

Deforestation and Cocoa in Côte d'Ivoire

Working paper, in the version of 18 August 2020

General information on deforestation

Four raw materials account for 40% of deforestation worldwide (palm oil, soy, cattle breeding and wood products). This corresponds to 3.8 million hectares per year. In the period of 1988 to 2008, between 2 and 3 million hectares of forest were destroyed globally for cocoa production.ⁱ Between 1990 and 2008 the then 27 EU member states purchased cocoa from the equivalent of 0.6 million hectares of deforested land, which accounts for 8% of the EU's imported deforestation.ⁱⁱ

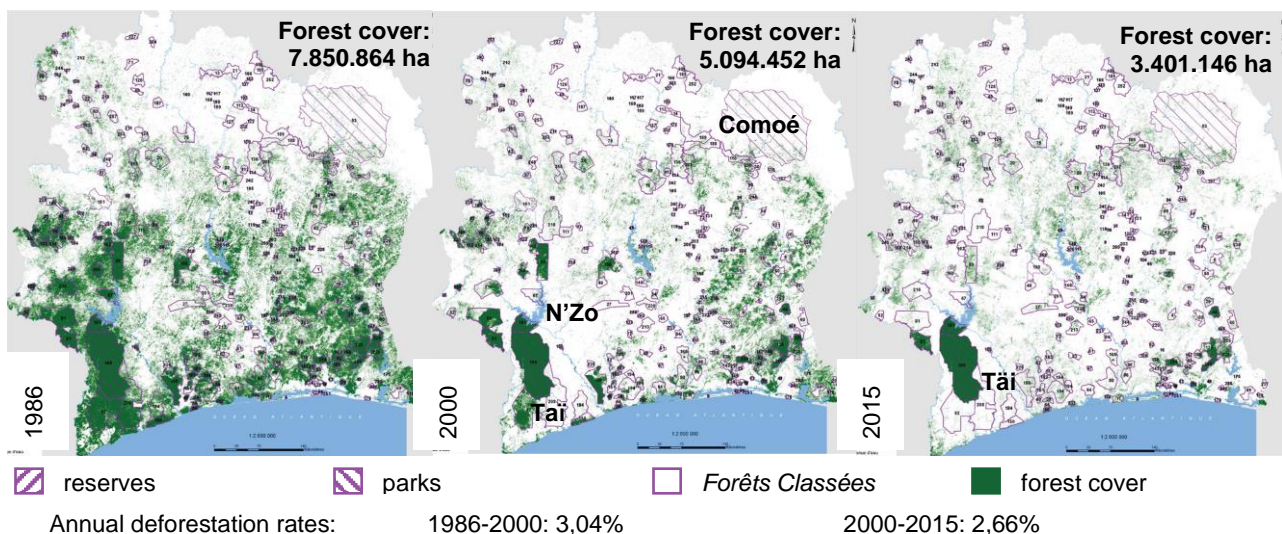


Figure 1: Progress of Deforestation in Côte d'Ivoire 1986-2000-2015.

Source: Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO) & Secrétariat Exécutif Permanent REDD+. (2017). *Données forestières de base pour la REDD+ en Côte d'Ivoire. Cartographie de la dynamique forestière de 1986 à 2015.*

Deforestation related to cocoa production is strongly concentrated in some countries in West Africa and Asia: smallholder farmers in Côte d'Ivoire, Ghana, Nigeria and Cameroon increased their cocoa acreage by 3.3% per year between 1988 and 2007. This resulted in a loss of 2.3 million hectares of forest during this period. In Côte d'Ivoire, cocoa producing areas have grown from 1.6 million hectares in 1990 to 2.5 million hectares in 2011. This equals an average annual conversion of about 70,000 hectares of forest into cocoa plantations.ⁱⁱⁱ Today, cocoa farming covers a total area of about 4.8 million hectares.^{iv}

Changes in climatic conditions can make certain cocoa growing regions unsuitable for cocoa cultivation, increasing the pressure on the remaining forests. Conservative calculations predict that by 2030 the expansion of cocoa cultivation will cause pressure on a further 530,640 hectares of forest.^v

Deforestation in Côte d'Ivoire

From 1960 to present, forestland in Côte d'Ivoire has been greatly reduced. The surface of forest areas¹ has declined from 16 million hectares in 1960 to 7.8 million hectares in 1986, 5.1 million hectares in 1995 and 3.4 million hectares in 2015. This resulted in a total

