

ID: 375

Protective Community Index as a Measure for Child Labour: A Case Study of Cocoa-Producing Communities in Idanre Local Government Area, Ondo State

O.O. Fasina and T.K. Olafisoye

Department of Agricultural Extension and Communication, School of Agriculture and Agricultural Technology, Federal University of Technology, Akure, Nigeria
timileyinolafisoye@gmail.com

Abstract

This study investigated the Protective Community Index (PCI) of cocoa-producing communities in the Idanre Local Government Area of Ondo State, Nigeria. The Protective Community Index serves as a tool for evaluating community resilience and child protection mechanisms, especially in the context of child labor. This study ascertained the socioeconomic characteristics of respondents, determined the level of children's involvement in cocoa production activities, identified the availability of social amenities, and identified the available supporting welfare structures that protect and support children in cocoa-producing communities. Primary data were collected through purposive sampling from 168 respondents, including community leaders, cocoa farmers, teachers, and children across eight cocoa-producing communities. Structured questionnaires were used to gather accurate information. Data analysis involved descriptive statistics, such as frequency, percentage, and mean, alongside inferential statistics, including Pearson Product Moment Correlation, to test hypotheses at a significance level of $p < 0.05$. PCI was measured using a tool developed by the International Cocoa Initiative (ICI). The findings revealed that The Protective Community Index (PCI) of the studied communities was moderate (57.6%). Cocoa farming and community leadership were dominated by middle-aged and older men, while teaching roles comprised a female majority (73.2%). Child labor, although not prevalent in hazardous activities, was linked to a school absenteeism rate of 5.4%. Children's involvement in cocoa farming activities was low, with an average (mean) participation score of 16.74. The study also highlighted the inadequacies in social amenities, such as water and healthcare, and insufficient welfare structures, including scholarships and feeding programs. This study emphasizes the need for increased youth engagement in agriculture, gender equality in leadership roles, improved access to quality education, and enhanced social amenities to foster child protection and sustainable community development.

Key words: *Protective Community Index, child labor, cocoa production, social amenities, welfare systems*

Introduction

Child labor remains a critical global issue with profound social, economic, and ethical implications. Work deprives children of their childhood, interferes with their education, and jeopardizes their physical and mental well-being (ILO, 2020). According to UNICEF, sub-Saharan Africa has the highest prevalence of child labor, with over 70% of these children working in agriculture, often under hazardous conditions (UNICEF 2023). Cocoa farming, as a major sector in agriculture, has consistently drawn attention for its reliance on child labor. Addressing child labor in cocoa-producing regions is essential not only for protecting children's rights, but also for ensuring sustainable agricultural development. In Nigeria, a significant cocoa producer, the issue persists, particularly in rural communities such as the Idanre Local Government Area in Ondo State. This study focused on understanding the protective mechanisms available within these communities and offered a pathway for informed interventions.

Previous studies have extensively documented the prevalence and drivers of child labor in cocoa-producing regions. Numerous studies have focused on countries such as Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana, which together account for nearly 60% of the global cocoa supply. Reports indicate that over 1.5 million children are engaged in hazardous activities on cocoa farms in these countries, driven by poverty, inadequate access to education, and entrenched cultural norms (Human Rights Watch, 2020; NORC, 2020). These studies have provided valuable insights into the socioeconomic conditions that perpetuate child labor. However, they often neglect the role of community resilience and protective structures, which are crucial for mitigating risks and supporting child welfare. The introduction of the Protective Community Index (PCI) by the International Cocoa Initiative (ICI) represents a significant step toward addressing this gap. The PCI serves as a tool to evaluate the resilience of cocoa-growing communities, focusing on access to education, healthcare, and social infrastructure that can reduce child labor risks (ICI, 2023). Despite its potential, there have been limited applications of the PCI framework in Nigerian cocoa-producing communities, highlighting a critical gap in the literature.



