

## How Child Labor is Shaped by the Way Cocoa is Distributed Along the Global Supply Chain.

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*“Economics can be made more productive by paying explicit attention to ethical considerations that shape human behavior and judgments.” –Amartya Sen<sup>1</sup>*

Since the era of colonization, when cocoa beans were transplanted from South America to the tropical equator in the Global South, cocoa has steadily taken hold of the western palate and the corporate pocket. Historically, cocoa has been growing at a rate of 3% a year for the last one hundred years, and it is presently at an all time high.<sup>2</sup> Current cocoa prices are high mostly in part to speculation of cocoa as a commodity on global futures markets.<sup>3</sup> Additionally,

present growth in sales is stemming from emerging markets like India and china, increased “nutritionism” marketing concerning the health benefits of chocolate in places like the United States, and a growing consumer demand for higher cocoa mass percentages within the luxury chocolate market by western (and soon to be eastern) consumers to name a few reason. The majority of cocoa is consumed in North America and Europe, and overall, chocolate is a \$100 billion dollar industry.<sup>4</sup> The top six global corporate players in this sector are Nestle, ADM, Kraft/Cadbury, The Hershey Company, Lindt & Sprungli, and Olam International.<sup>5</sup> The west coast of Africa accounts for 70% of the world cocoa supply.<sup>6</sup> The Ivory Coast and Ghana make up 56 % with Ivory coast ahead of Ghana capturing 46% of the market. While there are over 4-5

<sup>1</sup> Amartya Sen, *On Ethics and Economics*. (Oxford: Blackwell, 1994)

<sup>2</sup> Elmasoer Ashitey, “Cocoa Report Annual,” *Global Agricultural Information Network*; USDA Foreign Agricultural Services 3/15/201, accessed from: [http://gain.fas.usda.gov/Recent%20GAIN%20Publications/Cocoa%20Report%20Annual\\_Accra\\_Ghana\\_3-15-2012.pdf](http://gain.fas.usda.gov/Recent%20GAIN%20Publications/Cocoa%20Report%20Annual_Accra_Ghana_3-15-2012.pdf).

<sup>3</sup> According to WVA “In July 2010, the millions of dollars made by commodity speculators were brought in to public focus when

Armajaro purchased 7% of the world’s cocoa – 240100 tonnes – driving cocoa prices to a 33 year high. Armajaro is one of the world’s leading cocoa and coffee focused hedge funds, which buys up futures contracts or physical stocks of commodities at one price, hoping to sell them at much higher prices at a later time to other traders.”

<sup>4</sup> Susan Mizrahi, Fiona Wellb, “Our Guilty Pleasure: Exploitative Child Labour in the Chocolate Industry; 10 Years on From the Harkin-Engel Cocoa Protocol,” *World Vision Australia*, April 2011.

<sup>5</sup> Lotte Griek, Jennifer Penikett, Esther Hougee. “Bitter Harvest: Child Labour in the Cocoa Supply Chain.”

*Jantzi-Sustainability* June 2010

<sup>6</sup> “Cocoa Facts and Figures,” World Cocoa Foundation, Accessed April 10<sup>th</sup>, 2011 from: <http://www.worldcocoafoundation.org/learn-about-cocoa/cocoa-facts-and-figures.html>

million smallholder cocoa farmers worldwide, 1.5 million families are cocoa farmers in West Africa.<sup>7</sup>

For the past decade, great concern has been directed towards the farmers of cocoa beans; namely, the millions of children who account for labor along the producer/farmer end of the cocoa supply chain in West Africa.