Côte d'Ivoire has three ecological zones: Savannah to the north, dense humid tropical forest to the south and a transition zone in between.
Source: UNEP, 2015



¹ Forest areas as defined in the Ivorian Forestry Act

loss of forest areas of 79%.^{vi} At the current rate of deforestation, Côte d'Ivoire will have lost all its forest cover by 2034.^{vii} Currently less than 11% of the total area of Côte d'Ivoire is forested.^{viii}

Forest areas are located in the rural area (*Domaine Rural*) - which is open to the population for cultivation - or in the national forest area (*Domaine Forestier National*). National forest areas are de facto protected areas. They comprise 234 *Forêts Classées*², 8 national parks and 6 reserves covering more than 6 million hectares (about 1/5 of the surface of Côte d'Ivoire). The wet tropical forests of Côte d'Ivoire are part of the species-rich Guinean forests of West Africa, which were designated as a biodiversity hotspot in 2000. Fauna and flora of the national parks, reserves and the *Forêts Classées* suffered significantly from the advancing deforestation.^{ix} The *Forêts Classées* lost on average more than 70% of their forest cover³ after 1960.^x From 2017 to 2018, at 26% Côte d'Ivoire recorded the second-highest increase in primary forest losses of all tropical countries, after Ghana at 60%. Most of the primary forest clearance in 2018 took place in protected areas.^{xi}

Type of land use	Area (ha)	National share (%)
forest	3 427 963	10,64
coffee and cocoa	4 797 006	14,89
rubber	613 278	1,90
oil and coconut palms	440 152	1,37
cashew nuts	1 390 322	4,31
human habitat	466 028	1,45

Table 1: Agriculture as the main cause of deforestation in Côte d'Ivoire
Source: BNETD and SEP REDD+ (2019). Presentation by Jérôme Aké, MINEF, *La politique ivoirienne en matière de lutte contre la déforestation*, held during the GISCO event at ANUGA 2019, 10/2019.

In 2012, 229,560 families lived in *Forêts Classées*, 32% of the area of *Forêts Classées* was used for agriculture.^{xii} It is estimated that around 20 to 40% of Ivorian cocoa comes from these areas.^{xiii}

Forest policy of Côte d'Ivoire^{xiv}

On **23 May 2018** Côte d'Ivoire announced a new, revised policy for the conservation, rehabilitation and expansion of forests (PREF). Compared to the previous policy, it provides for an improvement in forest governance, greater protection of the remaining *Forêts Classées* and the regeneration of degraded forest areas. The Ivorian government hopes that this will increase national forest stands to 20% of the total area by 2030⁴ The new forest policy aims to achieve deforestation-free agriculture through forest management and carbon storage as a contribution to the Paris Convention of 2015.

The budget needed to implement this policy is estimated at FCFA 616 billion (approx. EUR 939 million) for a total of 10 years.

The new policy provides for a total of six strategic fields of action: Revision of the legal framework, strict protection of the *Forêts Classées*, which have a forest cover of more than 75% of their total area, conversion of the *Forêts Classées* with a forest cover of more than 75% of their total area into agroforestry; promotion of agroforestry in rural areas and introduction of so-called *Forêts Utiles*.

² In English: classified forests; they represent a sublevel of national parks.

³ The national parks in Côte d'Ivoire lost on average only 30% of their forest cover during the same period. The national parks are managed by the Ivorian Parks and Reserves Authority (OIPR) and are under the authority of the Ministry of Environment, Sanitation and Sustainable Development (MINESUDD) and not the Ministry of Water, Forests and Forests (MINEF).

⁴ In 2015 the proportion of forest areas was only 11%.

The new forest policy contains a **classification in four categories of a total of 234 *Forêts Classées***:

I. category: forests with a rate of degradation of less than 25% and reforestation areas in the dense evergreen and semi-deciduous humid tropical forest zone

- 27 forests - of which 5 natural forests and 22 afforested areas
- 380,174 hectares (9% of the total area of the *Forêts Classées*)
- Strict protection: No agriculture or human presence allowed
- Resettlement and social measures for the affected population, as well as awareness-raising measures and education of the population are planned
- Degraded areas will be restored

II. category: forests with a degradation rate between 25% and 75% in the dense evergreen and semi-deciduous humid tropical forest zone

- 19 *Forêts Classées*
- 366,318 hectares (9% of the total area of the *Forêts Classées*)
- People living in the forests have to leave at a date not yet specified; agricultural activities are stopped; social programmes for the affected people are planned
- Within the framework of traditional concessions for sustainable forest management exist permits for sustainable use of forests
- In order to implement reforestation programmes, a framework for negotiations on *Public-Private Partnerships* (PPP) should be created.