The issue of child labor in cocoa-producing communities in Nigeria, is compounded by several systemic challenges. These include insufficient social amenities such as clean water and healthcare facilities, weak enforcement of child labor laws, and cultural practices that normalize children's involvement in farming activities. Although child labor contributes to immediate family income, it comes at a significant cost to children's education, health, and future opportunities. Studies suggest that strengthening community-based protective structures can play a pivotal role in reducing vulnerability (ILO, 2020; UNICEF, 2023). Therefore, this study aims to address this knowledge gap by investigating the protective mechanisms within Idanre's cocoa-producing communities and evaluating their effectiveness using the PCI framework. This study distinguishes itself from previous studies by focusing on the resilience and protective capacity of communities rather than merely documenting the prevalence of child labor. Specifically, it evaluates the availability and quality of social amenities and welfare systems within the cocoa-producing communities. By assessing these factors through the PCI lens, this study aimed to provide actionable insights for stakeholders, including policymakers, non-governmental organizations, and community leaders, to design targeted interventions that enhance child protection and foster sustainable community development. This study addresses a critical gap in the literature by focusing on the protective capacity of the cocoa-producing communities in Nigeria. The application of PCI seeks to illuminate pathways to reduce child labor risks and improve community resilience. The findings are expected to contribute significantly to the discourse on child labor, providing evidence-based recommendations for creating safer and more supportive environments for children in agricultural settings.

Materials and Methods

Study Area

This study was conducted in the Idanre Local Government Area, Ondo State, Nigeria, which is a significant cocoa-producing region in the southwestern part of the country, Nigeria. Ondo State is the largest cocoa producer in Nigeria and contributes significantly to its cocoa exports. Idanre, in particular, is characterized by its extensive cocoa farms and rural communities, where cocoa farming serves as the primary source of livelihood. The local climate, with distinct rainy and dry seasons, supports the cultivation of cocoa.

Population of the Study

The target populations were all cocoa-producing communities, including community leaders, farmers, teachers, and children, within the selected communities in the Idanre. These groups of people were chosen to provide diverse perspectives on child labor and community resilience.

Sampling Techniques (Sampling Procedure & Size)

A purposive sampling method was employed to select the respondents. Idanre Local Government Area was selected because of its prominence in cocoa production in the state. Eight cocoa-producing communities within Idanre were purposively selected to represent the area's cocoa-farming activities based on production capacities. Subsequently, 21 respondents were selected from each community, comprising one community leader, five teachers, five cocoa farmers, and ten children aged 5 to 17 years. This approach ensured representation across key stakeholders, resulting in a sample size of 168 respondents.

Method of Data Collection

Primary data were collected using structured questionnaires designed to gather information on the socioeconomic characteristics, level of children's involvement in cocoa production, availability of social amenities, and welfare structures in the eight cocoa-producing communities. The questionnaires were tailored to different respondent categories, including community leaders, farmers, teachers, and children, to ensure relevance and clarity. Data collection was conducted over a defined period with trained enumerators administering the questionnaires to ensure accuracy and consistency.

Measurement of Variables

This study measured both the dependent and independent variables:

- **Dependent Variable:** The Protective Community Index (PCI) was the dependent variable. It was measured using the tool developed by the International Cocoa Initiative (ICI). PCI measures community resilience based on factors such as access to quality education, healthcare, and other protective structures.
- **Independent Variables:** These included socioeconomic characteristics such as age, gender, ethnic group, marital status, family structure, household size, farm size, level of education, reasons for children's involvement in cocoa production activities, and the availability of social amenities and welfare structures within the communities.



Data Analysis

The collected data were analyzed using descriptive and inferential statistical techniques. Descriptive statistics, including frequency distributions, percentages, and means, were used to summarize respondents' socioeconomic characteristics and community features. Inferential statistics, specifically Pearson product-moment correlation, were employed to test the hypotheses and determine the relationships between variables. The significance level was set at $P < 0.05$.

