

Children's Rights in the Cocoa-Growing Communities of Côte d'Ivoire

Synthesis Report

February 2018

Acknowledgements

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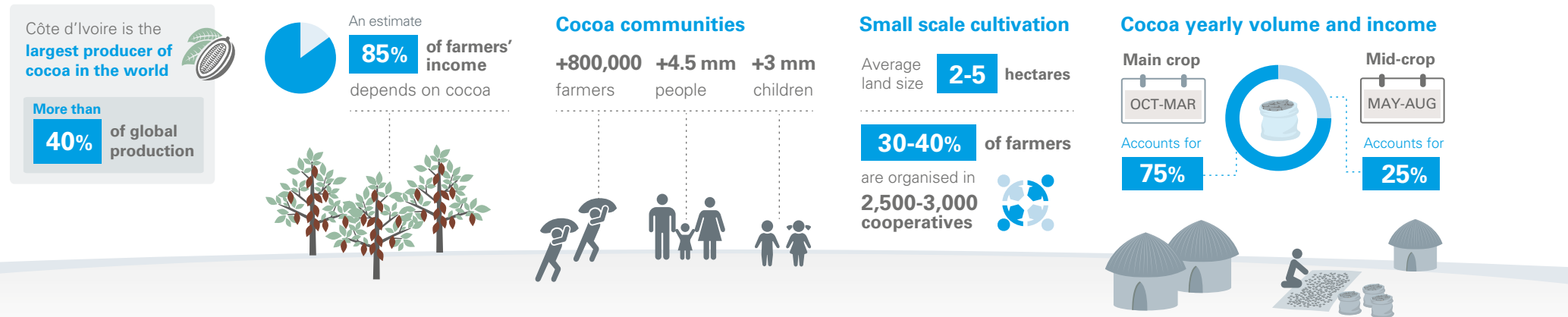
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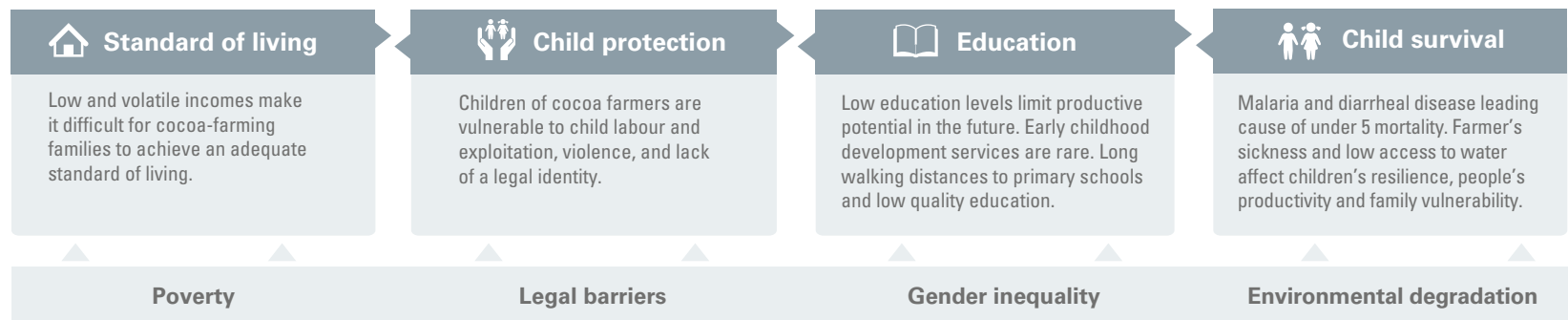


Overview:

Children's rights and cocoa sustainability in Côte d'Ivoire



Most salient children's rights issues in the cocoa context



Interconnected root causes

Critical considerations to advance children's rights



Opportunities for action



Addressing children's rights in the supply chain



Complementary initiatives at scale, with a shared responsibility approach



Interventions for an enabling environment – government policy and advocacy



Stronger programming, broader outreach and increased coordination



Introduction and Methodology:

Children's rights and the cocoa sector in Côte d'Ivoire



Côte d'Ivoire is the largest producer of cocoa in the world, with more than 40 per cent of global production.¹

More than 3 million children in Côte d'Ivoire are linked to the cocoa sector as members of cocoa-growing communities, as children of cocoa farmers, and at times, as workers.² *Children's Rights in the Cocoa-Growing Communities of Côte d'Ivoire* aims to bring attention to the diverse challenges faced by these children and their families, and highlights the extent to which these challenges are overlapping, deeply interrelated and mutually reinforcing.

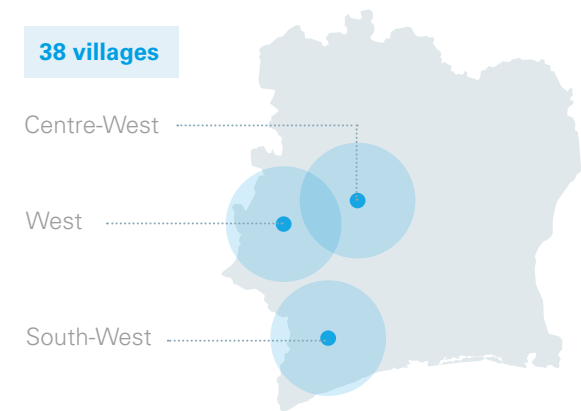
In 2016, UNICEF Côte d'Ivoire launched an exploratory study to understand how the cocoa sector directly and indirectly impacts children. The aim was to help UNICEF have informed, comprehensive and outcome-focused discussions with business, government and civil society on how to advance the rights of children touched by the sector, as well as to inform UNICEF's programmatic priorities in Côte d'Ivoire and policy recommendations for the Government.

Following an extensive literature review and analysis of demographic data sets, such as the Multiple Indicator Cluster Surveys (MICS) 2016,³ key informant interviews were held with government, civil society and business stakeholders. Qualitative fieldwork was conducted by the Ivorian National Institute of Statistics in 38 villages in the south-west, centre-west and west areas of the country. Children, mothers and cocoa producers participated in focus groups, while teachers, village chiefs and health clinic staff also participated in individual interviews.

Despite Ivorian cocoa's significance to the local and global economy, the sector has struggled to live up to its potential as a driver of inclusive growth and poverty alleviation. By embracing research on the full range of children's rights, **this study promotes a holistic view of children's rights and the root causes of child labour. Further, it encourages a 'shared responsibility' approach to strengthening systems** and structures benefiting the future of cocoa production, farming families and children in cocoa-growing communities.

Methodology

Conducted by the Ivorian National Institute of Statistics



Literature review

+70 reports and articles



Key stakeholder interviews

+30 interviews with companies, industry associations, government officials and experts



Qualitative Field Research

Focus groups and individual interviews



Child rights and interconnected root causes



While parents and caregivers have the primary responsibility to protect their children and help them develop to their fullest potential, government systems have an important role to play in setting rules and regulations that protect and support children's rights. Furthermore, the issues faced by children and cocoa-growing families do not occur in isolation: They are intricately linked to the challenges faced by the cocoa supply chain in securing a productive and sustainable future.

This synthesis report focuses on **four areas of children's rights that are at risk of the most severe negative impact** through the cocoa sector's activities and business relationships:

- (1) **an adequate standard of living;**
- (2) **child protection** from all types of **violence and exploitation;**
- (3) **education**, including preschool and **early childhood development services**, as well as **primary** and **secondary school**; and
- (4) child survival, particularly **health, nutrition, and water, sanitation and hygiene** (WASH).

The scope of children's rights was defined in reference to the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) and in relation to UNICEF's programme areas. In addition to using 'saliency'⁴ as a selection criterion, based on the United Nations Guiding Principles on Business and Human Rights, **the study also prioritizes children's rights that may not be impacted directly by the cocoa sector but are material to the sector – and if addressed by the sector, would substantially improve children's resilience and cocoa sustainability.**