III. category: forests with a degradation rate of more than 75% in the dense evergreen and semi-deciduous humid tropical forest zone (in the cocoa growing area)

- 76 *Forêts Classées*
- 1,825,528 hectares (44% of the total area of the *Forêts Classées*). The areas degraded by agriculture are estimated at 1,000,000 hectares in this category, of which 750,000 ha are cocoa-cultivated
- Integrated management plans and environmentally friendly agricultural activities are to be elaborated and monitored under strict conditions (shade-grown cocoa in particular), other supervised economic activities (grazing, ecotourism) and human settlements are allowed.
- A framework should be developed for negotiating Sustainable Development Agroforestry Concession Agreements (CAFAD); the management of these areas should take into account the protection of residual forest patches, existing reforestation areas and the restoration of degraded land; resettlement areas should benefit from agroforestry systems, including agricultural intensification; a social infrastructure should be developed in resettlement areas.

IV. category: Forests in dry forest zones and in the savannah

- 112 *Forêts Classées*
- 1,617,082 hectares (39% of the total area of the *Forêts Classées*)
- These forests usually cover large areas and are earmarked for reforestation programmes in cooperation with the private sector and for hunting and agro-sylvo-pastoral resource management projects.

In **June 2018**, the Ministry of Forestry initiated the preparation of the **National Forest Strategy**, which was presented a few months later. On **23 July 2019**, the **new Forest Act** was adopted, which provides the general framework for the new policy. Further legal bodies are to follow in the coming months.

Furthermore, a restructuring of the Ministry of Forestry MINEF, the establishment of a secretariat for the improvement of forest governance and the development of a monitoring system are planned. A forest fund for the conservation, restoration and expansion of forests is to be established to complement the Cocoa & Forests Initiative Fund.

The new strategy addresses the need to ensure that the reforested areas have an economic value by involving both public and private partners in the financing of reforestation. In addition, the strategy

suggests that agro-industrial plantations would also absorb carbon and contribute to the third objective in order to achieve the objectives defined in the Paris Convention.

Forest and tree ownership under the new forestry law

The law distinguishes between legal persons under private law and natural persons. The former own communal forests (*forêts communautaires*), sacred forests (*forêts sacrées*)⁵ and all forests on duly acquired land. Natural persons own natural forests on land plots acquired by the right of ownership or customary law under land law and forest plantations established on land plots on which the persons have rights of ownership, customary rights or leases. If a person does not own the land plot, he or she owns only the trees if they were planted under an agreement with the owner. Sacred forests are protected by the Forestry Administration in accordance with the rights, customs and traditions of rural communities under the conditions established by decree of the Council of Ministers.

The use and maintenance of these forests will be regulated in the future by management plans approved by the Forest Service.

Voluntary Partnership Agreement in Côte d'Ivoire

In 2003, the European Union's Action Plan on Forest Law Enforcement, Governance and Trade (FLEGT AP) launched an EU-wide initiative to combat illegal logging. The initiative is implemented through the negotiation of voluntary partnership agreements (VPAs) and with the participation of the EU, producer countries, and state, private sector and civil society actors. Germany is one of the most important supporters of the FLEGT Action Plan and the BMZ is actively involved in shaping FLEGT-relevant processes and offers policy advice at multilateral level.

Côte d'Ivoire is one of the focus countries of BMZ support for the FLEGT AP. A number of new initiatives have been launched, including new legislation in the forestry sector, a new national strategy for the conservation, restoration and expansion of forest areas and the REDD+ strategy. (*Reducing Emissions from Deforestation and Degradation*). Finally, a new VPA Roadmap was agreed in December 2019 and is expected to be finalised with negotiations in October 2022.

