Methodology

1. What is the difference between working children, children in child labor, and children in hazardous work?

According to the ILO, working children, also referred to as children in employment, are children (5-17 years) who have engaged in at least one hour of economic activity during the reference period. Economic activity does not include chores performed within the child’s own household. Some types of work are not considered child labor for children 12 years and older, if performed only for a limited number of hours.

A child is considered in child labor if he/she is (1) performing economic activity when below the minimum age allowed for such work; or (2) performing hazardous work, (3) has been trafficked for work, (4) is in forced or bonded labor, (5) is being sexually exploited for commercial purposes, (6) is being used for illicit activities or armed conflict; or (7) performing hazardous unpaid household services.

Hazardous work for children includes work in industries or occupations designated as hazardous or work for long hours (beyond legal limits) and/or at night.

2. How is a child determined to be in hazardous work in the cocoa sector?

The measurement of children’s work and the definitions of child labor used in this report are based on the ILO definitions and guidelines, including the 18th International Conference of Labour Statisticians (ICLS) Resolution Concerning Statistics on Child Labor, as well as the relevant national laws and hazardous activity frameworks of Côte d’Ivoire and Ghana. Children’s exposure to hazardous work was operationalized using a methodology developed between 2012 and 2013 in consultations with stakeholders including the US Department of Labor (USDOL), the Governments of Côte d’Ivoire and Ghana, the International Labor Organization (ILO) and the international cocoa/chocolate industry. Using this methodology, children reporting working in cocoa agriculture in the last 12 months and exposure in the last 12 months to any one of the following six variables are considered to be in hazardous work in cocoa production:

1. Children (5-17 years) working in cocoa involved in land clearing (V1)
2. Children (5-17 years) working in cocoa carrying heavy loads (V2)
3. Children (5-17 years) working in cocoa exposed to agro-chemicals (V3)
4. Children (5-17 years) working in cocoa using sharp tools (V4)
5. Children (5-17 years) working in cocoa exposed to long working hours (V5)
6. Children (5-17 years) working in cocoa exposed to night work (V6)
3. What population(s) are the survey-based estimates representative of?

Survey data collected by Tulane University are used to identify children’s exposure to child labor and hazardous work in cocoa agriculture. Data collected in 2013/14 are compared with data collected in 2008/09 to determine children's involvement in child labor, including hazardous work, in the cocoa growing areas of Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana. The estimates presented in this report are representative of agricultural households in the cocoa growing areas of the two countries. Child-level estimates are representative of the population of children, 5-17 years, living in these households. A household is defined as agricultural if it is located in a rural or semi-urban census enumeration area and at least one person in the household – adult or child – has worked in agriculture in the past 12 months. The research covers both cocoa growing and non-cocoa growing households as well as children who worked in cocoa production and children who did not work in cocoa production. Households without any children are also included. All estimates presented in the report are weighted to adjust for stratification as part of the sampling process and projected to the total population, except if otherwise noted.

4. How is a cocoa growing household defined?

A household is defined as “a person or group of persons who live together in the same house or compound, share the same housekeeping arrangements and are catered for as one unit. Members of a household are not necessarily related (by blood or marriage) and not all those related in the same house or compound are necessarily of the same household” (ILO definition). Cocoa growing households are defined as households involved in cocoa farming at the time of survey data collection. The head of household survey asked respondents to report all types of agriculture their household undertook.

Key Findings

5. How many children were found working in cocoa production?

In 2013/14, 2.26 million children were working in cocoa production, 2.12 million children were working in child labor in cocoa production and 2.03 million children were working in hazardous work in cocoa production in Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana combined. In the aggregate the numbers of children working in cocoa production, in child labor in cocoa production, and in hazardous work in cocoa production increased by about 440,000, 360,000, and 310,000 respectively. The percentages of children in agricultural households in each of these categories also rose between the two survey years: 19% for children working in cocoa, 16% for child laborers in cocoa, and 13% for children in hazardous work in cocoa. In Côte d'Ivoire the number of children in hazardous work in cocoa production increased by 46% (from 0.79 million to 1.15 million) between 2008/09 and 2013/14. In Ghana the number of children in hazardous work in cocoa production decreased by 6% (from 0.93 million to 0.88 million) between 2008/09 and 2013/14.