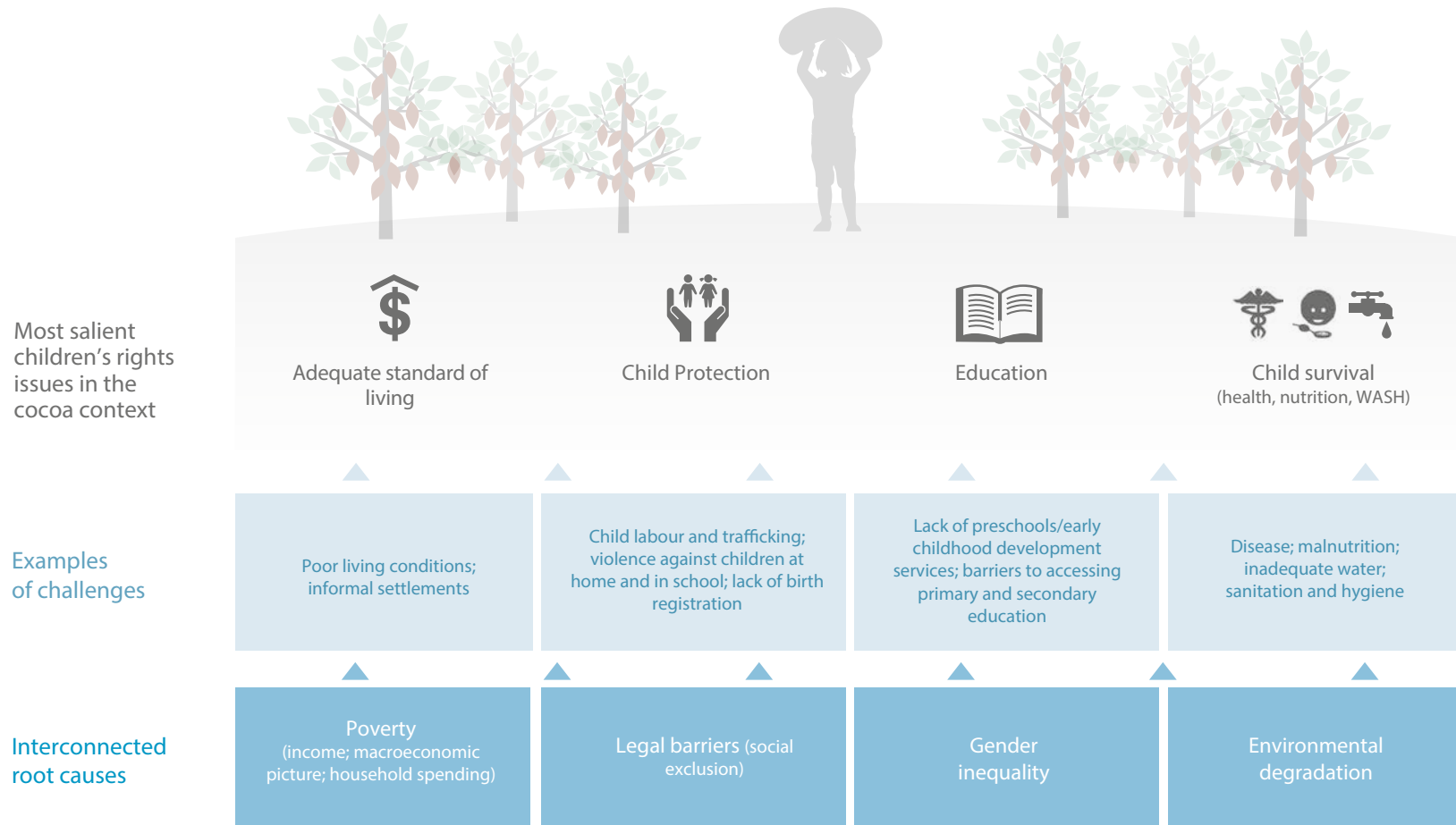
One example relates to health. Addressing preventable illnesses like malaria and diarrhoea could significantly reduce children's mortality rate while reducing risks for farmers to become sick (which ultimately impacts their productivity, their ability to generate income and the need of using alternative forms of cheap labour).

Gender inequality, social exclusion and environmental degradation are all underlying factors for children's vulnerability and also perpetuate poverty. **While poverty and other root causes are not unique to cocoa, the cocoa supply chain contributes and, in many cases, reinforces structural poverty, inequalities and exclusion.** Basic connections between the selected rights, challenges and structural causes that are a focus of this study are illustrated in Figure 1.



Conceptual framework

FIG. 1: Basic connections between children's rights, challenges and interconnected root causes.





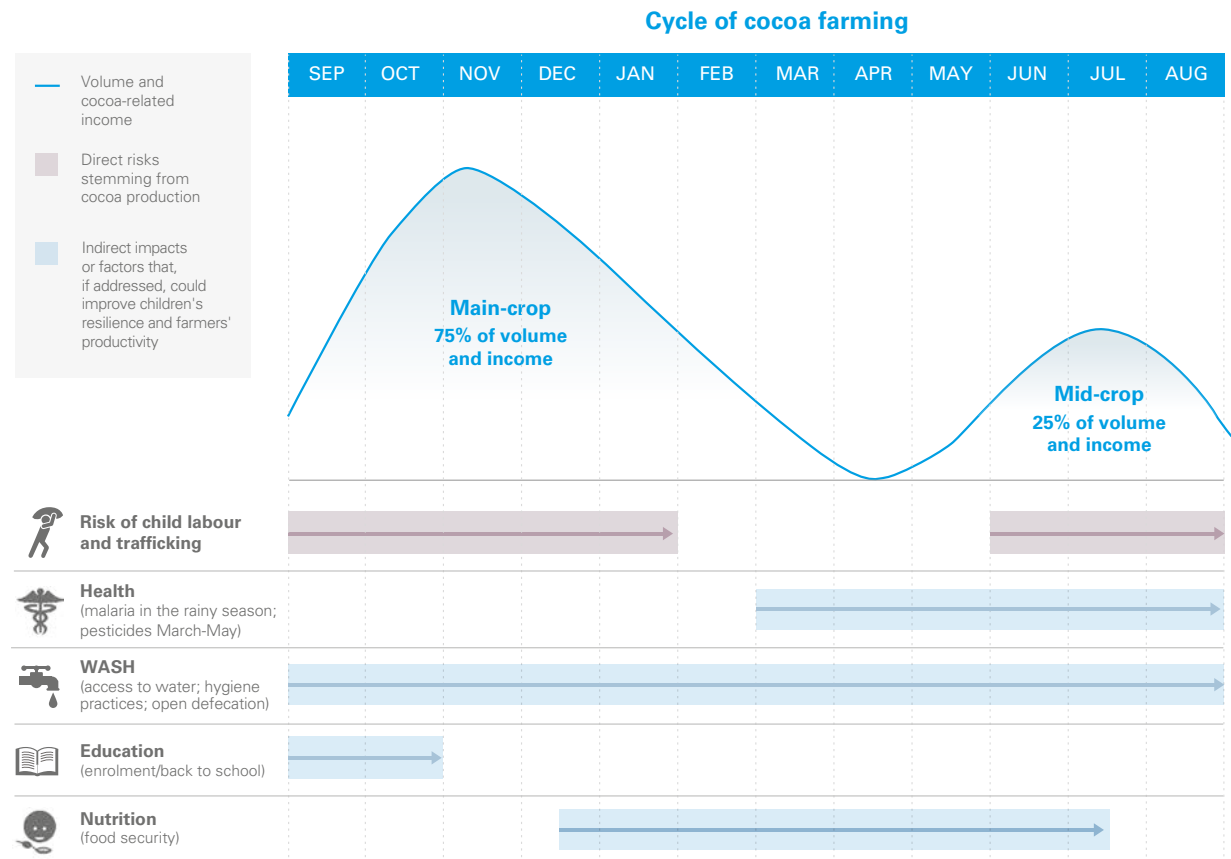
Moreover, specific challenges in Côte d'Ivoire are directly associated with the cocoa life cycle and the farming practices required to produce this delicate crop. There are two harvest seasons for cocoa: (1) the labour-intensive 'main crop' from October–March, which typically peaks in November and accounts for 75–80 per cent of yearly volume and farmers' income; and (2) the 'mid-crop' from May–August, which accounts for 20–25 per cent of production. This cycle impacts a wide range of children's rights, from increasing risks of child labour to reducing school attendance, as shown in Figure 2.

Smallholder farmers form the backbone of cocoa production in Côte d'Ivoire, where between 800,000 and 1.3 million small-scale cocoa producers work plots that average 2–5 hectares in size.⁵ While myriad local farmers, sellers and traders are involved with production and marketing in the cocoa supply chain, processing and manufacturing are largely done by global players in facilities outside the country.

The small-scale and informal sector faces multiple difficulties, including weak negotiating power at the farmer level, fluctuating global cocoa prices, and limited international coordination of agricultural policies, as well as low crop yields from small-sized plots, aging trees and escalating deforestation. These issues have both direct and indirect impacts on children, as described in the following sections.

How the cycle for cocoa farming affects children's rights

FIG. 2: Main children's rights affected by the cocoa farming cycle, by month of the year.



Source: Based on UNICEF estimates.

1 Adequate standard of living

Children have the right to a standard of living that is good enough to meet their physical and mental needs. While parents have the primary responsibility to provide the living conditions that are necessary for the child's development, governments should help families and guardians who cannot afford to provide this, particularly with regard to food, clothing and housing.

– CRC, article 27

Children playing outside at a school in Côte d'Ivoire.





Many of the challenges facing children are rooted in inter-generational poverty. Low and volatile incomes make it difficult for cocoa-farming families to achieve an adequate standard of living, and remain one of the primary reasons child labour persists in cocoa communities, where an estimated 85 per cent of farmers' incomes depends on cocoa.⁶ When faced with price shocks, production losses due to disease and weather, or household emergencies between harvests, the economic resilience of these families is severely limited.

Although cocoa is considered to be a better option than subsistence farming or alternative livelihoods in poorer northern areas or neighbouring countries, several studies estimate that **average cocoa farmer daily income is among the lowest of all producing countries and falls within the range of US\$0.50–\$1.25.**⁷

"There is very little that farmers can buy with their incomes. The purchasing power of farmers has gone down dramatically. Everything has gotten more expensive – firewood, charcoal."
– Stakeholder interview

The majority of cocoa producers and parents interviewed for this study indicated that their income is insufficient to meet their families' needs, especially with an average household size of 8–11 people. Even at cocoa price levels before the recent decline, the average income of most farmers is well below the international poverty line.⁸ (*For a snapshot of the macroeconomic context, see Box 1, page 12*).