The aim of German Development Cooperation is to support the MINEF in the VPA process by providing technical advice on the implementation of the VPA negotiation roadmap and the National Programme for the Improvement of Forest Governance (PNAGF-CI). As a result, an important contribution has already been made to the signing of the VPA and reform processes towards sustainable and legal agriculture have been initiated.

The REDD+ strategy in Côte d'Ivoire^{xv}

The REDD+ process⁶ was launched in early 2015. At national level, it is managed by the permanent REDD+ Executive Secretariat, which is accompanied by an interministerial technical committee (CT-REDD+).

The national REDD+ strategy was published in 2017. The aim is to prevent the loss of natural forests and restore the country's forest area to account 20% by 2030. The management of the forests should be sustainable. At the same time, poverty reduction and sustainable development of local communities within the framework of social, cultural and gender justice should be ensured.

REDD+ identifies eight strategic options to decrease emissions due to deforestation and degradation of forests, increase forest carbon stock, conserve carbon stocks, and achieve a sustainable forest management.

1. Deforestation-free agriculture within the framework of public-private partnerships (PPPs)

⁵ untouched forests

⁹ "Reducing Emissions from Deforestation and forest Degradation"

2. Sustainable energy based on the use of agricultural biomass
3. Sustainable forestry, conservation of protected areas and sacred forests
4. Afforestation, restoration of forests and degraded areas
5. Environmentally friendly mining
6. Payment incentives for environmental services
7. Land use planning and land security, and
8. National planning and structural reforms for the transition to a green economy.

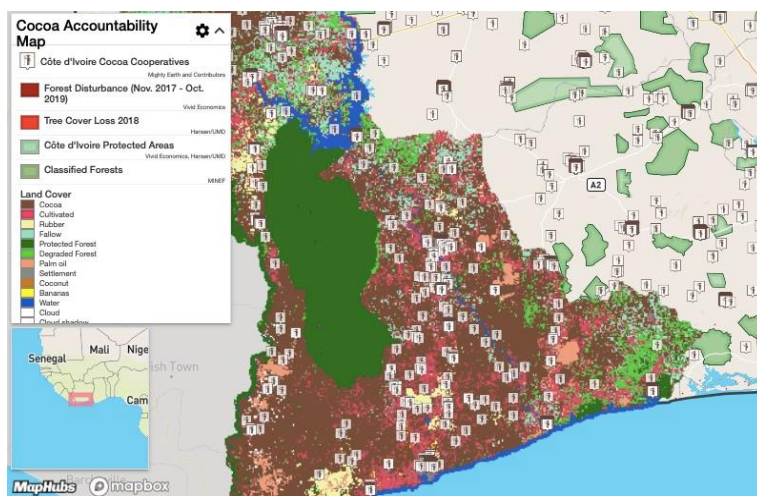
With regard to cocoa production, the national REDD+ strategy aims to reduce deforestation caused by cocoa cultivation by at least 80% by 2030. This represents a reduction of 44,000 hectares of deforestation per year. The national REDD+ strategy lists four measures that are relevant to the cocoa sector:

- Decoupling cocoa cultivation and deforestation in the *Domaine Rural*, including promotion of agroforestry systems and strengthening of traceability
- Contribution to the sustainable management of *Forêts Classées*, parks and reserves and restoration of degraded forests in the cocoa production zone, including contractualisation of the private sector in *Forêts Classées*
- Mobilisation of the private cocoa sector through the sustainability program already in progress
- Creation of a working group on climate change within the Public-Private Partnership Platform

The national REDD+ strategy in French can be downloaded on www.unredd.net/documents

The "Cacao Accountability Map" by Mighty Earth

Due to the lack of a common, satellite-based and publicly accessible monitoring system, Mighty Earth published the Cocoa Accountability Map in January 2020, an interactive map with an integrated database that currently covers almost 5,000 cooperatives in Côte d'Ivoire. The integrated alarm system warns of deforestation risks and updates itself automatically every two weeks. The map also allows a better differentiation between sun-rich cocoa cultivation in monocultures and shady agroforestry systems.



The Cocoa & Forests Initiative (CFI) in Côte d'Ivoire^{xvi}

On 16 March 2017, the Prince Charles' Unit for Sustainable Development, the World Cocoa Foundation (WCF), the Sustainable Trade Initiative (IDH) and twelve of the most important companies in the cocoa and chocolate industry agreed on a Memorandum of Understanding^{xvii}. They pledged to work in partnership with other organizations in order to end deforestation and forest degradation in the cocoa supply chain, starting with Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana. Subsequently, the participating companies developed a project framework (CWC) for joint actions to combat deforestation. Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana agreed on a common approach on 31 October 2017.

