



International
COCOA
Initiative

ICI SYNTHESIS AND REVIEW OF THE FINAL TULANE REPORT 2013/14

29/07/15

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1. Following 7 months of revision, additional data-collection and stakeholder consultation since the first draft, the final version of the Tulane 2013/4 Survey now reports that **absolute numbers of Child Labourers in cocoa-production, in 2013/4, stood at 918,543 in Ghana, 1,203,473 in Côte d'Ivoire, and 2,122,016 in both countries combined** (*Table 14, Page 44*).

2. These absolute numbers of Child Labourers (CL) in cocoa correspond to a significant, widespread and prevalent challenge in the cocoa sector which requires both serious attention and significant investment. **In absolute terms, the number of CL cases has increased by 21% across both countries, with a 49% increase in Côte d'Ivoire and a 3% decrease in Ghana.** The number of children working in hazardous child labour (Tulane's proxy for WFCL) has increased by 18% across both countries. In percentage terms (as a percentage of all children estimated to be living in cocoa-growing areas), the rate of child labour in cocoa-growing areas has increased by 15.5% (from 30.8% to 35.6%) in both countries, and by 41.3% (from 22.8% to 32.2%) in Côte d'Ivoire, and has decreased by 6.4% (from 43.9% to 41.1%) in Ghana (*Table 14, Page 44*). Note, therefore, that whilst Ghana is making greater progress in absolute numbers, the percentage rate of CL amongst children living in cocoa growing areas remains higher there.

3. In addition to the aggregate growth in absolute numbers of child labourers, other **notable negative findings** emerging from the study include:
 - **An increasing number / percentage of children living in cocoa-growing areas carrying heavy cocoa loads, involved in agro-chemicals in cocoa (mainly water carrying),** with specific, notable increases in the numbers using sharp tools in Côte d'Ivoire, and the numbers involved in agro-chemicals in Ghana (*Table 18a, Page 52*).

 - **A high percentage of children working in cocoa who reported suffering from work-related injuries in 2013/14,** including 36.7% in Côte d'Ivoire and 26.2% in Ghana reporting wounds or cuts (*Table 24b, Page 67*).

 - A slight increase in the average number of child labourers per MT of cocoa produced in Côte d'Ivoire only (from 0.66 child labourers per MT in 2008/9 to 0.69 child labourers per MT in 2013/14 (*Derived from Table 14, Page 44, and Table 27, Page 72*).

4. The report also highlights and captures various **positive findings** suggesting that progress is being made, which include:
 - Confirmation within the report that the increase in absolute numbers of child labourers is primarily explained by a 80% increase in the number of households growing cocoa and a 42.8% increase in the number of children living within them compared to the baseline year (*Table 29, Page 74*): *"the data indicates that the increases in the number of children working, in child labour, and in hazardous work in cocoa production...can be primarily explained by the growth of the sector involving a larger number of households in 2013/14 compared to 2008/9"*.

Furthermore “while the absolute numbers of these children increased, labour force participation in the cocoa sector of children within cocoa producing households fell in both countries, and children in these households were less likely to be exposed to child labour and most types of hazardous work” (Page 77). Given the sector’s recent and expanding efforts to render cocoa-farming safer for children at the household or farm level, **the report’s assertion that “improvements on household level indicate a positive trend, with cocoa-growing households moving away from child labour” (Page 74) is encouraging.**

- There is a decreasing prevalence of cocoa-related child labour amongst children living in cocoa growing households, with **percentages of children within cocoa growing households undertaking cocoa-related child labour** decreasing by 12.2% (from 42.6% to 37.4%) in Côte d’Ivoire, decreasing by 8% (from 62.3% to 57.3%) in Ghana, and **decreasing by 13.8% (from 50.9% to 43.9%) in both countries combined** (Table 30, Page 75).
- There is a similarly decreasing prevalence of hazardous cocoa work amongst children living in cocoa growing households, with **percentages of children within cocoa growing households exposed to hazardous work** decreasing by 14.2% (from 41.6% to 35.7%) in Côte d’Ivoire, decreasing by 10.8% (from 61.2% to 54.6%) in Ghana, and **decreasing by 16% (from 49.9% to 41.9%) in both countries combined** (Table 30, Page 75).
- There is a **15.9% reduction in the percentage of children living in cocoa growing households exposed to multiple hazardous cocoa activities (“one or more hazardous activities”)**, as well as significant reductions in many of the specific hazardous tasks within the same group including a 40.2% reduction in the prevalence of hazardous land clearing across children living in cocoa farming households, a 21.9% reduction in the prevalence of children carrying heavy loads, a 23.3% reduction in the prevalence of using sharp tools, and a 31.3% reduction in the prevalence of long working hours (Table 31, Page 76).
- There is an 8.8% reduction, in Ghana, in the percentage of children living in cocoa-growing areas exposed to multiple hazardous tasks, and in both countries, **there is a 5.2% reduction in the proportion of children working in cocoa who are exposed to multiple hazardous tasks** (Tables 18a, 18b, 19a and 19b, Pages 52-54).
- There is an impressive increase, in both countries, in the number / percentage of children in cocoa-growing areas attending school in 2013/14 compared to 2008/9 (from 58% to 67% in Côte d’Ivoire and from 89% to 94% in Ghana), as well as in the percentage of working children also attending school (from 59% to 71% in Côte d’Ivoire and from 91% to 96% in Ghana). **A total of 651,747 additional children in cocoa-growing areas, were in school in 2013/14 compared to 2008/9** (Tables 34a+b, Page 79).
- There is evidence, across both countries, of a **declining frequency in agricultural work amongst children in cocoa-growing areas**, with a 10.9% reduction in the numbers reporting that they have worked in the last 7 days, compared to a 5% increase in those reporting that they have worked in the last 12 months (Table 11, Page 37), suggesting that there are **less children working (in agriculture) often, and more children working occasionally.**