Poverty impacts the children in cocoa-growing communities directly by limiting households' ability to pay school-related and health-care expenses, purchase nutritious food, and invest in the long-term viability of their farms. Focus group discussions revealed that farms receive a small share of the total value in the cocoa value chain, and they are often undercut by brokers or not paid on time. Farmers frequently request credit from local vendors or intermediaries in order to cover basic expenses – finding themselves trapped in a cycle of debt and repayment, and making it difficult for families to escape poverty over generations.

Child poverty and access to basic services is a particular concern in the informal settlements or *campements*. Lack of clear land titles, combined with greater competition for suitable land, has led to increased cocoa cultivation in protected forests, often by migrant families. These informal settlements, known as *campements*, are located far from basic services and have less visibility in the supply chain.

Not appearing on administrative maps, and therefore not reached by the government provision of basic services, their illegal status leads to greater risks in the use of undocumented workers and child labourers. The *campements* are only partially covered by national household surveys and by development programmes as well as formal sustainability programmes led by cocoa and chocolate companies.

"Campements are not registered, and there are no services in these communities. There is no legal discrimination, but there is a practical discrimination. Campements are largely made up of migrants. Children are more at risk of child labour in these campements."
– Stakeholder interview

Consequences of poverty in the lives of children in the cocoa-growing communities

Poverty limits households' ability to provide:



Health-care services



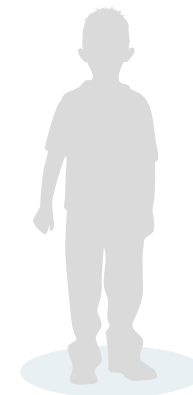
Nutritious food



School supplies



Investment in long-term viability of the farms





BOX 1. Lower incomes, rising costs of living: A snapshot of the macroeconomic context

Poverty is one of the greatest threats

to children's rights, as low incomes force farmers to make a choice between meeting immediate needs and the long-term viability of their farms and opportunities for their children. The low incomes of cocoa-farming households are part of a **vicious cycle of low prices, low productivity and small scale cultivation, combined with poor investment in farms.**

This is exacerbated by rising costs of living, some of which are due to monoculture approach to farming. Farmers focussed on rearing a single crop such as cocoa need to pay additional expenses out of pocket to buy vegetables, grains and fruit for consumption.

The low international cocoa price is one of the key reasons poverty persists among cocoa farmers. In Côte d'Ivoire, the farm gate price is regulated by the Conseil du Café-Cacao (Coffee and Cocoa Council), which publishes the price scale at the beginning of each harvest season, based on forward sales. This price-setting system means that farmers' incomes are dependent on low and highly volatile cocoa prices on international markets.

Major fluctuations in international markets can have devastating impacts on the final

price paid to farmers. Since September 2016, the price of cocoa plunged by US\$1,000 per metric ton, a loss in value of over 30 per cent,[1] while production costs have risen, according to stakeholders consulted for this study. In response, the Council dropped the farm gate price to 700 CFA (US\$1.18) per kilogram, which is significantly lower than the 2015/16 price of 1,100 CFA (US\$1.85).[2]

Difficulty in developing accurate supply and demand forecasts adds uncertainty and heightens farmers' vulnerability. After fears about a shortage of supply in 2014/15, estimated production for 2016/17 harvest was 18 per cent higher than the previous harvest due to good weather, increased production surface and investments in production – one of the key factors for the drop in the global cocoa price.[3] This is exacerbated by such factors as the inelasticity of demand for cocoa, economic recession or less-than-expected consumption of chocolate in emerging markets.

Although production increased in absolute terms in the 2016/17 harvest, productivity levels are low on average relative to many other producing countries due to aging trees, weather conditions, pests and outdated production techniques. Many trees in Côte d'Ivoire are more than 20 years old, far beyond their productivity plateau of 5–10 years.[4]

These factors are compounded by a **lack of income diversification and farmers' weak bargaining power in the supply chain.**

It is estimated that only 30–40 per cent of farmers are organized, in 2,500–3,000 cooperatives in the country, and according to stakeholder consultations in the research, a large share of these cooperatives are not functional. Farmers' weak bargaining power is exacerbated by power asymmetry as mergers and acquisitions have increased integration and market concentration in the value chain.[5]

Cocoa price and poverty

Global cocoa production	+18%	Global cocoa grindings	+3%
Global cocoa stocks to grindings	+19%	International cocoa price drop	-24%



[1] International Cocoa Organization, 'The World Cocoa Economy: Present and future', ICCO, April 2017, p. 3. [2] Le Conseil du Café-Cacao, accessed 20 December 2017, <www.conseilcafecacao.ci>. [3] Fountain A. C., and F. Hütz-Adams, 'Cocoa Barometer 2015', Barometer Consortium, 2015, p. 7. [4] Hütz-Adams, Friedel, et al., Strengthening the Competitiveness of Cocoa Production and Improving the Income of Cocoa Producers in West and Central Africa, Südwind Institut, Bonn, Germany, 31 December 2016, p. 6. [5] Oomes, Nienke, et al., Market Concentration and Price Formation in the Global Cocoa Value Chain: Final report, SEO-report No. 2016-79, SEO Amsterdam Economics, Amsterdam, 15 November 2016, p. 24.

2 Child protection

Children have the right to be protected from all types of physical or mental violence, injury or abuse, neglect or negligent treatment, maltreatment or exploitation. This includes protection 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. To help secure these rights, every child should be registered immediately after birth and have the right from birth to a name, the right to acquire a nationality and, as far as possible, the right to know and be cared for by her or his parents.

– CRC, articles 19, 32 and 7

◀ A girl holds up her birth certificate at a school in a cocoa-growing community of Côte d'Ivoire, February 2016.



Child Protection



As a result of years of conflict and internal and cross-border migration, along with low education levels and poverty, children of cocoa farmers are particularly vulnerable to child protection issues including child labour and exploitation, violence, and the lack of a legal identity. **Within the cocoa sector, persistent child labour is a symptom and self-reinforcing cause of poverty.** It affects children's health and well-being, deprives them of the chance to develop and go to school, increases risks of violence and abuse, and perpetuates inter-generational cycles of poverty.⁹

The Government of Côte d'Ivoire has taken a number of major steps to tackle child labour, particularly its worst forms, for example, revising the Labour Code, raising the minimum working age from 14 to 16, and enacting the Anti-Trafficking Law. Industry stakeholders, through company-specific sustainable cocoa programmes and collaborative efforts such as Cocoa Action, are increasing investment in awareness raising, improved monitoring and remediation services, and community development.

Different studies and field researches found that **it remains common for children to work on family farms**. Most children in the focus groups said they work on cocoa farms, but the majority indicated that this was only on days when they were out of school. Children reported performing various tasks that support cocoa production throughout the cocoa lifecycle, including weeding, and helping to plant and harvest food crops. Children, mostly girls, also carry water and firewood to the farm, help with the cooking, and care for younger siblings while their parents work on the cocoa farms.

Other studies, however, indicate that working in cocoa farms is arduous and often needs to be done fast and efficiently during the two harvest seasons, requiring long hours, making the work particularly challenging for children.

Activities performed by children include clearing land, using sharp tools such as machetes to open cocoa pods, and carrying heavy loads – which are all prohibited by the Government in laws to combat the worst forms of child labour.

Teachers interviewed for this study reported that, in some schools, more than half of the children did not have a birth certificate.

Without documentation, children are unable to access many basic services and are at higher risk of child labour, trafficking and other forms of exploitation.

A recent evaluation of a child labour monitoring and remediation system put in place found that **the two most common types of hazardous work are carrying heavy loads** (85.7 per cent), **and selling, transporting or handling of agro-chemical products** (16.3 per cent). It also found that nearly **one fifth of children aged 5–17 were involved in some type of hazardous labour**.¹⁰



