



KidsRights Report

Not So Sweet

**Hazardous Child Labour, with a focus on
cocoa plantations in Ivory Coast**

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Executive Summary

An estimated 115 million children from 5 to 17 years old work in hazardous conditions across the world. Hazardous child labour is classified by the International Labour Organization (ILO) as one of the worst forms of child labour. The ILO describes it as “work in dangerous or unhealthy conditions that could result in a child being killed, or injured and/or made ill as a consequence of poor safety and health standards and working arrangements”.

The ILO estimates that some 22,000 children are killed at work every year. Those who survive can develop health problems later in life due to poor working conditions while their bodies and minds are still growing and developing. They also suffer from the lack of an education, as few manage to attend school when working long hours in harsh conditions. The ILO has set the minimum age for hazardous work at 18, a convention which has been ratified by 166 member countries, including Ivory Coast.

Since the cocoa bean was first introduced to Ivory Coast in the late 19th century, it has played a crucial role in the country’s economy. Ivory Coast now accounts for 35% of the world’s cocoa production. Around 900,000 farmers grow the bean, and 3.5 million people depend on it for their livelihoods. The most recent data shows that an estimated 819,921 children worked in the 2008/2009 harvest season.

Most cocoa farms are small, family-run operations which struggle to survive on tiny, unstable proceeds. Only 3% of the final retail price reaches the cocoa producers, and global prices are volatile. “Cocoa farming is very labour intensive,” reports the Cocoa Initiative, “and producers face strong pressures to keep labour costs down. At peak times all family members, including children, are involved”.

Fairtrade certification of chocolate helps to ensure a fair price for farmers, but less than 10% of the world’s chocolate so far meets the standard. In Ivory Coast, certification schemes are not applied industry-wide, and should be given priority by the government.

Agriculture is identified as one of the three most hazardous sectors worldwide; the ILO deems it too dangerous for workers under the age of 18. Heavy agricultural work puts children at risk of lifelong disability; machinery at risk of injury; toxic substances at risk of poisoning. Still, 59% of the world’s child labourers work in agriculture; that’s 98 million children.

In 2012 the government of Ivory Coast adopted the National Action Plan Against Trafficking, Exploitation and Child Labour (2012-2014). Around 3,364 children - mostly boys - have been trafficked from neighbouring countries and forced into hazardous labour in the cocoa plantations. But the majority of children working in the cocoa industry are working informally with their own families, making intervention difficult.

It remains a challenge to reduce the number of children working under hazardous conditions in the cocoa sector. The number of children working in the cocoa sector in Ivory Coast remains high and current and accurate data are not available. More data is urgently needed if hazardous child labour in Ivory Coast is to be properly addressed.

Good quality, accessible education is vital in the fight against child labour. Schooling in Ivory Coast is not compulsory, and fees make it impossible for many, as well as patchy provision, along with the seasonal nature of work on the cocoa plantations. The government needs to make education compulsory, and freely accessible to all children.

Globally, the effort needs to be continued to ensure that all children attend school until the minimum age for work. Economic opportunities for families need to be enhanced, and awareness raised in farming communities about the safety risks and health consequences for children working in the sector.

Section 1: Introduction

Hazardous child labour is a major global problem. An estimated 115 million children between 5 and 17 years old work in dangerous conditions across the world (ILO, *Children in Hazardous Work*, 2011). They risk injury, illness, and death. They miss out on school. Their plight violates a host of the rights enshrined in the Convention on the Rights of the Child (United Nations, 1989).

Child labour is defined by the International Labour Organization (ILO) as “work that deprives children of their childhood, their potential and their dignity, and that is harmful to physical and mental development. It refers to work that:

- is mentally, physically, socially or morally dangerous and harmful to children; and
- interferes with their schooling by:
 - depriving them of the opportunity to attend school;
 - obliging them to leave school prematurely; or
 - requiring them to attempt to combine school attendance with excessively long and heavy work.”¹

Whether or not particular forms of work can be classed as child labour depends on the child’s age, the type and hours of work performed, the conditions under which it is performed and the objectives pursued by individual countries.² Hazardous child labour is one of the worst forms of child labour. According to the ILO, “hazardous child labour is work in dangerous or unhealthy conditions that could result in a child being killed, or injured and/or made ill as a consequence of poor safety and health standards and working arrangements”.³

The ILO identifies seven offending sectors in its report, *Children in Hazardous Work*. These are: crop agriculture; fishing; domestic work; manufacturing; mining and quarrying; construction and street/service industries (ILO, *Children in Hazardous*

Work, 2011). Each sector can expose the child to particular risks, such as toxic chemicals or extreme temperatures. Hazardous working conditions can cause health problems both short-term (such as injuries and skin problems) and long-term (such as cancer, infertility, chronic back pain and IQ reduction), but because many problems occur later in life they are difficult to quantify.⁴

“Economic vulnerability associated with poverty, risk and shocks plays a key role in driving children to work”, according to the World Report on Child Labour (ILO, 2013). Risk and shocks include such events as crop failure, natural disasters and economic downturns. Parents might also send their children to work because they don’t value education, or can’t afford it.

