

Towards a Sweeter Future: Analysis and
Recommendations concerning Child Labor in the Cocoa
Industry in Cote d'Ivoire and Ghana during the
COVID-19 Pandemic

Sonia Schmidt and Kaila Uyeda

July 9, 2020

Youth Researchers Program, UNICEF Evaluation Office

I. Introduction, Purpose and Significance

Since 2010, the cocoa industry in Cote d'Ivoire and Ghana has been booming. According to the U.S. Department of Labor's Bureau of International Labor Affairs, 60% of the world's cocoa is produced from those two countries alone. Between 2010 and 2015, the industry saw a 30% increase in production, and there is predicted to be another 30% increase in global demand in the next five years.¹ However, as production increases, so does the need for labor. Rural farming families in Cote d'Ivoire and Ghana do not have the means to hire outside help, so they often resort to the exploitation of child labor in order to keep up production. Right now, there are over 2 million child laborers involved in cocoa production.²

In the 2020 worldwide COVID-19 pandemic, child laborers are an especially vulnerable population because their parents' livelihoods, health, and income are threatened by worldwide supply chain issues. A recent survey of cacao-growing households in Côte d'Ivoire found that there was a 21.5% increase in number of children involved in hazardous child labor between March of 2020 and May of 2020.³ This statistic represents the possibility of a larger trend of increased child labor due to lockdowns and economic insecurity as a result of COVID-19. It is therefore necessary to examine the current status of child labor in Cote d'Ivoire and Ghana in order to propose solutions which may help prevent future child labor and support current child laborers, offering them a path away from labor and towards an education. These solutions will focus on reducing poverty and increasing education, which are two main causes of child labor. The report will cover the history of child labor in Cote d'Ivoire and Ghana, and highlight steps already taken by the countries that can be expanded and built upon. Health, economic, and social impacts of COVID-19 on the two countries must also be taken into consideration when creating a response plan. Finally, a set of four recommendations will be proposed, contingent on their simultaneous implementation.

II. Causes of Child Labor

The root of child labor is mainly attributed to poverty, but other factors including local customs, lack of schooling, and toxic family relationships also contribute to use of child labor.⁴ Ultimately, impoverished farmers are unable to make a sufficient profit, so they turn to child

¹U.S. Department of Labor. "Child Labor in the Production of Cocoa." Bureau of International Labor Affairs. Accessed July 1, 2020. <https://www.dol.gov/agencies/ilab/our-work/child-forced-labor-trafficking/child-labor-cocoa>.

² Ibid.

³ International Cocoa Initiative. "ICI finds higher numbers of children in hazardous child labor during the COVID-19 lockdown in Côte d'Ivoire." ICI. Accessed July 1, 2020.

<https://cocoainitiative.org/news-media-post/ici-finds-higher-numbers-of-children-in-hazardous-child-labour-during-the-covid-19-lockdown-in-cote-ivoire/>

⁴ Balch, Oliver. "Child Labour: The Dark Truth behind Chocolate Production." Raconteur. Last modified June 20, 2018. Accessed June 22, 2020. <https://www.raconteur.net/business-innovation/child-labour-cocoa-production>

labor to decrease the cost of production, as children are often paid little or no salary. Not only does the supply chain severely limit their profits, but farmers also lack the resources that allow them to increase their plot size, learn new agricultural methods, and access new plants.⁵

Research has suggested a link between education and child labor.⁶ Therefore, this report will also address access to education and its contribution to child labor, as families often choose between having their children work or sending them to school. There are a variety of factors that cause parents to prioritize child labor over schooling including inadequate facilities, added expenses such as uniforms and textbooks, and a perception of education as “irrelevant to local needs and conditions.”⁷ The ILO-IPEC (International Labor Organization and Institute for Professional Excellence in Coaching) states that education assists with the rehabilitation of child laborers and prevents at-risk children from becoming child laborers. Access to a basic education leads to higher paying jobs, active community members, and provides more skills for workers.⁸ In order to prevent an uptick in child labor following the pandemic, issues with poverty and the education system in Cote d’Ivoire and Ghana must be considered.

III. History of Child Labor in the Cacao Industry of Côte d’Ivoire and Ghana

The Cacao Industry represents 60% of the revenue of Côte d’Ivoire, and with below-poverty wages and high demand, many farms turn to child labor.⁹ The country also produces 40% of the world’s supply of cacao, with the majority of the cacao farms in the south-west of the country.¹⁰ Since most of the cacao farms in Côte d’Ivoire and Ghana are small and local, many children are expected to help their parents on the farms to learn how to eventually farm themselves.¹¹ This, in turn, limits their access to education, with some children being overtly disallowed an education by their parents.¹² The average daily income for a Cacao farmer in Côte d’Ivoire is around US \$0.50 - \$1.25, the lowest of all producing countries. This poverty affects children in cacao-growing communities by limiting their access to school materials, health care, and

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ International Labour Organization. "Causes." International Labour Organization. Accessed June 22, 2020. https://www.ilo.org/moscow/areas-of-work/child-labour/WCMS_248984/lang--en/index.htm.

⁸ International Labour Organization. Rooting Out Child Labour From Cocoa Farms. 2007. Accessed June 7, 2020. <http://www.ilo.org/ipecinfo/product/download.do?type=document&id=6448>.

⁹ Food Empowerment Project. "Child Labor and Slavery in the Chocolate Industry." Food Empowerment Project. Accessed June 7, 2020. <https://foodispower.org/human-labor-slavery/slavery-chocolate/>.

¹⁰ Vigneault-Dubois, Louis. "From Cocoa Field to Classroom, in Cote d'Ivoire." UNICEF. Last modified December 26, 2014. Accessed June 10, 2020. https://www.unicef.org/protection/cotedivoire_78210.html.

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Ibid.

nutritious food.¹³ Around 2000 of the estimated 2.1 million¹⁴ child laborers in the cacao industry in Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana are considered forced child laborers, not working on family farms but forcibly made to work for others, sometimes completely separated from their families.¹⁵

Compared to the cocoa industry in Côte d'Ivoire, the cocoa industry in Ghana contributes to 25% of the world's global supply and contributes to 7% of Ghana's GDP.¹⁶ However, despite these considerable additions to Ghana's economy, the small farmers that produce cocoa are often excluded from reaping the monetary benefits, due to the involvement of middlemen in the sale of cocoa to large international cocoa brands. Middlemen are contracted by exporters to buy cocoa from farmers at low prices. Then the exporters sell the cocoa to large cocoa manufacturing companies like Nestle and Callebaut. As a result, after the companies, exporters, and middlemen are paid, there is very little profit for the farmers to make.¹⁷ The small farms owned by Ghanaian farmers support a below-poverty income of about \$983-\$2672 USD. Due to their low wages and need for cheap labor, many farmers turn to children to work on the cocoa farm with them.¹⁸ Child labor in cocoa production has increased in the past ten years from 31% in 2008-2009 to 44% in 2018-2019 for kids between the ages of 5 and 17.¹⁹

¹³Rutgers, Catherine, ed. *Children's Rights in the Cocoa-Growing Communities of Cote d'Ivoire*. November 2018. Accessed June 7, 2020. <https://www.unicef.org/csr/css/synthesis-report-children-rights-cocoa-communities-en.pdf>.

Hereafter referred to as "Rutgers, Child Rights"

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵Aboa, Ange, Aaron Ross, and Maytaal Angel. "Exclusive: U.S. Investigates Child Labor in Ivory Coast Cocoa Supply Chains." Reuters. Last modified March 30, 2020. Accessed June 7, 2020. <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-cocoa-ivorycoast-childlabor-exclusive/exclusive-u-s-investigates-child-labor-in-ivory-coast-cocoa-supply-chains-idUSKBN21H0QW>.

