

Economic impact of cocoa culture in Ivory Coast and in Ghana from 1980 to 2015

Abstract

The introduction of cocoa cultivation in Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana, even if it followed different paths, eventually established itself as one of the main sources of incomes for millions of farmers, but also for the two states. Following independence, in 1957 for Ghana and 1960 for Côte d'Ivoire, cocoa farming underwent unprecedented development. Dividends from the sale of cocoa contributed to the economic dynamism of both countries until 1980, when the economic crisis hit the economies of African countries hard. Despite the fall in prices on the international market, Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana have continued to make cocoa the mainstay of their economies, and are now the world's leading and second largest producers. This deeply empirical study, based specifically on documentary research, takes stock of cocoa growing in the two countries from 1980 to 2015. It also looks at the economic impact of this cash crop in Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana from the start of the economic crisis in the 1980s to 2015.

Keywords: cocoa, development, forest, production, income, area

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Introduction

Ivory Coast and Ghana are two countries in West Africa. French and British colony, their history is closely linked from the point of view of settlement and economy. Indeed, the day after independence, despite political and economic differences, the vision of Félix Houphouët Boigny and Kwame Nkrumah, respectively president of Côte d'Ivoire and prime minister of Ghana, for their country is to achieve as quickly as possible possible economic, homogeneous and sustainable development. This is how they made agriculture one of the essential links in economic growth. This choice paid off. During the first twenty years of independence, even if in terms of Gross Domestic Production (GDP), that of Côte d'Ivoire was more stable compared to that of Ghana because of coups d'état and a currency in difficulty, it is important to remember that agriculture with the added bonus of cocoa farming has played a big role in the economy of these two countries.

A culture introduced by the English and French colonizers, cocoa, through its development, has placed Ivory Coast and Ghana as the first and second world producer. However, the drop in the price of this raw material from 1980 had a considerable impact on the economies of both countries. Despite the implementation of Structural Adjustment Programs, the results of which were rather mixed, cocoa cultivation was still seen as the solution to try to overcome the never-ending debt bottleneck. When it comes to looking at the study of the importance of cocoa farming in the economy of Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana, we note that this is not a new field of study. Indeed, authors such as Garceau,¹ Petithuguenin,² Freud, Petithuguenin et al, Ruf³ have been interested in the conditions of cocoa production and development in the two countries.

As for Tano,⁴ Gauze,⁵ Anane,⁶ Lake,⁷ Ruf⁸ they focused on the history, the situation of planters and the cocoa industry in the regions of production in the world and in Africa. In 1980, despite poor cocoa sales, Ivory Coast and Ghana still hoped for an improvement in the situation. Indeed, in economic difficulties, the sale of cocoa still represents an undeniable source of income for these countries and for thousands of farmers. This is how for more than four decades, despite agricultural diversification, the economies of Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana

have been closely linked to cocoa farming. Based on this observation, our concern is to know: what was the economic impact of cocoa farming in Ivory Coast and Ghana from 1980 to 2015?

This article, far from being a comparative study, aims to open a page in the history of cocoa in these two countries, especially from 1980 to immerse us in the evolution of cultivation (surface area and production) and the economic impact of its development. To do this, we used documents dealing with the history of cocoa in Ivory Coast and Ghana. We also collected works and reports on cocoa production methods around the world. The articles and theses consulted provided quantified data concerning surface areas, production and income from sales. The methodological approach chosen for this purely empirical study is the collection, cross-checking and cross-checking of documents to be used. Through the analysis of our documentation, this methodology allows us on the one hand to examine the state of cocoa farming in Ivory Coast and Ghana from 1980 to 2015 and on the other hand to address the economic impact of cocoa cultivation in these two countries.

