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The Impact of Innovations in the Fight Against Trafficking, Exploitation and Child Labor in Cote D'Ivoire

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Abstract

For the last 20 years, in Cote d'Ivoire, the fight against child labor has become a public and political objective that mobilizes a diversity of actors, and which also gives rise to many controversies. The objective of this study is to demonstrate the impact of innovations in the fight against child labor in Côte d'Ivoire. Thus, on the basis of Child labor in Cote d'Ivoire from the 2008 Survey of Household Living Standard and the 2012-2014 National Action Plan dedicated to combating trafficking, exploitation and child labor, this study highlighted innovations at the institutional, regulatory and legislative levels and finally, the balance sheet of the actions led by the new committee set up. The results of our study showed a marked improvement in the fight in the cocoa industry. However, the impact of the new mechanisms on child labor in its entirety has not been established. Many efforts still remain to be made.

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1.Introduction

In Africa, child¹ labor² is part of a cultural context of perpetuating values and is an integral part of the process of of socialization and education of the child. Thus, it is not surprising to see a child who cheerfully helps his father and mother for housework, farm work or trades.

However, in recent years with industrialization and the acceleration of the economic crisis, child labor as we have seen in its social and educational component has finally turned into a form of work marketable. A new scourge called "child labor" has emerged. Aware of the potential risk and scale of this scourge, the former OAU (Organization of African Union), now AU (African Union), was meeting with the ILO on 4 February 1998 in Kampala (Uganda) not only to assess the risks of increasing the number of African children, but also to find appropriate solutions to eradicate this scourge that threatens the future of children. The ILO had estimated that the number of working African children could increase dramatically from the current figure of 80 million (1998 estimate) to 100 million in 2015 as a result of the population explosion of impoverished the weakness or inadequacy of the rate of economic growth in most countries of the continent. This study proved to be virtually true since, according to the latest ILO report, 72 million (or 1/5) of children are working in Africa. The 2016 estimates show that sub-Saharan Africa experienced an increase in child labor during the 2012-2016 period unlike other main regions (ex: China) where child labor has continued to decline.³ Among these African countries is Côte d'Ivoire, which has a large number of child labourers in various sectors such as agriculture, mining, transport, commerce and the domestic sector.

In Côte d'Ivoire, 1,237,911 children are affected by child labor, almost seven in ten economically-occupied children and one in five children between the ages of 5 and 17 years old.⁴

These children without education, good health do not benefit from their childhood which is a period of innocence. They are considered adults because they work to either support themselves or provide for a family.

For more than a decade, Côte d'Ivoire has been confronted with the problem of trafficking and child labor. This phenomenon has exposed the country on the international scene as a country of abusive exploitation of child labor, especially in the field of cocoa production. Being a fertile land-based country, it requires a large number of manpower; this is what encourages the trafficking of children from Burkina Faso, Mali and Guinea to cocoa plantations in Côte d'Ivoire mainly because this labor is cheaper or even free (some are without pay).

Thus, with the change of regime of April 2011, the fight against trafficking, exploitation and child labor, is realized in a context of reconstruction, after a decade of crisis that has promoted the expansion of this traffic. Several sectors of the economic and social life of the state have been affected by this crisis, including education and health. In addition, the primary social protection and assistance systems that are the family, the community

¹ According to ILO Convention 182 on the worst forms of child labor, the child is defined as anyone under the age of 18 years. Nevertheless, given the reference to a minimum age in relation to work or schooling, the population of children is that of the 5-17 age group. In our study, the children concerned are those aged 6-14 years

² The broadest concept for measuring child labor is the framework of productive activities according to the resolution on child labor, adopted adopted at the 18th International Conference of Labor Statisticians (December 2008)

³ https://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---ed_norm/---.../wcms_596480.pdf p.10

⁴ "Child labor" in Cote d'Ivoire from the 2008 Survey of Household Living Standards

and the basic social structures, have undergone a profound destruction, thus losing the essential of their operational capacity. The decay of the economy has also contributed to the worsening of unemployment and the impoverishment of the population.

In such a context of poverty, families are looking for alternatives and survival strategies, the consequences of which include the participation of children in finding livelihoods. Thus, more and more children are forced to work, exposing themselves to any form of exploitation and abusive treatment.

In response to this situation, the Government has taken urgent and decisive measures to inject new momentum into the fight against trafficking and the worst forms of child labor.

Indeed, in 2015, Côte d'Ivoire made a significant advancement in efforts to eliminate the worst forms of child labor. The Government passed a revised Labor Code, which raised the minimum working age from 14 to 16, and passed a law establishing compulsory education through age 16. More than 100 law enforcement officials and social workers received training on investigation and interrogation techniques, which resulted in a subsequent police operation that rescued 48 victims of child trafficking. The National Monitoring Committee (NMC) on Actions to Combat Trafficking, Exploitation, and Child Labor and the Inter-Ministerial Committee on the Fight Against Trafficking, Exploitation, and Child Labor published a joint report on the implementation of the pilot phase of Côte d'Ivoire's child labor monitoring system, SOMCLCI (System of Observation and Monitoring of Child Labor in Cote d'Ivoire). During the reporting period, the Government launched the National Action Plan for the Fight Against the Worst Forms of Child Labor and finalized the National Action Plan and Strategy Against Human Trafficking (National Action Plan 2012-2014). In addition, nine new programs were approved to combat child labor, including its worst forms, and improve access to education.

