EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

ENDING CHILD LABOUR
AND PROMOTING SUSTAINABLE
COCOA PRODUCTION
IN CÔTE D’IVOIRE AND GHANA
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The challenge of ending child labour remains widespread around the world with 160 million 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).


2  Ibid.

GLOBAL CHALLENGE OF ENDING CHILD LABOUR

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

A 2019 study 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. 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.

Côte d’Ivoire’s economy has grown rapidly over the last few years. The GDP growth rate was 7.4% in 2018 and 6.9% in 2019. 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 GDP, while 70 to 85% of cocoa farmers’ income is dependent on cocoa. 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%). A further 21% of the population are between the ages of 15 and 24. The total unemployment rate in the labour force is 3.4%, with 35% of young people between the ages of 15 and 35 unemployed. Approximately one half of the population (49.2%) lives in rural areas.

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 school and girls have a net enrolment rate of 39% and boys 48% in secondary education.

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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.


12 Ibid.


16 Ibid.
Ghana’s economic growth rate was estimated at 6.5% for 2019. In Ghana, industry is the largest sector with 34% of GDP, while cocoa represents 1.6% of GDP. In Ghana cocoa is mostly grown in six regions in the southern half of the country.

52% of a population of 30 million are under the age of 18, and the rural population is 44%. Approximately 23.4% of the population lives below the poverty line. 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. Although poverty has declined, income inequality, and geographic and gender inequality continue to pose problems.

The Gini index level measuring inequality is high at 43.5.

22 Ibid.
Prevalence of main hazardous child labour tasks among children in cocoa producing areas.\(^{26}\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Task</th>
<th>Côte d’Ivoire</th>
<th>Ghana</th>
<th>Average</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Land clearing</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>19%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Use of sharp tools</td>
<td>31%</td>
<td>43%</td>
<td>36%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carrying heavy loads</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>32%</td>
<td>29%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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**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: Cocoa Growing Areas Indicated in Brown**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Prevalence</th>
<th>Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>North</td>
<td>48.4%</td>
<td>296,094</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North-West</td>
<td>50.7%</td>
<td>203,535</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Centre-Midy</td>
<td>33.1%</td>
<td>166,504</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Centre-West</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>189,092</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Centre</td>
<td>32.4%</td>
<td>142,749</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South-West</td>
<td>30.6%</td>
<td>409,344</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South</td>
<td>30.6%</td>
<td>226,216</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abidjan</td>
<td>31.3%</td>
<td>250,577</td>
</tr>
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</table>

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

\(^{26}\) 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.
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.27
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

Stakeholders

Communities & National Civil Society
- Children
- Families
- Cocoa Producers
- Local Leaders
- Community Based Organizations/National Civil Society
- Workers’ & Employers’ Organisations
- Cooperatives
- Farmers’ Associations
- Community-Based Groups
- Savings & Credit Groups
- Non-governmental and private service providers
- Non-Formal and informal Educators
- Health Workers
- Financing Providers
  - Formal
  - Informal

Government ministries and agencies as applicable (national and decentralised)
- Government Cocoa Agency
- Conseil du Café Cacao (CCC, Côte d’Ivoire)
- Ghana Cocoa Board (COCOBOD)
- Economic Development
- Labour
- Child Labour Coordination Office
- Education
- Educators, Formal
- Planning
- Industry/Commerce/Trade
- Agriculture
- Gender
- Social Welfare
- Social & Child Protection Workers
- Health
- Justice
- Interior
- Security Providers
- Forestry and Environmental Sustainability
- Rural Development
- Finance

Industry - Value Chain
- Cocoa Producers
- Local Traders
- Transporters
- Input Providers
- Financial
- Material
- Exporters
- International Buyers
- Importers to EU & others
- Cocoa, Chocolate & Confectionary Companies
- Semi-finished cocoa products (liquors, butter, powder)
- Industrial chocolate (Couverture)
- Final chocolate products
- Chocolate Wholesalers
- Retailers
- Consumers

International Development Partners
- European Union
- United Nations Agencies
  - ILO
  - UNICEF
  - FAO
  - UNDP (Governance)
  - Others
  - UNEP (Environment)

Bi-lateral Agencies
- Netherlands
- Germany
- France
- Switzerland
- UK (DFID)
- Japan
- Others

International and Industry Networks, NGOs, Foundations, Associations

International Financial Institutions
- African Development Bank
- World Bank
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 countries. 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. 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.

28 Also as indicated in ICI (2020), ICI Strategy 2021-2026, Geneva: ICI.
29 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.

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

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

1. 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).

2. Implement at each level, from national to local, mechanisms for vertical and horizontal communications, joint planning and coordinated implementation of synergistic actions.

3. Develop plans to address all of the root causes and gaps to eliminate child labour.

4. Develop landscape integrated area-based approaches at decentralised level.

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.

1. Develop a systems approach guide detailing methods to enable collective stakeholder learning and regular review of potential actions for change.

2. 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

1. 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.

2. Develop clear targets for implementation phases as progress is made and implement the RBMS system to assure accountability.

3. Develop legal penalties for non-compliance to ensure genuine impact and define standards accepted as evidence of compliance.
SPECIFIC

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.
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.
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.

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.

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

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.

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

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.

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.

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.

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.
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)