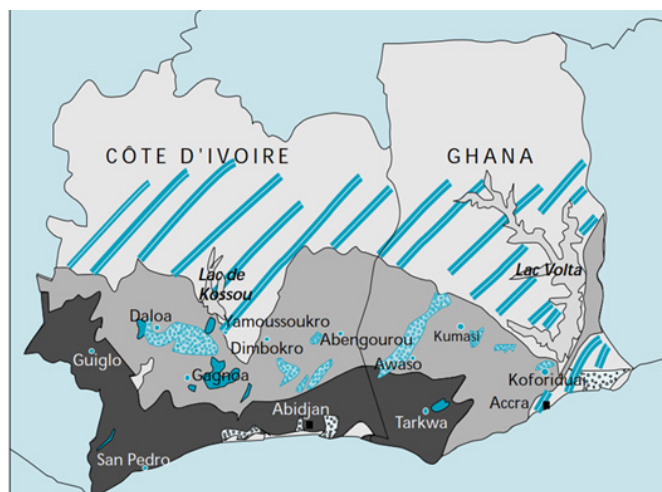
State of play of cocoa cultivation in Ivory Coast and Ghana

If the populations of Central America (the Mayans and the Aztecs) had known cocoa for millennia, it was not until the end of the 19th century that this culture was introduced to Africa. It was during this period that Ghana and Ivory Coast experienced cocoa farming under pressure from the English and French colonizers. Initially resistant to this culture because they did not know it, the populations began to practice it when they realized the benefits they could derive from it.¹ Cocoa established itself and became, after independence, an essential crop in the Ivorian and Ghanaian economies. However, in the mid-1980s, "world prices for most tropical products began a long fall to find themselves, in constant terms, at their lowest level".⁸ This situation does not prevent Ghana and Ivory Coast from banking on cocoa to get out of the economic crisis.

¹<https://www.greenprojectafrica.org/node/83>, accessed October 31, 2023 at 2:54 p.m.

Evolution of areas planted with cocoa in Ivory Coast and Ghana

For the development of this culture, the two countries can count on practically the same natural assets. As Freud, Petithuguenin et al⁸ point out, these are important southern forest areas bordering the coast (See Map 1).



Map 1 The cocoa growing areas of Ivory Coast and Ghana.

Source Petithuguenin Philippe²

The map shows that the preferred areas for cocoa cultivation in the two countries remain the forest areas of the South, East, South-East, West, South-West and some incursions in the Center. If the cultivation technique remains somewhat archaic, the development of cocoa farming in Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana was “done in the same extensive mode, through agricultural systems combining food crops with export crops the first years, on cleared forest plots”.⁸ The planted areas evolved according to the interest that planters gave to this crop in both countries. However, from the 1980s to the end of the 1990s, the evolution of cocoa cultivated areas varied from one country to another with a strong propensity for cultivation in Côte d'Ivoire. Indeed, according to figures from BCEAO, there were 837,000 hectares of cocoa in 1980, and one million hectares will be reached in 1985.

On the eve of the 1990s, Côte d'Ivoire could count on 1,373,000 hectares of cocoa plantations. As for Ghana, Barral, Ruf⁸ announces that in 1990, the country had no less than 1,000,000 hectares. The overall observation is that at the level of the two countries, the cultivated areas have evolved according to market needs and the importance of this crop in the economies of Ghana and Ivory Coast. A survey carried out in Ghana by Jannot, Kalms⁹ showed that at the end of August 1995, on approximately 29% of the area surveyed, namely 2,178,769 hectares, they came to the conclusion that 475,151 hectares were planted with cocoa. Which indicates the importance of this culture in this neighboring country to the east of Côte d'Ivoire. This evolution of planted areas is still perceptible in Ghana when in 2010, Barral, Ruf⁸ recorded 1,500,000 hectares of cocoa plantations on Ghanaian territory.

Regarding Côte d'Ivoire during this period, the BCEAO figures (2014) show in 2009 (2,176,000 hectares), 2011 (2,495,000 hectares) and 2012 (2,500,000 hectares). In 2015, the date this study ended, Hütz-Adams, Huber et al (2016) mentioned 2,730,000 hectares of cocoa in Côte d'Ivoire and 1,890,000 hectares in Ghana. The observation that we can make about the areas planted with cocoa in

Ivory Coast and Ghana is that the crisis of the 1980s did not dampen the enthusiasm of those in the agricultural world to develop this cash crop. This will have the consequence of increasing production during our study period.