It is therefore appropriate for this study to make a municipal analysis of the report published by the NMC; by highlighting, on one hand, institutional and legislative and regulatory innovations, on the other hand their impact on the fight, finally, bringing criticism and solutions. But above all, what about the context of our study?

2.Context of the study

Côte d'Ivoire has been affected for years by successive crises: the devaluation of the FCFA¹ in 1993, a putsch in December 1999 and another one in September 2002 which remains the deadliest, and which led to the division of the country into two parts: one to the south, controlled by the state, and another to the north by a rebellion.² Côte d'Ivoire has been weakened by the breakdown of social cohesion, which has been replaced by growing insecurity, slowing economic development, massive youth unemployment and the spread of poor governance. This has led to a deterioration of the country's image, a suspension of relations with the international financial community, an accelerated deterioration of socio-economic infrastructures, and especially the impoverishment of the population. From then on, child labor has become a scourge. Because of its strategic position and its reputation as an immigration country whose development is based on agriculture, Côte d'Ivoire is not immune to the scourge of child trafficking and child labor.

therefore, the state of child labor before the change of regime in 2011 should be highlighted, including the institutional framework, the legal framework and the incidence of child labor on the basis of the document entitled "Child labor" in Cote d'Ivoire from the 2008 Survey of Household Living Standards published in 2010.

2.1.The institutional framework

Before 2011, the setting up of a real institutional framework in the fight against child trafficking in Côte d'Ivoire dates back to the year 2000. However, this framework has not stopped to evolve since then, and chronologically, we have witnessed:

- Creation by Decree 2001-467 of 25 July 2001 of a National Committee to Combat trafficking and exploitation of children which aims to assist the Ministry in charge of issues in defining policies, programs and actions for eradicate child trafficking and the worst forms of child labor.
- Creation of the National Steering Committee by Decree 2004-206 of March 11, 2004. It is responsible for assisting the Ministry in charge of labor in the coordination and the harmonization of government action to combat child labor.
- Creation by Decree No. 2006-11 of 22 February 2006 of the Sub-Directorate for the fight against child trafficking and juvenile delinquency at the Police Directorate Criminal. This Sub-Directorate is responsible for prosecuting and arresting the perpetrators of child trafficking.
- Creation of the Autonomous Service for Combating Child Labor (ASCCL). By Decree No. 2011-281 of October 5, 2011, this Service has been transformed into the Directorate of Fight against Child Labor

¹ The FCA franc (Financial Community in Africa) is a common currency, which has evolved since its inception during the French colonization of the nineteenth century and twentieth century. This is the official currency of the eight member states of the West African Economic and Monetary Union (WAEMU): Benin, Burkina Faso, Ivory Coast, Guinea Bissau, Mali, Niger, Senegal, Togo.

² Francis Akindes (2004) "The roots of the Military-political crises in Cote d'Ivoire", The Nordic Africa Institute, Chap1 pp. 7-14.

(DFCL). The DFCL is responsible for: development, monitoring and enforcement of standards, laws and regulations in child labor; coordination, identification and implementation of measures in the field of fight against the worst forms of child labor.

2.2.The legal framework

At the international level, Côte d'Ivoire has ratified several ILO Conventions ; among which we will mention C129¹ on forced labor, C138² and C182³. It follows from these conventions that the child is entitled to education, the minimum age to work is 18 years but at 16 years the child may be allowed to work if the work does not represent a danger for him. Thus these conventions set out the limits of forms of work that are unacceptable by international standards. In this context, for the international community, all forms of child labor are not to be banned. For example, an activity that respects legal limits while not disrupting children's health, development or schooling can be a positive experience; for example, child advertising contracts.

At the sub-regional level, Côte d'Ivoire has strengthened its legal arsenal by signing the multilateral cooperation agreement to combat child trafficking in West Africa, involving nine (9) West African countries. (Benin, Burkina Faso, Guinea, Liberia, Mali, Niger, Nigeria, Togo, Cote d'Ivoire).

Also, the new constitution of August 2000 enacts fundamental principles on child labor by referring to the French Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen of 1789 and to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 1948. These are fundamental principles of labor law, such as the recognition of economic and social rights by all citizens, and thus the child, which prohibits slavery and forced labor (Article 3).

As for the specific laws on child labor, article 23-8 of the Labor Code of 1995 stipulates that children can not be employed in an enterprise as an apprentice before the age of 14, unless there is a derogation. The Minority Act of 3 August 1970 adds that until the age of 16 the child must be assisted in his decision by his legal guardian (this law applies to industrial, commercial or agricultural enterprises). Also, the Labor Code makes a distinction between light work and work dangerous to the health of the child.