Results

Socioeconomic Characteristics of Respondents

The demographic characteristics of the respondents provided valuable insights into the social structure of cocoa-producing communities in the Idanre Local Government Area. Figure 1 highlights the respondents' age categories. This reveals that leadership roles were exclusively held by men aged 57-82 years, reflecting a traditional reliance on experience and seniority in community governance. Among the cocoa farmers, 50.4% were aged 44-56 years, while only 1% were between 18-30 years, underscoring a critical gap in youth participation. On the other hand, teachers were younger, with 70.8% aged 18-43 years, likely due to the profession's formal training requirements and appeal to younger demographics.

The sex distribution in Figure 2 highlights significant disparities. Leadership and farming were dominated by men (100% of community leaders and 91.8% of cocoa farmers), whereas teaching was predominantly female (73.2%).

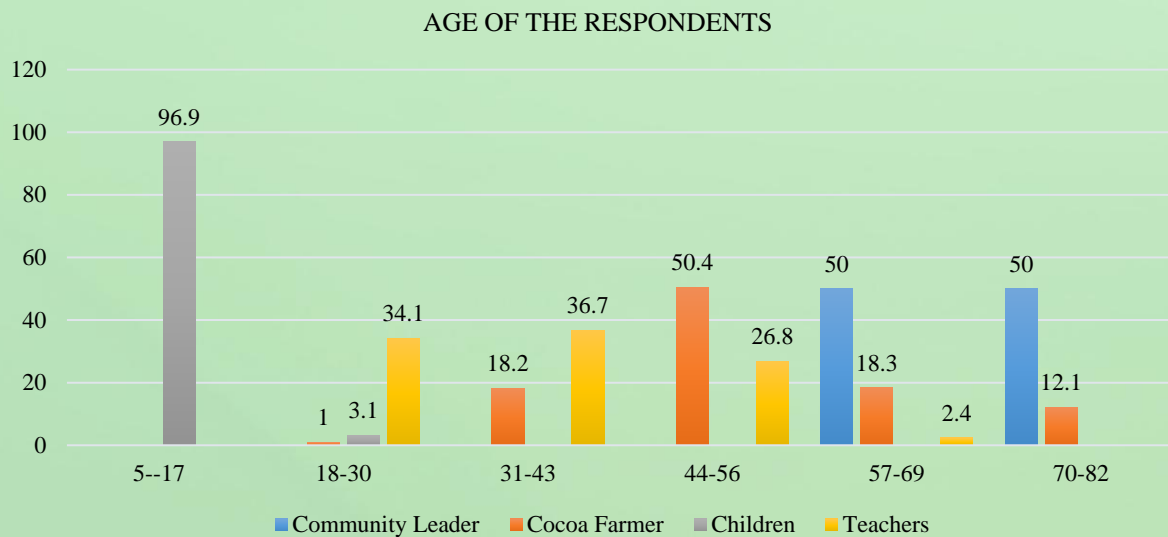


Figure 1. Frequency Distribution of the Age of the Respondents; Source: Field Survey, 2024