According to the International Labor Organization (ILO), an agency of the United Nations, world wide, 60% of all child laborers ranging from ages 5-17 work in agriculture.<sup>8</sup> Actual figures vary according to source, but the figure of world wide child laborers is presently around 215 million.<sup>9</sup> In Africa alone, it is estimated that between 56 and 72 million children work in agriculture.<sup>10</sup> More than 50% of the children in agricultural households in the cocoa-growing areas in the Ivory Coast and Ghana work in agriculture, with 25-50% working in cocoa.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> “Unknown, Oversight of Public and Private Initiatives to Eliminate the Worst Forms of Child Labor in the Cocoa Sector in Côte d’Ivoire and Ghana,” *Payson Center for International Development and Technology Transfer Tulane University*, March 31, 2011.

<sup>8</sup> Unknown, “Harvesting a future without child labour” ITC *International Labor Organization*, Accessed from [http://www.ilo.org/ipec/Events/WCMS\\_176293/lang-en/index.htm](http://www.ilo.org/ipec/Events/WCMS_176293/lang-en/index.htm)

<sup>9</sup> Unknown, “Working towards responsible Labour Standards for Cocoa Growing,” *International Cocoa Initiative*, Accessed from <http://www.cocoainitiative.org/en/about-the-issue/scale-of-the-issue>, April 2012

<sup>10</sup> Unknown, “Child labour and commercial sexual exploitation,” *UNICEF*, Accessed from [http://www.unicef.org/esaro/5480\\_child\\_labour\\_sexual\\_exploitation.html](http://www.unicef.org/esaro/5480_child_labour_sexual_exploitation.html)

<sup>11</sup> Unknown, “Oversight of Public and Private Initiatives to Eliminate the Worst Forms of Child Labor in the Cocoa Sector in

As recent as March 2011, it was reported that in the main cocoa producing region of Ghana and Ivory Coast, an estimated 1.8 million children worked on cocoa farms.<sup>12</sup>

According to a report from the International Cocoa Initiative (ICI) from April 2011, in Ghana alone, “46% of children had participated in a least one hazardous activity during the last cocoa farming season.”<sup>13</sup> As of 2011, Burkina Faso and Mali have been identified as the two most important countries of origin for cross-border migrant labor in the cocoa sector, the source of the trafficked children and forced labor.<sup>14</sup> Many of these children are sold by their parents—often expecting money (and their children) to return back home. Some are just sold outright and some are kidnapped from villages. In all cases the children come from poverty. In Ghana, many children are enrolled in school, yet the majority of them work on cocoa farms in various capacities as well.<sup>15</sup> Either they do not attend or combine

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Côte d’Ivoire and Ghana,” *Payson Center for International Development and Technology Transfer Tulane University*, March 31, 2011. 27

<sup>12</sup> Ibid

<sup>13</sup> Unknown, “Harvesting a future without child labour” ITC *International Labor Organization*, Accessed from [http://www.ilo.org/ipec/Events/WCMS\\_176293/lang-en/index.htm](http://www.ilo.org/ipec/Events/WCMS_176293/lang-en/index.htm)

<sup>14</sup> Unknown, “Oversight of Public and Private Initiatives to Eliminate the Worst Forms of Child Labor in the Cocoa Sector in Côte d’Ivoire and Ghana,” *Payson Center for International Development and Technology Transfer Tulane University*, March 31, 2011. 27

<sup>15</sup> Unknown, “Oversight of Public and Private Initiatives to Eliminate the Worst Forms of Child Labor in the Cocoa Sector in Côte d’Ivoire and Ghana,” *Payson Center for International Development and Technology Transfer Tulane University*, March 31, 2011. 27

the work with school.

The ILO Worst Form of Child Labour (WFCL) convention no182 defines Worst form of Child Labour child labor as “all forms of slavery, trafficking of children, forced recruitment for armed conflict, use of children in illicit activities, sexual exploitation, and hazardous work.”<sup>16</sup> While the child laborer statistic incorporates children who go to school and work family farms, it also accounts for the hundred of thousands of children who are trafficked and sold into cocoa production slavery at the farm level. In the case of the cocoa industry, trafficking of children, forced recruitment, and hazardous work is relevant and most significant. Because the WFCL, by definition, includes exposure to hazardous materials (machetes, pesticides included, heavy lifting, long hours, stress, extreme sun/heat exposure), whether a child goes to school and works a family farm and is partaking in these potentially harmful activities, or is trafficked into slave labor, by nature of the work, both are considered WFCL.<sup>17</sup> Additionally, for many of the children forced from their homes, physical

abuse often takes place in the forms of beatings.