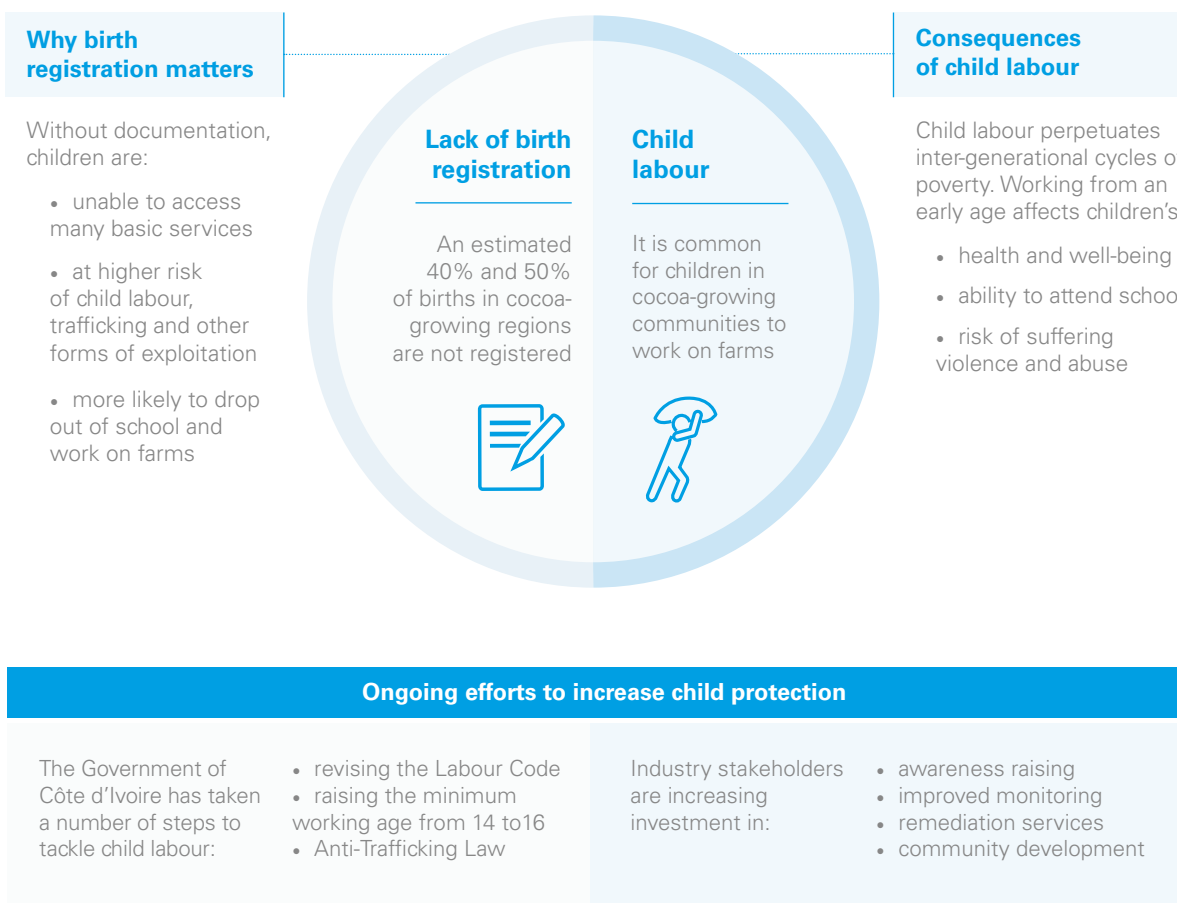
Another issue that has long-term impacts on the lives of children is the lack of birth registration and a legal identity. This is a major concern throughout the country, as more than 28 per cent of births are not registered, according to MICS 2016; this number is higher in cocoa-growing regions of west and centre-west Cote d'Ivoire, where **an estimated 40 per cent and 50 per cent of births are not registered.**¹¹

The research for this report found that most parents wait until their children are of school age before applying for a birth certificate. Although registration is free during the first three months after a child is born, obtaining a birth certificate after that period is complicated and costly. In addition to the late-registration fee, the process typically requires documentation of the mother's and father's identities, and a medical certificate from the child's birth, which is only provided when childbirth takes place at a health clinic or hospital.

Teachers interviewed for this study reported that, in some schools, more than half of the children did not have a birth certificate, and that most of these children had parents who were from neighbouring countries. **Without documentation, children are unable to access many basic services and are at higher risk of child labour, trafficking and other forms of exploitation.** Birth registration is required to attend secondary school and thus, unregistered children are more likely to drop out of school and work on farms. Securing a child's legal identity and a nationality is also essential to resolve root causes of conflict over land.

Children of cocoa farmers are particularly vulnerable to child protection issues including child labour and exploitation, violence, and the lack of a legal identity

FIG 3: A spotlight on birth registration and its impact on child labour.





BOX 2. Multiple barriers to securing social inclusion

Issues regarding nationality and identity, tied to migration trends, fuelled the tensions that led to the 2002 civil war and continue to be root causes of exclusion in Côte d'Ivoire. It is estimated that one quarter of the current population is non-Ivorian, with the majority of immigrants originating from Burkina Faso, Mali and Guinea.[1]

The cocoa sector was one of the primary economic drivers and beneficiaries of migration following independence, helping to increase cocoa production from 300,000 tons in 1977/78 to 880,000 tons in 1988/89.[2] Many children of these migrants are viewed as foreigners, despite being born in Côte d'Ivoire or living in the country for many years.

Land ownership and land use rights are a key concern in the country, and are intimately tied to questions of nationality. Customary law has historically governed 98 per cent of rural land, with the remaining 2 per cent held under legal deed. Customary land management in Côte d'Ivoire differentiates between the ownership of the soil and the right to use the soil; historically, land ownership belonged to whoever was first to arrive and could not be sold under any circumstances, but rights to use land could be transferred or sold.[3]

The land law of 1998 (Loi 98-759) established Ivorian citizenship as a precondition for land ownership, while migrants' rights were restricted to rental agreements or long-term leases. The law and poor implementation following its enactment fuelled tension as this made it difficult for non-Ivorians, who had been cultivating land for decades, to acquire land. The armed conflict and resulting migration and return of internally displaced people exacerbated land disputes.[4]

More recently, there is greater commitment to ensure that land ownership laws and citizenship support the inclusion of migrants, especially those who have been in the country for many years. Under the current President, the Government is supporting stronger implementation of the 1998 law (and the revised law 28 of 2004) intended to legalize traditional land ownership structures while at the same time easing requirements for citizenship.[5] A new Forest Code was also adopted that seeks to improve the security and clarity of communities' rights to land and forest resources.[6] In 2013, the National Assembly approved **new laws aimed at granting citizenship to foreign nationals living in Côte d'Ivoire.**[7]

Use of land in the cocoa sector



The cocoa sector was one of the primary economic drivers of migration following the country's independence



Ivorian citizenship was established as a precondition for land ownership, while migrants' rights were restricted to rental agreements



Recently, there is greater commitment to ensure that land ownership laws support the inclusion of migrants

[1] l'Institut National de la Statistique, 4ème Recensement Général de la Population et de l'Habitat (RGPH) 2014 de Côte d'Ivoire, INS, 2014, p. 34, open PDF from <www.ins.ci/n/documents/RGPH2014_expo_dg.pdf>. [2] Ruf, François, and P. S. Siswoputranto, *Cocoa Cycles: The Economics of cocoa supply*, Woodhead Publishing, Cambridge, England, 1995, p. 46. [3] McCallin, Barbara, and Marzia Montemurro, 'Whose Land Is This? Land disputes and forced displacement in the western forest areas of Côte d'Ivoire', Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre and Norwegian Refugee Council, Geneva and Abidjan, October 2009, p. 14, open PDF from <www.internal-displacement.org/assets/publications/2009/200911-af-cdi-whos-land-is-this-country-en.pdf>. [4] Ibid., p. 16. [5] Ibid., p. 5. [6] Fern, 'Nouveau Code forestier en Côte d'Ivoire: quelles implications pour les droits fonciers', Fern, 2015, p. 2, available at <www.fern.org/fr/codeforestierCI>. [7] Economist Intelligence Unit, 'Côte d'Ivoire Reforms Citizenship and Land Ownership Laws', The Economist Group, 29 August 2013, <http://country.eiu.com/article.aspx?articleid=30905187&Country=Côte%20d%27Ivoire&topic=Polit_3>.

3 Education

In recognition of the right to education, primary schooling should be compulsory and free to all, and various forms of secondary education, including general and vocational education, should be available and accessible to every child.

– CRC, article 28

Children attending class in a school
in Côte d'Ivoire. October, 2017. ▶



Education



Children in cocoa-growing communities face many of the same challenges as children in other rural areas with regard to the availability, affordability, accessibility and quality of education. While primary school enrolment has made significant progress during the past decade, completion rates, secondary school enrolment and learning outcomes remain low.



Low education levels keep cocoa families trapped in a cycle of poverty by compromising children's long-term prospects and limiting their productive potential, and that of future generations. Access to **quality education is one of the most effective tools to reduce the risk of child labour**. But a lack of quality education in cocoa-growing communities increases the appeal of having children work on farms rather than attend school.



Good-quality childcare is essential for child protection, early learning, and health and nutrition, but **early childhood development centres or preschools are rare throughout Côte d'Ivoire, especially in rural areas**, with only 8.2 per cent of eligible children enrolled in the country.¹² According to interviews with cocoa-growing communities, even in cases where an early childhood development centre exists, it is not always equipped to meet children's needs.



Focus group discussions revealed that mothers in cocoa-growing families typically take their young children to cocoa farms, carrying them on their backs or leaving them in the care of older siblings while they work. This can expose young children to potential hazards on the farm as well as increase the likelihood that older children, usually girls, drop out of school to help with childcare.

With more than 40 per cent of the population under age 15, and the Government committed to achieving universal enrolment, **meeting the demand for classrooms and teachers requires significant investment**. Existing infrastructure is considerably strained, with many schools experiencing overcrowding and difficulty maintaining basic water, sanitation and canteen services. Teachers interviewed for the study reported managing classrooms with 70 or more students. Teacher shortages and absences, as well as limited opportunities for teachers to participate in training, also affect the quality of education in cocoa-growing communities.

Secondary school enrolment rates are low, particularly in cocoa-growing regions, for a range of reasons. While the Government has reiterated that children can enrol in primary school without a birth certificate, students

"Almost all of the families in the community can't pay for school. My three children are at home. I feel bad, but I don't have a choice, so they go to the farm."

– Mother, Luehouan

are required to have a birth certificate to enter lower-secondary school. Furthermore, **although school is officially free through lower secondary school, additional costs for uniforms, textbooks, and contributions to the school board, can create financial barriers for many families**. In addition, high rates of corporal punishment and sexual violence in schools are also major deterrents for children to continue their schooling.