6. Were there any changes in children’s hazardous work in cocoa production in the last five years?

In the aggregate, both the number of children in hazardous work in cocoa production and the percentage of children in agricultural households in the cocoa growing areas involved in hazardous work in the cocoa sector increased from 1.72 million or 30% in 2008/09 to 2.03 million or 34% in
2013/14. In Côte d’Ivoire, both the number and percentage increased (from 0.79 million or 22% in 2008/09 to 1.15 million or 31% in 2013/14), while in Ghana both decreased (from 0.93 million or 43% in 2008/09 to 0.88 million or 39% in 2013/14). However, the percentage of children working in cocoa production involved in hazardous work in this sector decreased in both countries (from 97% to 89% in Côte d’Ivoire and from 93% to 92% in Ghana). The percentage of children surveyed who were exposed to more than one hazard also decreased in both countries.

7. **What types of hazards are children working in cocoa production most commonly exposed to?**

In the aggregate, carrying heavy loads and using sharp tools are the most common hazards, with over 60% of children working in cocoa carrying heavy loads and over 70% using sharp tools. In Côte d’Ivoire in 2013/14, over 40% of children working in cocoa were also involved in the hazard of land clearing (compared to 2.4% in Ghana), while in Ghana, over 30% were exposed to the hazard of agro-chemicals (compared to 13.0% in Côte d’Ivoire). Only small percentages (less than 3%) of children working in cocoa were exposed to the hazards of long working hours or night work.

8. **Which children are most likely to be in hazardous work in cocoa production?**

Higher percentages of boys and older children are in hazardous work in cocoa production. In the aggregate 41% of boys (39% Côte d’Ivoire and 43% Ghana) and 26% of girls (21% Côte d’Ivoire and 35% Ghana) in agricultural households in the cocoa growing areas were in hazardous work in cocoa production in 2013/14. Less than a quarter of children between 5 and 11 years were in hazardous work in this sector, while 48% of children between 12 and 14 years and 60% of children between 15 and 17 years were involved in 2013/14. In Côte d’Ivoire the figures were 19% (children 5-11 years), 46% (children 12-14 years) and 60% (children 15-17 years). Ghana’s figures were 28% (children 5-11 years), 51% (children 12-14 years) and 60% (children 15-17 years).

9. **What factors other than government policies and social programs affected the change in numbers?**

The scope of the study was not to assess what factors contributed to the change in numbers. While the surveys cannot determine causality, between 2008/09 and 2013/14, the cocoa growing areas went through major socio-economic changes. These changes, which have the potential to impact the survey results, include: (a) large increases in cocoa production and the number of cocoa growing households, (b) population growth and migration, (c) fluctuations in number of children working in cocoa, and (d) political violence in Côte d’Ivoire. Most importantly, results in both countries were impacted by the strong growth in cocoa production with production increasing more than 40% in Côte d’Ivoire and more than 30% in Ghana between the years of data collection. High-yield and disease-resistant cocoa plants contributed to drastic increases in cocoa production in some areas.

10. **What factors contributed to the increase in the number of children in hazardous work in cocoa production in Côte d’Ivoire?**

The scope of the study was not to assess what factors contributed to the change in numbers. While the surveys cannot determine causality, changes in cocoa production must be considered part of the explanation. Cocoa production in Côte d’Ivoire in 2013/14 was almost 43% higher than in 2008/09 and there was an almost 60% increase in the number of children working in cocoa production. While only 50% of agricultural households in the cocoa growing areas of Côte d’Ivoire were involved in
cocoa production in 2008/09, 76% of such households were involved in cocoa production in 2013/14. Over 5 million more acres of land were under cocoa cultivation in 2013/14 as compared with 2008/09. Côte d’Ivoire also experienced political violence in 2010/11, following the country’s presidential elections. The political violence caused human suffering and internal and cross-border migration. It disrupted project activities and government programs in the cocoa growing areas and had a negative impact on the country’s infrastructure including schools and the availability of teachers, particularly in rural parts of the country. The political violence exacerbated a context already marked by internal divisions and tensions. While this situation has improved since the cessation of the internal conflict, the country is still in the process of rebuilding.