The spotlight is put here on hazardous child labour in Ivory Coast. Since the cocoa bean was first introduced to the country in the late 19th century, it has played a crucial role in Ivory Coast’s economy. Around 900,000 farmers now grow cocoa, and 3.5 million people live directly off its production. During the 2008/2009 harvest season, an estimated 819,921 children worked in the country’s cocoa industry.

“At night it was difficult to sleep because of the pains in my body, and then we had to get up at 04.00 and work until 16.00. I was always tired.”
Abdoulaye (9 years old), child labourer on a cocoa farm.⁵

This report addresses hazardous child labour in the global context of children’s rights. The first chapter takes a global perspective, outlining the legal framework, and key facts and figures. The second chapter addresses these with particular reference to Ivory Coast. The report concludes with recommendations.

Section 2: Hazardous child labour from a global perspective

2.1 Legal framework

In 1948 the Universal Declaration of Human Rights was adopted by the UN. In 30 articles, the Declaration commits to protecting and promoting the human rights of every individual. That includes children, who are entitled to enjoy all the rights guaranteed by the various international human rights treaties which have since evolved from the original Declaration.

Although children are covered by these international treaties, the international community recognised the specific need for the protection and promotion of children's rights in 1989, with the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC). The CRC defines a child as "every human being below the age of 18 years unless, under the law applicable, majority is attained earlier" (UNICEF, 2012). It contains 54 articles covering almost all aspects of the life of a child, grouped in the following three categories:

- Provision: these are the rights to the resources, the skills and services; the "inputs" that are necessary to ensure children's survival, and the development of their full potential;
- Protection: these are the rights to protection from acts of exploitation or abuse, in the main by adults or institutions that threaten their dignity, their survival and their development;
- Participation: these are the rights that provide children with the means by which they can engage in those processes of change that will bring about the realisation of their rights, and prepare them for an active part in society and change.⁶

All States that have ratified the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child are bound to this Convention by law. The only States that have not ratified the CRC are The United States of America and Somalia.

The right of the child to freedom from all forms of exploitation is enshrined in Article 32 of the CRC.

Convention on the Rights of the Child, Article 32:

1. States Parties recognise the right of the child to be protected from economic exploitation and from performing any work that is likely to be hazardous or to interfere with the child's education, or to be harmful to the child's health or physical, mental, spiritual, moral or social development.
2. States Parties shall take legislative, administrative, social and educational measures to ensure the implementation of the present article. To this end, and having regard to the relevant provisions of other international instruments, States Parties shall in particular:
 - (a) Provide for a minimum age or minimum ages for admission to employment;
 - (b) Provide for appropriate regulation of the hours and conditions of employment;
 - (c) Provide for appropriate penalties or other sanctions to ensure the effective enforcement of the present article"⁷

Children who perform hazardous work risk the violation of many of their rights, including:

- The right to freedom of association (Article 15);
- The right to protection from physical or mental ill-treatment, neglect or exploitation (Article 19);
- The right to benefit from the highest attainable standard of health and access to health care services (Article 24);
- The right of every child to a standard of living adequate for the child's physical, mental, spiritual, moral and social development (Article 27. 1);
- The right to education (Article 28);
- The right to rest, leisure, play and recreation (Article 31);
- The right to protection from economic

exploitation and from performing any work that interferes with his or her education or is harmful to his or her mental, spiritual or social development (Article 32)

In 1999, the African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child (ACRWC) entered into force, adopted by the Organisation of African Unity (now African Union). The ACRWC builds on the same basic principles as the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child, but pays particular attention to issues of special importance to Africa. Africa is in fact the only continent in the world with a region-specific child rights instrument. The right of the child to be protected from economic exploitation is enshrined in Article 15 of the ACRWC, with an additional section about the promotion and distribution of information on the hazards of child labour to all sectors of the community.⁸

The International Labour Organisation (ILO) is a UN organisation devoted to promoting social justice and internationally recognised human and labour rights. The eradication of child labour is one of the four areas covered by the Declaration on Fundamental Principles and Rights at Work, which binds all 185 member States.⁹ 179 countries have ratified the ILO's Worst Forms of Child Labour Convention, 1999 (No.182), thereby committing themselves to eradicating hazardous child labour.¹⁰ Only six countries have not ratified it: Cuba, Eritrea, India, Marshall Islands, Palau and Tuvalu.

Article 3 of Convention No. 182 defines the worst forms of child labour as follows:

- (a) all forms of slavery or practices similar to slavery, such as the sale and trafficking of children, debt bondage and serfdom and forced or compulsory labour, including forced or compulsory recruitment of children for use in armed conflict;
- (b) the use, procuring or offering of a child for prostitution, for the production of pornography or for pornographic performances;
- (c) the use, procuring or offering of a child for illicit activities, in particular for the production and trafficking of drugs as defined in the relevant

international treaties;

- d) work which, by its nature or the circumstances in which it is carried out, is likely to harm the health, safety or morals of children.¹¹

Hazardous child labour, falling under category (d) above, qualifies as one of the worst forms of child labour. The Convention does not define more explicitly the kind of work that harms the health, safety and morals of children, leaving its interpretation to individual member States.¹² However, a detailed definition of hazardous work can be found in paragraph 3 of the ILO's Worst Forms of Child Labour Recommendations of 1999 (no. 190):