¹⁶Bigg, Matthew Mpoke. "Incoming Ghana Government Gives Cocoa Sector Chance of Fresh Start." Reuters. Last modified December 16, 2016. Accessed June 7, 2020. <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-ghana-cocoa/incoming-ghana-government-gives-cocoa-sector-chance-of-fresh-start-idUSKBN1481Q5#:~:text=Ghana%20accounts%20for%20up%20to,of%20the%20country's%20export%20earnings>.

¹⁷Schrage, Elliot J., and Anthony P. Ewing. "The Cocoa Industry and Child Labour." *The Journal of Corporate Citizenship*, 18th ser., 2005, 99-112. JSTOR.

Hereafter referred to as "Schrage, Ewing "The Cocoa Industry and Child Labour""

¹⁸International Cocoa Initiative Foundation. "Cocoa Farmers in Ghana Experience Poverty and Economic Vulnerability." Cocoa Initiative. Last modified December 1, 2017. Accessed June 7, 2020. <https://cocoainitiative.org/news-media-post/cocoa-farmers-in-ghana-experience-poverty-and-economic-vulnerability/#:~:text=Cocoa%20farmers%20earn%20a%20per,of%20cocoa%20farmers%20household%20income>.

¹⁹Myers, Anthony. "Fairtrade CEOs Call on G20 Group to Support Cocoa Producers in Coronavirus Fight." *Confectionerynews.com*. Last modified April 21, 2020. Accessed June 10, 2020. <https://www.confectionerynews.com/Article/2020/04/21/Fairtrade-CEOs-call-on-G20-Group-to-support-cocoa-producers-in-coronavirus-fight>.



Figure 1. Cocoa supply chain, where payment to traders, exporters, and farmers is passed down through chocolate manufacturers.²⁰

Additionally, child labor also limits children's access to a quality education because their families cannot afford to send them to school or their family anticipates making more money from child labor.²¹ In Ghana, only 73% of children are enrolled in secondary education.²² The rate of children between 3 and 14 who are involved in child labor rather than in school is 31.5%, with the agricultural industry representing a particularly problematic source of child labor.²³ Children involved in the cacao industry may be used in "burning and clearing fields, cutting down trees, spraying pesticides, harvesting, drying and fermenting cacao beans, using sharp tools to break pods, and transporting heavy loads of pods and water."²⁴ Chainsaws are used to clear forests, and machetes to cut down pods, which are particularly dangerous jobs on these farms.²⁵

Most child laborers in Ghana and Côte d'Ivoire are between 12 and 16, but there are reports of children as young as 5. Around 40% of the children working on these farms are female.²⁶ Some of the children involved are trafficked from nearby Burkina Faso and Mali. Some children sleep

²⁰Cocoa Supply Chain Flow Chart. Image. Accessed July 1, 2020.

<https://taylahrichchocolate.weebly.com/uploads/1/8/5/4/18548002/5218242.jpg?398>.

²¹Ravetti, Chiara. The Effects of Income Changes on Child Labour. April 2020. Accessed June 7, 2020.

https://cocoainitiative.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/04/ICI_Lit_Review_Income_ChildLabour_15Apr2020.pdf.

²²Kamran, Mehwish, and Yigu Liang. "Education in Ghana." Edited by Stefen Trines. World Education News and Reviews. Last modified April 16, 2019. Accessed June 7, 2020. <https://wenr.wes.org/2019/04/education-in-ghana>.

²³Department of Labor Bureau of International Labor Affairs. Child Labor and Forced Labor Reports. 2018. Accessed June 7, 2020.

<https://www.dol.gov/agencies/ilab/resources/reports/child-labor/cote-divoire>.

²⁴Ibid.

²⁵Food Empowerment Project. "Child Labor and Slavery in the Chocolate Industry." Food Empowerment Project. Accessed June 7, 2020.

<https://foodispower.org/human-labor-slavery/slavery-chocolate/>.

²⁶Ibid.

on the farms, with no access to schools, and little access to sanitary water sources.²⁷ There have also been reports of violent treatment of children for working too slowly or trying to run away from the farms.²⁸

In the past four years, Côte d'Ivoire has been internationally recognized for its sustained efforts to end child labor in international documents. The country's efforts include specific steps towards the elimination of the "worst forms of child labor," which is defined as:²⁹

- "all forms of slavery or practices similar to slavery, such as the sale and trafficking of children, debt bondage and serfdom and forced or compulsory labour, including forced or compulsory recruitment of children for use in armed conflict;
- the use, procuring or offering of a child for prostitution, for the production of pornography or for pornographic performances;
- the use, procuring or offering of a child for illicit activities, in particular for the production and trafficking of drugs as defined in the relevant international treaties;
- work which, by its nature or the circumstances in which it is carried out, is likely to harm the health, safety or morals of children"³⁰

IV. Steps taken toward eliminating child labor in Ghana and Côte d'Ivoire

Several different actions have been taken to limit child labor in the Cocoa Industry. In 2001, the Harkin-Engel Protocol was proposed and adopted by the Bureau of International Labor Affairs and the Child Labor Cocoa Coordinating Groups (CLCCG), with the ultimate goal of reducing the worst forms of child labor by 70% by 2020. The Protocol also outlined a framework for prevention and remediation of child labor in Ghana and Cote d'Ivoire. The framework for the Harkin-Engel Protocol highlights the various reformers of child labor within the cocoa industry, emphasizing that there are multiple areas of the supply chain that must be addressed. This includes the involvement of key stakeholders and financial partners (cocoa growing communities, governments, foreign donors, and implementing organizations like the ILO-IPEC and World Cocoa Foundation) that make up the CLCCG. The CLCCG focused on the production side of the supply chain by supporting remediation programs, education, and vocational training

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ "Combating Child Labour in Cote d'Ivoire: New Challenges Integrated Into the 2019-2021 National Action Plan." Cocoa Initiative. Last modified June 27, 2019. Accessed June 7, 2020.

<https://cocoainitiative.org/news-media-post/combating-child-labour-in-cote-divoire-new-challenges-integrated-into-the-2019-2021-national-action-plan/>.

³⁰ Rutgers "Children's Rights"

for children. The manufacturing and corporate side of the supply chain was addressed by the CLCCG with stricter regulations and monitoring.³¹ Unfortunately, given the increase in child labor between 2008 and 2018, it is unlikely that the goal will be achieved. This shortcoming has been partially attributed to the insufficient range of the initiative, where less than 20% of two million children were impacted.³²

In 2010, the International Labor Rights Fund (ILRF) criticized the ambiguous certification programs that cocoa companies use, stating differences between product and process certification. This highlights the insufficient data collection and Child Labor Monitoring Systems used by Ghana's and Cote d'Ivoire's governments that are used in the company certification process. Despite having reliable certification organizations (Rainforest Alliance, Fair Trade, COCOA) that follow ILO standards, companies solely focus on the prevention of child labor and are unable to address the "rescue, removal, and rehabilitation of children in the sector."³³ Due to lack of standardized regulation of the cocoa supply chain by governments, industry, and certifying organizations, it remains easy for companies to continue to exploit child labor despite the implementation of the Harkin-Engel Framework and legislation to prevent child labor.

A. Specific actions taken by Côte d'Ivoire

A 2015 law enacted in Côte d'Ivoire made attending school mandatory for children between the ages of 6-16, and the government accordingly increased the budget for education.³⁴ There are shortcomings to this policy, particularly in the rural communities which farm cacao, specifically involving learning outcomes. Outside studies of the program found that the significant disparity between the success of the program in rural versus urban communities was evident in the statistic that just 14% of students living in rural communities had sufficient ability in math and language.³⁵ There is also a National Action Plan and National Development Plan in place in Côte d'Ivoire to help eliminate the worst forms of child labor and assess the effectiveness of policies and programs designed to prevent child labor and assist those children already involved in child labor.³⁶

³¹U.S. Department of Labor Bureau of International Labor Affairs. Framework of Action to Support Implementation of the Harkin-Engel Protocol. 2010. Accessed June 7, 2020. <https://www.dol.gov/sites/dolgov/files/ILAB/legacy/files/CocoaFrameworkAction.pdf>.