Children in focus group discussions indicated that **they often walk between 45 minutes to one hour to school**, although those who lived in **the informal settlements** could walk **up to two or three hours**.¹³ Teachers noted that children who lived far from school often arrived late and at times, were forced to miss school during the rainy season when road conditions make it difficult to travel.



In cocoa-growing regions, competing demands on children's time, illness, and malnutrition also play a role in decisions to keep children in school. Many cocoa farmers have had little to no formal schooling and, in discussions, questioned its utility. Some parents in focus groups view education as the only path to a brighter future but had to make an economically rational choice to take children out of school in order to reduce expenses and help on the farm.

Gender gaps in primary and secondary school enrolment and completion persist, especially among the poorest families in rural areas. Nationally, 68.5 per cent of boys complete primary school, whereas only 58.8 per cent of girls do.¹⁴ Boys in cocoa-growing communities tend to drop out of school to participate in income-generating activities. But **girls often leave school because they are pregnant or are expected to care for siblings,** making it more difficult for them to pursue further education or be financially independent in the future. Decisions about girls' education are deeply rooted in cultural norms and societal expectations, and during hard times, the youngest girl is often taken out of school to save money.



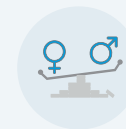
BOX 3. Gender inequality: An entrenched issue, with multiple impacts

Cultural norms and societal expectations about gender roles on and off farms affect family income, food production, and women's participation in decision making. In turn, all of these factors affect children's resilience. Despite the important role of women in cocoa farming, their contributions are often unrecognized and unrewarded. Focus group discussions with mothers found that although all of them invested 4–5 hours a day working on the farms, only a few referred to themselves as cocoa farmers and instead indicated that it was simply their duty to help their husbands.

Women are primarily responsible for meeting their family's nutritional needs, including through food production and marketing of small crops. But low levels of education, limited influence over household decisions, and the heavy burden of collecting and transporting water and wood for cooking and energy place considerable constraints on women's ability to invest in food production. Poor access to nutrition and counselling services during pregnancy and early childhood also have long-term effects on children's health and development.

When gender inequality blocks women from achieving their income-generating potential, an opportunity to transcend the cycle of poverty is lost. Various initiatives have identified women's economic empowerment as vital to strengthening sustainability in the cocoa sector. For these efforts to be effective, it is essential to address the causes of gender inequality, including lack of childcare, poor maternal health services, gender gaps in education, and deeply entrenched roles and norms.

Gender inequality and children's rights




Despite the important role of women in cocoa farming, their contributions are often unrewarded.



Women and girls are often affected by:

- Low levels of education
- Limited influence over household decisions
- Heavy burden of collecting and transporting water and wood
- Poor access to nutrition during pregnancy and early childhood



4 Child survival

Aziz, who is suffering from malaria, smiles while his temperature is taken at a health centre in Côte d'Ivoire. ▶

Every child has the right to live, survive and develop in health and well-being. All children have the right to the highest attainable standard of health, and must not be deprived of health-care services or access to treatment and rehabilitation facilities. Appropriate measures should be taken to combat disease and malnutrition, including the use of readily available technology and the provision of adequate nutritious foods and clean drinking water. To support this right, all segments of society – in particular parents and children – should have basic knowledge of child health and nutrition, the advantages of breastfeeding, hygiene and environmental sanitation and the prevention of accidents, and have access to education, supporting the use of this information.

– CRC, articles 6, 24



Child Survival



Access to health-care services and sanitation infrastructure is particularly constrained on cocoa farms and in informal settlements. The land, pesticides, hazardous work and child labour used in cocoa production can increase safety risks, while decreasing water quality and availability and decreased local food production, in turn, impacts children's survival and development.



"No one eats well here because there is not enough money and it is difficult to find food on the farm because we only produce cocoa and rubber."
— Mother, Ottawa



Malnutrition, exacerbated by the high prevalence of infectious diseases, is a serious concern in cocoa communities in Côte d'Ivoire. Food shortages are common, especially between harvests and during the rainy season, from June–September, when farmers have exhausted their income from the main harvest. Parents participating in focus group discussions indicated that they tried to make sure that their children ate at least twice a day while they themselves would only eat once a day during 'hard times'.



Cocoa production is often pursued at the expense of food crops, especially in the face of growing competition for land. According to producers, rice is the most commonly grown food crop but production levels are too low to meet families' dietary needs. As a result, many families buy rice that is increasingly expensive at local markets. **Diets in cocoa-growing communities also lack diversity and nutrient-rich foods** due to the limited space for food crops, a lack of knowledge about proper nutrition, and the unaffordable prices of nutritious foods.

Malaria is endemic in cocoa-growing regions. Government-initiated campaigns to distribute free insecticide-treated mosquito nets with a focus on children and pregnant women have helped reduce malaria incidence rates. But focus group discussions indicated that many cocoa-growing families wait to go to health centres until absolutely necessary, often complicating treatment. Moreover, **when farmers themselves fall ill they are likely to rely more heavily on family members, including children, to help with tasks on the farm.** This in turn affects children's school attendance, their education, and inter-generational poverty, as well as the impacts that reduced incomes have on nutrition, health and well-being.

According to interviews with village chiefs, 93 per cent of villages in the study had a health-care centre, but to get from the farms to a village health centre, many people in the focus groups had to travel more than an hour. In addition, the interviews with health-care workers revealed that **the facilities are often in poor condition, with lack of electricity and sanitation/ water being particular issues.** Focus group participants mentioned that because important services and medications were lacking in the health centres, they would have to travel to larger medical facilities or hospitals for many procedures, and many of them do not do that.

Although many maternal and neonatal care services are provided by the Government, **many mothers in cocoa communities consulted during this research indicated that their village health centre does not meet their needs**, and the costs for medicine are too high, leading them to routinely use the services of traditional healers. **Physically demanding work also impacts women's health, and women often delay going to the doctor until very advanced stages of illness so as not to disrupt daily tasks.** As women are rarely members of cocoa cooperatives or have formal employment relationships, no special accommodations are made during pregnancy.



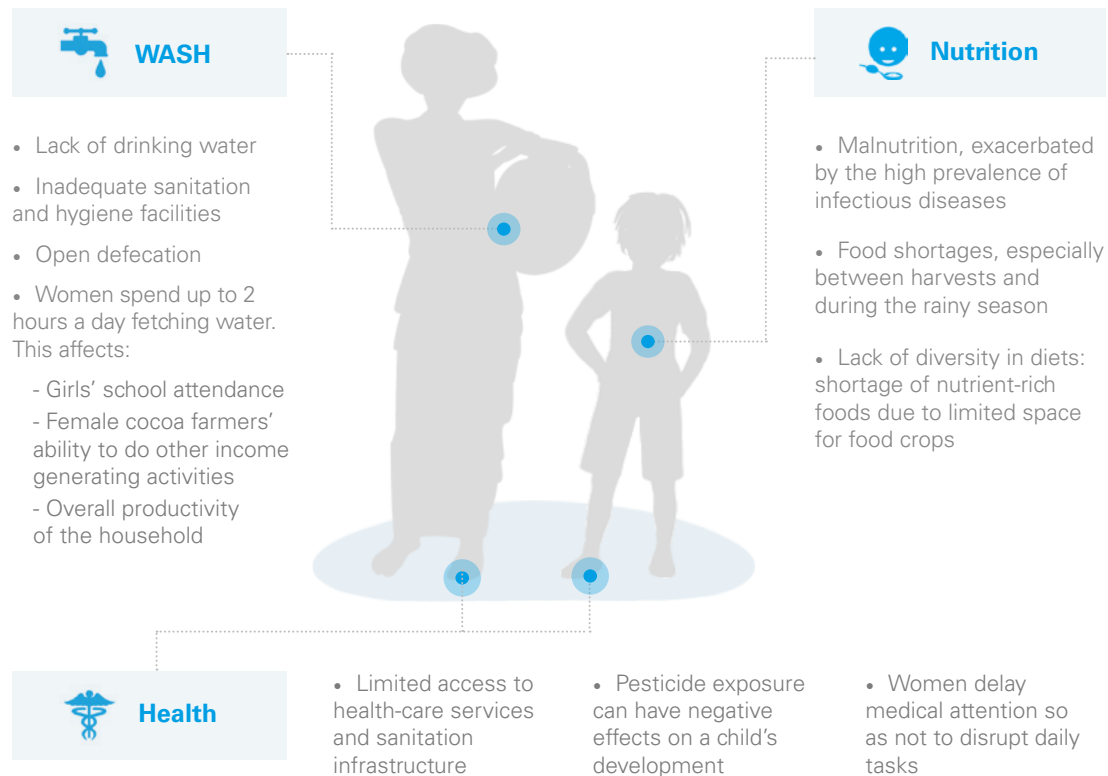
While pesticides are often necessary to improve productivity and eliminate pests and disease, if applied inappropriately or in excessive amounts, they can lead to a range of health problems for farming communities. Recent studies in Côte d'Ivoire show that children are exposed to a growing amount and variety of chemical fertilizers and pesticides via direct contact or through contaminated water.¹⁵

Children are especially vulnerable to toxins due to their physiology, behaviour and possibility of prenatal exposure from mothers exposed to pesticides, **and the adverse effects to pesticide exposure can be manifested during all stages of a child's development.**

Regarding children's safety more generally, approximately 90 per cent of male children and 50 per cent of female children (average age of 14) in focus group discussions indicated that they had been injured while working on a cocoa farm. Mothers interviewed for this study said their greatest concerns about children's work on farms were snakebites and other physical injuries.