The Criminal Law (Article 2. Law 88-686 of 22 July 1998 on the suppression of the illicit trafficking and use of narcotic drugs, psychotropic substances and poisonous substances) severely punishes those who use minors under 21 years of age. It also punishes in various ways the use, procuring or offering of a child for the purposes of prostitution or pornography (articles 335, 336 and 339 Penal Code).

2.3. Characteristics and incidence of child labor in Côte d'Ivoire

2.3.1. Characteristics of child labor

In line with the distribution of economically occupied children by sector of activity, child labor to be abolished in Côte d'Ivoire is concentrated firstly in Agriculture (71.7%) and secondarily in Services (23.8%) the industry remains rather marginal (4.5%).⁴ This breakdown of children by sector of activity is more pronounced when the sex of children is taken into account. Indeed, 78.4% of boys aged 5 to 17 years are involved in prohibited work in agriculture that could affect their physical or mental health for 15.4% in service activities. With regard to girls, there is a tertiary sector development of their occupation, as a third of them perform a service activity for 64.4% who work in agriculture.

A more in-depth analysis by industry and age of children generally confirms the trends mentioned below. However, it highlights the fact that, between the ages of 14 and 17; 67.5% of boys are engaged in farming, fishing or forestry, compared to 8.4% who work in factories and 6.9% in boys. trade and restoration. For the same age group, it is noted that half of the girls have an agricultural occupation against 24.5% who are engaged in trade and catering⁵.

Otherwise, the population of Côte d'Ivoire is experiencing a favourable evolution of natural increase, a large migratory flow, an uneven distribution of the national territory and a strong urbanization.

The invisible and clandestine nature of the ongoing child trafficking makes collecting reliable information and estimating the number of child victims of trafficking at any stage difficult. However, it is known that within Côte d'Ivoire the main form of trafficking concerns children from rural areas brought to wealthier urban areas. Similarly, children from neighbouring countries such as Burkina Faso, Togo and Mali are taken to Côte d'Ivoire to work in cocoa farms, a strong sector, or other sectors using hand childish work. Their rights are not respected and they may be exposed to many forms of exploitation and abuse

¹ Convention concerning Labor Inspection in Agriculture (Entry into force: 19 Jan. 1972) Adoption: Geneva, 53rd ILC session (25 June 1969) - Status: Updated instrument (Governance (priority) Conventions). Article 1.

² Convention concerning the Minimum Age for Admission to Employment (Entry into force: 19 June 1976) Adoption: Geneva, 58th ILC Session (26 June 1973) Article 3.

³ Convention concerning Social Policy in Non-Metropolitan Territories (Entry into force: 19 June 1955) Adoption: Geneva, 30th ILC session (11 July 1947) Article 19.

⁴ Child labor" in Cote d'Ivoire from the 2008 Survey of Household Living Standards published in 2010. Page 61.

⁵ "Child labor" in Cote d'Ivoire from the 2008 Survey of Household Living Standards published in 2010. Page 62.

Name of region	Ensemble					Boys					Girls				7
	Total	Econom. occupied	Child labor		Total	Econom.	Child labor			Total	Econom.	Child labor			
	Children		Effective	% Total	% occupied	boys	occupied	Effective	% boys	% occupied	girls	occupied	Effective	% girls	% occupied
Lagunes	1413938	187 110	126 790	9,0	67,8	674965	72 096	53 543	7,9	74,3	738973	115 014	73 248	9,9	63,7
Haut- Sassandra	399284	111 562	84 171	21,1	75,4	218735	61 361	45 015	20,6	73,4	180549	50 200	39 156	21,7	78,0
Savanes	413249	202 223	164 641	39,8	81,4	235481	118 672	101 767	43,2	85,8	177768	83 551	62 873	35,4	75,3
Vallée du Bandama	407229	115 364	77 903	19,1	67,5	213088	62 986	43 860	20,6	69,6	194141	52 377	34 043	17,5	65,0
Moyen Comoé	139067	17 502	12 699	9,1	72,6	70860	9 850	7 115	10,0	72,2	68207	7 652	5 584	8,2	73,0
Montagnes	324836	140 707	108 428	33,4	77,1	180562	74 688	61 308	34,0	82,1	144274	66 019	47 120	32,7	71,4
Lacs	221713	34 928	23 959	10,8	68,6	112037	23 949	15 410	13,8	64,3	109676	10 980	8 549	7,8	77,9
Zanzan	344394	135 678	101 994	29,6	75,2	180175	71 690	54 801	30,4	76,4	164219	63 988	47 192	28,7	73,8
Bas-Sassandra	613044	203 029	147 767	24,1	72,8	327481	106 641	78 249	23,9	73,4	285563	96 389	69 518	24,3	72,1
Denguélé	57552	15 570	12 708	22,1	81,6	32574	6 584	4 886	15,0	74,2	24978	8 986	7 822	31,3	87,0
N'zi Comoé	352288	101 407	73 176	20,8	72,2	189175	55 425	33 072	17,5	59,7	163113	45 982	40 104	24,6	87,2
La Marahoué	227602	94 252	79 866	35,1	84,7	125888	53 595	45 578	36,2	85,0	101714	40 657	34 288	33,7	84,3
Sud Comoé	153725	28 031	16 376	10,7	58,4	78494	13 080	7 527	9,6	57,5	75231	14 951	8 848	11,8	59,2
Worodougou	182306	96 531	72 939	40,0	75,6	101941	57 561	40 987	40,2	71,2	80365	38 970	31 952	39,8	82,0
Sud Bandama	423773	115 602	82 374	19,4	71,3	226245	68 152	47 438	21,0	69,6	197528	47 450	34 936	17,7	73,6
Agnéby	167825	13 100	7 868	4,7	60,1	83139	7 558	3 793	4,6	50,2	84686	5 543	4 075	4,8	73,5
Fromager	235290	29 859	17 101	7,3	57,3	130908	19 439	11 142	8,5	57,3	104382	10 420	5 959	5,7	57,2
Moyen Cavally	188911	28 113	21 128	11,2	75,2	103105	14 429	10 621	10,3	73,6	85806	13 684	10 508	12,2	76,8
Bafing	72252	9 491	6 023	8,3	63,5	41763	6 015	3 315	7,9	55,1	30489	3 476	2 708	8,9	77,9
Total	6338278	1 680 059	1 237 911	19,5	73,7	3326616	903 771	669 427	20,1	74,1	3011662	776 289	568 483	18,9	73,2