³²Ibid.

³³ Campbell, Brian, and Bama Athreya. *The Cocoa Protocol: Success or Failure?* June 30, 2008. Accessed June 21, 2020. <https://laborrights.org/sites/default/files/publications-and-resources/Cocoa%20Protocol%20Success%20or%20Failure%20June%202008.pdf>.

³⁴ Curtiss, Molly, and Perlman Robinson, Jenny, "Cocoa, Côte d'Ivoire, and children's education: What you should know this Valentine's," *Brookings Institute*, February 13, 2019. <https://www.brookings.edu/blog/education-plus-development/2019/02/13/cocoa-cote-divoire-and-childrens-education-what-you-should-know-this-valentines-day/>

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ Department of Labor Bureau of International Labor Affairs. Child Labor and Forced Labor Reports. 2018. Accessed June 7, 2020. <https://www.dol.gov/agencies/ilab/resources/reports/child-labor/cote-divoire>.

B. Specific actions taken by Ghana

In Ghana, the increase in child labor is partially attributed to the government's failure to enforce its National Plan of Action Phase II on the Elimination of the Worst Forms of Child Labor (NPA2) and the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child and ILO Conventions No. 138 and 182, and the African Charter. Specifically, Ghana's legislation has not enacted sufficient policy, law enforcement, or programs to support the decrease in child labor.³⁷ Additionally, the ILRF in the US has pointed out that the Capital Improvement Programs (CIP) are voluntary for the farmers and companies, which still allows for child trafficking.³⁸

Given the importance of education in eliminating child labor, Ghana agreed to the 1999 ILO Worst Forms of Child Labor Convention which established the importance of free basic education and its essential role in eliminating child labor. This was established in tandem with the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child requiring states to support children's rights to an education.³⁹ Even with extensive legislation, the Constitution and Education Act still limits students' ability to attend school because additional fees (buying textbooks and uniforms), distance from schools, and shortage of school resources still exist. These conditions make it more profitable for families to have their children work than to invest long-term in education.⁴⁰

Ghana has also implemented a Capitation Grant (part of its Livelihood Empowerment Against Poverty (LEAP) program), which provides funding for schools through a government grant of GH¢4.50 (\$1.40 USD) per student per year. In accordance with the Education for All program in Ghana and UNICEF's Sustainable Development Goals, net enrollment in schools increased by 10% three years after the program's implementation in 2005. This increase was attributed to the fact that parents would no longer have to pay taxes in order to send their child to school.⁴¹ However, like the Constitution and Education Act, the Capitation Grant exacerbates problems within Ghana's school system because of such a large influx to schools. Beyond lacking resources, school administrators do not receive the grant management education, proper training, and parental support to fully maximize all the benefits provided by the Capitation Grant.⁴²

C. Actions Implemented by Both Cote d'Ivoire and Ghana

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ Schrage, Ewing "The Cocoa Industry and Child Labour"

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ Pajibo, Edison, and Emmanuel M.J. Tamanja. *Influence and Challenges of the Capitation Grant on Education Delivery in Basic Schools in Ghana*. Publication no. 2519-5387. April 5, 2017. Accessed July 1, 2020. <https://doi.org/10.20448/journal.522.2017.31.53.63>.

Hereafter referred to as "Influence and Challenges of the Capitation Grant"

⁴² Ibid.

The overall measures to support the elimination of child labor are well-meaning but still lack the mobilization between governments and organizations to coordinate, execute, and enforce an effective approach. Ghana and Cote d'Ivoire have considered various policy measures to combat child labor. The International Labor Organization (ILO) Minimum Age Convention established that the minimum age for work was 14 years old.⁴³ Both Ghana and Cote d'Ivoire have committed themselves to the UN CRC Optional Protocol on the Sale of Children, Child Prostitution, and Child Pornography to eliminate the worst forms of child labor.⁴⁴

External organizations like Fairtrade and Rainforest Alliance have partnered with cocoa producers to support premiums and establish a minimum wage in order to aid Cote d'Ivoire and Ghana in achieving the Harkin-Engel Protocol, despite continued lack of enforcement from the Ghanaian government.⁴⁵ The support of the World Cocoa Foundation is also essential to reducing child labor. The organization contributes to child labor monitoring, empowers women, and improves farmers' livelihoods. In order for child labor to be eliminated, the Ghanaian government must also support these independent organizations.

Although stakeholders and financial partners attempt to follow the Harkin-Engel Protocol, it is imperative that the governments and companies closely follow the Protocol's recommendations and continue to enforce programs and regulations for child labor. It is a combination of legislation, proper certification, education, and organizations that enable the elimination of child labor.

Finally, a recent initiative called Transforming Education in Cocoa Communities (TRECC) brings together multiple stakeholders to improve the living conditions of children through education.⁴⁶ The initiative brings together members of the government, players in the chocolate industry, as well as interested individuals in Côte d'Ivoire to help ensure the quality education of students in rural cacao communities.

V. Current COVID-19 Crisis

A. Health

⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴ 2018 Findings on the Worst Forms of Child Labor. 2018. Accessed June 7, 2020.
https://www.dol.gov/sites/dolgov/files/ILAB/child_labor_reports/tda2018/ChildLaborReportBook.pdf

⁴⁵ Hinch, Ronald. "Chocolate, Slavery, Forced Labour, Child Labour and the State." In *A Handbook of Food Crime: Immoral and Illegal Practices in the Food Industry and What to Do about Them*, by Ronald Hinch and Allison Gray, 77-92. N.p.: Bristol University Press, 2018.
<https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctt22rbk9t.10>

⁴⁶ Curtiss, Molly, and Perlman Robinson, Jenny, "Cocoa, Côte d'Ivoire, and children's education: What you should know this Valentine's," *Brookings Institute*, February 13, 2019.
<https://www.brookings.edu/blog/education-plus-development/2019/02/13/cocoa-cote-divoire-and-childrens-education-what-you-should-know-this-valentines-day/>

Côte d'Ivoire readily installed measures to protect its citizens from the onslaught of COVID-19, having prepared for disease outbreaks previously with the Ebola epidemic. The country made mandatory health checks for people coming from countries with more than 100 confirmed cases, and as a result currently have just under 3000 confirmed cases,⁴⁷ with an estimated population of around 25 million people.

In a population of approximately 30 million people, Ghana has experienced roughly 8,885 coronavirus cases and 38 deaths and a stable infection rate of 2% as of June 4th.⁴⁸ 218,435 people have been tested as of June 1st, accounting for the second highest rate of tests in Africa.⁵⁰ Ghana has been praised for its proactive approach to stymie the outbreak through the use of pool testing, extensive contact tracing, and its spending of their emergency fund instead of waiting for international aid.⁵¹ However, given that the country is still developing, the government heavily considered the economic effects of a lockdown in its major cities of Accra and Kumasi, and the lockdown imposed March 30th was lifted just three weeks later. On May 11th, restaurants, hotels, and bars were allowed to reopen following proper hygiene protocols. While the number of novel coronavirus daily cases initially decreased from 437 on May 11 to 66 on May 24, the number of daily cases has since increased, spiking at 846 on June 14.⁵² Notably, Ghana's coronavirus hotspots are located in the southern regions, where Ghana is most urban. These same regions – excluding Greater Accra – are also regions with the majority of the country's cocoa farms.⁵³ While cocoa farms are rural, it is possible that farmers that travel into the cities for supplies may contract coronavirus and spread it to other farmers in their village. This would further jeopardize the success of cocoa farms during the pandemic.