Women and children's well-being is vulnerable in poor living and working conditions

FIG 4: Child survival factors that affect children's resilience, people's productivity and family vulnerability.





Lack of drinking water and inadequate sanitation and hygiene facilities are the result of both limited or non-existent infrastructure, and local traditions and norms. Cocoa-farm families participating in the study noted that they frequently relied on village pumps for household water use, many of which were in disrepair. As an alternative, they draw water from unprotected sources such as ponds and rivers. **Open defecation is commonplace** on cocoa farms and in villages in cocoa-growing areas. These WASH conditions and practices worsen a range of issues related to nutrition and health, especially diarrhoeal diseases and pneumonia.

The lack of essential WASH services is interlinked with child protection and gender equality issues. Children (mostly girls) and **women reported spending up to two hours per day fetching water**, in addition to other household activities for which they are primarily responsible. **This limits girls' school attendance and the ability of female cocoa farmers to be equal earners, as well as the overall number of household hours spent towards productivity on the cocoa farm.**



BOX 4. Deforestation: A risk to the industry and to cocoa-growing communities

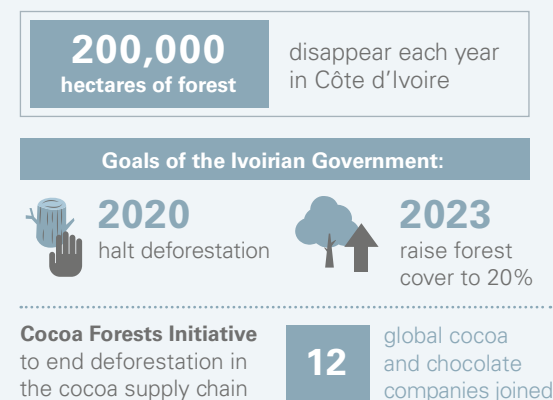
The deforestation rate in Côte d'Ivoire is one of the highest in sub-Saharan Africa. Of the 16 million hectares of forest in 1960, fewer than 4 million remain today. As 200,000 hectares disappear each year, Côte d'Ivoire could lose its entire forest cover by 2034.[1]

Deforestation threatens to severely undermine the cocoa sector's resilience, and with it the livelihoods of millions of smallholders and their families. It further affects biodiversity, which can increase the risks of parasitic diseases, and aggravates shortages of food production and water supplies, as competition increases between drinking water and agricultural needs.

Most focus group participants indicated that they are pessimistic about the future of cocoa. The majority of producers and mothers do not want their children to become cocoa farmers – citing lack of forests and land availability as the primary reasons.

There is greater recognition of the need for change though. The **Ivoirian Government recently committed to halt deforestation by 2020 and raise forest cover to 20 per cent by 2023**. In addition, **12 global cocoa and chocolate companies joined the Cocoa Forests Initiative to end deforestation and forest degradation in the global cocoa supply chain**, with an initial focus on Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana.[2]

Deforestation in Côte d'Ivoire



[1] Dontenville, Adeline, 'Mapping Financial Flows to Support REDD+ Efforts: Côte d'Ivoire', European Forest Institute, <www.euredd.efi.int/publications/mapping-financial-flows-to-support-redd-efforts>. [2] World Cocoa Foundation, 'Cocoa & Forests Initiative', WCF, 2017, <www.worldcocoafoundation.org/cocoa-forests-initiative>.

Reflections on achieving results for children

Two girls laughing in a village
of Côte d'Ivoire. May, 2017. ▶



Reflections on achieving results for children

The conditions of Ivorian children overall and the avenues open or closed to them are tied to decisions made along the cocoa value chain, as well as economic and agriculture policies.

The many challenges facing children in cocoa-growing communities are rooted in interrelated structural and systemic issues such as poverty, social exclusion and lack of basic services. While primarily a government responsibility, the lack of access to essential services, such as quality education, health care, drinking water and sanitation facilities, affects the productivity and vulnerability of cocoa-farming families and, as a consequence, both their household income and use of child labour.

The strong political will, and the existing public and private sustainability initiatives, frameworks and platforms, as well as an increasingly vibrant civil society, represent a strong foundation to build on. The Conseil du Café-Cacao (Coffee and Cocoa Council), for example, uses a public-private platform to mobilize resources and improve coordination of efforts to promote sustainable growth in the sectors. Among the many other actors that are contributing to overall sustainability goals, the World Cocoa Foundation established an industry-wide strategy to transform the sector;¹⁶ the International Cocoa Initiative has significantly advanced knowledge and practice in addressing child labour; and the International Cocoa Organization provides strong economic analysis and involves both importing and exporting governments. Lastly, building upon the above industry initiatives, the Jacobs Foundation's programme Transforming Education in Cocoa Communities (TRECC) has launched a unique collaboration with the cocoa and chocolate industry and the government of Côte d'Ivoire, to improve quality of the education in cocoa-growing communities.¹⁷

The strong political will, combined with existing initiatives and the increasingly vibrant civil society, represent a strong foundation to drive change

FIG 5: Critical considerations to overcome barriers and opportunities for action to advance children's rights in the cocoa-growing communities in Côte d'Ivoire.

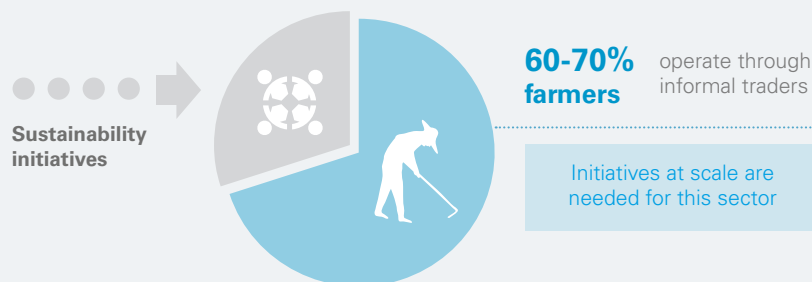


Critical considerations to advance children's rights

These are encouraging signs of a brighter future for children and the sector as a whole. Considering the complexity of the challenges, however, further reflection is encouraged on how to overcome some of the existing barriers and achieve desired outcomes. The following list outlines a selection of topics that should be explored in this regard.

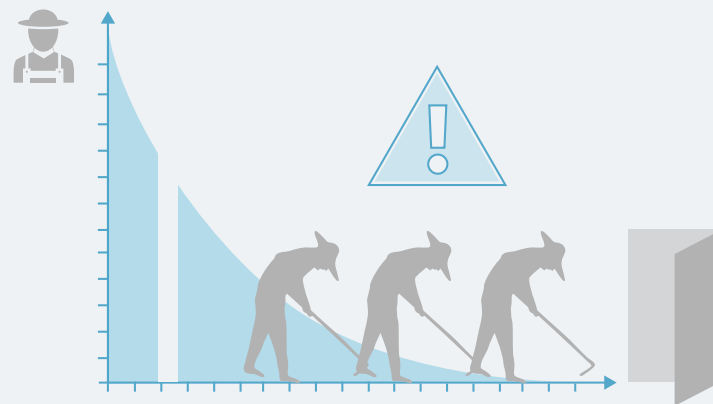
1 Scale and focus of interventions

Most sustainability initiatives are directed to organized farmers and cooperatives but stakeholders consulted for this study estimate that 60–70 per cent of cocoa farmers in Côte d'Ivoire operate through informal traders and do not benefit from participation in cooperatives. If national development and corporate supported initiatives are to have a positive impact at scale, initiatives should reach also this critical segment of the cocoa-farming population, which encompasses 480,000–600,000 farmers and their families, including 2 million children.



2 Social consequences of agricultural transformation

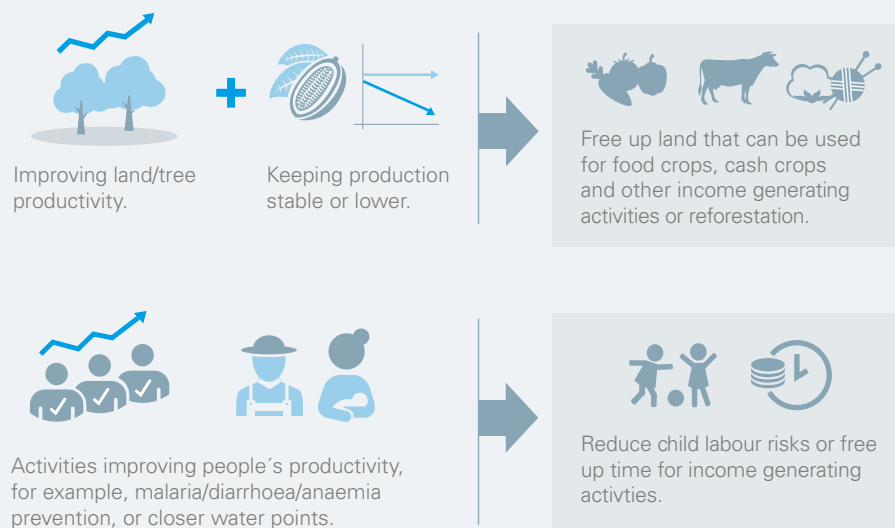
A 'concentration' strategy that targets investments towards increasing production among a limited portion of organized farmers carries a high social risk as it could force hundreds of thousands of smallholder, unorganized farmers to abandon cocoa when the supply becomes saturated and prices drop even further. However, switching to other crops is very difficult given the long lifespan of cocoa trees and the fact that most farmers have no savings or access to credit and social protection. Therefore, along with possible agricultural conversion and diversification policies, measures that strengthen economic resilience (e.g., access to financial services such as banking, savings and insurance; social protection schemes) should be in place to protect farmers and their families from becoming even poorer and more vulnerable.