- (a) work which exposes children to physical, psychological or sexual abuse;
- (b) work underground, under water, at dangerous heights or in confined spaces;
- (c) work with dangerous machinery, equipment and tools, or which involves the manual handling or transport of heavy loads;
- (d) work in an unhealthy environment which may, for example, expose children to hazardous substances, agents or processes, or to temperatures, noise levels, or vibrations damaging to their health;
- (e) work under particularly difficult conditions such as work for long hours or during the night or work where the child is unreasonably confined to the premises of the employer.¹³

According to the United Nations, "child labour, including hazardous work, is work that children should not be doing because they are too young to work, or if they have reached the minimum age, because it is dangerous or otherwise unsuitable for them".¹⁴ The ILO's Convention No. 138 on the Minimum Age for Admission to Employment stipulates that any work likely to jeopardise children's health, safety or morals should not be done by anyone under the age of 18.¹⁵

Minimum Age for Admission to Employment Convention No. 138, Article 3.1

"The minimum age for admission to any type of employment or work which by its nature or the

circumstances in which it is carried out is likely to jeopardise the health, safety or morals of young persons shall not be less than 18 years”¹⁶

Convention No. 138 has been ratified by 166 member countries of the ILO, each of which undertakes to pursue a national policy designed to ensure the effective abolition of hazardous child labour.¹⁷

ILO Convention No. 184 (2001), which addresses health and safety in agriculture, specifically states in Article 16 that “the minimum age for assignment to work in agriculture which by its nature or the circumstances in which it is carried out is likely to harm the safety and health of young person’s shall not be less than 18 years”.¹⁸ So far, Convention No. 184 has only been ratified by 15 countries.¹⁹

2.2 Context of hazardous child labour

Both girls and boys are victims of hazardous child labour, but gender plays an important role in the type of work the child performs. Girls are over-represented in domestic work, while boys are more likely to undertake activities in agriculture and industry (IPEC, 2011). Children are at an increased risk for hazardous work because they:

- Lack work experience and may not make well-informed judgements
- Have a desire to perform well; children are willing to go the extra mile without realising the risks
- Learn unsafe behaviours from adults
- Might not be carefully trained or supervised
- Lack status and find it difficult to speak out about their rights
- Try to appear as if they understand, when actually they don’t, to appear competent (International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour (IPEC), 2011: 14)

Poor health and safety standards can lead to illness or injury, and in severe cases, disability or death. Cause and effect are obvious in the case of accidents, but not so easy to quantify when unhealthy working conditions lead to problems later

in life. Hazardous working conditions affect both children and adults, but because children’s bodies are still developing, the impact can be more long-lasting and devastating. Children can also experience serious psychological and emotional damage, working for long hours away from their families.²⁰

Children who suffer from discrimination and exclusion are more likely to become victims of child labour. This includes those from a low social caste, those with disabilities, those who are displaced or living in remote areas, and those who belong to ethnic minorities or indigenous and tribal groups.²¹

“Economic vulnerability associated with poverty, risk and shocks plays a key role in driving children to work”, according to the World Report on Child Labour (ILO, 2013). Economic shocks including drought, flood and crop failure, force families to take desperate measures to survive. According to the ILO:

“Poverty and economic shocks clearly play an important if not a key role in determining the market for child labour. Child labour in turn contributes to the perpetuation of poverty. For example, recent empirical findings by the World Bank from Brazil demonstrate that early entry into the labour force reduces lifetime earnings by some 13 to 20 per cent, increasing significantly the probability of being poor later in life.”²²

Parents might also send their children to work because they don’t value education, or can’t afford it. It might simply be considered the cultural norm. Employers may also prefer child labourers, creating further demand. They can pay lower wages, and children are less likely to question their conditions or organise themselves into a union to demand their rights.²³ Child labour often occurs in the context of illegal work, meaning that wages and working conditions are completely unregulated (ILO, *Minors out of mining*: 14).

Child labour is common in all agricultural subsectors, including farming, fishing/aquaculture, forestry and livestock production.²⁴ Agriculture is one of

the three most hazardous sectors of work (along with construction and mining) due to the physical strain and repetitive movements involved. Working conditions can vary; commercial plantations use heavy farm machinery, while smallscale subsistence plantations use traditional, intensive methods.

The ILO identifies the most vulnerable groups of agricultural workers “in family subsistence agriculture, in plantations as daily paid labourers, seasonal or migrant workers without land, and, of course, child labourers”.²⁵

2.3 Facts and figures

Hazardous child labour is a major global problem, which contravenes the rights of children, and puts them in danger of irreversible harm and even death. The following statistics illustrate the scope of child labour, and hazardous child labour, across the world:

- 168 million children worldwide are victims of child labour, accounting for almost 11% of the child population as a whole (ILO, Making Progress Against Child Labour, 2013: 7).
- Hazardous child labour is the largest category in the worst forms of child labour, with an estimated 115 million children aged 5 to 17 working in dangerous conditions (IPEC, Children in Hazardous Work, 2011).
- The ILO estimates that worldwide, some 22,000 children are killed at work every year (ILO, World Report on Child Labour, 2013).²⁶
- Child labour in sub-Saharan Africa could rise by around 15 million children over the next decade, reaching 65 million by 2020 (UN Special Envoy for Global Education, 2012: 8).