2.3.2. Incidence of child labor to be abolished by gender and region

Source: "Child labor" in Cote d'Ivoire from the 2008 Survey of Household Living Standard

In Côte d'Ivoire, 1,237,911 children are involved in child labor, almost seven in ten economically-occupied children and one in five children aged 5 to 17 years. Although the same trend is observed in all Ivorian regions, it is important to underline that the phenomenon is relatively more marked in the regions of Worodougou, Marahoué, Savanes and Montagnes where there are four out of ten children aged between 5 and 17 years' old who are involved in a job to be abolished. On the other hand, the regions of Agnéby, Fromager, Bafing, Lagunes and Moyen Comoé and, to a lesser extent, South Comoé and Moyen Cavally, stand out in scarcely one in ten children aged 5 to 17 years old forced to a job to be abolished. The above trends are observed regardless of the sex of the children.

The legal arsenal available is suitable for the protection of the child, but on analysis, it is insufficient without a body for monitoring and supervising the application of labor standards and social laws. In addition, some forms of child labor seem difficult to monitor. For example, it seems difficult to combat child domestic labor, child trafficking, child labor in traditional agriculture, the informal sector, children who scavenge and collect waste, and so on. It is this alarming situation of child labor in Côte d'Ivoire that has prompted the authorities to adopt reforms to the institutional and legal framework in order to change the incidence of child labor experienced by Cote d'Ivoire for 20 years back.

3.Innovations in the fight against trafficking, trafficking and child labor

The innovations of this fight are observed at two levels: a new institutional framework and the strengthening of legislative and regulatory framework.

3.1.A new institutional framework

As part of a better coordination and capitalization of the fight against child exploitation and child labor in Côte d'Ivoire, the institutional framework has been revisited on the one hand through the creation of the National Supervisory Committee (NSC) and the Inter- Ministerial Committee (IMC). What are their missions and modes of operation? and on the other hand the strengthening of the legal framework.

3.1.1.Creation of the Inter- Ministerial Committee to fight against trafficking, exploitation and child labor The Inter-Ministerial Committee was established by Decree¹, creating the Inter-Ministerial Committee to fight

against trafficking, exploitation and child labor. It has a Technical Secretariat.

¹ Decree No. 2011 - 365 of 3 November 2011, creating the Inter-Ministerial Committee to fight against trafficking, exploitation and child labor.

Its mission is to design, coordinate and ensure the implementation of programs and projects for the prohibition of child labor. In this capacity, he is responsible for:

- to define and ensure the implementation of the Government's guidelines in the context of the national policy against trafficking, exploitation and child labor

- to validate the different programs and projects implemented by the partners with a view to verifying their compliance with the national policy against trafficking, exploitation and child labor;

to coordinate the activities of all the actors involved in the fight against trafficking, exploitation and child labor;
to evaluate the implementation of programs and projects relating to the fight against trafficking, exploitation and child labor.

It is chaired by the Minister in charge of Employment and its Vice-President is the Minister in charge of the Child.

It is composed of 13 representative ministers.¹

3.1.2. The creation of the National Committee for Monitoring Action against Trafficking Exploitation and Child Labor

The National Supervisory Committee was established by Decree establishing the National Committee for Monitoring Actions to Combat Trafficking, Exploitation and Child Labor.

It is chaired by the First Lady of the Republic of Ivory Coast, Mrs. Dominique Ouattara.

It is composed of 14 international and national organizations working in the field of child protection.