B. Economic

While for many industries around the world there is fear that the economic repercussions from months of lockdown will decrease demand and lead to more unemployment -- the chocolate industry has predicted an increase in sales for the last several months, as a crisis may increase

⁴⁷Worldometers.info. Worldometer. Accessed June 7, 2020. <https://www.worldometers.info/coronavirus/country/cote-d-ivoire/>.

⁴⁸"COVID-19 Dashboard by the Center for Systems Science and Engineering (CSSE) at Johns Hopkins." Map. OCHA Services. Accessed June 7, 2020. <https://data.humdata.org/dataset/novel-coronavirus-2019-ncov-cases>.

⁴⁹Moore, Jina. "What African Nations Are Teaching the West about Fighting the Coronavirus." The New Yorker. Last modified May 15, 2020. Accessed June 10, 2020.

<https://www.newyorker.com/news/news-desk/what-african-nations-are-teaching-the-west-about-fighting-the-coronavirus>.

⁵⁰Alfa Shaban, Abdur Rahman. "Ghana Coronavirus: 8,070 Cases, Conditional Lifting of Most Restrictions." Africanews. Last modified June 1, 2020. Accessed June 10, 2020. <https://www.africanews.com/2020/06/01/coronavirus-updates-from-ghana/>.

⁵¹Taylor, Adam, and Miriam Berger. "When It Comes to Coronavirus Response, Superpowers May Need to Study Smaller Nations." The Washington Post. Last modified May 16, 2020. Accessed June 10, 2020.

<https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/2020/05/16/when-it-comes-coronavirus-response-superpowers-may-need-study-smaller-nations/>.

⁵²Worldometers.info. Worldometer. Accessed June 21, 2020. <https://www.worldometers.info/coronavirus/country/ghana/>.

⁵³Berry, La Verle. *Ghana: A Country Study*. Library of Congress, 1994. Accessed June 10, 2020. <http://countrystudies.us/ghana/78.htm>.

⁵⁴Osei FB, Stein A, Nyadanu SD (2018) Spatial and temporal heterogeneities of district-level typhoid morbidities in Ghana: A requisite insight for informed public health response. PLoS ONE 13(11): e0208006. <https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0208006>

chocolate consumption. This would mirror the 2008 financial crisis, which saw a 4.8% increase in chocolate consumption.⁵⁵ This heightened demand may, however, increase use of child labor as children in Côte d'Ivoire were not in school for several weeks due to nation-wide lockdowns, and families may have become more reliant on labor from their children. Schools were allowed to begin reopening as of May 25, however, complicating the situation.⁵⁶ Overall, disrupted supply chains may make the exportation of the cacao more difficult, creating an economic downturn for farmers.⁵⁷ When a farmer's income is negatively affected, the farmer is more likely to turn to child labor.⁵⁸

The IMF recently allocated US \$886 million dollars to Côte d'Ivoire for the purposes of mitigating any economic impact of COVID-19.⁵⁹ Along with this initiative, the government of Côte d'Ivoire provided cash transfers specifically to the agricultural sector to help mitigate the effects of COVID-19 and the concurrent poverty experienced by the stakeholders within the sector, amounting to 300 billion CFAF (0.8 % of GDP).⁶⁰

The Ghanaian government is experiencing several losses on the economic side of the pandemic. At least GH¢1.1 billion (0.3% GDP) is being diverted from being spent on goods and services, transfers, and capital investment.⁶¹ Ghana has withdrawn GH¢1.3 billion from their stabilization fund and borrowed GH¢10 billion from the Bank of Ghana in order to support their relief efforts. Furthermore, bond purchasing programs have also been established, accounting for GH¢5.5 billion.⁶² Funding has also been received from international agencies like DFID, KOICA, USAID, and EKN as well as the Canadian government.⁶³

In general, in both Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana, the lockdown is anticipated to disrupt global supply chains, so Fairtrade has established Five Action Points to prevent cocoa farmers from slipping into more intense poverty because of the pandemic. These highlight the holistic approach that

⁵⁵Oxford Business Group. "Is Cote d'Ivoire's Cocoa Trade Immune to Covid-19?" Oxford Business Group. Last modified March 31, 2020. Accessed June 10, 2020. <https://oxfordbusinessgroup.com/news/is-cote-divoire-s-cocoa-trade-immune-to-covid-19>

Hereafter referred to as "OBG"

⁵⁶Overseas Security Advisory Council. "Health Alert: Cote d'Ivoire, Government Announces Changes to COVID-19 Restrictions." OSAC. Last modified May 15, 2020. Accessed June 10, 2020.

<https://www.osac.gov/Country/CotedIvoire/Content/Detail/Report/b87e2615-a022-444e-8c69-18b0caa3c922>.

⁵⁷OBG

⁵⁸Peyton, Nellie. "West African Countries Alert for Child Labour Strike." Business & Human Rights Resource Centre. Last modified May 1, 2020. Accessed June 10, 2020.

<https://www.business-humanrights.org/en/experts-warn-that-covid-19-outbreak-could-lead-to-increase-in-child-labour-on-ghana-%C2%A0côte-divoire-cocoa-plantations>.

⁵⁹International Monetary Fund. "IMF Executive Board Approves a US \$886.2 Million Disbursement Cote d'Ivoire to Address the COVID-19 Pandemic." International Monetary Fund. Last modified April 17, 2020. Accessed June 10, 2020.

<https://www.imf.org/en/News/Articles/2020/04/17/pr20172-cote-divoire-imf-exec-board-approves-us-886-2m-disbursement-address-covid19-pandemic>.

⁶⁰Policy Responses to COVID-19. Accessed June 10, 2020. <https://www.imf.org/en/Topics/imf-and-covid19/Policy-Responses-to-COVID-19#C>.

⁶¹Ibid.

⁶²Ibid.

⁶³GHANA: COVID-19 Situation Report- #3. May 5, 2020. Accessed July 1, 2020.

https://www.unicef.org/appeals/files/UNICEF_Ghana_COVID19_Situation_Report_No_3_1_15_May_2020.pdf.

Hereafter referred to as GHANA COVID-19 Situation Report

must be taken in order to protect child laborers: protection for jobs and livelihoods, providing personal protective equipment, support for healthcare, economic measures, and sustainability.⁶⁴ The Food and Agriculture Organization of the UN is prepared for a global food crisis if small scale farmers are not protected during the pandemic. The World Bank warns of a recession because COVID-19 has limited workers, pushed the government's budget, increased food prices and decreased their availability, and prevented distribution of supplies for farming. Finally, due to the economic stress, farmers may be compelled to generate some type of income through the use of child labor. Similar to the Ebola pandemic, it is possible that the farmers will not be able to make enough money to send their kids back to school.⁶⁵

C. Social

Most cocoa farmers live in rural areas, so governments are focused on leveraging existing social structures to disseminate information. Although farmers are less likely to interact with urban centers where COVID-19 is most prevalent, they may still need to travel into cities for supplies, where they are at risk of contracting COVID-19. On the recommendation of Fairtrade and Voice of Organizations in Cocoa,⁶⁶ chocolate companies have been utilizing supply chain structures to broadcast government health care messages to rural farmers, such as recommendations for social distancing and proper sanitation.⁶⁷ Large international chocolate companies have also donated emergency supplies and money to international relief organizations.⁶⁸

Additionally, if a parent were to contract COVID-19, it is expected that one of the children will undertake that parent's role. Specifically, if the mother contracts COVID-19, then the children must act as a substitute for chores. Furthermore, in the wake of a parent's death, the children are expected to undertake their parent's job in order to continue to support the family. For example, in Tanzania, following the death of a mother or father, the son's agricultural work increased by 36%.⁶⁹

⁶⁴Myers, Anthony. "Fairtrade CEOs Call on G20 Group to Support Cocoa Producers in Coronavirus Fight." Confectionerynews.com. Last modified April 21, 2020. Accessed June 10, 2020.