Most child labourers work in agriculture, in such areas as cotton and cocoa production; and in the service industry. According to the United Nations, “For some work, children receive no payment, only food and a place to sleep. In many instances the children receive no payment if they are injured or become ill, and can seek no protection if they suffer violence or are maltreated by their employer”.²⁷

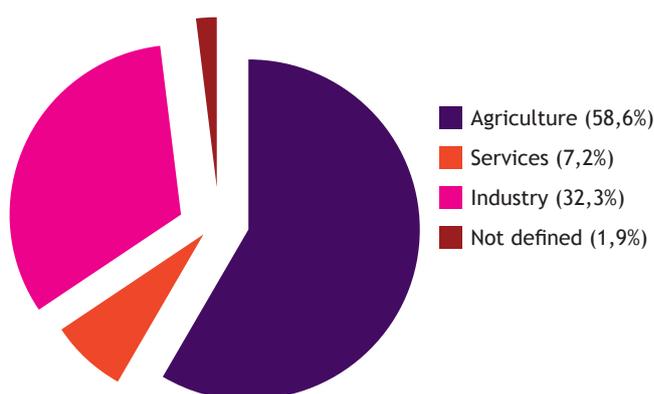
Hazardous child labour is not restricted to a particular sector, and can be seen across a whole range of occupations. Most children involved in child labour work in Sub-Saharan Africa, Asia and the Pacific Region (ILO, Making Progress Against Child Labour, 2013: 7).

Table 1: Children in hazardous work by region (millions), (ILO, Making progress Against Child Labour, 2013)

Asia and the Pacific	33.8 million
Latin America and the Caribbean	9.6 million
Middle East and Northern Africa	5.2 million
Sub Saharan Africa	28.7 million

In the agricultural sector, children are mostly employed cultivating and harvesting crops, and spraying pesticides. According to the ILO in 2012, agriculture is by far the biggest sector when it comes to child labour, accounting for 59% of all those in child labour - a massive total of 98 million children (ILO, Making Progress Against Child Labour, 2013: 7).

The following chart shows the distribution of hazardous child labour by economic activity in the 5-17 age group (ILO, 2013).²⁸



2.4 Government action and the role of NGOs

The CRC establishes the following duty-bearers for guaranteeing children the enjoyment of their rights:

1. The State
2. Parents, legal guardians and individuals legally responsible for children
3. Institutions, services and facilities for the care and protection of children

Governments have the primary responsibility for the elimination of the worst forms of child labour. According to the internationally agreed Roadmap for Achieving the Elimination of the Worst Forms of Child Labour by 2016:

“there is no single policy that by itself will end the worst forms of child labour. However, evidence has shown that targeted action that simultaneously addresses the implementation and enforcement of legislation, the provision and accessibility of public services (including free, quality compulsory education, training and social protection services), and the functioning of labour markets, yields high returns in the fight against child labour” (Ministry of Social Affairs and Employment The Netherlands, 2010).

Working towards a system of social protection is vital in order to support the capacity of families to protect their own children. “You cannot eliminate child labour in a community when the income of the family is so low,” says Alexandre Soho of the ILO. “You need to tackle the issue of the livelihoods for the parents”.²⁹ In practice this means cash transfer schemes, public works, access to credit, insurance and savings schemes and strengthening and implementing national protection frameworks to protect children from exploitation (Ministry of Social Affairs and Employment the Netherlands, 2010: 4).

“The eradication of child labour - and providing the alternative of education and training, and decent work for adults and children of working age - contributes to households breaking out of the cycle of poverty and helps countries to advance human development” (ILO, Implementing the Roadmap for Achieving the Elimination of The Worst Forms of Child Labour by 2016, 2013: 25)

There is no “one size fits all” definition of a social protection system sensitive to the welfare of children, but effective measures include better access to employment for parents and caregivers; income generation; and preparing adolescents for employment (ILO, Implementing the Roadmap for Achieving the Elimination of The Worst Forms of Child Labour by 2016, 2013: 42).

If hazardous child labour is to be eliminated, good quality education must be free and compulsory for all children under the minimum age of employment. Steps required to achieve this include:

- The elimination of school fees
- Public investments to increase the number of teachers and schools nationwide or in targeted, strategic locations
- Improved training, curriculum development and provision of services
- Removal of physical barriers to schooling for those with physical disabilities or those in remote communities
- Integration of locally relevant skills into the school curriculum, including career counseling
- Provision of school meals
- Provision of counseling and other support services, including after-school programmes (ILO, Implementing the Roadmap for Achieving the Elimination of The Worst Forms of Child Labour by 2016, 2013: 38).