Production from plantations in Ivory Coast and Ghana

In Ivory Coast and Ghana, cocoa farming occupies a prominent place in the agricultural sector. Due to their rank as the first and second largest producer in the world, this cash crop contributes significantly to the income of millions of planters and, in turn, to the economic resources of these two countries. These dividends from cocoa are linked to the high production in both countries. Indeed, despite the economic crisis which hit the Ghanaian and Ivorian economies head-on in 1980, the rapidly growing cocoa production seems to be a solution to clear the debt. Thus, according to figures published by Freud, Petithuguenin,² Ghana's cocoa production was 258,000 tonnes and that of Côte d'Ivoire hovered at 417,000 tonnes. Production continued to grow until 1983, when the great drought impacted this growth in production. Based on this observation, Kolavalli, Vigneri¹⁰ highlight a drop in Ghana's production (160,000 tonnes) in 1983/1984, reducing Ghana's share to 10% and leaving it in third place among producers behind Brazil and the Ivory Coast". In the same vein, Ivorian production also experienced a decline in 1982-1983 (360,000 tonnes). To better understand the production at the level of the two countries, let us refer to the following table.

The figures in the table indicate variable growth in cocoa production in Ivory Coast and Ghana. If in terms of production, Côte d'Ivoire has outstripped Ghana over the years, it should nevertheless be noted that since the end of the great drought of 1983, the production of both countries has experienced a certain increase. Ivory Coast exceeded “the threshold of 500,000 tonnes in 1984-1985”¹¹ at a time when Ghanaian production exceeded 200,000 tonnes to reach 300,000 according to the figures in the table in 1988. At the beginning of the 1990s, Ivorian production experienced a slight decline compared to that of 1988. However, it was short-lived, to the extent that in 1994, in the midst of the crisis of the devaluation of the CFA Franc, the Production picked up again and the level of national production remained almost stable until 1994.

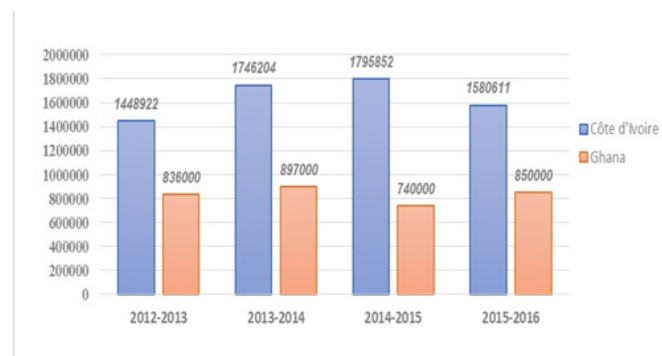


Figure 1 Cocoa production in Ivory Coast and Ghana from 2012-2015 in thousands of tonnes.

Source The Café Cocoa Council (2016), Evolution of the coffee-cocoa sector from 2012 to 2017 and Friedel Hütz-Adams, Claudia Huber, Irene Knoke et al.¹⁴

Overall, the period from 1995 to 2000 is characterized by an increase in production in both countries, despite the fact that in Côte d'Ivoire, the military coup of 1999 somewhat disrupted production of cocoa. During this period from 1995 to 2000, Côte d'Ivoire experienced growth in its production following “new waves of migration, notably that of young urban dwellers and the clearing

of the last so-called classified forest reserves, notably that of Taï in South-West Ivory Coast”.⁴ As for Ghana, “production has jumped to more than 600,000 tonnes since 2002-2003”.³ In turn, it should be noted that from the 2000s onwards, West African production was dominated by Côte d’Ivoire (1.3 million tonnes in 2005) and Ghana (600,000 tonnes) which produced nearly 60% of the world’s cocoa”.¹²

Table 1 Cocoa production in Ivory Coast and Ghana (in thousand tonnes)

Year	Ivory Coast	Ghana
1984	565	175
1986	661	228
1988	868	300
1990	804	293
1992	800	312
1994	850	310
1996	1.108	323
1998	1,100	370
2000-2001	1.212	395
2005-2006	1.408	741
2010-2011	1,511	1025
2011-2012	1,486	879

Source Ellen Hanak Freud, Philippe Petithuguenin, Jacques Richard,⁸ The cocoa fields: An Africa-Asia competitiveness challenge and Friedel Hütz-Adams, Claudia Huber, Irene Knoke,¹⁴ “Strengthening the competitiveness of cocoa production and increasing the income of cocoa producers in West and Central Africa”.