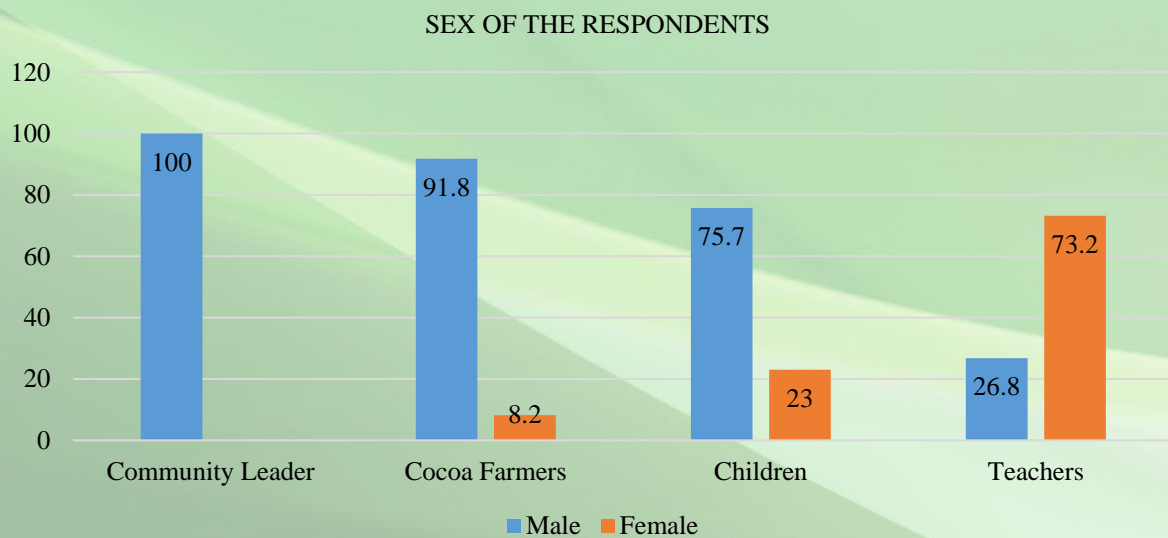


Figure 2. Frequency Distribution of the Sex of the Respondents; Source: Field Survey, 2024



The Level of Involvement of Children in Cocoa Production Activities

Table 1 shows that the level of involvement of children in cocoa production activities was minimal but notable, with 17.6% of the children engaging in cocoa production activities. The major activities include fetching water (mean = 2.11), the removal of cocoa beans (mean = 2.26), and turning fermented cocoa beans during the sun-drying process (mean = 2.36). Boys were more involved than girls, accounting for 75.7% of participants in cocoa production activities. The mean involvement score was 16.74 out of 50, indicating that most of the children’s contributions were supplementary rather than central to farm operations.

Availability of Social Amenities and Welfare Structures in the Communities

Table 2 indicates that the availability of social amenities was inadequate, which was a significant challenge for the communities. Access to clean water was limited, with only 40% of respondents reporting reliable sources. Healthcare center facilities and services were similarly inadequate, with just 35% of communities having consistent access. Preschool availability was reported in 87.5% of the communities, and 75% had primary schools. Awareness programs addressing child labor were conducted in 75% of the communities, but no structured initiatives specifically targeting child labor reduction were available.

Availability of Supporting Structures for Children Welfare in the Communities

Table 3 shows that the welfare structures supporting children, such as scholarships (20%) and feeding initiatives or programs (15%), were scarce, reflecting systemic underinvestment in child welfare infrastructure. Only 41.5% of schools had separate restrooms for boys and girls, while none of the schools provided food for students. Additionally, scholarships for secondary education were available in only 14.6% of schools, and 9.8% of schools still employed corporal punishment as a disciplinary method.

Protective Community Index

The Protective Community Index (PCI) of the eight communities was moderate with an average score of 57.6%. This indicates that there is room for improvement in child protection and community resilience.

Hypothesis

H₀₁: There is no significant relationship between the child's involvement in cocoa production and the Protective Community Index (PCI) of the study area.

The Relationship between Child Involvement in Cocoa Production and the PCI of the Study Area

Table 4 shows the results of the Pearson Product Moment Correlation (PPMC) analysis conducted to test this hypothesis. The results indicate that there is no significant relationship between the Protective Community Index (PCI) and child involvement in cocoa production activities (r = 0.06, p-value = 0.64).