The ILO has identified successful educational measures in the fight against child labour. In Kenya, self-help savings groups were established which provided training about income-generating activities such as small livestock raising. In Uganda and Zambia, a special programme provided vocational training for children removed from hazardous working conditions. Children not only learned skills, but also received career guidance and support in setting up their own enterprises. In Liberia, one rubber plantation trade union succeeded in making education at the company town school compulsory for all children under the minimum age for work. Daily production quotas were also lowered, and pay raised, decreasing pressure on families working on the plantation (ILO, Practices With Good Potential - Towards The Elimination of Hazardous Child Labour, 2012).

According to the Roadmap for Achieving the Elimination of the Worst Forms of Child Labour by 2016, NGOs and other civil society organisations should:

- Call upon governments to respect children’s rights and ensure that appropriate services are offered

to vulnerable children to protect them from child labour, especially its worst forms (including hazardous child labour).

- Assist those children who have been withdrawn from child labour.
- Contribute to monitoring the incidence of child labour through research (Ministry of Social Affairs and Employment The Netherlands, 2010: 5).

International organisations campaigning against the elimination of child labour include: Global March Against Child Labour, Anti-Slavery, The International Initiative on Exploitative Child Labor (IIECL), Child Labor Coalition, Save the Children, Fairtrade International, UNICEF, and Defence for Children International.

Section 3: Hazardous child labour from a country perspective: children in cocoa production in Ivory Coast

3.1 Legal framework Ivory Coast

Ivory Coast ratified the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child in 1991, and the African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child (ACRWC) in 2004.³⁰ As a member of the ILO, Ivory Coast signed the Minimum Age Convention (No. 138) in 1999, and the Worst Forms of Child Labour Convention (No. 182) in 2003.³¹

The Labour Code, enacted in 1995, sets the minimum age of employment at 14 years (Article 23.8, Code du Travail, 1995). Hazardous child labour is defined by law as labour that endangers the health and development of a child.

In 2012, Ivory Coast updated the 2005 Hazardous Labour List, including, with reference to agriculture, exposure to chemicals and fertilizer.³² Children under 18 are restricted from performing certain types of work in agriculture, mining, transportation, commerce and artisanal sectors. In Ivory Coast any person who makes a child do hazardous work is liable to penalties; this also applies to the parents of the child.³³

In 2012, the government of Ivory Coast also adopted a National Action Plan targeting child trafficking, exploitation and labour (2012-2014). The National Action Plan is focused on four strategic areas; prevention, protection of children, prosecution and punishment of offenders, and monitoring and evaluation activities (National Action Plan: 2012: 10).³⁴

The Ministry of Justice and the Ministry of Interior are responsible for protecting children against child labour. In 2009, the Ministry of Agriculture initiated the programme, Combating the Worst Forms of Child Labour in Agriculture, to carry out research in the area.³⁵ In 2007 the Steering Committee of the Monitoring System of Child Labour was established as part of the certification process of cocoa production

(National Action Plan: 2012).

In 2006, the Ministry of Interior established a sub-department of the Fight Against Child Trafficking, responsible for arresting and pursuing the perpetrators of child trafficking. The sub-department is also responsible for investigating cases of child trafficking, rescuing trafficked children and uncovering trafficking networks. (Global March, 2013: 7).

Ivory Coast acceded to the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organised Crime (2000) in 2012. Article 3 of the convention defines trafficking as “the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of a child for the purpose of exploitation which shall be considered ‘trafficking in persons’ ” (National Action Plan: 2012).

3.2 Context of Ivory Coast

Ivory Coast is located in West Africa, bordering Ghana, Guinea, Mali and Burkina Faso. Its population is an estimated 22.8 million,³⁶ including 9.6 million children under the age of 18.³⁷ Ivory Coast ranks 146th out of 165 countries on the KidsRights Index overall score.³⁸ 68% of the population is heavily dependent on agriculture and related activities (Fair Labour Association, 2012: 2). In 2008-2012, primary school net attendance ratios were 71.8% for boys and 64.4% for girls.³⁹

Ivory Coast has suffered significant economic damage due to political unrest and civil war. The economy is currently slowly recovering from armed conflict in 2011 following the contested presidential election of 2010.⁴⁰

Worldwide, more than 3 million tonnes of cocoa beans are consumed every year.⁴¹ The cocoa bean grows primarily in the tropical climates of West Africa and Latin America, and West African countries supply more than 70% of the world's cocoa market.⁴² By contrast, most of the world's chocolate (a product of cocoa beans) is consumed by the wealthy regions of Europe and North America.⁴³

The cocoa bean was introduced to Ivory Coast in the late 19th century, and now plays a central role in the country's economy. Ivory Coast is the world's leading producer of cocoa, accounting for 35% of global production.

In 1980, the international price of cocoa was of \$3,750 per tonne, but today it has dropped to \$2,800 per tonne.⁴⁴ The farmers see only a tiny proportion (3%) of the revenue from chocolate sold in shops around the world.⁴⁵ Cocoa is grown mainly on small, family-owned plantations by farmers living in poverty.⁴⁶ 80-85% of cocoa production takes place outwith organised cooperatives (Fair Labor Association, 2012: 2).