3 Focus on boosting yields (same volume with less land) and people's productivity

Current frameworks such as the Global Cocoa Agenda and Cocoa Action that emphasize investments in productivity were driven by the economic situation in 2012–2015, when there was uncertainty about the global cocoa supply's capacity to match the projected growth in demand. In 2017, however, the outlook drastically changed, with 40 per cent price drops and high stock levels that are expected to remain stable during the next few years.¹⁸ Therefore, improving cocoa yields should primarily aim at reducing the land needed to grow the same volume of cocoa, while freeing up space for other food crops for a secure and diversified diet, as well as other cash crops for a more balanced income throughout the year.

Further, peoples' productivity (e.g., malaria and/or diarrhoea prevention, reducing women's walking time to fetch water) should become an integral part of future frameworks.



4 Multifaceted strategies to tackle poverty

Poverty is widely understood as a root cause of child labour and other child rights issues. While efforts to improve prices paid to farmers are important, there is also a need for a broader suite of strategies to strengthen farm family income and economic resilience. This could include cash transfer or other social protection schemes; reductions in household expenditures by eliminating school fees and providing affordable health care; and diversifying income sources by freeing up women's time for various income-generating activities and land for diversified food and cash crops.

5 Company-led vs. collective/national remediation actions

In alignment with the United Nations Guiding Principles on Business and Human Rights, companies have the responsibility to avoid contributing to or causing negative impacts on human rights and to have remediation mechanisms in place if adverse human rights impacts occur. In a smallholder farming context, however, many of the identified challenges are linked to structural causes beyond the purview of a single company or sector. National-level and cross-sector remediation approaches could therefore play a significant role in cocoa sustainability, and the underlying systems that benefit all sectors and communities in the country.



Opportunities for action

The long-term viability of the cocoa supply chain depends on the resilience and well-being of children and families in Côte d'Ivoire. But most of the entrenched child rights issues in complex supply chains will never be addressed in a meaningful way if the burden is solely on companies or governments.

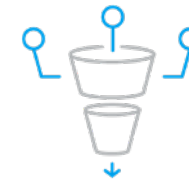
Consequently, a **coordinated response** by companies, governments (producing and importing), international development and financial organizations, civil society and private philanthropy is needed to devise **collective solutions and proportionally share costs and commitments**.

Concretely, there are four areas where a shared responsibility approach could be effective in advancing children's rights:

Addressing children's rights in the supply chain



Complementary initiatives at scale, with a shared responsibility approach



Interventions for an enabling environment – government policy and advocacy



Stronger programming in cocoa-growing communities, broader outreach and increased coordination





Addressing children's rights in the supply chain

While the study aimed to identify the most relevant child rights issues and drivers linked to the cocoa supply chain, the nature of cocoa farming in Côte d'Ivoire makes it difficult to draw clear links between various actors. Unlike a factory operation, farmers are not centralized in one location, they are working largely in the informal sector, and they are often several tiers removed from the global buyer. In addition, while most income comes from cocoa, farmers are increasingly moving into other commodities such as palm oil and rubber.

Tackling the negative impacts on children's rights may require an approach to respecting child rights that goes beyond individual company supply chains and instead focuses on the community and/or sector level. In addition, this study revealed that in order to address negative impacts such as child labour, it may also be necessary to invest in promoting or advancing children's rights that are not directly linked to cocoa. For example, sustainability initiatives that seek to improve farmers' incomes might require addressing gaps in maternal health or childcare that limit women's ability to achieve their productive potential.

This includes activities to:

- **Work with willing companies to incorporate** the smallholder farming context and **child rights** considerations **into corporate policies and supply chain practices.**
- Conduct and share research that can inform and **refine corporate child rights due diligence processes** – from policy commitments to impact assessments and reporting – that are effective throughout the supply chain.
- Work with companies to **generate evidence about a more holistic approach to child rights and community development**, encompassing water access, health care, early childhood development, social protection, gender equality, etc.
- Use the evidence generated, as well as considerations emerging from this study and UNICEF field experience, to **inform existing and future industry standards.** This includes fully integrating children's rights and the root causes of issues in the smallholder farming context in such platforms as the new Cocoa Action framework; the Cocoa Agenda and key performance indicators; private certification schemes; and the International Organization for Standards-European Committee for Standardization standard.



BOX 5. Learning from other sectors for more effective sustainability initiatives

Companies across many sectors are working alongside government and civil society actors to tackle health challenges, recognizing the heavy burden placed on employees, families, health systems and companies by malaria and waterborne diseases, among other illnesses. A study of 62 businesses in Ghana, for example, found that **3,913 workdays were lost due to malaria during 2012–2014, and due to this disease, the companies lost US\$6.58 million**, of which 90 per cent was direct costs, in 2014.[1]

Two initiatives in Ghana are described below, illustrating the potential of business actors to improve overall productivity in their sectors by addressing systemic issues that go beyond the companies' direct responsibilities.

To improve access to safe water in locations where **a global beverage company** sources raw materials, the company worked with its local subsidiary and a non-governmental organization. An impact study of this programme in Ghana

sampled 49 projects in 40 communities, and found that **improved sources of water not only helped reduce the prevalence of waterborne diseases but also strengthened women's empowerment and girls' education by reducing the time women and girls spend fetching water.** The specific outcomes, covering around 150,000 people and 21,500 households, include:

- 79 per cent of beneficiary households provided with a reliable source of water through this intervention;
- Incidences of waterborne diseases reduced from 15 per cent to 3 per cent;
- Girls' time spent collecting water reduced by 23 school days a year, significantly increasing their school attendance;
- 33 per cent reduction in women's time spent daily fetching water, enhancing their participation in income-generating activities and community governance;
- Support for 34,000 local jobs and livelihoods following implementation of the projects.[2]

In an example from the extractives industry, a large-scale mining company invested in a malaria control programme in Ghana after identifying the disease as the most significant public health threat

to its operations in the country. The company supported an integrated malaria prevention strategy that included indoor residual spraying, distribution of insecticide-treated mosquito nets, and community communication and education initiatives, among others.

By 2012, the programme had reduced malaria cases in the mining area by about 75 per cent, with large reductions in child and infant mortality, and improvements in school attendance rates and school performance. Many non-mine communities also benefited, and employment opportunities were made available through the residual spray programme.[3]

While in other sectors the economic and social rationale for such interventions is obvious, the small-scale agricultural setup makes these investments less immediate for cocoa companies (farmers are not directly employed). Nevertheless, to the light of their enabling power on other issues at the core of the cocoa sustainability debate (i.e. child labour, access to education, poverty), considering them more strategically may represent an interesting opportunity.

[1] Nonvignon, Justice, et al., 'Economic Burden of Malaria on Businesses in Ghana: A case for private sector investment in malaria control', Malaria Journal, vol. 15, no. 454, 2016, pp. 1–10, open PDF from <www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC5011924/pdf/12936_2016_Article_1506.pdf>. [2] WASH4Work, 'Diageo's Water of Life Program', Diageo <<https://wash4work.org/tools-resources/diageos-water-of-life-program>>. [3] African Natural Resources Center and African Development Bank, 'AGA Malaria and Public-Private Partnerships in Ghana's Health Sector to Obtain Value from Extractives Projects: A case study', African Development Bank, Abidjan, 2016, p. 11.



Complementary initiatives at scale, with a shared responsibility approach

Collective remediation initiatives could effectively complement the existing interventions that most companies are already implementing. Such initiatives should be designed to operate at a broad scale (national or regional) through a multi-leadership model – engaging government, development actors and/or industry – and employ innovative financing mechanisms to tackle some of the main root causes of children’s rights issues.

The ‘special operation on birth registration in schools’ launched by the Government of Côte d’Ivoire in June 2017, with UNICEF support, highlights the benefits of adopting a broader scale of intervention (*see Box 6, on page 32*). In order to achieve their full potential, new initiatives should be designed from the outset to capitalize the assets and strengths of each actor (e.g., reach, financial contribution, influence).

Though this approach requires a high level of coordination, because it involves a large number of actors, it is likely the only way to ensure equitable interventions that reach the entire population, including those who are most vulnerable, isolated and excluded – e.g., the ‘long tail’ of smallholder farmers, and the communities that do not currently benefit from the support/influence of a major private company.

Some intervention areas to be considered for this type of approach relate to birth registration for out-of-school children, the diffusion of early childhood development services, social protection (cash transfer schemes) at scale for farmers, behavioural change campaigns to eliminate violence against children, and nutrition during the first 1,000 days of the life of a child.