In addition to these organizations, the National Supervisory Committee has an Executive Secretariat. The National Monitoring Committee's mission is to monitor and evaluate the government's actions in the fight against trafficking, exploitation and child labor. In this capacity, he is responsible for:

- monitor the implementation of government projects and programs in the fight against trafficking, exploitation and child labor;

- monitor the application of the conventions on the fight against trafficking, exploitation and child labor;

- to propose measures for the care of child victims of the worst forms of child labor;

- to initiate preventive actions against trafficking, exploitation and child labor; to make proposals to the Government for the abolition of child labor;

- to ensure the application of the Government's guidelines in the context of the policy

- to contribute to the reintegration of working children into school and work.

In view of these lines, it should be remembered that the IMC is composed of members of the government while the NSC is composed of national and international NGOs involved in this fight. Also, in the execution of its mission the NSC to whom the IMC reports can solicit any natural or legal person intervening in this fight as an example we can mention the chocolate firms installed in Cote d'Ivoire (ex: NESTLE). Finally, the budget for the realization of these plans is attributable to the budget of the State of Côte d'Ivoire. That said, it must be added that this principle of the participation of all these actors (governmental and international) stems from the government's desire to involve non-governmental actors in the elaboration and implementation of the national strategy to combat the worst forms of child labor. The aim is to enable the ownership of the Plan by all stakeholders in order to facilitate the synergies of action and to achieve the expected results, that is, by the 2017 deadline to reduce the worst forms of children at risk of less than 18 years old by at least 30%.

Thus, besides the Ministries and governmental structures, were associated to the elaboration of the National Action Plan, the organizations of the United Nations system, the national and international NGOs, the community of the associative actors intervening in the protection of the child, the social partners and the organizations of the cocoa and chocolate industry.

The existence of special bodies to combat child labor is evidence of the authorities' willingness to tackle the problem. The potential and usefulness of these bodies is visible in that they are responsible for coordinating all aspects of the action taken by public authorities and international organizations. The fact that the fight against child labor was a direct responsibility of the Ministry of Employment and of Women and Children instead of being attached to a special body for the fight against child labor made the fight difficult and even ineffective. In the sense that these relatively resource-rich ministries do not make child labor their priority, while one of its objectives is Emerging Good Practices in the Fight Against the Worst Forms of Child Labor. Thus, the resources allocated to the latter were more limited because of their intervention on several fronts. Finally, it can be said that with the creation of the NSC and the IMC, the responsibility for direct implementation is dissociated from the responsibility of coordinating all the measures taken by the country in the face of child labor. Now is the strengthening of the legislative and regulatory framework.

¹ Decree No. 2011-366 of November 3, 2011 establishing the National Committee for Monitoring Actions to Combat Trafficking, Exploitation and Child Labor.

3.2. Strengthening the legislative and regulatory framework

The strengthening of the legislative and regulatory framework aims to repress the perpetrators of child trafficking and exploitation but also to create a legal environment that is more protective of the child. Thus, Law No. 2010-272 of 30 September 2010 on the prohibition of trafficking and the worst forms of child labor in Côte d'Ivoire has been reinforced through several legislative and regulatory measures, in particular:

- Decree No. 2011-203 of 3 August 2011 on the ratification and publication of the Optional Protocol to the Convention on the Rights of the Child on the involvement of children in armed conflict, adopted on 25 May 2000 New York;

- Decree No. 2011-220 of 07 September 2011 on the ratification and publication of the Optional Protocol to the Convention on the Rights of the Child on the sale of children, child prostitution and pornography children, adopted on May 25, 2000 in New York;

- Order No. 009 MEMEASS / CAB of 19 January 2012 revising Order No. 2250 of 14 March 2005 revising the list of hazardous work prohibits children under 18 years. It lists the work prohibited for children in agriculture, mining, transportation, commerce, crafts, the domestic sector and many other economic sectors;

- Decree No. 2013-857 of 19 December 2013 institutionalizing a children's parliament in Côte d'Ivoire, devotes the will of the government through the Ministry of Solidarity, Family, Women and Children, Ministry guardianship of the Children's Parliament, to promote the participation of children in the search for solutions against all forms of violation of their rights;

- Decree No. 2014-290 of 21 May 2014 on the implementation of Law No. 2010-272 of 30 September 2010 on the prohibition of trafficking and the worst forms of child labor. The purpose of this Decree is to determine the conditions of entry or exit of a child from the national territory and aims above all to combat the cross-border trafficking of children;

- Law N ° 2015-635 of September 17th, 2015 modifying the law N ° 95-696 of September 7th, 1995 relating to the education, which makes the schooling obligatory for all the children from 6 to 16 years old in Côte d ' Ivory in force since the beginning of the school year 2015-2016, reinforces the access of all the children to a free and quality education;

- The adoption of Law N 2015-635 of 17 September 2015 on compulsory schooling. This law now makes it possible to keep children aged 6 to 16 in the school system and to reintegrate those who are out of the system, in order to remove them from the risks of trafficking and exploitation.

- adoption of law N 2016-1111 of 08 December 2016 on the fight against trafficking in persons. This law now makes it possible to prevent and repress trafficking in persons, but also to protect and assist victims and witnesses.