The resulting Cocoa & Forests Initiative (CFI) is a joint action plan of the major cocoa producing countries, Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana, and 35 cocoa and chocolate companies.⁷ Colombia joined the initiative in 2018. The main contents of this agreement are:

- Prohibition and prevention of activities in the cocoa sector that lead to deforestation or degradation of forest stands.
- Respect for the rights of cocoa farmers by identifying and mitigating social risks and taking precautions to minimize negative social and economic impacts.
- Effective restoration and long-term conservation of national parks, reserves and *Forêts Classées*.
- Definition of verifiable activities and objectives.
- Implementation of agreed activities in a broader context of a landscape approach.
- Joint implementation of the framework and mobilisation of the necessary funding, resources and technical support.
- Monitoring and reporting.

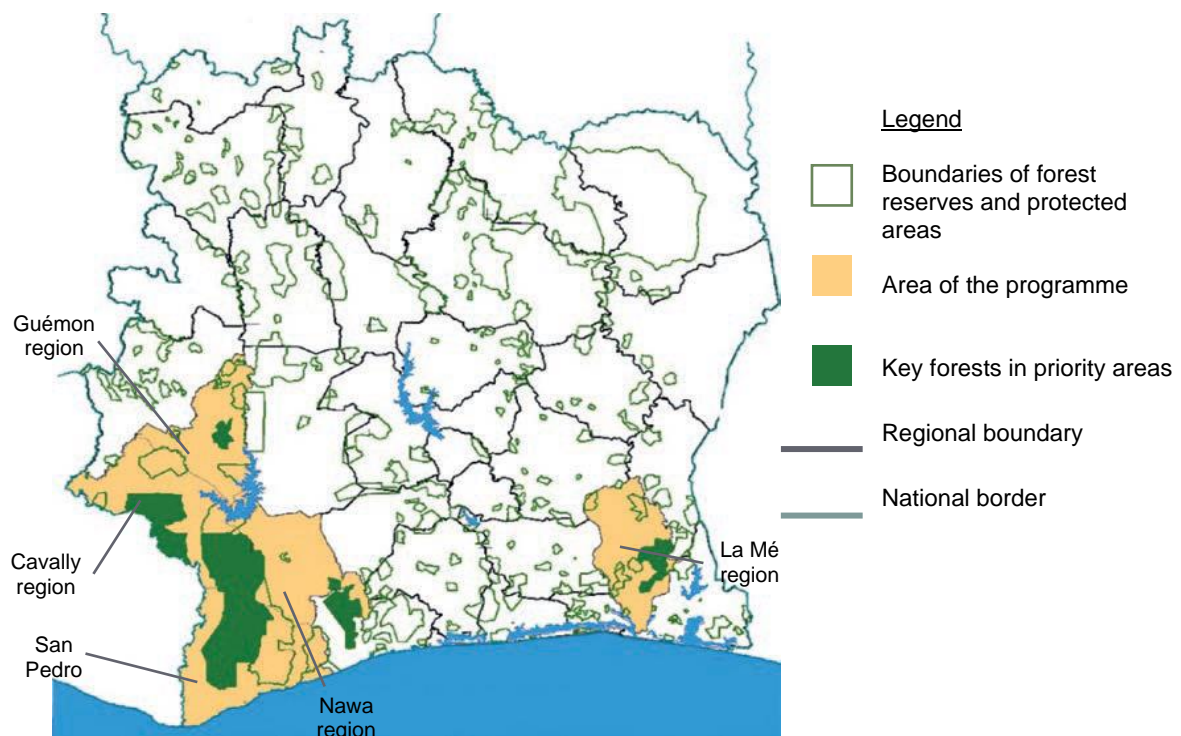


Figure 2: Map of priority regions in Côte d'Ivoire for the Cocoa & Forests Initiative start-up phase. Source: Cocoa & Forests Initiative. (2018). Implementation Plan for the Joint Framework of Action 2018-2020. Republic of Côte d'Ivoire.