### ***World attention & Industry Response***

The tipping point of global recognition concerning forced child labor in the cocoa sector was in 2001 when the BBC of Great Britain did an expose on the issue. Outrage ensued amongst the international public while the global cocoa industry was forced to acknowledge and address the issue. Shortly after, the Harken-Engel Protocol was drafted; a joint international foundation comprised the United States government, Ghana government, Ivory Coast government, cocoa industry bodies (as represented by the Chocolate Manufactures Association or CMA), and the ILO. The initial goal was to eliminate the WFCL by 70% by 2005 and create a certified sustainability effort to support ILO convention no182.<sup>18</sup> While this is the leading international effort to eliminate WFCL, to date it is one of many not so successful attempts to ratify a cross- cocoa industry, trans-governmental agreement to eliminate WFCL and/or stop sourcing cocoa from suppliers who engage in WFCL.<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> Unknown, “Harvesting a future without child labour” ITC *International Labor Organization*, Accessed from [http://www.ilo.org/ipec/Events/WCMS\\_176293/lang-en/index.htm](http://www.ilo.org/ipec/Events/WCMS_176293/lang-en/index.htm)”

<sup>17</sup> “International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour Safety and Health Fact Sheet Hazardous Child Labour in Agriculture.” *ILO*, accessed from: [http://www.worldagroforestrycentre.org/treesandmarkets/inaforesta/documents/cocoa\\_child\\_labour/Hazardous\\_child\\_labour.pdf](http://www.worldagroforestrycentre.org/treesandmarkets/inaforesta/documents/cocoa_child_labour/Hazardous_child_labour.pdf)

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<sup>18</sup> Alexandra Clark ,Hamish Gow. “Responses to Advocacy Attacks: The Case of the Global Cocoa Industry and Child Labour Abuse Centre for Agribusiness Policy and Strategy.” *College of Business. Massey University Private Institutional*, 2011

<sup>19</sup> See Appendix

***How the child labor is shaped by the way cocoa is distributed along the global supply chain.***

The International Cocoa Initiative, as well as many leading advocacy groups, suggest numerous underlying reasons for child labor in the cocoa sector. These include: poverty, lack of income on the parents part, lack of alternative forms of livelihood, socio-cultural norms, poor parental care, and poor providing of education to name a few.<sup>20</sup> From the farmer end alone, producers lack proper facilities, education around best agricultural practices, and inputs such as planting materials and use of new technologies.<sup>21</sup> Millions of smallholder farmers generally live and work in poverty, which is key to understanding the reasons for child exploitation in the form of trafficking and forced labor.<sup>22</sup> Ultimately, it is poverty that incentivizes the farmer/producers to employ child labor.<sup>23</sup> While all these other examples are all clearly a significant part of the problem, looking at the economics of the cocoa supply chain also reveals market/distribution driven causes for child exploitation from within these impoverished cultures. Issues like price speculation, farm

to firm disconnect, and lack of bargaining power create a draw from cocoa farms in Ghana and Ivory Coast onto the impoverished families of the destitute and poor in neighboring nations (like Burkina Faso and Mali) to traffic, sell, or send their children to into (often unknowingly) unpaid slave labor.