Table 2 Cocoa price to producers per tonne (Ghana and Ivory Coast)

Year	Ghana (Cedis/T)	Ivory Coast (FCFA/T)
1980	4000	300,000
1982	12,000	350,000
1984	30,000	400,000
1986	85,000	400,000
1988	165,000	400,000
1990	224,000	200,000
1992	258,000	200,000
1994	700,000	315,000
1996	1,200,000	315,000
1998	2,250,000	570,000

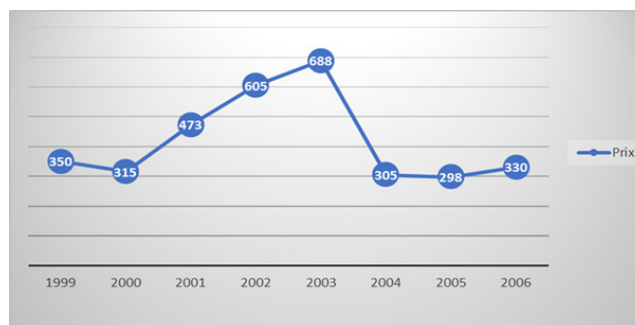
Source Table established from data from Ellen Hanak Freud, Philippe Petithuguenin, Jacques Richard. The cocoa fields: An Africa-Asia competitiveness challenge.⁸

During the decade (2000-2010), cocoa production evolved depending on the political situation in the two countries. In Côte d’Ivoire, this period was marked by the deterioration of the political environment due to an attempted coup d’état in 2002 which led to the partition of the country in two. A government zone in the South and armed rebellion in the North. Although part of the cocoa growing zone in the West is under the control of the rebellion, Tano⁴ still emphasizes that national production was less affected because the Ivorian Government took measures to secure most of the cocoa growing areas and infrastructure such as the port of San-Pedro, in the South-West, the leading cocoa export port. Thus, we witnessed a stabilization of production from 2005 to 2009 which stood at around 1,300,000 tonnes on average per year.

In Ghana, total cocoa production was “450,000 tonnes in 2000 and 900,000 tonnes in 2010”.¹³ When we stick to the words of Hütz-Adams, Huber,¹⁵ the annual production of the ten years from the

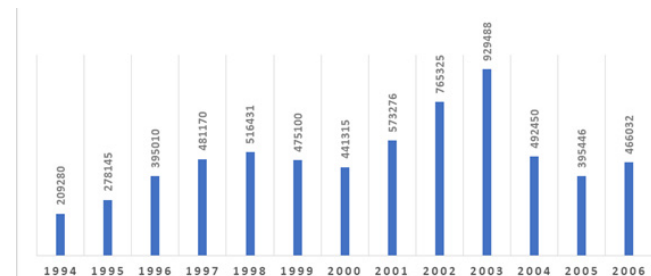
2005-2006 campaign to that of 2014-2015, production in Ghana has experienced strong fluctuations but no real increase. On the other hand, production in Côte d’Ivoire increased by 24% between 2005 and 2015. To better understand these different developments, let us refer to this graph.

The overall observation that we make from the data in this graph is that cocoa production at the level of the two countries is variable. At a time when Ivory Coast is experiencing growth in its production after the post-electoral crisis of 2010, Ghana is also following the trend. Indeed, from 2012 to 2014, Ivory Coast and Ghana maintained the course as the first and second producer of “Brown gold” in the world. In 2014-2015, at a time when Côte d’Ivoire is benefiting from the fallout from the reform of the sector to increase its production, neighboring Ghana suffered a drop in its production (740,000 tonnes) at the end of 2014. For the 2015-2016 season, Ivorian production experienced a decline where the Ghanaian harvest experienced a resurgence with a fairly good harvest which stood at “850,000 tonnes, an increase of 16% compared to 2014, a year marked by unfavorable rainfall in a context of plant aging”.¹⁵ In total, despite the observed drop in Ivorian production in 2015-2016, overall there was a growth of 24% in production in Côte d’Ivoire. Furthermore, if we stick to the writings of Hütz-Adams, Huber et al,¹⁴ the strong position of Côte d’Ivoire on the market corresponds to the general increase in global cocoa production between 2005 and 2015. This is also the case for Ghana’s harvests which also strongly influence the market. This development in production at the level of the two countries has had repercussions on the one hand on the economies of Ghana and Ivory Coast and on the other hand on the lives of producers.