⁷ The members of the CFI are: Barry Callebaut, Blommer Chocolate Company (1), Cargill Cocoa and Chocolate, Cémoi (1), Chocolats Halba (2), Cocomanect, Cococo Chocolatiers, ECOM Group (2), Fazer, Ferrero, GCB Cocoa (1), General Mills Inc., Godiva Chocolatier Inc., Guittard Chocolate Company, The Hershey Company, Indcresa (2), Kuapa Kokoo (2), Lindt & Sprüngli Group, Marks & Spencer Food, Mars Wrigley, Meiji Co. Ltd. (2), Mondelēz, Nestlé, Olam Cocoa, PBC Limited (2), Sainsbury's, SIAT (1), Sucden, Tesco, Toms Group (2), Touton, Unilever (1), UPL (1), Valrhona, J.H. Whittaker & Sons (2). (1) Côte d'Ivoire only and (2) Ghana only

The implementation of the CFI in Côte d'Ivoire is coordinated by a steering committee, a technical committee and six working groups.

In Côte d'Ivoire, the initiative aims to support the government in the conservation and restoration of forests in two phases: The **start-up phase (2018-2020)** and the **expansion phase**, which is expected to last 10 years (**2021-2030**). The start-up phase provides the opportunity to test key interventions such as public policy, cocoa agroforestry, forest restoration and traceability in the form of pilot operations. The activities within this start-up phase will focus on specific "**critical**" regions - **Guémon, Cavally, Nawa, San-Pedro and La Mé** - thereby covering the largest remaining forests.

In 2018, the *Implementation Plan for the Joint Framework of Action 2018-2020* for Côte d'Ivoire and the *Ghana Cocoa & Forests Initiative National Implementation Plan 2018-2020* were published. Côte d'Ivoire's *National Strategy for the Preservation, Rehabilitation, and Extension of Forests (PREF)* conforms to the implementation plan. The implementation plans can be downloaded in English and French on the [website of IDH](#).

The objectives for the start-up phase in Côte d'Ivoire are:

- Publishing and enforcing the new Forest code and its decrees for implementation, assuring no further deforestation and forest degradation by the end of 2018
- Creating the National Forest Preservation and Rehabilitation Fund by June 2019 for the co-financing of the actions in 2018-2020 and the national roll-out beyond 2020
- Develop and implement the national cocoa traceability system by the end of 2019
- Developing a Monitoring & Evaluation mechanism to track progress, help steer actions and transparently report on these and be accountable, by the end of 2018
- Implement pilot projects in the identified priority regions where all the actions related to protection, production and inclusion will start in October 2018 to test the new policies and actions using a landscape-level approach, and inform the overall design of the program for 2021-2030
- Development of agroforestry systems and the promotion of sustainable and diversified sources of income for cocoa farmers, by the end of 2020
- Empowerment of farmers and local communities to support the inclusive implementation of the Initiative
- Evaluating the start-up phase and developing the plan for the roll-out phase 2021-2030

All stakeholders will be sensitized and mobilized through concrete activities to subsequently contribute to the national goal to end deforestation and restore 20% of forest cover in Côte d'Ivoire by 2030. The Implementation Plan will serve as a basis for companies to develop their individual action plans. In March 2019, the first companies submitted preliminary action plans for the period 2018-2022. A summary of these plans can be found on the [website of the WCF](#).

The first progress report of the Cocoa and Forests Initiative (CFI)

The first private sector progress report for the years 2018-2019 was published in May 2020.

Over the past two years, companies have invested more in improving the traceability of their supply chains in the cocoa sector. Mapping will ensure that the cocoa's path from plantation to the first point of sale is 100% traceable. In Côte d'Ivoire, 492,000 cocoa farms have been mapped in this way by companies over the past two years.

In addition to the large-scale mapping, the Cocoa and Forests Initiative has planted more than 2 million multi-purpose trees that enable dynamic agroforestry systems. Agroforestry systems are landscape use systems in which cocoa trees are combined with other types of trees in a designated area. In addition to preserving ecosystems, agroforestry systems also provide economic benefits and the shade necessary for sustainable cocoa production. In Côte d'Ivoire, companies are working with government, government partners and technical experts to develop guidelines for scalable models of cocoa agroforestry systems. In addition to investments in agroforestry forests, there is also close cooperation between the various stakeholders to enable reforestation. In Côte d'Ivoire, a total of 94,000 native trees have been planted for these purposes.