- the revision of the decree determining the list of hazardous work prohibited to children under 18 years of age (Order No. 2017-017 MEPS / CAB of 2 June 2017) The revision of the list of hazardous work, which took place on 2 June 2017, aim to adapt this list to local socio-economic realities for a more effective application.

- the adoption of order N 2017-016 MEPS / CAB of 02 June 2017 determining the list of light work authorized for children between the ages of 13 and 16 years. The adoption of the list of authorized light work for children between the ages of 13 and 16 represents an important step forward for Côte d'Ivoire in the fight against trafficking and the worst forms of child labor. Indeed, this decree today makes it possible to avoid the amalgams that existed between the prohibited forms of child labor and the accepted forms of child labor for a more effective sensitization of the populations.

Côte d'Ivoire now has a comprehensive legal and institutional framework for child protection and the fight against child labor. This is a good starting point for the new image of the country. Thus, after highlighting this theoretical framework, what is the impact of these changes in the fight against this scourge? Given that the National Plan of Action is based on a multi-sectorial approach that requires the commitment and contributions of governments, trade unions and employers' organizations, other civil society organizations and the general public, the sector private sector and development partners; these innovations have impacted several sectors, namely, the strengthening of child protection, the area of repression and the establishment of a monitoring and evaluation system.

4. The impact of innovations in the fight against child labor in Cote d'Ivoire

The fight against child labor in Côte d'Ivoire has had a positive impact on some levels. In particular, in the protection of children, in the improvement of the conditions of the populations vulnerable to this scourge, in the repression and the monitoring and evaluation of the activities of the NSC.

4.1.In the field of child protection

Protect children is to create around them the legal, institutional and social conditions for their full development, but it is also to provide the necessary assistance. Those who are in distress for their social rehabilitation. Several actions contributed to the achievement of this strategic axis of the Action Plan

National 2012-2014 in particular, improving access for children. Education, care for child victims and improvement of the socio-economic conditions of vulnerable populations and strengthening of community development.

As such, increased emphasis has been placed on education by the government and its partners because of the importance of this activity in the fight against the worst forms of child labor. Thus, from 2011 to 2015, there are 17,829 primary classrooms and 155 colleges that have been built or are under construction throughout the country.

by the State of Cote d'Ivoire and its partners, including 6,668 classrooms built in the cocoa zone. This has led to a significant increase in the school attendance rate of children aged between 5 and 17 in cocoa-producing households, which went from 59% in 2008-2009 to 71% in 2013-2014, according to a survey report commissioned in 2013, by the United States Department of Labor (USDOL).

Regarding the care of child victims or at risk, this is a major challenge for all actors in the fight against the worst forms of child labor. Also, national strategies have been put in place to provide better assistance to child victims of trafficking and exploitation. This is reflected in the adoption of the National Child Protection Policy Document. The implementation of this national policy has made it possible to set up 6 pilot coordination mechanisms in 6 regions where agriculture is widely practiced.

Thus, 4,042 child victims of trafficking were withdrawn and taken care of during 2012 to 2014. Added to this a free helpline for children in distress was set up. This green line (116) has been operational since 2013 to denounce cases of child abuse and to provide victims with appropriate emergency responses.

4.2. Improving the socio-economic conditions of vulnerable populations

Household poverty is one of the explanatory factors of child labor. This is why in the national remediation strategy, special emphasis is placed on improving the living conditions of vulnerable communities and strengthening their economic capacities. Several axes contribute to the achievement of this objective, including improving productivity of cocoa for producing communities, supporting women's empowerment through the financing of Income Generating Activities (IGAs) and building or rehabilitation of basic social infrastructure.

Increasing cocoa productivity to improve farmers' incomes is achieved through several measures including the improvement of cocoa productivity in order to increase their income and the securing of this income by setting up a guaranteed minimum price. Between 2012-2015, 114,894 hectares of cocoa seeds, 2,310,000 hectares of insecticides, 920,000 hectares of fungicides and 2,000 atomizers were distributed to farmers in this context.

The support to the empowerment of women through the realization of Income Generating Activities (IGA) has made it possible to set up the Support Fund for Women of Cote d'Ivoire (SFWCI), These are more than 100,000 women throughout the national territory who have benefited from financial support in the form of micro-credits for the realization of Income Generating Activities (IGA).

The construction, rehabilitation and equipping of basic social infrastructure was made by profiling rural roads in the cocoa production area; construction or rehabilitation and equipment of dispensaries and fountains. For example, in 2013, the dispensary and the Wonséaly maternity ward in the Department of Soubré¹ were rehabilitated, 16 ambulances equipped and medicalized were offered in 15 departments in the cocoa zone, 500 village hydraulic pumps, 100 boreholes, 318 pumps made and three villages were electrified is one of the explanatory factors of child

4.3.In the field of repression

The objectives of the 2012-2014 National Action Plan to combat child trafficking, exploitation and child labor were, on the one hand, to reinforce the operational capacities of the police and the national gendarmerie and, on the other hand, to carry out police operations in areas potentially at risk for the arrest of traffickers. But also and above all to show the effective application of Law No. 2010-272 of 30 September 2010 on the prohibition of trafficking and the worst forms of child labor in Côte d'Ivoire, which makes it possible to convict child traffickers by Courts of Justice.