This includes activities to:

- **Design a special initiative on birth registration for out of-school children to test a ‘collective remediation’/shared responsibility approach.**
- **Work closely with line ministries** and the National Monitoring Committee on Actions to Combat Trafficking, Exploitation and Child Labor (CNS) – **involving key stakeholders from the cocoa sector** (International Cocoa Initiative, World Cocoa Foundation, individual companies, the European Union), as well as from other interested sectors (such as mining and palm oil), and the General Confederation of Enterprises of Côte d’Ivoire (CGECI) in all stages of the initiative to support birth registration.
- Collaborate with companies, government, international development agencies and financial institutions to **design innovative financing mechanisms** that enable such initiatives.



BOX 6. Promoting birth registration through Government-UNICEF cooperation

In May 2017, the Ministry of Justice, in collaboration with the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Interior proposed the 'special operation' to register 1,165,325 children, covering more than 14,000 government primary schools. Birth registration is free within three months of a birth, but obtaining a certificate after that requires a judgement supplétif. This process is time-consuming and costs US\$30–\$50, not including related expenses such as travel to a civil registration office. The special operation provides birth certificates for just US\$1.77; UNICEF agreed to provide US\$2 million for funding the operation through the Ministry.

The process began with collecting enrolment information from school directors. These data are sent to a private operator (UNITEC) for input to a computerized database. Following verification, the file is ultimately returned to the civil registry system to produce the birth certificate – thus providing another child with a key to accessing vital services.

The birth registration campaign has a number of advantages that could be applied to collective remediation initiatives, including:

- **The benefits of economies of scale achieved through a large, united campaign.**

In the national birth registration example, the Government lowered the cost per birth certificate, UNICEF provided financial support, and multiple levels of government are involved in expediting the process.

- **A broader mandate that offers the possibility of attracting a wide range of contributions from various partners** (companies from other sectors, governments, development actors, financial institutions, consumers, etc.) that would not typically be involved with company-specific remediation.

- **Big and highly visible steps** that could well serve the needs of the country and the industry to create a positive cocoa narrative, creating momentum for further change.



Interventions for an enabling environment – government policy and advocacy



The complex challenges in cocoa-growing communities **require improved governance systems** locally and globally, **including increased coordination** and a defined vision and strategy, and the promotion of **transparency and accountability**¹⁹ – as well as efforts to address systemic poverty through increased incomes and reduced household expenditures.

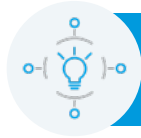
In developing interventions to promote an enabling environment, advocacy initiatives to support the appropriate government policies as they relate to business practices are one important factor. This is particularly true when addressing a supply chain where there is no 'direct cause' attribution. In the case of cocoa, the recently evolving transparency and accountability measures and due diligence laws can be used as calls to strengthen governance.

Other elements of promoting an enabling environment are related to reducing poverty and increasing incomes, e.g., by lessening expenses for universal health services coverage, advancing agricultural transformation through social protection schemes (access to market, credit, etc.), and achieving the goal of education for all.

This includes activities to:

- Advocate towards government for **universal free health care and reduce hidden fees in education** in order to fight poverty by reducing household expenses.
- **Leverage agricultural technical and financial partnerships**, including other UN agencies, government entities and business platforms to ensure that cocoa-specific dynamics are carefully monitored and mitigation measures are taken. When considering agricultural transformation/concentration, for example, this would encompass an agricultural diversification policy, interventions to increase food security, social protection schemes to support the most vulnerable people, and facilitated access to credit.
- Advocate and work with relevant agencies to **support sustainable prices and adequate incomes resulting from the crops**.
- **Encourage the discussion of topics** that may be beyond a particular agency's mandate but are **critical to address underlying causes of child labour and vulnerability**, e.g., land tenure, access to social services in *campements*, or cash transfer schemes.
- **Work with line ministries during the development** of the Comité National de Surveillance des Actions de Lutte contre la Traite, l'Exploitation et le travail des Enfants (National Committee for Monitoring Actions in the Fight against Trafficking, the Exploitation of Children and Child Labour) action plan, **focusing on national priorities at scale and considering how to best leverage the support of the committee and of business-led sustainability initiatives**.





Stronger programming in cocoa-growing communities, broader outreach and increased coordination

Reaching the most vulnerable farmers and their families in cocoa-growing communities will require stronger programming, based on an understanding of the context's specific challenges and circumstances (e.g., the crop cycle). In many cases, there will be a **need to link multiple interventions within a programme, for example, providing child protection programmes** that include village saving and loan schemes and/or cash transfers to increase farmers' economic resilience.

Recognizing that this is a new area and approach to programming for development actors, the focus should be on working jointly – **linking development expertise with business know-how and farmers' perspectives to achieve results for children.**

This may also be fostered by coordination with specific cocoa industry initiatives that are already in place. Additionally, **many of the systemic issues cannot be addressed in just the cocoa-growing communities.** Therefore, linking to global campaigns and engaging cocoa sector actors will be a vital part of this work.

This includes activities to:

- **Complement existing child protection programmes with economic-strengthening measures** (cash transfers and/or community-based village saving and loan schemes).
- **Assess whether and how UNICEF's 'child-friendly communities'²⁰ framework could be integrated** in community-based interventions that are addressing child labour.
- **Encourage the cocoa sector to contribute to global campaigns** such as Early Moments Matter²¹ and Ending Violence Against Children²², which have a critical relevance in the cocoa context.

Conclusion

The cocoa sector has tremendous potential to be a positive driver of change in communities and for the rights and well-being of children. This can only be achieved through a shared commitment and vision among all stakeholders that focuses on building the systems and structures for long-lasting change for children, their families and the sector as a whole. It is our hope that this information will serve as a foundation for discussion about systemic actions that sustainably address children's rights in cocoa-growing communities.

Achieving this aspiration will require additional research, modifications to core business policies, robust government legislation, and continued monitoring and evaluation to ensure that efforts are delivering their intended outcomes – in the best interests of children. **We invite stakeholders to jointly work with UNICEF to holistically address the challenges faced by children.**

Endnotes

1. International Cocoa Organization, 'Cocoa Year 2015/2016', Quarterly Bulletin of Cocoa Statistics, vol. XLII, no. 2, ICO, 1 June 2016.
2. Based on UNICEF analysis of statistics on the number of farmers and average family size.
3. Côte d'Ivoire's MICS 2016 (in French) is available at <<http://mics.unicef.org/surveys>>.
4. The concept of salient human rights is outlined in the United Nations Reporting Framework for the Guiding Principles on Business and Human Rights. It is designed for individual company activities that impact human rights, and thus UNICEF has adapted the concept to refer to impacts of an entire sector on children's rights specifically. For more information about saliency, see: Shift Project Ltd. and Mazars LLP, 'Salient Human Rights Issues', <www.ungpreporting.org/key-concepts/salient-human-rights-issues>.
5. Hütz-Adams, Friedel, et al., Strengthening the Competitiveness of Cocoa Production and Improving the Income of Cocoa Producers in West and Central Africa, Südwind Institut, Bonn, Germany, 31 December 2016, pp. 21, 29.
6. Oomes, Nienke, et al., Market Concentration and Price Formation in the Global Cocoa Value Chain: Final report, SEO-report no. 2016-79, SEO Amsterdam Economics, Amsterdam, 15 November 2016, p. 57.
7. The average cocoa farmer earns between US\$0.50–\$1.25/day, based on UNICEF analysis of multiple sources, including: Fountain, A. C., and F. Hütz-Adams, 'Cocoa Barometer 2015', Barometer Consortium, 2015, p. 1, available at <www.cocoabarometer.org/Download.html>; and Balineau, Gaëlle, Safia Bernath and Vaihei Pahuatini, 'Cocoa Farmers' Agricultural Practices and Livelihoods in Côte d'Ivoire', Technical Reports, no. 24, AFD, Paris, December 2016, p. 24, open PDF from <www.afd.fr/sites/afd/files/2017-09/24-notes-techniques.pdf>. There have been some reports of slightly higher income, depending on farm size and yields.
8. The international poverty line is US\$1.90/day, according to the World Bank. Comparing estimates of the total number of farms and average incomes, we estimate that 60–70 per cent of farmers live below the international poverty line. The National Institute of Statistics, in 2015, determined the national poverty line equals a consumption expenditure of less than 737 CFA/day (US\$1.22).
9. United Nations Children's Fund, 'Child Labour and UNICEF in Action: Children at the centre', UNICEF, May 2014, p. 3, available at <www.unicef.org/protection/57929_child_labour.html>.
10. Nestlé Cocoa Plan, 'Tackling Child Labour: 2017 Report', Nestlé and International Cocoa Initiative, 2017, p. 17, available at <www.nestlecocoaplanreport.com>.
11. Institut National de la Statistique, 'Enquête par grappes à indicateurs multiples, 2016, Rapport des Résultats clés', INS, Abidjan, 2017, available at <<http://mics.unicef.org/surveys>>.
12. Statistiques Scolaires de poche 2016-2017 - Ministère de l'Éducation Nationale, de l'Enseignement Technique et de la Formation Professionnelle Open PDF from <<http://www.caidp.ci/uploads/c24371e7a4efab0e339dc780e19c547b.pdf>>.
13. This aligns with our analysis of data, which found the closest primary school within 3 kilometres and the farthest about 12 kilometres.
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