Companies are also investing in the payment of environmental services (PES) to cocoa farmers under the national REDD+ programme. Innovative financing models create incentives for cocoa farmers to protect and restore forest areas. In the reporting years 2018-2019, companies have concluded such PES contracts with 1340 cocoa farmers. In addition, sustainable landscape concepts are being implemented with the REDD+ Secretariat in the priority areas of the Cocoa and Forests Initiative: Cavally, Mé, Nawa and San Pedro.

Within the CFI framework, the government and the private sector are also focusing on increasing the long-term productivity of cocoa in order to "grow more cocoa on less land". This is intended to improve the profitability of farming and reduce the incentive to use new forest areas for cocoa farming. Over the past two years, companies have trained nearly one million cocoa farmers in Good Agriculture Practices (GAPs), crop management and soil fertility to professionalize cocoa farming and improve farm productivity and profitability.

In addition to accelerating sustainable production, the companies promote income diversification for cocoa farmers. They work with 190,100 cocoa farmers in Côte d'Ivoire to promote crop diversification, climate-friendly best practices and agroforestry systems through training and workshops.

ⁱ Cuypers, D., Geerken, T., Gorissen, L., Lust, A., Peters, G., Karstensen, J., Prieler, S., Fisher, G., Hizsnyik, E., & Van Velthuizen, H. (2013). *The impact of EU consumption on deforestation: Comprehensive analysis of the impact of EU consumption on deforestation*. Doi: 10.2779/822269

Gockowski, J., & Sonwa, D. (2011). *Cocoa intensification scenarios and their predicted impact on CO2 emissions, biodiversity conservation, and rural livelihoods in the Guinea rain forest of West Africa*. *Environmental management*, 48(2), 307-321. Doi: 10.1007/s00267-010-9602-3

ⁱⁱ Cuypers, D., Geerken, T., Gorissen, L., Lust, A., Peters, G., Karstensen, J., Prieler, S., Fisher, G., Hizsnyik, E., & Van Velthuizen, H. (2013). *The impact of EU consumption on deforestation: Comprehensive analysis of the impact of EU consumption on deforestation*. Doi: 10.2779/822269

ⁱⁱⁱ Gockowski, J., & Sonwa, D. (2011). *Cocoa intensification scenarios and their predicted impact on CO2 emissions, biodiversity conservation, and rural livelihoods in the Guinea rain forest of West Africa*. *Environmental management*, 48(2), 307-321. Doi: 10.1007/s00267-010-9602-3

Forest Carbon Partnership Facility (FCPF) & The United Nations Collaborative Programme on Reducing Emissions from Deforestation and Forest Degradation in Developing Countries (UN-REDD). (2014). *Readiness Preparation Proposal (R-PP)*. Republic of Côte d'Ivoire. <https://www.forestcarbonpartnership.org/c%C3%B4te-divoire>

^{iv} *Presentation Jérôme Ake, MINEF, La politique ivoirienne en matière de lutte contre la déforestation, während der Forums-Veranstaltung im Rahmen der ANUGA 2019 gehalten*, 10. 2019. https://www.kakaoforum.de/fileadmin/Redaktion/Workshops_und_Veranstaltungen/ANUGA/2019/Anuga_2019_Praesentati_on_Ake.pdf

^v Läderach, P., Martinez-Valle, A., Schroth, G., & Castro, N. (2013). *Predicting the future climatic suitability for cocoa farming of the world's leading producer countries, Ghana and Côte d'Ivoire*. *Climatic change*, 119(3-4), 841-854. Doi: 10.1007/s1058401307748

Forest Carbon Partnership Facility (FCPF) & The United Nations Collaborative Programme on Reducing Emissions from Deforestation and Forest Degradation in Developing Countries (UN-REDD). (2014). *Readiness Preparation Proposal (R-PP)*. Republic of Côte d'Ivoire. <https://www.forestcarbonpartnership.org/c%C3%B4te-divoire>