To this end, the Security Forces, after having received training in the detection of child trafficking networks, have had their skills strengthened for better detection of cases of child trafficking, for the identification of child victims and for the detection of child trafficking. effective prosecution of perpetrators of child trafficking and exploitation. For example, the sub-directorate of the Criminal Police for Combating Child Trafficking and Juvenile Delinquency has been provided with vehicles and computer equipment by the SNC to strengthen operational capacity.

In addition, a 50-hour initial training module on child protection is integrated into the training of police and gendarmerie schools.

¹ located in the cocoa zone to the west of Cote D'Ivoire.

Regarding the conviction of traffickers by the Courts of Justice, in July 2013, 9 traffickers of Burkinabe nationality were sentenced by the Court of First Instance (12 months' imprisonment, 1,000 US \$ fine) and five years of prohibition residence in the Ivorian territory). Police operations against trafficking and the worst forms of child labor have been carried out in cocoa production areas. This is operation NAWA and AKOMA. The sectors targeted during these two operations were agriculture, mining and the urban servant. In total, from 2012 to 2014, 29 people were brought to the Ivorian courts. 23 people were tried including 18 condemned and 5 conditional sentences. In 2015, 22 people were arrested and brought to the Courts. A total of 107 children were removed and entrusted to the social workers in the reception centers for food and medical care, followed by identification and initial tapping.

4.4. In the area of monitoring and evaluation

Monitoring and evaluation are necessary actions to ensure the sustainability of remediation actions. The national strategy in this area has been divided into four main axes namely the establishment of the System of Observation and Monitoring of Child Labor in Cote d'Ivoire (SOMCLCI), the periodic meetings of monitoring and coordination of the CNS and CIM, field visits of activities and projects against trafficking and the worst forms of child labor and the implementation of a multi-sectorial survey on the situation of child labor in Côte d'Ivoire.

SOMCLCI is a national mechanism for detecting children in situations of trafficking and exploitation in order to provide them with appropriate assistance through an SEO system.

It also allows and specially to collect and share information on child labor through a statistical database. In 2014 it evaluates 2.878 subtracted from the worst forms of work of which 58% of boys for 42% of girls. Agriculture absorbs more than 77% of these children.

Periodic meetings to monitor and coordinate activities and projects to combat trafficking and the worst forms of child labor are essential for achieving the objectives of the National Action Plan. Two coordination and monitoring-evaluation frameworks exist, including one at the international level and the other at the national level. The first is the Coordinating Group of Actions to Combat Child Labor in Cocoa (CGACCLC) and the second is the NSC and BMI. They were set up respectively to support the implementation of the Harkin-Engel Framework for Action in Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana; and to strengthen the collaboration and involvement of key actors in the validation and implementation of annual operational plans from the 2012-2014 National Action Plan to Combat Trafficking and the Worst Forms of Child Labor.

Finally, the field visits aim to take on the realities of the field in implementing actions to combat the worst forms of child labor. They are mainly aimed at encouraging partners who develop projects in rural communities and at encouraging people to take action against the worst forms of child labor.

For example, on 25 January 2013, a team from the NSC visited the premises of the Criminal Investigation Branch of the Criminal Investigation Service for Combating Child Trafficking and Juvenile Delinquency (S / DLTEDJ), with a view to to soak up

the working conditions of this unit, which remains a strategic player in the fight against trafficking and exploitation of children in Côte d'Ivoire. Other visits were made to the cocoa and chocolate industries in the cocoa zone as part of the implementation of the Harkin-Engel Protocol by the Coordination Group

Actions to Combat Child Labor in Cocoa Culture (CLCCG).

The study of the impact of innovations on trafficking, exploitation and child labor has been observed on 3 axes: on the protection of the child, on the means of repression and the system of monitoring and evaluation. As can be seen, there is now evidence that the fight against child labor is one of the priorities of the Ivorian state.

5.Conclusion

Cote d 'Ivoire through its 2012-2014 NAP has demonstrated its commitment to make the fight against trafficking, exploitation and child labor a priority. As such, efforts have been made to bring innovations in this fight. First of all, at the institutional level, the State has created the CNS and the CIM, which are now in control of the fight against child labor. Although they work in competition with any entity related to child labor, they are the initiative of projects and in charge of the coordination of any action in this fight. Thus, having their own budget, the fight against this scourge is more likely to be completed. Secondly, at the legislative level, the State wanted to create a more child-friendly environment by strengthening criminal laws allowing the conviction of traffickers and exploiters of children, lists the list of light work that a child can run from 13 to 16 years, introduced the law on compulsory school from 6 to 16 years.