<https://www.confectionerynews.com/Article/2020/04/21/Fairtrade-CEOs-call-on-G20-Group-to-support-cocoa-producers-in-coronavirus-fight>.

⁶⁵ "How Will the COVID-19 Crisis Affect Children in Cocoa-Growing Communities?" International Cocoa Initiative. Last modified April 17, 2020. Accessed June 10, 2020.

<https://cocoainitiative.org/news-media-post/how-will-the-covid-19-crisis-affect-children-in-cocoa-growing-communities/>.

Hereafter referred to "ICI"

⁶⁶Voice of Organizations in Cocoa. "COVID-19 Response for Cocoa Farmers." News release. April 7, 2020. Accessed June 10, 2020.

<https://www.voicenetwork.eu/wp-content/uploads/2020/04/200407-Voice-Network-COVID-19-response-for-Cocoa-Farmers.pdf>.

⁶⁷"Cocoa and Chocolate Companies Help Farmers Fight the Coronavirus Virus and Beyond." Confectionerynews.com. Last modified April 13, 2020. Accessed June 10, 2020.

<https://www.confectionerynews.com/Article/2020/04/13/Cocoa-and-chocolate-companies-help-farmers-fight-the-coronavirus-virus-and-beyond>.

⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁹ How Will the COVID-19 Crisis Affect Children in Cocoa-Growing Communities?" International Cocoa Initiative. Last modified April 17, 2020. Accessed June 10, 2020.

<https://cocoainitiative.org/news-media-post/how-will-the-covid-19-crisis-affect-children-in-cocoa-growing-communities/>.

For the reopening of schools, it is encouraged that the Global Business Coalition for Education's recommendations for safe and effective reopening be followed. This response aims to maintain economic stability, hygiene, and public health initiatives.⁷⁰ Currently, students are being taught remotely through text messages, online, television, and radio.⁷¹

D. Companies' Responses to Child Labor during Pandemic

Some cacao companies have implemented new protocols in response to COVID-19. One such company is Cargill, a company which owns several different commercially used chocolate brands. Cargill announced that it would provide its cacao farmers with a way to track COVID-19 updates, hopefully ensuring the safety of all laborers on their farms. Through the use of a GPS farm mapping app called FarmForce, Cargill can send government updates and sanitation information to farmers in hard-to-reach rural areas.⁷² For many of these farms, that includes child laborers.

Cacao companies around the world have donated around \$800,000 USD to governments' protection plans for cacao farmers in Western Africa and Latin America.⁷³ These donations are also used to provide "critical emergency supplies such as soap, sanitizers, clean water equipment, and medical goods."⁷⁴ Providing economic stability for farmers is directly benefitting the cacao industry by maintaining an efficient flow of the supply chain, rather than intended directly to help reduce poverty or prevent further child labor.

VI. Recommendations

Based on policy proposals and previous actions taken by governments, non-profit organizations, and international institutions, there are several possible options to help reduce child labor in Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana during the pandemic, outlined below. It is expected that these programs will be funded by the Ghanaian or Cote d'Ivoirian governments, international relief agencies, NGOs, or private companies.

⁷⁰van Fleet, Justin. "Coronavirus Is Amplifying the Struggles That Children Are Already Facing to Receive a Quality Education." Theirworld. Last modified March 17, 2020. Accessed June 10, 2020.

<https://theirworld.org/voices/coronavirus-amplifies-struggle-for-children-to-get-quality-education>.

Hereafter referred to as van Fleet, Justin "Coronavirus is Amplifying"

⁷¹ GHANA COVID-19 Situation Report

⁷²Cargill. "Cote d'Ivoire Cocoa Farmers Receive COVID-19 Critical Health and Safety Updates Vva Cargill Digital Farming Tool." Cargill. Last modified March 30, 2020. Accessed June 10, 2020. <https://www.cargill.com/2020/cote-divoire-cocoa-farmers-receive-covid-19-critical-health>.

⁷³World Cocoa Foundation. "Cocoa, Chocolate Industry Donates \$835,000 to Help Farmers Fight COVID-19." World Cocoa Foundation. Last modified May 4, 2020. Accessed June 10, 2020.

<https://www.worldcocoafoundation.org/press-release/cocoa-chocolate-industry-donates-835000-to-help-farmers-fight-covid-19/>.

⁷⁴Myers, Anthony. "Cocoa Industry Pulls Together to Offer More Financial Support for Farmers to Help with COVID-19."

Confectionerynews.com. Last modified May 6, 2020. Accessed June 21, 2020

<https://www.confectionerynews.com/Article/2020/05/06/Cocoa-industry-pulls-together-to-offer-more-financial-support-for-farmers-to-help-with-COVID-19>

Given the extenuating circumstances caused by COVID-19, it is necessary for Ghana and Cote d'Ivoire to enact a variety of measures specific to their countries. This involves partnership between companies, governments, and organizations because the volatility of this time does not guarantee that one singular action will reduce child labor. As addressed by the International Cocoa Initiative's report on child labor, "the relationship between income changes and child labor is complex and effects are not unidirectional."⁷⁵ When farmers' income is increased, it is called a positive shock, whilst the converse effect is called a negative shock. However, in both scenarios, more labor is typically required.⁷⁶ A negative shock is expected following the COVID-19 pandemic because households could be missing a parent due to illness or death, may not receive the tools they need due to supply chain shortages, or they may not have sufficient help because laborers may stay at home due to lockdowns or illness.

1. Cash Transfers

It has been suggested that cash transfers can be a starting point for reduction of child labor during the pandemic.⁷⁷ Given that cash transfers are usually a one-time occurrence, they are considered to be a viable option in dealing with the pandemic because it quickly alleviates the burden on farmers to use child labor and make up for the income they lost during the pandemic.⁷⁸ A 2012 study of unconditional cash transfers in Ecuador found a reduction in paid child labor by 78% and a 32% reduction in unpaid labor in the house (ie chores).⁷⁹

Cash transfers, wherein the government supplies cash directly to vulnerable populations to help lessen the strain of economic insecurity, have proven fruitful in reducing child labor.⁸⁰ This type of poverty-reduction method seems especially appropriate for the cases of child labor in the cacao industry, given that part of the incentive for use of child labor is the very low wages of cacao workers. By supplying vulnerable populations with more income, this would effectively raise their wages, discouraging the use of child labor, especially during the tenuous times of COVID-19. It should be noted that there needs to be a limitation to the influx of money through cash transfers, as this positive shock can still increase child labor. More money incentivizes farmers to expand their business, thus requiring more work to be done by child laborers.⁸¹ Cash

⁷⁵Rutgers, "Child's Rights"

⁷⁶Ibid.

⁷⁷"West African Countries on Alert for Child Labor Spike Due to Coronavirus." Reuters. Last modified April 30, 2020. Accessed June 10, 2020. <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-health-coronavirus-westafrica-traffic/west-african-countries-on-alert-for-child-labor-spike-due-to-coronavirus-idUSKBN22C2KI>.

⁷⁸Ibid.

⁷⁹Ibid.

⁸⁰Rosati, Furio C. Can Cash Transfers Reduce Child Labor? Publication no. 293. September 2016. Accessed June 10, 2020. <http://dx.doi.org/10.15185/izawol.293>.