Graph 2 Price of cocoa in Ivory Coast from 1999 to 2006 in FCFA.

Source Graph made from data from Yannick Paule Estelle Gnamian.¹⁸



Graph 3 Gross income of producers in Côte d’Ivoire from 1994 to 2006 in FCFA.

Source Graph made from data from Yannick Paule Estelle Gnamian, 2008.¹⁸

Economic impact of cocoa farming at the level of the two countries

Ghana and Ivory Coast produce two-thirds of the world’s cocoa. As a result, cocoa plays an important role in local and national

economies, providing “jobs, improving livelihoods and social well-being, broadening the tax base, family and business income and growth. foreign exchange earnings”.¹⁶

Economic importance of cocoa in Ivory Coast and Ghana

Cocoa, one of the main tropical export commodities, did not escape the crisis of the 1980s. Indeed, according to Freud, Petithuguenin et al, between 1984 and 1993, its price fell by half in currency terms. Current and two thirds in real currency. However, this situation has not discouraged the two producing countries and the millions of farmers who mostly live off the income from cocoa farming. Indeed, since the mid-1970s, Ivory Coast's cocoa export revenues have not kept pace with the increase in production volumes. At the end of the 1980s and the beginning of the 1990s, “the country suffered from an economic recession, which demonstrates the impact that the volatility of international cocoa prices can have on a national economy dominated by cocoa revenues. “cocoa export”.¹⁷ Despite all the difficulties, cocoa was and remains the main economic resource, providing on average approximately “35% of the total value of Ivorian exports and seven hundred and fifty billion (750 billion) francs of the African financial community (FCFA)”.¹⁸ In Ghana, during the period 1985 to 1987, cocoa contributed “25% to the economy, demonstrating that cocoa continues to play a central role in the country's budget”.¹⁰ Given the importance of this culture in both countries, it is agriculture in itself which thus asserts its primacy in economic activity. Despite wavering purchase prices, cocoa continues to play its role in the economy of these two countries. As for Côte d'Ivoire, culture employed in 2007, “66% of the active population and contributing 70% to export revenues. The agricultural sector as a whole then represented 28.3% of GDP in Côte d'Ivoire in 2008.⁴As the world's leading cocoa producer with 40% of world production, Côte d'Ivoire made gains during the 2001-2002 campaign, according to Losch¹⁹ cited by Brou and N'guessan.²⁰ financial resources to the tune of 580 billion CFA francs (884 million euros), including 400 billion FCFA for the State of Côte d'Ivoire and 180 billion FCFA for the management organizations of the coffee-cao sector.

This sector, given its importance, represents “10% of GDP, the country's primary source of foreign currency and exports of cocoa beans and processed cocoa represented nearly 45% of the country's export revenue in 2003, or nearly 2.1 billion EUR”.²¹ In neighboring Ghana, it should be noted that over the years, as GK Animah¹³ points out, cocoa production has established itself as the main cash crop that contributes to GDP. It is the most important agricultural product that Ghana produces and the main source of income for its economy. Even though cocoa is Ghana's second largest foreign exchange earner, it accounts for about 30% of all export earnings and accounts for about 57% of all export earnings. Of the country » GK Animah.¹³ Furthermore, according to data from Owusu, Ofori-Gyamfi,²² the export of cocoa paste earned \$285.7 million in 2009 and \$539.1 million in 2010 in Ghana. Regarding cocoa butter, the values were 90.3 million dollars in 2009 and 127.1 million in 2010. During the first quarter of 2011, export earnings from cocoa beans and products amounted to “859.4 million dollars, or approximately 61% of total export revenues against 682.5 million dollars, an increase of 48.8% compared to 2010”.¹⁰

In Ivory Coast and Ghana, cocoa has a crucial influence on the national economy. This is how since 2011, “cocoa represents 1/3 of exports, 22% of GDP and 16% of tax revenues of Côte d'Ivoire”.²³ This cash crop continues to occupy the top of the table with regard to export products which provide enormous foreign exchange to