Table 1. The Level of Involvement of Children in Cocoa Production Activities

Cocoa Production Activities	1 - 3	4 – 6	7 - 9	Mean
	Hours F (%)	Hours F (%)	Hours F (%)	
Nursery	45 (60.8)	9 (12.2)	1 (1.4)	1.94
Land/Farm Clearing	29 (39.2)	9 (12.2)		2.91
Transplanting	24 (32.4)	2 (2.7)		2.88
Fetching of Water	50 (67.6)	13 (17.6)	1 (1.4)	2.36
Spraying	8 (10.8)		2 (2.8)	1.71
Weeding	49 (66.2)	6 (8.1)		1.98
Pruning	11 (14.9)	4 (5.4)	1 (1.4)	1.86
Harvesting	13 (17.6)	9 (12.2)	3 (4.1)	2
Breaking of Pods	28 (37.8)	7 (9.5)	1 (1.4)	1.80
Removal of Cocoa Beans	24 (32.4)	34 (45.9)	7 (9.5)	2.36
Transport of Wet Cocoa Beans to the Fermentation Unit	8 (10.8)	1 (1.4)		1.77
Transport of Fermented Cocoa Beans to the Sun-Drying Unit	11 (14.9)		1 (1.4)	1.92
Turning the Fermented Cocoa Beans During the Sun-Drying Process	30 (40.5)	26 (35.1)	5 (6.9)	2.36
Transport of Dried Cocoa Beans to the Store	5 (6.8)			1.86
Transport/Carry Sack of Dried Cocoa Seeds from the Store into Dispatched Truck/Lorry	1 (1.4)			1.54

Source: Field Survey, 2024



Table 2. Availability of Social Amenities/Infrastructures in the Communities

Availability of Social Amenities/Infrastructures	Frequency	Percentage
Source of Clean Water		
River	2	25.0
Borehole	6	75.0
Healthcare Center		
Community Health Center	6	75.0
State Hospital	2	12.5
Community Households Hire Children for Cocoa Producing Activities		
Yes	1	12.5
No	7	87.5
Community Households Hire Adult Labourers for Cocoa Producing Activities		
Yes		
No	8	100
Awareness of Child Labor		
Yes	6	75.0
No	2	25.0
Availability of Pre-school in the Communities		
Yes	7	87.5
No	1	12.5
Availability of Primary Schools in the Communities		
Yes	6	75.0
No	2	25.0
Availability of Scholarships for the Children's Education		
Yes		
No	8	100
Availability of Community-Based Initiatives Addressing Child Labor		
Yes		
No	8	100

Source: Field Survey, 2024

Table 3. Availability of Supporting Structures for Children Welfare in the Communities

Availability of Supporting Structures for Children Welfare	Frequency	Percentage
Availability of restrooms in the primary school(s)		
Yes	16	41.5
No	24	58.5
Provision of Food in the primary school(s)		
Yes		
No	40	100
Availability of scholarships to attend high school		
Yes	5	14.6
No	35	85.4
Corporal punishment in primary schools		
Yes	4	9.8
No	37	90.2
School Regular Attendance		
Yes	34	85.4
No	6	14.6
School Absent Attendance in A Month		
1 day	4	9.8
2 days	19	48.8
3 days	11	26.8
4 days	3	7.3
5 days	3	7.3
School Absent Attendance in A Term		
2 weeks	22	56.1
3 weeks	14	34.1
4 weeks	3	7.3
10 weeks	1	2.4

Source: Field Survey, 2024



Table 4. Result of Pearson Products Moment Correlation between Child Involvement in Cocoa Production Activities and the PCI of the Study Area

Variable	r-value	p-value	Decision
Involvement Level vs. PCI	0.06	0.64	Not Significant

Source: Field Survey, 2024

Discussion

The gender imbalance in farming and leadership highlights persistent cultural norms that restrict women's participation in these roles, potentially limiting the inclusion of diverse perspectives in community decision making. The findings of this study provide critical insights into the dynamics (social and cultural norms) of cocoa-producing communities in the Idanre Local Government Area. The dominance of older men in leadership and farming roles aligns with traditional expectations of authority and physical labor. However, the low participation of youth in cocoa farming presents a critical challenge to the sustainability of cocoa production in Idanre. Young people's preference for urban employment opportunities underscores the need for policies that make agriculture more appealing through training, mechanization, and financial incentives. The low participation of adults in cocoa farming aligns with previous research highlighting youth migration to urban areas in search of alternative livelihoods (Amankwah et al. 2019).