⁸¹Ravetti, Chiara. The Effects of Income Changes on Child Labour. April 2020. Accessed June 7, 2020. https://cocoainitiative.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/04/ICI_Lit_Review_Income_ChildLabour_15Apr2020.pdf.

transfers have been found to be effective if they are either conditional (CCT) or completely replace the portion of a family's income that would be earned by the child laborer.⁸² Conditional cash transfers could require students to attend school, promoting education and providing flexibility for a family to send their child to school. This has shown to be successful in reducing probability of employment by 30% in Mexico's PROGRESA program.⁸³

Ghana has implemented cash transfers in 2008 through their LEAP program, which is associated with its Capitation Grant.⁸⁴ This program has led to a reduction in total labor hours worked in agriculture and an increase in children in school (10% decrease in absenteeism in primary school children).⁸⁵ According to Ugo Gentilini of the World Bank, existing cash transfer structures should be built on and expanded on during the pandemic. Implementation in Ghana would involve providing cash transfers for not just the "poorest of the poor" but also for those that currently do not qualify for cash transfers but will in the future due to income loss caused by the pandemic.⁸⁶ Ideally, governments would be able to identify the most vulnerable populations and determine an adequate sum of cash transfer each household would receive because they know the area and situation of families in their country better than a third-party donor. Paired with campaigns about the importance of education, cash transfers could prove to be an effective deterrent of child labor.

2. In-kind Transfers

In-kind transfers are another effective method for reducing child labor and promoting childhood education. Instead of direct cash transfers, goods or services are provided to families. In a study following Burkina Faso's implementation of an in-kind transfer program, farmers are encouraged to send their students to school where they receive food to take home to their families.⁸⁷ This program incentivized education because students were also able to provide for their family with food without participating in strenuous child labor. Similar to the cash transfer program, it is recommended that the governments expand on existing in-kind transfer programs. Ghana has already implemented the Ghana School Feeding Program (GSFP), but it only feeds the students.

⁸²Ibid.

⁸³Ibid.

⁸⁴Ministry of Gender, Children, and Social Protection. "Livelihood Empowerment Against Poverty (LEAP)." Ministry of Gender, Children, and Social Protection- Republic of Ghana. Accessed July 1, 2020.

<http://www.mogcsp.gov.gh/index.php/projects/livelihood-empowerment-against-poverty-leap/>.

⁸⁵Davis, Benjamin, Silvio Daidone, Sudhanshu Handa, Michael Park, Robert Osei Darko, and Isaac Osei-Akoto. *The Impact of Ghana's LEAP Programme*. Issue brief no. 2318-9118. December 2014. Accessed July 1, 2020.

https://ipcig.org/pub/eng/OP271_The_Impact_of_Ghana_s_LEAP_Programme.pdf.

⁸⁶Gentilini, Ugo, and Laura Alfars. "Cash Transfers for COVID-19 in Low and Middle-Income Countries." Lecture presented at Online. Center for Global Development. Last modified April 16, 2020. Accessed July 1, 2020.

<https://www.cgdev.org/event/online-event-cash-transfers-covid-19-low-and-middle-income-countries>.

⁸⁷Ravetti, Chiara. *The Effects of Income Changes on Child Labour*. April 2020. Accessed June 7, 2020.

https://cocoainitiative.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/04/ICI_Lit_Review_Income_ChildLabour_15Apr2020.pdf.

⁸⁸ Mirroring Burkina Faso’s in-kind transfer program that provides for the entire family could further prevent parents from enforcing child labor. Additionally, the rural farming economy could be further stimulated following the pandemic by using the money for in-kind transfers to directly purchase food from local farmers to provide at schools. This use of resources will “improve program externalities and reduce costs.”⁸⁹ However, like cash transfers, in-kind transfers should also be coupled with various other programs to eliminate child labor as the goal of in-kind transfers is usually not to directly reduce child labor, and because child labor itself is an intersectional problem impacted by multiple actors.⁹⁰

3. Utilizing and Improving Education Systems

The government of Côte d’Ivoire adopted a new law in 2015 which enacts compulsory education for children aged 6 to 16.⁹¹ UNICEF worked with the government to teach about the importance of educating young people, which successfully encouraged one town in Côte d’Ivoire to allow all their children access to an education.⁹² Important in the success of this law has been informational dialogues between the government, international groups such as UNICEF, and local communities. To continue the success of this law and extend its ideals elsewhere, especially during the pandemic, attaching cash transfers could prove a very useful tool.

School systems must be improved upon in order to incentivize families to return their children to school. This prioritizes addressing the flaws within primary and secondary schools that already existed (as illustrated by the LEAP program and Capitation Grant). Heeding existing recommendations that were never implemented, the government should consider expanding schools’ resources (textbooks, furniture, infrastructure). Not only will this account for an influx of students caused by an increase in the number of conditional cash transfers sent out, but it will better support teachers therefore incentivizing them to stay in their job. Additionally, expanding infrastructure will allow for proper sanitation and social distancing. Finally, as remote learning has changed the role parents play in their child’s education, it is important that schools continue to incorporate parental feedback and involve them in the rebuilding of a community within the school through the creation of a PTA, which will also provide external funding for the school.⁹³

⁸⁸ Darvas, Peter, and David Balwanz. *Basic Education beyond the Millennium Development Goals in Ghana: How Equity in Service Delivery Affects Educational and Learning Outcomes*. Washington, DC: World Bank, 2013.

⁸⁹ Ibid.

⁹⁰ Rutgers, “Child Labor”

⁹¹ *CPD 2017-2020: Strategic Note ECD and Basic Education*. Accessed July 1, 2020. http://files.unicef.org/transparency/documents/Cote%20D%27Ivoire_CPD2017-2020_StratgieNote_Education-24%20May%202016.pdf.

⁹² Vigneault-Dubois, Louis. "From Cocoa Field to Classroom, in Cote d'Ivoire." UNICEF. Last modified December 26, 2014. Accessed June 10, 2020. https://www.unicef.org/protection/cotedivoire_78210.html.

⁹³ “Influence and Challenges of the Capitation Grant”

Given the relaxation of safety protocols in Cote d'Ivoire and Ghana, it is likely that schools will soon play a role in reducing child labor. If properly subsidized, sanitized, and staffed, then schools could be used for monitoring and tracing COVID-19. By providing teachers with a stable job and income, children's education will further improve.⁹⁴ Combined with the in-kind transfers and food incentives, schools would provide an organized and structured day that keeps children out of labor and hopefully contains the virus.

Improvement of the education system as a means to combat the negative economic and social effects of the pandemic are already being considered. UNICEF has supported the Ghanaian Ministry of Education and Educational Services to conduct a "rapid risk assessment of the education system in general and impact on COVID-19 learners." Additionally, UNICEF has also partnered with the Ministry of Employment and Labour Relations to specifically examine child labor in the cocoa industry in order to determine a new Framework for Action to return those children to school.⁹⁵

4. Public Works Opportunities

It is also possible to implement public works employment opportunities for adults that would increase their income. Ideally, adults would substitute agricultural labor that exploits children for a higher paying job that allows children to return to school. However, the program would require careful implementation because it is possible that children will simply replace the adult's previous position where child labor is allowed. Public works employment has been shown to be effective in Ethiopia, where families involved in the Productive Safety Net Program were 10% less likely to be involved in child labor. The program was designed to provide financial support and/or food to families of laborers that worked on infrastructure within the country.⁹⁶ Public works opportunities would be available in Cote d'Ivoire and Ghana if school infrastructures are expanded following the pandemic, as workers are needed for construction.

VII. Conclusion

In order to contain the risks which the COVID-19 pandemic create for child labor in the cacao industry in Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana, stakeholders must provide some of the following: ensure access to education, cash transfers, in-kind transfers, support for public works employment, and better certification standards to ensure children do not return to child labor once they have left it. COVID-19 exacerbates existing systemic problems in the cacao industry, and therefore direct

⁹⁴ van Fleet, Justin "Coronavirus is Amplifying"

⁹⁵ "Influence and Challenges of the Capitation Grant"

⁹⁶ Ravetti, Chiara. The Effects of Income Changes on Child Labour. April 2020. Accessed June 7, 2020.

https://cocoainitiative.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/04/ICI_Lit_Review_Income_ChildLabour_15Apr2020.pdf.

action to help alleviate poverty of farmers and encourage and provide education for children must be taken. In the future, this report can serve as a starting point for the elimination of child labor in Cote d'Ivoire and Ghana following the COVID-19 pandemic. Future research could be conducted specifically looking at rehabilitation of child laborers that worked through the pandemic, how the role of girls in child labor changed due to the pandemic, and how child trafficking was affected by the pandemic. Long term goals include examining the sustainability of practices implemented during the pandemic to prevent child labor, and then given this examination, they should also be reconsidered for use during less volatile times and built upon the pre-existing structures.