States. Indeed, cocoa remains “the leading export crop and the third export product after gold and oil in Ghana. It contributes to 10.2% of agricultural GDP (2014) and 22.7% of exports in 2014 (23.7% in 2015), 32.6% excluding oil”. These figures are supported by data from Republic of Ghana²⁴ which indicates that cocoa accounted for 21.5% of the country's GDP in 2014, and an average of 25.6% between 2009 and 2014. This represents a major proportion (16.9%) of the agricultural sector's contribution to GDP. Additionally, during the 2014-2015 season, “4.2 million tonnes of cocoa worth approximately USD 12 billion were produced worldwide, with 73% of global production coming from South Africa. West, including Ivory Coast (42% of world production), Ghana (18%)”.¹⁴ Subsequently, cocoa farming accounted for “35 to 40% of export revenues, 30% of contribution to Ghana's GDP in 2015”.⁵

During this same period, that is to say between 2014 and 2015, Ivorian production was “1,741,000 tonnes, or nearly 42% of world supply”.²⁵ This improvement in cocoa production provided “around 40% of Ivory Coast's export revenues and contributed 15% to the Gross Domestic Product”.²⁶ In terms of value, it is a total of “XOF 2,400 billion (EUR 3.7 billion), representing approximately 37% of Ivory Coast's exports”.¹⁴ Cocoa has established itself over the years as the primary source of income for Ivory Coast and Ghana. Based on this fact, what are its undue effects on the millions of planters who adopted this colonial culture?

Undue effects on Ivorian and Ghanaian producers

Cocoa farming in Ivory Coast involves more than “1,000,000 planters and their families, or a quarter of the Ivorian population”.²⁶ It contributes to the creation of numerous jobs in the secondary and tertiary sectors. In Ghana, there are approximately “6 million people who depend on the cocoa economy”. As we have seen, the fall in the price of cocoa caused a drop in the real purchase price of the product from farmers in both countries. But the consequences were more dramatic in Ivory Coast, where planters benefited from a solid environment with good remuneration conditions until 1988. However, the fall in cocoa prices from 1980 had an impact on farmers' income. Indeed, towards the end of the 1980s, prices fell. Between July 1987 and October 1989, the Ivorian government, for example, “blocked its exports of cocoa beans in what was called the “cocoa strike”. This action led by President Felix Houphouët Boigny,²⁷ in the hope of raising prices, was not followed by other producing countries. The market then looked for other sources of supply, which led to the collapse of the Ivorian cocoa sector.²⁷ On the other hand, in Ghana, as EH Freud, P. Petithuguenin et al point out, the start of the fall in world prices was, on the contrary, a period of improvement for the planters in 1987. With a drop of 40%, the Prices in the early 1990s were lower, certainly, but still above the even more derisory levels of the early 1980s, before the launch of the macroeconomic reform program. To better understand the prices offered to producers, let us refer to the following table.

The observation made from the figures in the table is that the price of a tonne of cocoa offered to Ivorian and Ghanaian producers is variable. In Ghana, the producer has experienced a marked increase in the price of a tonne of cocoa. From 4,000 Cedis/T in 1980, cocoa sold per tonne at 2,250,000 Cedis in 1998. This success is to be attributed to the actions of the State and the GHANA COCOA BOARD (COCOBOD),²⁸⁻³¹ a government organization which supports the production, processing and marketing of cocoa in Ghana.

Overall, the marketing of production did not experience too many tumults from 1980 to 1998. In Côte d'Ivoire, the price per tonne offered to producers experienced a slight increase from 1980 to 1982.

From 1984 to 1988, the Stabilization Fund played its role perfectly to guarantee a ceiling price to producers, even in times of crisis. Subsequently, at the beginning of the 1990s, the implementation of economic recovery programs from the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund had a negative impact on the Ivorian economy. The Stabilization Fund will be required to be dissolved in order to leave management of the coffee-cocoa sector in the hands of producers. This measure had an effect on the price which experienced a decline over two years, namely from 1990 to 1992. However, with the devaluation of the FCFA decided in January 1994, the change in parity of this currency with the French Franc would boost foreign trade of countries that use the FCFA, including Côte d'Ivoire. Thus, with the revival of cocoa prices on the international market and the favorable global economic situation, the price per tonne of cocoa offered to Ivorian producers experienced an evolution until the eve of 1999, the date of the dissolution of CAISTAB. If the actors expected "an improvement in the living conditions of producers, this objective was not achieved due to the importance of the levies which at times stood at more than 50% of world prices operated by the State in the cocoa sector".⁴ Which leads us to analyze this graph to get an idea of the prices offered to planters at the time and after the death of the stabilization fund.