11. What factors contributed to the increase in the number of children in hazardous work in cocoa production in Ghana?

While cocoa production in Ghana also was higher (up 35%) in 2013/14 than in 2008/09, the number of children working in cocoa fell slightly and the number of acres of land under cocoa cultivation fell by around 12%. The percentage of agricultural households in the cocoa growing regions also decreased: from 57% in 2008/09 to 48% in 2013/14. While the survey data cannot establish the root causes of this trend, they provide evidence that suggests that social interventions and general economic progress have contributed and may be responsible for this positive development.

12. What other changes were observed in the cocoa growing areas in the past five years?

Both Côte d’Ivoire and Ghana continue to urbanize, with rural residents migrating to urban areas and urban populations growing much more rapidly than rural populations. In both countries, older children and working-age adults made up smaller percentages of the population living in agricultural households in the cocoa growing areas in 2013/14 as compared with 2008/09. The average number of children 5-17 years in an agricultural household in the cocoa growing areas fell from 2.7 (2008/09) to 1.9 (2013/14) in Côte d’Ivoire and from 2.5 (2008/09) to 2.0 (2013/14) in Ghana.

Access to education has improved with more children working in cocoa production attending school in both Côte d’Ivoire and Ghana. In Côte d’Ivoire 71% of children working in cocoa production attended school in 2013/14, compared with just 59% in 2008/09. In Ghana, 96% attended school in 2013/14 compared with 91% in 2008/09. The percentage of children in school in all agricultural households in the cocoa growing areas also increased in both countries.

13. What impact did government and industry efforts have on the estimates?

The objective of this report is to assess the prevalence of, and measures changes in, estimates of working children, children in child labor, and children in hazardous work in the West African cocoa sector between the 2008/09 and the 2013/14 cocoa harvest seasons. This report does not cover the WFCL other than hazardous work (including child trafficking and forced labor) as defined by the ILO and/or the national governments and it does not assess cocoa/chocolate industry and/or government efforts to eliminate child labor and the WFCL in the cocoa sectors in Côte d’Ivoire and Ghana. Please refer to USDOL’s “Findings on the Worst Forms of Child Labor” for an overview of government and industry efforts (http://www.dol.gov/ilab/reports/child-labor/findings/).
14. How many children must be removed from hazardous work in cocoa production in order to meet the target of the Harkin-Engel Protocol’s Framework of Action?

The 2010 Framework of Action to Support Implementation of the Harkin-Engel Protocol specifies that “[b]y 2020, the worst forms of child labor as defined by ILO Convention 182 in the cocoa sectors of Côte d’Ivoire and Ghana will be reduced by 70 percent in aggregate through joint efforts by key stakeholders to provide and support remediation services for children removed from the worst forms of child labor.” Based on today’s numbers, roughly 1.5 million children will have to be removed from hazardous work to reach the 2010 Framework of Action target by 2020.

15. How can this target be met?

Effective interventions need to cover a large number of children, be financially sustainable, and involve the government and local authorities. Child labor needs to be targeted both directly (interventions that remove children from the WFCL, law enforcement, etc.) and indirectly (focus on education, development of public infrastructure, reduction of poverty, etc.). To date, funding for interventions addressing the WFCL in cocoa production has been limited, and interventions reached only a limited number of children. There must also be an emphasis on improving working conditions to make cocoa work less hazardous. Finally, local governments and international stakeholders must work towards providing all children with access to quality education, including secondary education.

The research presented in this report shows that while some progress has been made, the Harkin-Engel Protocol’s goal of a major reduction of the number of children in hazardous child labor in the cocoa sector has not come within reach. In fact, there is evidence that the challenge is increased by trends outside of the direct control of the stakeholders involved in the fight against child labor. With both countries on track towards further growth in production, efforts against the WFCL in the cocoa sector need to intensify. While there are no fast or easy solutions, there are many actions that can be taken to combat the problem. Successful programming will involve considerable costs that need to be shared between the governments and private sector stakeholders as well as other international stakeholders.