References

- Aboa, Ange, Aaron Ross, and Maytaal Angel. "Exclusive: U.S. Investigates Child Labor in Ivory Coast Cocoa Supply Chains." Reuters. Last modified March 30, 2020. Accessed June 7, 2020.
<https://www.reuters.com/article/us-cocoa-ivorycoast-childlabor-exclusive/exclusive-u-s-investigates-child-labor-in-ivory-coast-cocoa-supply-chains-idUSKBN21H0QW>.
- Alfa Shaban, Abdur Rahman. "Ghana Coronavirus: 8,070 Cases, Conditional Lifting of Most Restrictions." Africanews. Last modified June 1, 2020. Accessed June 10, 2020.
<https://www.africanews.com/2020/06/01/coronavirus-updates-from-ghana/>.
- Balch, Oliver. "Child Labour: The Dark Truth behind Chocolate Production." Raconteur. Last modified June 20, 2018. Accessed June 22, 2020.
<https://www.raconteur.net/business-innovation/child-labour-cocoa-production>.
- Berry, La Verle. *Ghana: A Country Study*. Library of Congress, 1994. Accessed June 10, 2020.
<http://countrystudies.us/ghana/78.htm>.
- Bigg, Matthew Mpoke. "Incoming Ghana Government Gives Cocoa Sector Chance of Fresh Start." Reuters. Last modified December 16, 2016. Accessed June 7, 2020.
<https://www.reuters.com/article/us-ghana-cocoa/incoming-ghana-government-gives-cocoa-sector-chance-of-fresh-start-idUSKBN1481Q5#:~:text=Ghana%20accounts%20for%20up%20to,of%20the%20country's%20export%20earnings>.
- Campbell, Brian, and Bama Athreya. *The Cocoa Protocol: Success or Failure?* June 30, 2008. Accessed June 21, 2020.
<https://laborrights.org/sites/default/files/publications-and-resources/Cocoa%20Protocol%20Success%20or%20Failure%20June%202008.pdf>.
- Cargill. "Cote d'Ivoire Cocoa Farmers Receive COVID-19 Critical Health and Safety Updates Vva Cargill Digital Farming Tool." Cargill. Last modified March 30, 2020. Accessed June 10, 2020.
<https://www.cargill.com/2020/cote-divoire-cocoa-farmers-receive-covid-19-critical-health>.
- Cocoa Supply Chain Flow Chart. Image. Accessed July 1, 2020.
<https://taylahrichchocolate.weebly.com/uploads/1/8/5/4/18548002/5218242.jpg?398>.
- "COVID-19 Dashboard by the Center for Systems Science and Engineering (CSSE) at Johns Hopkins." Map. OCHA Services. Accessed June 7, 2020.
<https://data.humdata.org/dataset/novel-coronavirus-2019-ncov-cases>.

- CPD 2017-2020: *Strategic Note ECD and Basic Education*. Accessed July 1, 2020.
http://files.unicef.org/transparency/documents/Cote%20D%27Ivoire_CPD2017-2020_StrategicNote_Education-24%20May%202016.pdf.
- Darvas, Peter, and David Balwanz. *Basic Education beyond the Millennium Development Goals in Ghana: How Equity in Service Delivery Affects Educational and Learning Outcomes*. Washington, DC: World Bank, 2013.
- Davis, Benjamin, Silvio Daidone, Sudhanshu Handa, Michael Park, Robert Osei Darko, and Isaac Osei-Akoto. *The Impact of Ghana's LEAP Programme*. Issue brief no. 2318-9118. December 2014. Accessed July 1, 2020.
https://ipcig.org/pub/eng/OP271_The_Impact_of_Ghana_s_LEAP_Programme.pdf.
- Department of Labor Bureau of International Labor Affairs. *Child Labor and Forced Labor Reports*. 2018. Accessed June 7, 2020.
<https://www.dol.gov/agencies/ilab/resources/reports/child-labor/cote-divoire>.
- Food Empowerment Project. "Child Labor and Slavery in the Chocolate Industry." Food Empowerment Project. Accessed June 7, 2020.
<https://foodispower.org/human-labor-slavery/slavery-chocolate/>.
- . "Child Labor and Slavery in the Chocolate Industry." Food Empowerment Project. Accessed June 7, 2020. <https://foodispower.org/human-labor-slavery/slavery-chocolate/>.
- Gentilini, Ugo, and Laura Alfes. "Cash Transfers for COVID-19 in Low and Middle-Income Countries." Lecture presented at Online. Center for Global Development. Last modified April 16, 2020. Accessed July 1, 2020.
<https://www.cgdev.org/event/online-event-cash-transfers-covid-19-low-and-middle-income-countries>.
- GHANA: *COVID-19 Situation Report- #3*. May 5, 2020. Accessed July 1, 2020.
https://www.unicef.org/appeals/files/UNICEF_Ghana_COVID19_Situation_Report_No_3__1_15_May_2020.pdf.
- Hinch, Ronald. "Chocolate, Slavery, Forced Labour, Child Labour and the State." In *A Handbook of Food Crime: Immoral and Illegal Practices in the Food Industry and What to Do about Them*, by Ronald Hinch and Allison Gray, 77-92. N.p.: Bristol University Press, 2018. <https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctt22rbk9t.10>.
- International Cocoa Initiative Foundation. "Cocoa Farmers in Ghana Experience Poverty and Economic Vulnerability." Cocoa Initiative. Last modified December 1, 2017. Accessed June 7, 2020.
<https://cocoainitiative.org/news-media-post/cocoa-farmers-in-ghana-experience-poverty-and-economic-vulnerability/#:~:text=Cocoa%20farmers%20earn%20a%20per,of%20cocoa%20farmers%20household%20income>.

- . "Combating Child Labour in Cote d'Ivoire: New Challenges Integrated Into the 2019-2021 National Action Plan." Cocoa Initiative. Last modified June 27, 2019. Accessed June 7, 2020.
<https://cocoainitiative.org/news-media-post/combating-child-labour-in-cote-divoire-new-challenges-integrated-into-the-2019-2021-national-action-plan/>.
- . "How Will the COVID-19 Crisis Affect Children in Cocoa-Growing Communities?" International Cocoa Initiative. Last modified April 17, 2020. Accessed June 10, 2020.
<https://cocoainitiative.org/news-media-post/how-will-the-covid-19-crisis-affect-children-in-cocoa-growing-communities/>.
- . "ICI finds higher numbers of children in hazardous child labor during the COVID-19 lockdown in Côte d'Ivoire." Accessed July 1, 2020.
<https://cocoainitiative.org/news-media-post/ici-finds-higher-numbers-of-children-in-hazardous-child-labour-during-the-covid-19-lockdown-in-cote-divoire/>
- International Labour Organization. "Causes." International Labour Organization. Accessed June 22, 2020.
https://www.ilo.org/moscow/areas-of-work/child-labour/WCMS_248984/lang--en/index.htm.
- . *Rooting Out Child Labour From Cocoa Farms*. 2007. Accessed June 7, 2020.
<http://www.ilo.org/ipeinfo/product/download.do?type=document&id=6448>.
- International Monetary Fund. "IMF Executive Board Approves a US \$886.2 Million Disbursement Cote d'Ivoire to Address the COVID-19 Pandemic." International Monetary Fund. Last modified April 17, 2020. Accessed June 10, 2020.
<https://www.imf.org/en/News/Articles/2020/04/17/pr20172-cote-divoire-imf-exec-board-approves-us-886-2m-disbursement-address-covid19-pandemic>.
- . "Policy Responses to COVID-19." Accessed June 10, 2020.
<https://www.imf.org/en/Topics/imf-and-covid19/Policy-Responses-to-COVID-19#C>.
- Kamran, Mehwish, and Yigu Liang. "Education in Ghana." Edited by Stefen Trines. World Education News and Reviews. Last modified April 16, 2019. Accessed June 7, 2020.
<https://wenr.wes.org/2019/04/education-in-ghana>.
- Ministry of Gender, Children, and Social Protection. "Livelihood Empowerment Against Poverty (LEAP)." Ministry of Gender, Children, and Social Protection- Republic of Ghana. Accessed July 1, 2020.
<http://www.mogcsp.gov.gh/index.php/projects/livelihood-empowerment-against-poverty-leap/>.
- Moore, Jina. "What African Nations Are Teaching the West about Fighting the Coronavirus." *The New Yorker*. Last modified May 15, 2020. Accessed June 10, 2020.