- There is a **significant decrease in the average number of child labourers per MT of cocoa produced in aggregate across both countries (from 0.93 child labourers per MT in 2008/9 to 0.8 child labourers per MT in 2013/14)**, and in Ghana specifically (from 1.43 child labourers per MT in 2008/9 to 1.02 child labourers per MT in 2013/14) (*Derived from Table 14, Page 44, and Table 27, Page 72*). Note however that Ghana still has a higher average (1.02) than Côte d'Ivoire.
5. Notwithstanding the hard facts in relation to the absolute numbers of child labourers and the levels as a percentage of all children in cocoa growing areas, the report clearly shows (*page 34*) that **the numbers of cocoa-growing households has increased in Côte d'Ivoire (from 50% of agricultural households in cocoa growing areas in 2008/9, to 76% in 2013/14), whilst it has decreased in Ghana (from 57% to 48%)**. This 80% net increase in the number of cocoa-farming households has coincided with a 40% increase in the production of cocoa across both countries (*derived from Table 27, Page 72*) which also correlates with a 41% increase in the area of land under cocoa cultivation by cocoa growing households (*derived from Table 8, Page 34*) and a 43% increase in the number of children living in cocoa growing households (*derived from Table 30, Page 75*). Therefore, **the 21% increase in the number of child labourers in cocoa has been slower than the 40% increase in cocoa tonnage produced, the 41% increase in land under cocoa cultivation, and the 43% increase in the number of children living in cocoa-growing households**.
 6. In addition, **the number of child labourers in non-cocoa agriculture has declined in reasonable proportion to the increase in the number of child labourers in cocoa agriculture** (*derived from Table 9, Page 35*) with 364,404 additional child labourers working in cocoa production and 312,538 less child labourers working in agriculture other than cocoa. This suggests that **the bulk of the increase is attributable to a substitution-effect as rural households shift from non-cocoa agriculture to cocoa-farming**. It also confirms the fact that child labour is a generic risk in poor farming households, regardless of their crop, and is not specific to cocoa. Indeed, additional perspectives in the report would suggest that, in some respects, **cocoa is out-performing other agricultural sectors in lowering risks to children**. Looking at the prevalence of child labour within cocoa-growing households, we observe that, at 43.9% (*Table 30, Page 75*), it is significantly lower than the 85% prevalence level of child labour within non-cocoa agricultural households (*derived from Table 9, Page 35 and from Table 32, Page 77*).
 7. It is therefore possible to conclude that whilst there was more cocoa-related child labour and WFCL, in absolute terms, in 2013/14 compared to 2008/9, **there was less cocoa-related child labour and WFCL relative to the number of children living in a greater number of cocoa-growing households, there was less child labour per tonne of cocoa produced, and the severity of that child labour (in terms of frequency, exposure to multiple hazards, and obstruction to schooling) was less**.
 8. One other element to consider relates to the use of 2008/9 as the baseline year when, in fact, it appears to have been an exceptional year with lower than normal cocoa production and therefore, most likely, lower than normal child labour rates. In *Table 28, Page 73*, the report offers data on the number of children working in cocoa in the preceding 2007/8 production year, which in Côte d'Ivoire was 79% higher than in 2008/9, in Ghana was 26% higher than in 2008/9, and across both countries was 50% higher. **If the preceding (more normal) 2007/8 production year had been set as the baseline then, in terms of the absolute number of children working in cocoa, 2013/14 would have shown an 11% reduction in Côte d'Ivoire, a 24% reduction in Ghana, and a 17% reduction in aggregate (compared to using the 2008/9 baseline which gave a 59% increase in Côte d'Ivoire, a 4% reduction**

in Ghana, and a 24% increase in aggregate). Assuming a constant ratio between children working and children in child labour, it can be reasonably deduced that a similar anomalous distortion has occurred on the child labour numbers and, if the 2013/14 data had been set against 2007/8 rather than 2008/9 data it would have showed a substantial decrease in the numbers.