The International Labour Rights Forum has said that "in Ivory Coast, children are involved in the 'worst forms of child labor', where they are exposed to chemicals, long working hours and the denial of education".⁴⁷ Heavy agricultural work puts children at risk of lifelong disability. Machinery puts children at risk of injury. Toxic substances put children, whose minds and bodies are still developing, at risk of poisoning.⁴⁸

"You get very tired when you work so much," he said, showing scars he still has from his machete injuries. "Every day I would wake at six o'clock and go straight to the cocoa farm." Dera (15 years old), child labourer on a cocoa farm.⁴⁹

Children working in cocoa production are required to carry out activities such as carrying heavy loads, using dangerous tools, spraying fertilisers or pesticides, sowing and harvesting the cocoa crop, and cutting trees, often in the full heat of the sun. "Cocoa farming is very labour intensive," reports the Cocoa Initiative, "and producers face strong

pressures to keep labour costs down. At peak times all family members, including children, are involved" (Cocoa Initiative, 2011).

"My father sent me here to work... I haven't seen my family for three years" Yoa Kouassi Child (16 years old), child labourer on a cocoa farm.⁵⁰

Child labour in Ivory Coast can be divided into the following three categories:

- Children trafficked from countries with shared borders. These children do not have any kinship, family or communal ties to the farm household in which they work.
- Family labour, such as children of the farmer or of the farmer's family, living on the farm.
- Foster labour; children with well established kinship or communal ties to the household (Global March, 2013: 6).

Global March states in its report 'Child Labour in Cocoa Farming in Cote D'Ivoire' that children, primarily boys, are trafficked from neighbouring countries such as Ghana, Mali, Burkina Faso, Benin and Togo, and placed in forced agricultural labour, including cocoa production (Global March, 2013: 6). Trafficked children were often found to "come from extremely poor families and had been recruited by traffickers on the promise of good wages and assistance for travel. Most left for the Ivory Coast at the ages of 12 to 16, although some were as young as 10."⁵¹

Cocoa farming is seasonal work, with demand for labour especially high during harvest season in December and January. This can lead to disruption in schooling, making it difficult for children to rejoin formal education.⁵² Education in Ivory Coast is not compulsory, and many children involved in hazardous labour are denied the opportunity to attend school at all.⁵³

In West Africa, increasing numbers of children do attend school, but there are still families who cannot afford to send their children to school or who do not have access to education in their community (Cocoa Initiative, 2011: 15). Poverty drives many children to leave school and go to work to support their families.

“Education for our children is a must so that they can grow up to become doctors, teachers, businessmen and rich, but child labour is the obstacle”. Lukku, ordinary farmer, Petit d’ Bouake, Ivory Coast (Global March, 2013: 4).

In 2011, an economic downturn in Ivory Coast led to rising unemployment and increased poverty. Families were forced to take action to survive, including sending their children to work (National Action Plan, 2013: 11). Child labour is culturally accepted in Ivory Coast as a legitimate way to introduce children to the lifeskills necessary for survival (National Action Plan, 2013: 15).

3.3 Facts and figures

Around 7.5 million people in West Africa work in cocoa production, mainly on family small holdings of around five hectares (Cocoa Initiative, 2011: 17). In Ivory Coast, some 900,000 farmers grow cocoa, and 3.5 million live directly off cocoa production.⁵⁴ Two out of three children working in the sector are working with their families.⁵⁵

The National Survey on Household Living Standards (2008) identified 1,570,103 children as economically active in the agriculture sector in Ivory Coast, out of which 1,202,404 (91.1%) were involved in hazardous work, and 3,364 were victims of trafficking (Global March, 2013: 6).

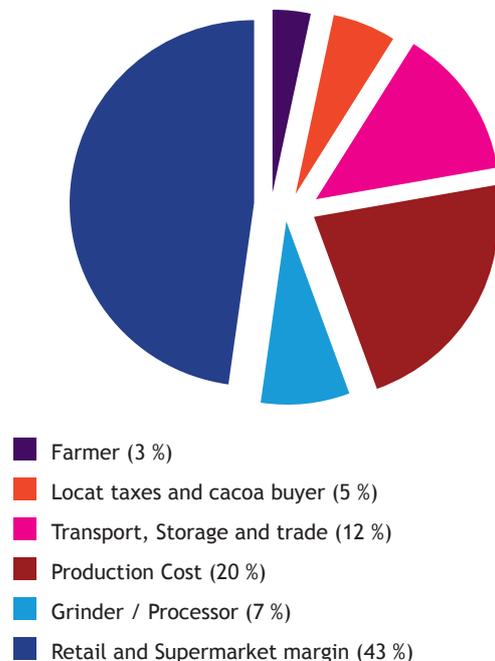
In Ivory Coast, an estimated 819,921 children worked in the cocoa industry during the harvest 2008/2009. Furthermore, during the harvest 2008/2009 50.6% (an estimated 414,778 children) reported injuries from dangerous activities (Global March, 2013: 6).

Moreover, “40% children working in cocoa fields of Ivory Coast are not enrolled in schools and only 5% of Ivorian children are paid for their work”.⁵⁶

In October 2014, Tulane University will release the findings of the child labour survey from the 2013/2014 harvest season.