<https://www.newyorker.com/news/news-desk/what-african-nations-are-teaching-the-west-about-fighting-the-coronavirus>.

- Myers, Anthony. "Fairtrade CEOs Call on G20 Group to Support Cocoa Producers in Coronavirus Fight." Confectionerynews.com. Last modified April 21, 2020. Accessed June 10, 2020.
<https://www.confectionerynews.com/Article/2020/04/21/Fairtrade-CEOs-call-on-G20-Group-to-support-cocoa-producers-in-coronavirus-fight>.
- . "New Report Reveals Child Labor on West African Cocoa Farms Has Increased in past 10 Years." Confectionery News. Last modified May 7, 2020. Accessed June 7, 2020.
<https://www.confectionerynews.com/Article/2020/05/07/New-report-reveals-child-labor-on-West-African-cocoa-farms-has-increased-in-past-10-years>.
- Overseas Security Advisory Council. "Health Alert: Cote d'Ivoire, Government Announces Changes to COVID-19 Restrictions." OSAC. Last modified May 15, 2020. Accessed June 10, 2020.
<https://www.osac.gov/Country/CotedIvoire/Content/Detail/Report/b87e2615-a022-444e-8c69-18b0caa3c922>.
- Oxford Business Group. "Is Cote d'Ivoire's Cocoa Trade Immune to Covid-19?" Oxford Business Group. Last modified March 31, 2020. Accessed June 10, 2020.
<https://oxfordbusinessgroup.com/news/is-cote-divoire-s-cocoa-trade-immune-to-covid-19>.
- Pajibo, Edison, and Emmanuel M.J. Tamanja. *Influence and Challenges of the Capitation Grant on Education Delivery in Basic Schools in Ghana*. Publication no. 2519-5387. April 5, 2017. Accessed July 1, 2020. <https://doi.org/10.20448/journal.522.2017.31.53.63>.
- Peyton, Nellie. "West African Countries Alert for Child Labour Strike." Business & Human Rights Resource Centre. Last modified May 1, 2020. Accessed June 10, 2020.
<https://www.business-humanrights.org/en/experts-warn-that-covid-19-outbreak-could-lead-to-increase-in-child-labour-on-ghana-%C2%A0côte-divoire-cocoa-plantations>.
- . "West African Countries on Alert for Child Labor Spike Due to Coronavirus." Reuters. Last modified April 30, 2020. Accessed June 10, 2020.
<https://www.reuters.com/article/us-health-coronavirus-westafrica-traffic/west-african-countries-on-alert-for-child-labor-spike-due-to-coronavirus-idUSKBN22C2KI>.
- Ravetti, Chiara. *The Effects of Income Changes on Child Labour*. April 2020. Accessed June 7, 2020.
https://cocoainitiative.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/04/ICI_Lit_Review_Income_ChildLabour_15Apr2020.pdf.

- Rosati, Furio C. *Can Cash Transfers Reduce Child Labor?* Publication no. 293. September 2016. Accessed June 10, 2020. <http://dx.doi.org/10.15185/izawol.293>.
- Rutgers, Catherine, ed. *Children's Rights in the Cocoa-Growing Communities of Cote d'Ivoire*. November 2018. Accessed June 7, 2020. <https://www.unicef.org/csr/css/synthesis-report-children-rights-cocoa-communities-en.pdf>.
- Schrage, Elliot J., and Anthony P. Ewing. "The Cocoa Industry and Child Labour." *The Journal of Corporate Citizenship*, 18th ser., 2005, 99-112. JSTOR.
- Scobey, Richard. "Child Labor Has No Place in the Cocoa Supply Chain." World Cocoa Foundation. Last modified May 1, 2019. Accessed June 7, 2020. <https://www.worldcocoafoundation.org/blog/child-labor-has-no-place-in-the-cocoa-supply-chain/>.
- . "Cocoa and Chocolate Companies Help Farmers Fight the Coronavirus Virus and Beyond." Confectionerynews.com. Last modified April 13, 2020. Accessed June 10, 2020. <https://www.confectionerynews.com/Article/2020/04/13/Cocoa-and-chocolate-companies-help-farmers-fight-the-coronavirus-virus-and-beyond>.
- Taylor, Adam, and Miriam Berger. "When It Comes to Coronavirus Response, Superpowers May Need to Study Smaller Nations." The Washington Post. Last modified May 16, 2020. Accessed June 10, 2020. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/2020/05/16/when-it-comes-coronavirus-response-superpowers-may-need-study-smaller-nations/>.
- 2018 Findings on the Worst Forms of Child Labor*. 2018. Accessed June 7, 2020. https://www.dol.gov/sites/dolgov/files/ILAB/child_labor_reports/tda2018/ChildLaborReportBook.pdf.
- U.S. Department of Labor. "Child Labor in the Production of Cocoa." Bureau of International Labor Affairs. Accessed July 1, 2020. <https://www.dol.gov/agencies/ilab/our-work/child-forced-labor-trafficking/child-labor-cocoa>.
- U.S. Department of Labor Bureau of International Labor Affairs. *Framework of Action to Support Implementation of the Harkin-Engel Protocol*. 2010. Accessed June 7, 2020. <https://www.dol.gov/sites/dolgov/files/ILAB/legacy/files/CocoaFrameworkAction.pdf>.
- van Fleet, Justin. "Coronavirus Is Amplifying the Struggles That Children Are Already Facing to Receive a Quality Education." Theirworld. Last modified March 17, 2020. Accessed June 10, 2020.

<https://theirworld.org/voices/coronavirus-amplifies-struggle-for-children-to-get-quality-education>.

Vigneault-Dubois, Louis. "From Cocoa Field to Classroom, in Cote d'Ivoire." UNICEF. Last modified December 26, 2014. Accessed June 10, 2020.

https://www.unicef.org/protection/cotedivoire_78210.html.

———. "From Cocoa Field to Classroom, in Cote d'Ivoire." Unicef. Last modified December 26, 2014. Accessed June 7, 2020. https://www.unicef.org/protection/cotedivoire_78210.html.

Voice of Organizations in Cocoa. "COVID-19 Response for Cocoa Farmers." News release. April 7, 2020. Accessed June 10, 2020.

<https://www.voicenetwork.eu/wp-content/uploads/2020/04/200407-Voice-Network-COVID-19-response-for-Cocoa-Farmers.pdf>.

World Cocoa Foundation. "Cocoa, Chocolate Industry Donates \$835,000 to Help Farmers Fight COVID-19." World Cocoa Foundation. Last modified May 4, 2020. Accessed June 10, 2020.

<https://www.worldcocoafoundation.org/press-release/cocoa-chocolate-industry-donates-835000-to-help-farmers-fight-covid-19/>.

Worlometers.info. Worldometer. Accessed June 7, 2020.

<https://www.worldometers.info/coronavirus/country/cote-d-ivoire/>.