Child labor in the study area, although limited and not widespread, remains a pressing concern. The fetching water activity involves providing water for various cocoa production processes or activities. It is straightforward and manageable for children, yet it demands physical effort and time that could otherwise be allocated to education. The removal of cocoa beans activity involves extracting beans from cocoa pods, an activity that requires handy work but not with physical strength, making it suitable for children. Although non-hazardous, excessive involvement could impact their school attendance. The turning of fermented cocoa beans activity is crucial in ensuring even drying during the sun-drying process. It is repetitive but not physically taxing, making it accessible for children. These activities are relatively simple and do not pose significant hazards to children. While these activities are non-hazardous, their implications for child labor must not be overlooked. Children's participation often aligns with household economic pressures, contributing to a school absenteeism rate of 5.4%. Although the activities are supplementary and do not directly endanger children, their involvement can disrupt educational continuity and overall development. The mean involvement score of 16.74 and 5.4% school absenteeism rate emphasize the need for targeted interventions to address the root causes of child labor, such as poverty and inadequate access to education. These findings suggest that economic pressures compel families to involve children in farm activities, although in a limited capacity. Gender disparities in child labor, with boys being more engaged, mirror the broader cultural expectations that assign physically demanding tasks to male children. Addressing these disparities requires community-specific strategies that balance economic needs with children's right to education and development. This finding shows the need for programs that address household economic needs while emphasizing the importance of education are critical. Awareness campaigns and community-based interventions can ensure children's involvement in cocoa production remains minimal and non-disruptive to their education in school and well-being.

Inadequacy of social amenities and welfare structures is a critical issue. The implications of these findings are significant. Limited access to clean water increases the risk of waterborne diseases, potentially leading to poor health outcomes and reduced school attendance. Inadequate healthcare facilities mean that illnesses are often untreated, make absenteeism worse and lower productivity. The absence of scholarships restricts educational advancement, causing economic hardship and the reliance on child labor. Furthermore, the lack of dedicated community initiatives to combat child labor leaves children vulnerable to exploitation, despite some level of awareness. Improving the availability and quality of these amenities is critical to enhancing the well-being of children and their communities. Investments in infrastructure, education, and health programs are essential for breaking the cycle of poverty and promoting sustainable development. These findings are consistent with studies that highlight the role of social infrastructure in mitigating child labor and promoting community development (ILO, 2020; UNICEF, 2023). The lack of separate restrooms particularly affects girls' school attendance and hygiene, while the absence of school feeding programs makes absenteeism worse and reduces the time children spend on education. Limited access to scholarships further restricts opportunities for higher education, perpetuating poverty and child labor. Although most schools do not practice corporal punishment, its presence in a few community schools shows the need for broader awareness and adoption of child-friendly disciplinary methods.

These deficiencies highlight the vulnerability of these communities to socioeconomic shocks and their limited capacity to support child protection. Addressing these deficiencies requires a holistic approach that includes investment in school infrastructure, the introduction of feeding programs, and expanded access to scholarships. Such interventions can enhance attendance rates, support children's well-being, and reduce their vulnerability to child labor, fostering a more protective environment within cocoa-producing communities.





A moderate PCI score of 57.6% indicated both progress and gaps in child protection within these communities. That is there are moderate protective measures, but significant improvements are needed. Investments in education, child welfare, and infrastructure are crucial to strengthening community resilience and reducing child labor. Expanding access to scholarships and feeding programs, improving healthcare, and implementing targeted interventions can create a more protective environment for children in cocoa-producing communities.

The lack of correlation highlights the possibility that other underlying factors, such as poverty, cultural norms, and economic dependency, play a more dominant role in driving child labor. These findings align with existing literature, which emphasizes that while community initiatives are valuable, they often fail to address deeper structural issues such as income inequality and inadequate access to education. This suggests that community-level protective measures, such as awareness campaigns or local initiatives designed to reduce child labor, may not directly influence the degree of children's participation in cocoa farming. Effective interventions should extend beyond community-level protective measures to include comprehensive strategies targeting economic reforms, educational support, and stronger enforcement of child labor policies. Such an integrated approach can help mitigate the socioeconomic and cultural factors contributing to child labor in cocoa-producing communities. Thus, enhancing social amenities, promoting gender equality, and supporting educational initiatives are essential for creating a more protective environment for children.

