic. Although the pandemic started being increasingly problematic during the inception period, the scale was not yet clear. It should be noted that fieldwork was not originally part of the assignment. The study has thus remained desk based as planned.

409 UNSTATS SDG 8.7 (2020), available from <https://unstats.un.org/sdgs/metadata/?Text=&Goal=8&Target=8.7>
Accessed 03/03/2020.

410 Ibid.

ANNEX 7

Template Interview Guidelines

Please note that the questions below were only used to serve as general guidelines for the interviews. From question 5 onwards they are open-ended and kept as broad as possible. This allows interviewees to bring what they view as the most salient subjects forward. Depending on the interviewee, some specific questions relevant to their respective subject areas may also be asked. The results of those answers will be summarised under question 10 in the form.

After collecting the information notes, the interviews were entered into the Atlasti qualitative data analysis software and coded (assigned to) the different subject areas identified based on the agreed Inception Report. After data entry the answers were automatically collated through the software to summarise them by subject area. Trends and key points were then identified for further analysis.

CONTACT

Email address *

1. Name *
2. Contact details - skype as available, mobile number/Whatsapp, physical city name of office *
3. Agency/Office Name and main areas of work *
4. Primary Geographic Focus *
 - Côte d'Ivoire
 - Ghana
 - Africa
 - Global
 - Other:
5. Please describe your work as related to the cocoa value chain:
As relevant to the stakeholder being interviewed, ask the following questions and any others that may be relevant to the individual being interviewed:
6. According to you what are your organisation's past successes with regard to addressing issues on child labour in cocoa, if any? (or if not implementing such activities, ask what, according to them the main successes are that they believe help reduce child labour)

7. According to you what are the main challenges that you faced in implementing activities regarding child labour in cocoa? (or if not implementing such activities, ask what the main challenges that they believe impede success in addressing child labour)
8. According to you what are the main opportunities and solutions/recommendations to reducing child labour in the cocoa value chain?
9. Regarding deforestation and other environmental challenges in cocoa production, what are your organisation's past successes with regard to these issues if any? (or if not implementing such activities, ask what, according to them the main successes are that they believe help reduce deforestation and other environmental challenges)
10. According to you what are the main opportunities and solutions/recommendations to address deforestation and other environmental challenges in cocoa production?
11. Any other specific comments and suggestions? (ask any other questions including on linkages between different subjects).
12. Names and details of additional persons to contact. Reminder to ask for sharing and documents that may be useful.