In the continuity of innovations, this study was mainly intended to highlight the impact of innovations on the incidence of child labor in Côte d'Ivoire. Thus, the works led by the CNS have generated positive results on several levels. In the protection of children, schools have been built across the whole of the territory of which to drop the rate of schooling which went from 59% to 71% from 2009 to 2014. As well, the implementation of the adoption of the national child protection policy document to take care of victims of trafficking has resulted in the removal of 4,042 child victims of this trafficking from 2012 to 2014. Another important point is the

improvement of socio-economic conditions. vulnerable people to fight against poverty, the main cause of this scourge, as Yacouba Diallo demonstrated in his study where he analysed the determinants of child labor in Côte d'Ivoire.¹ The state has contributed to the stabilization of the price of cocoa, the construction and rehabilitation of health centers, drilling, hydraulic pumps enough to make the lives of villagers easier. Also the creation of a fund to finance activities generating women's lives. With regard to repression, the objectives of the 2012-2014 National Action Plan to Combat Human Trafficking, Exploitation and Child Labor in the area of repression were, on the one hand, to strengthen the operational capacities of the police and the police. national gendarmerie and, on the other hand, to conduct police operations in areas potentially at risk for the arrest of traffickers. But also and above all to show the effective application of Law no 2010-272 of 30 September 2010 on the prohibition of trafficking and the worst forms of child labor in Cote d'Ivoire, which allows child traffickers to be sentenced by the Courts. of Justice. It has thus contributed to the arrest and sentencing of 23 child traffickers. Finally, a follow-up evaluation has been put in place to ensure the sustainability of the remediation actions. The national strategy in this area has been divided into 4 main axes namely the establishment of the System for Observation and Monitoring of Child Labor in Cote d'Ivoire (SOSTECI), the periodic monitoring and coordination meetings of the CNS and CIM, field visits of activities and projects against trafficking and the worst forms of child labor and the implementation of a multi-sectorial survey on the situation of child labor in Côte d'Ivoire.

It is this whole system that has contributed to giving a new face to the fight against child labor in Côte d'Ivoire.

However, some limitations have been observed in this NAP. The objective of this NAP as indicated at the beginning of this document was the reduction of child labor by 70% by 2020, but at no point in this document it was mentioned that the goal has started to be reached. For example, mention that from 2012 to 2014 the percentage of reduction achieved, also no graph was realized to see the fall of child labor in Ivory Coast. Admittedly, the school enrolment rate has climbed but this does not guarantee that child labor has fallen. This was the case in a study carried out in Brazil by Elina C. and Andre P.; The paper finds that cash transfer programs had not impact on child labor but a positive and significant impact on school attendance. these programs have not been effective in combating child labor in Brazil. They increase the chances of a poor child going to school but do not reduce her work, perhaps because they prefer to combine school and work, considering that the transfers are too small to encourage the renunciation of job's income. Cash transfer programs reduce the incidence of single work for children and increase their frequency at school.² therefore, if the cash transfer to parents based on the presence of children at school could not reduce the incidence of child labor, how could simple school construction be effective where available schools and cash transfer failed?

Also for a better estimate of the vulnerable children, the CNS should think to computerize the system of the declarations of births so as to be able to detect the vulnerable child of the birth to monitor its activities and to insert it more easily into the school system of the age required by law. With regard to children removed from trafficking, nothing is said about their reintegration into the school system or into working life. There is every reason to believe that they have not been definitively reintegrated into the school system or into another profession that the law allows them to do. On the other hand, it is true that agriculture is the area that has the most child labourers, but other areas must be fought, such as child prostitution, the phenomenon of small maids (domestic work)³ in Abidjan, children working on their own account and the phenomenon of "microbes"⁴ that is becoming more worrying for the people of Abidjan.

In the end, despite the efforts made in recent years by all actors in the chain of remediation, the phenomenon of trafficking and worst forms of child labor is still a major concern for the government of Côte d'Ivoire.

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According to ILO Convention 182 on the worst forms of child labor, the child is defined as anyone under the age of 18 years. Nevertheless, given the reference to a minimum age in relation to work or schooling, the population of children is that of the 5-17 age group. In our study, the children concerned are those aged 6-14 years.

The broadest concept for measuring child labor is the framework of productive activities according to the

¹ Yacouba Diallo, 2001. "The determinants of child labor in Côte d'Ivoire," Working Papers 55, Development Economics Group of the University Montesquieu Bordeaux IV.

² Eliana Cardoso & Andre Portela Souza, 2004. "The Impact of Cash Transfers on Children's Labor and School Attendance in Brazil," Vanderbilt University Department of Economics Working Papers 0407, Vanderbilt University Department of Economics

³ Jacquemin Melanie. Domestic work and child labor, the case of Abidjan (Ivory Coast). In: Third World, Volume 43, No. 170, 2002. Women in domestic service. The servants of the South, North and South. pp. 307-326. doi: 10.3406 / third.2002.1596 http://www.persee.fr/doc/tiers_1293-8882_2002_num_43_170_1596

⁴ KOUAME Yao Sévérin, MOLTES Anne, Obstacles to social cohesion and dynamics of violence, involving young people in the urban space, Participatory Research Report, Interpeace, Indigo Abidjan July 2015; ADELÉ Alexis, Ivory Coast: ulcerated by the "microbes", the habitants of Abidjan do justice, Le Monde, 04/04/2016

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