References

- Aiken, S. and Cornel, P. (2021). The role of child labor in global agriculture: case studies from developing regions. *Agricultural Economics*, 52(3), 439-460.
- Akinagbe, O., Adediran, T., and Adediran, A. (2020). Intra-Household Roles in Cocoa Production in Ondo State, Nigeria. *African Journal of Ecology*, 22(3), 822-829. <https://www.ajol.info/index.php/aje/article/view/178700/168077>
- Akwetey-Kodjoe, M. (2023). LWR launches war against child labor in the cocoa value chain. *BusinessDay NG*. <https://penpushing.com.ng/stakeholders-team-up-to-wage-war-against-child-labour-in-cocoa-farms/>
- Alfers, L., and Moussie, R. (2022). Educational barriers and child labor: The role of quality schooling in reducing child labor. *UNESCO Education Review*, 62(1), 87-105.
- Alston, P., and Taylor, C. (2021). Inadequate monitoring and reporting of child labor.
- American Psychological Association (APA). (2022). *Psychological Impact of Child Labor: Stress, Anxiety, and Trauma*. Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.
- Baland, J. M., and Robinson, J. A. (2020). Child labor and poverty: reassessment. *Journal of Development Economics*, 144, 101-113.
- Bammeke, F. A., and Adebayo, I. (2019). Barriers to Women's Participation in Rural Agriculture: A Case Study. *Journal of Gender Studies*, 14(3), 201-210.
- Basu, K. and Tzannatos, Z. (2021). Global Child Labor Problem: What Do We Know and What Can We Do? *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, 34(3), 47-72.
- Bourdillon, M., Levison, D., Myers, W. E. (2020). *Children at work: Perspectives on child labor*. Rutgers University Press, Vol.
- Boyden, J. and Myers, W. E. (2021). Children's Work and Welfare: New Perspectives on Child Labor. *International Labour Review*, 160(1), 101-120.
- Bunnak, R., and Beegle, K. (2021). Institutional failures and the persistence of child labor in developing countries. *World Bank Economic Review*, 35(2), 275-303.
- Burke, M. and Diffenbaugh, N. (2020). Natural disasters and child labor: How does climate change exacerbate exploitation? *Environmental Economics and Policy Studies*, 22(1), 112-128.
- Child Soldiers International. (June, 2022). *World Report 2022: Children and Armed Conflict*. <https://www.stimson.org/2023/2022-human-rights-reports-insights-into-global-child-soldier-recruitment-use/>
- Clemens, M., and Kremer, M. (2020). Governance failures and child labor in developing nations: Exploring regulatory gaps. *Development Policy Review*, 38(4), 617-639.
- Das, S., and Kapoor, N. (2020). Cycles of debt and labor: Examining debt bondage in rural agricultural communities. *World Development* 132, 104978.
- De Groot, R., and Reuben, P. (2020). Unhealthy family environments and child labor in low-income contexts. *Family Studies Journal*, 40(2), 172-189.
- Devereux, S. and Sabate, R. (2023). Impact of underfunded education on child labor in conflict zones. *Journal of International Education Development*, 47(4), 498-519.
- Edmond, E. V. and Shrestha, M. (2021). Poverty as a driver of child labor in developing countries. *Journal of Economic Development*, 46(3), 513-534.
- Edmonds, E. V. and Shrestha, M. (2020). Economic Perspectives on Child Labor. *Journal of Labor Economics*, 38(3), 654-685.