If from 1994 to 1999, the price of cocoa was maintained and balanced for Ivorian producers with the stabilization system, this is not the case from 1999 to 2000. The data in the graph indicate a slight drop in the price offered to planters. It finds its explanation in the fact that the dissolution of CAISTAB came into force on the one hand, and on the other hand, the situation of political instability with the first military coup which shook the macroeconomic environment of the Ivory Coast. From 2000 to 2003, we noticed a clear change in the prices charged despite the crisis that shook Côte d'Ivoire with the partition of the country in two. The Ivorian authorities had taken all measures to secure the production zones, but also the port of San Pedro and that of Abidjan which are used for the export of Ivorian production. However, from 2004 to 2006, the figures show a decent decline in prices even if in 2006, a slight increase can be noted. This decline is attributed to pests and diseases such as swollen shoot and brown rot. Which leads us to analyze the gross income of Ivorian producers through this following graph.

The graph indicates growth in the gross income of Ivorian producers from 1994 to 1998 when the stabilization fund still existed. However, a drop in income was noted from 1999 to 2000, due to political-military difficulties and the dissolution of CAISTAB. During the period from 2001 to 2003, producers benefited from substantial income linked in part to the improvement in world cocoa prices, but also to the effort of the State of Côte d'Ivoire, which despite the crisis able to secure production areas and export ports. Incomes varied from 2004 to 2006, but above or practically equal to those received in the 1990s. Although Ivorian and Ghanaian producers have benefited from cocoa farming, many of them still remain poor. They encounter difficulties in maintaining increasing production for years due to the aging of orchards and planters and the lack of labor for maintaining the plantations. The reduction in plantation productivity indirectly leads to low incomes. Indeed, the lack of investment in the rejuvenation of cocoa trees leads to a drop in productivity which is accompanied by a reduction in income generated by the sale of cocoa. In 2015, figures show that "most cocoa farmers live below the poverty line defined by the World Bank of USD 1.90 per person per day".

If cocoa represents "the primary agricultural income for 93% of Ivorian planters [...], it is the only source of agricultural income for more than 40% of planters and the only source of income altogether

for almost a third. In Ghana, this crop covers the income of 86% of people. However, unlike Ivory Coast, the Ghanaian planter seeks to diversify his sources of income. This was also the case in Ivory Coast. Thus, in 1964, the Ivorian authorities decided to implement a vigorous policy of diversification. It concerned crops such as sugar cane, rubber, oil palm, cotton, cashew, pineapple, sweet banana and coconut. The objective was to find a way to escape the predominance of cocoa in its economy. However, after more than 40 years of independence and the implementation of all these policies, cocoa remains the best source of income for Ivory Coast and Ghana.

Conclusion

This study, far from making a comparison between Ivory Coast and Ghana in terms of the impact of cocoa production, allowed us to see the importance of this cash crop in the economy of these two countries. A culture introduced by the colonizer and imposed on the populations, it did not take long to impose itself when these colonized populations understood that they could get a better share of the sale of their production. This is how, during the first two decades of independence, Ivory Coast and Ghana positioned themselves to make cocoa the primary source of income for States and millions of planters. However, in 1980, economic difficulties linked to the dysfunctions of the international economic system plunged these two countries into crisis. One of the best alternatives to get out of this crisis was cocoa, the development of which is perceptible in Ivory Coast and Ghana. The planted areas have increased and production has evolved according to the areas. The economic benefits of the development of cocoa farming have been palpable in Ghana and Ivory Coast. The financial windfalls from the sale of production were used to finance the development of the country, but also to repay a large part of the debts contracted. The undue effects on producers are less visible. Indeed, in view of the prices offered to farmers, it appears from this study that they remain the poorest actors in the cocoa production chain. So, for how long will this situation continue?

Acknowledgments

None.

Conflicts of interest

The author declare that there is no conflicts of interest.

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