The figure below shows the share of profits from chocolate products sold in shops around the world. Farmers see only 3% of the revenue.⁵⁷

Figure 1: Share for each stakeholder from finished chocolate sold in shops around the world.⁵⁸



3.4 Challenges and underlying causes

There are still approximately 3,600 cocoa growing communities in Ivory Coast which have not been reached by government services offered in conjunction with industry, international organisations, NGOs and other governments.⁵⁹

40% of children working in the cocoa fields are not enrolled in schools. Access to quality education is critical to keeping children out of child labour. There is no compulsory education law in Ivory Coast, making children much more vulnerable to hazardous labour.⁶⁰

The price of cocoa is volatile and influenced by a wide range of factors such as changes in supply and demand, extreme periods of wet or dry weather, crop disease and political instability such as that suffered in Ivory Coast following the disputed presidential election of 2010.⁶¹

The small profit margins and falling price of cocoa make it difficult for farmers to earn a living. According to the Fair Labor Association's report, Sustainable Management of Nestlé's Cocoa Supply Chain in the Ivory Coast, the "instability in the supply chain make transparency, monitoring and remediation efforts challenging" (Fair Labor Association, 2012: 2).

According to the ILO, the elimination of hazardous child labour in agriculture has been slow and difficult to address, due in part to the "majority of child labourers working as unpaid family labour without formal contracts and traditions of children participating in agricultural activities from a young age".⁶²

The ILO Committee of Experts reports that:

"there is weak enforcement of the laws governing the worst forms of child labour in Ivory Coast. In the National Action Plan the government of Ivory Coast acknowledges that there is a lack of coordination between governmental and nongovernmental, national and international structures affecting negatively the efforts to eradicate hazardous child labour". (Government of Cote D'Ivoire, 2013: 20)

3.5 Government action and the role of NGOs

In 2010, the governments of Ivory Coast and Ghana, along with the US Department of Labour and eight international chocolate and cocoa companies, signed the Declaration of Joint Action to Support Implementation of the Harkin-Engel Protocol, which addresses child labour in the cocoa sector. By signing, the partners committed to reducing the worst forms of child labour by 70% by the year 2020. The accompanying Framework of Action specifies:

- Removal of children from the worst forms of child labour, including hazardous labour, in cocoa growing areas, and provision of appropriate remediation services
- Prevention of children's involvement in the worst forms of child labour, including through increased

access to schooling and vocational training and improvement in the quality and relevance of education.

- Promotion of sustainable livelihoods for the households of children in cocoa growing areas.
- Establishment and implementation of community-based child labour monitoring systems in cocoa growing areas, linked to the provision of remediation for children identified as engaged in the worst forms of child labour.
- Continuation of nationally representative child labour surveys, recurring at least every five years.⁶³

The key stakeholders identified in the framework are cocoa growing communities, national/district/local government, the international chocolate and cocoa industry, foreign donors, social partners, civil society and implementing organisations.

In Ivory Coast, the National Action Plan 2012-2014 against Child Trafficking, Exploitation and Labour is signed and validated by national ministries, national and international NGOs (such as UNICEF), public institutions, and workers' and employers' organisations. The plan is intended to tackle the problem and to create a framework for coordination of aid to children.

Within the cocoa industry, there are various agreements and partnerships to make the industry more sustainable, such as:

- The International Cocoa Agreement (ICCO). As an exporting country, Ivory Coast has been a member since 2012. ICCO addresses issues such as sustainable supply and demand, quality and safety, remunerative prices, certification, child labour, price volatility and speculation.⁶⁴
- The Chocolate and Cocoa Industry Public Private Partnership. Established in 2011, including the ILO and a number of chocolate companies such as Mars and Nestlé, it combats child labour in Ghana and Ivory Coast. The partnership seeks to eliminate child labour and to ensure workforce continuity in cocoa growing farms.⁶⁵
- A sector-wide child labour monitoring system

launched in 2013 to extend data on child labour in Ivory Coast and Ghana. Various stakeholders are involved, including the ILO, Ministry of Labour of Ivory Coast, NGOs and worker/employee organisations (United States Department of Labor, 2013).

- Various projects by the International Cocoa Initiative (ICI) in Ivory Coast which aim to eliminate child labour, in cooperation with the ILO, Cargill West Africa, Anader and Nestle. The ICI-ILO project, for instance, focuses on capacity building within communities.⁶⁶
- The WCF African Cocoa Initiative which focuses on cocoa farms in Central and West Africa, including Ivory Coast. Through public-private partnerships the programme aims to double productivity, thereby raising farmers' income. This programme is run by the World Cocoa Foundation, which is dedicated to ensuring a sustainable supply of quality cocoa.⁶⁷
- Programmes run by the Sustainable Trade Initiative (IDH) to increase productivity, quality and professional standards in the cocoa industry.⁶⁸

The Netherlands is the largest importer of cocoa beans from the main cocoa producing countries, Ivory Coast and Ghana. More than 95% of cocoa beans imported into the Netherlands come from West African countries (IDH, 2010). The Dutch Government has signed a treaty agreeing that only sustainable cocoa will be available for consumption on the Dutch market by 2025.⁶⁹

NGOs working at grassroots level play an important role in raising awareness about hazardous child labour in Ivory Coast's cocoa sector. These include Care International, Children of Africa Foundation and Anader.