- Elson, D. and Walker, C. (2020). Domestic work and the exploitation of children in developing economies. *Gender & Development*, 28(2), 303-319.
- Estrada, F., and Forsberg, M. (2020). Children and organized crime: Global perspectives on youth involvement in criminal activities. *European Journal of Criminology*, 17(4), 563-578.
- Folami, S. K., and Adekoya, F. A. (2021). The role of community participation in improving child labor monitoring. *Rural Community Development Journal*, 17(3), 102-118.
- Franck, P. and Schwarz, T. (2020). Educational outcomes and child labor: A mixed-methods study in Nigeria. *International Journal of Educational Studies*, 15(4), 209-221.
- Gibbon, P. and Ferguson, R. (2020). Youth migration and the growth of urban informal work. *Journal of Urban Studies*, 33(2), 120-132.
- Hine, P. and Garces, J. (2022). Economic survival strategies and prevalence of child labor in poverty-stricken communities. *Development Economics Quarterly*, 59(2), 254-276.
- Human Rights Watch. (2020). *A Bitter Harvest: Child Labor and Human Rights Abuses on West African Cocoa Farms and Child Labor in the Global Supply Chain*.
- International Labor Organization (ILO). (2019). *Debt bondage and forced labor in contemporary global economies. ILO Report on Modern Slavery*.
- International Cocoa Initiative (ICI). (2023). *Protective Community Index*.
- International Labour Organization (ILO). (2022). *Child Labor: Global Estimates 2020, trends, and challenges*. Geneva, Switzerland: International Labour Organization.
- Jensen, R. T. (2022). Risk aversion and child labor in developing economies. *Economic Development and Cultural Change*, 70(2), 451-480.
- Kessler, D. and Lall, S. (2021). Children in the illegal drug trade: Assessing the impact of organized crime on youth labor exploitation. *Criminal Justice Review*, 46(4), 397-417.
- Laczko, F., and McAuliffe, M. (2020). *Human Trafficking and Migrant Smuggling: Global Analysis*. Geneva, Switzerland: International Organization for Migration (IOM) Research Series.
- McGrath, S., and Philips, L. (2021). Child slavery in the modern world: examining exploitation in global supply chains. *Global Labor Journal*, 12(2), 143-159.
- Miller, J., Richardson, L. (2023). *Combating child sexual exploitation: global perspectives on child prostitution and pornography*. *Social Work Journal*, 45(1), 79-98.
- NORC, University of Chicago. (2020). *Assessing Progress in Reducing Child Labor in Cocoa Production in Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana*. Chicago, IL: NORC at the University of Chicago.
- Oseni, K. A. and Ajibola, A. O. (2022). Socioeconomic dynamics of child labor in cocoa farming: Insights from Nigeria's rural communities. *African Journal of Developmental Economics*, 15(1), 51-65.
- Patel, N., and Chen, Z. (2022). *Factory work and child labor: International labor standards and enforcement*. *International Labour Review*, 161(1), 121-138.
- Plan International. (2021). *Breaking the cycle of child labor in agriculture: A report on efforts to protect children*.
- Save the Children. (2020, 2022). *Child Labor in Agriculture and Cocoa Farming in Nigeria: Understanding the Issues and Solutions*.
- Singer, P. (2022). Children in armed conflict: Legal protection and humanitarian responses. *Journal of International Humanitarian Law*, 24(3), 287-310.
- UN Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR). (2023). *Children's Rights and Business Principles*.
- UNESCO. (2023). *Education for All: Global Monitoring Reports*. Paris: UNESCO.
- UNICEF, Mundy, K., & Roberts, J. (2021). *Children in mines: An exploration of child labor in artisanal mining*. UNICEF Policy Paper on Child Rights.
- UNICEF. (2021, 2022, 2023). *Child Labour and The State of the World's Children 2022: Children, Food and Nutrition*. New York: UNICEF.
- Wessells, M. (2021). Child labor and armed conflict: examining the intersection of migration and exploitation. *Journal of Conflict Studies*, 40(1), 95-115.
- World Bank. (2019). *Ending Child Labor, Forced Labor, and Human Trafficking: Policy and Programmatic Interventions*. Washington, DC: World Bank.
- Zermoglio, A., and Rousseau, D. (2020). Moral corruption in child labor: A psychological analysis of hazardous work environments. *Journal of Child Psychology*, 57(6), 728-744.