-
- vi Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO) & Secrétariat Exécutif Permanent REDD+. (2017). Données forestière de base pour la REDD+ en Côte d'Ivoire. Cartographie de la dynamique forestière de 1986 à 2015. Forest Carbon Partnership Facility (FCPF) & The United Nations Collaborative Programme on Reducing Emissions from Deforestation and Forest Degradation in Developing Countries (UN-REDD). (2014). Readiness Preparation Proposal (R-PP). Republic of Côte d'Ivoire. <https://www.forestcarbonpartnership.org/c%C3%B4te-divoire>
- Ministère des Eaux et Forêts. (2018). Stratégie Nationale de Préservation, de Réhabilitation et d'Extension des Forêts.
- vii Verne, Renzo (2020): We can tackle cocoa-led deforestation in West Africa. <https://www.confectionerynews.com/Article/2020/03/13/We-can-tackle-cocoa-led-deforestation-in-West-Africa>
- viii BNEDT. Projet de surveillance spatiale des terres de la Côte d'Ivoire - Occupation du sol (2018).
- ix Myers, N., Mittermeier, R.A., Mittermeier, C.G., da Fonseca, G.A., & Kent, J. (2000). Biodiversity hotspots for conservation priorities. *Nature* 403: 853-58.
- United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP). (2015). Côte d'Ivoire: Post-Conflict Environmental Assessment. <https://www.unenvironment.org/resources/assessment/cote-divoire-post-conflict-environmental-assessment>
- x Ministère des Eaux et Forêts. (2018). Stratégie Nationale de Préservation, de Réhabilitation et d'Extension des Forêts. United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP). (2015). Côte d'Ivoire: Post-Conflict Environmental Assessment. <https://www.unenvironment.org/resources/assessment/cote-divoire-post-conflict-environmental-assessment>
- xi Global Forest Watch. (26.04.2019). "The World Lost a Belgium-sized Area of Primary Rainforests Last Year". Letzter Aufruf: 30.04.2019. <https://blog.globalforestwatch.org/data-and-research/world-lost-belgium-sized-area-of-primary-rainforests-last-year>
- xii United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP). (2015). Côte d'Ivoire: Post-Conflict Environmental Assessment. <https://www.unenvironment.org/resources/assessment/cote-divoire-post-conflict-environmental-assessment>
- xiii Higonnet, E., Bellantonio, M., Hurowitz, G. (2017). Chocolate's Dark Secret: How the Cocoa Industry Destroys National Parks. http://www.mightyearth.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/09/chocolates_dark_secret_english_web.pdf
- Karsenty, A., Beligné, V., Koné, I., & Ouattara, K. (2015). Étude de faisabilité pour la mise en œuvre d'un système national de paiements pour services environnementaux (PSE) en Côte d'Ivoire. <http://www.euredd.efi.int/documents/15552/254231/PES+feasibility+study.pdf/bd9733fe-5d07-4043-978f-151b6e81bccb>
- xiv Presentation Jérôme Ake, MINEF, La politique ivoirienne en matière de lutte contre la déforestation, während der Forums-Veranstaltung im Rahmen der ANUGA 2019 gehalten, 10. 2019. https://www.kakaoforum.de/fileadmin/Redaktion/Workshops_und_Veranstaltungen/ANUGA/2019/Anuga_2019_Praesentation_Ake.pdf
- xv Secrétariat Exécutif Permanent REDD+. (2017). Stratégie Nationale REDD+ de la Côte d'Ivoire. <https://www.unredd.net/documents/un-redd-partner-countries-181/16601-la-strategie-nationale-redd-cote-divoire-full-report.html>
- xvi Cocoa & Forests Initiative (CFI). (2018). Joint Framework for Action Côte d'Ivoire. https://www.worldcocoafoundation.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/08/CDI-Framework_English-091818.pdf
- Cocoa & Forests Initiative (CFI). (2018). Joint Framework for Action Ghana. <https://www.worldcocoafoundation.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/08/Ghana-Framework-Final-091818.pdf>
- Sustainable Trade Initiative (IDH). (n.d.). Cocoa & Forests Initiative. Letzter Aufruf: 06.12.2018. <https://www.idhsustainabletrade.com/initiative/cocoa-and-forests/>
- World Cocoa Foundation (WCF). (n.d.). Cocoa & Forests Initiative. Letzter Aufruf: 06.12.2018. <https://www.worldcocoafoundation.org/initiative/cocoa-forests-initiative/>
- xvii Cocoa & Forests Initiative (CFI). (2017). Collective Statement of Intent. https://www.idhsustainabletrade.com/uploaded/2017/03/StatementOfIntent_Eng.pdf