Label certification organisations such as the Rainforest Alliance, UTZ Certified, and Fairtrade Labelling Organizations International (FLO) also

play an important role in the elimination of child labour in the West African cocoa sector. Worldwide, “only less than 10% of the chocolate in the world is certified” (Tony Chocolonely, 2012). Certification of cocoa can be applied for by groups of producers, single managed plantations, traders, and processors. The Tulane University report (2011) finds that label certification in Ivory Coast has yet to be enforced industry-wide (Tulane University, 2011: 35).

Tony's Chocolonely was the first fully Fairtrade certified chocolate brand in the Netherlands. In 2013, Tony Chocolonely introduced Bean to Bar chocolate, made only from cocoa by farmers in Ghana and Ivory Coast with whom the company has direct contact (Tony Chocolonely, 2012). The Fairtrade Mark can also be found on chocolate bars, indicating the approval of The Fairtrade Foundation, which strives for better prices, decent working conditions, local sustainability, and fair terms of trade for farmers and workers in the developing world.⁷⁰ UK company, Cadbury, earned the Fairtrade Mark on its classic Dairy Milk bar in 2009.⁷¹

Many of the above initiatives focus on increased sustainability in the cocoa sector, and are intended to benefit cocoa farmers with an emphasis on production revenue, professional standards, pricing and certification. Although the initiatives also address child labour, their impact is not sufficiently monitored; it is generally agreed that accurate figures are impossible to come by.

“In spite a decade of focus and intervention to tackle child labour in cocoa farms in West Africa, we are not seeing the results we had hoped for.”
Mr. Kailash Satyarthi, Chairperson, Global March Against Child Labour, Renewal of the Cocoa Agreement.⁷²

Section 4: Conclusions and recommendations

For many children, hazardous work is a daily reality: worldwide, an estimated 115 million children aged 5 to 17 work in dangerous conditions (ILO, Children in Hazardous Work, 2011). Children are put at risk of injury, illness, long term health problems and death. Their bodies and minds, still developing, are more vulnerable to permanent damage than those of adults in the same position.

Poverty is a major driving force for hazardous child labour; many families see no alternative but to send their children to work. Agriculture is one of the three most hazardous sectors of child labour, due to physical strain and repetitive movements.

Education is one of the most powerful ways to combat hazardous child labour and lift children out of poverty. Children can learn the skills to later find themselves a job with good safety and health standards. At school they are safe from exploitation; in illegal working conditions they are not. Working long hours on cocoa plantations means that school attendance is difficult or impossible.

Ivory Coast is the world's leading producer of cocoa, accounting for 35% of the world's production. 900,000 farmers grow cocoa, and 3.5 million people live directly from cocoa production. Farmers often receive only a tiny portion of final revenue, and put the children in their family to work. During the harvest 2008/2009, an estimated 819,921 children were expected to work in the Ivory Coast plantations. New data is expected later in 2014.

On an international level as well as in Ivory Coast there are many measures, agreements and partnerships between the cocoa industry, the government and other key stakeholders. These initiatives focus on the quality of cocoa and the enhancement of the sustainability of the cocoa industry including eliminating child labour. However, in practice it remains a challenge to reduce the number of children working under hazardous conditions in the cocoa sector, as such the number of children working in the cocoa sector in Ivory Coast remains high. More data is urgently needed if hazardous child labour in Ivory Coast is to be properly addressed.

Global Recommendations:

- Enforcement of national legislation and prosecution against perpetrators of hazardous child labour.
- Promote efforts at the national level to mainstream policies against the worst forms of child labour in development strategies; poverty reduction, child social protection and a social protection framework that supports families' capacity to protect their children.
- National legislation should uphold the age of 18, in line with international human rights standards, as the minimum legal age for hazardous work.
- Develop and implement (with the support of relevant stakeholders) programmes to assist victims of child labour, in particular its worst forms and prevent their return to child labour (ILO, 2013: 45)
- Ensure access and attendance to school for all children at least until the minimum age of employment (ILO, Children in Hazardous Work, 2011).

Recommendations for Ivory Coast:

- The government of Ivory Coast should improve national legislation and prosecution against employers guilty of hazardous child labour.
- Data collection and monitoring is urgently needed, to identify the number of child labourers working on cocoa plantations
- Programmes for the withdrawal of child labourers from cocoa production should receive continuous

support, and alternatives should be provided for children and their families.

- Worldwide, the revenue for cocoa farmers should be increased in order to lift farmers out of poverty and create a more sustainable cocoa sector for all those involved
- The government of Ivory Coast should enhance economic opportunities and improve systems of social protection for vulnerable families.
- The government of Ivory Coast should make education compulsory and guarantee access to free, good quality primary education for all children, focusing on remote areas and the children of seasonal cocoa workers.
- Awareness needs raised in cocoa communities about the safety risks and health consequences facing children working in cocoa plantations, and about the importance of education.
- The government of Ivory Coast needs to prioritise label certification for fair cocoa initiatives.
- Consumers and producers of chocolate should be made aware of the origin of the cocoa beans and the conditions under which they are produced. Governments should play a leading role in ensuring that only sustainable cocoa is imported to their countries.

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