***Supply and Demand:*** Distribution of cocoa and child labor can be directly linked to supply and demand of the market. As the demand for cocoa beans go up on the international market, so does the demand for labor and beans. Because the price of cocoa is presently speculated on a futures market, an unstable price of cocoa creates a very volatile market that, when high, drives the price down for the consumer and the cost of production up for producers. This means falling wages for the farmer/producer. In all this, many adult West African laborers are unwilling to work for the low wages that this economy creates, and thus, the child labor option is even more so forced upon the producer. It's been stated that adult farm workers refuse to work such hazardous and labor-intensive work for such low wages.<sup>24</sup> Therefore, the cycle of child labor is upheld. According to World Vision Australia this is "because of their [farmer] disconnect from

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<sup>20</sup> "What is Child Labour," International Cocoa Initiative, <http://www.cocoainitiative.org/en/about-the-issue/what-is-child-labour>

<sup>21</sup> Susan Mizrahi, Fiona Wellb, "Our Guilty Pleasure: Exploitative Child Labour in the Chocolate Industry; 10 Years on From the Harkin-Engel Cocoa Protocol," *World Vision Australia*, April 2011.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid

<sup>23</sup> Lotte Griek, Jennifer Penikett, Esther Hougee, "Bitter Harvest: Child Labour in the Cocoa Supply Chain."

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<sup>24</sup> Bama Athreya, "White Man's 'Burden' and the New Colonialism in West African Cocoa Production." [Race/Ethnicity: Multidisciplinary Global Contexts](#). Vol. 5, No. 1, Food Justice (Autumn 2011) (pp. 51-59)

farm gate prices and the fact that they are typically net purchasers of food whose prices are also driven up by such speculation.”<sup>25</sup> Essentially, cocoa smallholder farmers never benefit from price spikes.

### ***Farm to Firm disconnect***

From a macro scope of the cocoa supply chain it is common to see a farm to firm disconnect. Firms do not own the farms. It is not common for leading firms to interact with producers. Instead, they look to local traders to distribute their beans and to oversee and negotiate transportation. The trader has the relationship with the farmer along the cocoa supply chain. In many ways, this is the point where corporations fail the child due to lack of adequate oversight at this distribution relationship between farmer and trader. There is little to no accountability for quality control when it comes to farm labor by the large firms. Additionally, while firms are aware of the child labor crisis manifested from their products, they remain at an arms length to uphold and navigate their brand image away from connections to child trafficking and forced labor or hazardous working environments unsuitable for a child to work in. Because the farms are disconnected from the firms, little to no enforceable regulations are given support at the ground level. Instead, chocolate

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<sup>25</sup> Susan Mizrahi, Fiona Wellb, “Our Guilty Pleasure: Exploitative Child Labour in the Chocolate Industry; 10 Years on From the Harkin-Engel Cocoa Protocol,” *World Vision Australia*, April 2011.

corporations try to diminish the damage through financing third party involvement in protocols like the Harkin-Engel effort, and allow NGO’s to take the lead.<sup>26</sup>

### ***Lack of small-holder bargaining power***

Along the supply chain, as noted above, prices are driven by a speculated market. Little rights are given to the farmer/producer in such a commodity driven market. Speculators manipulate prices in the Global North for an industry that is almost completely sourced from the Global South. Clearly the cocoa industry is a part of what Philip McMichael’s refers to as the “corporate food regime.” Steeped in a culture of globalization and “a wide-spread subordination of producing regions to global production and consumption relations organized by transnational food companies.”

<sup>27</sup> In short, the smallholder farmer is removed from the decision making equation. Little to no bargaining power is granted to the farmer. Babma Athreya, on behalf of the International Labor Right Forum (ILRF), points out:

What do these farmers really think? Regional organizations such as the Réseau des Organisations Paysannes et de Producteurs de l’Afrique de l’Ouest (ROPPA) (Konig and Jongeenelp 2006) had no hesitation to speak for themselves, arguing strongly for the need for regional governments in West Africa to take control

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<sup>26</sup> Ibid.

<sup>27</sup> Philip McMichael. *The Power of Food. Agriculture and Human Values*. 7: 21–33, 2000.

of the global commodity trade and better regulate incomes for cocoa farmers, thus ending the abject poverty that gives rise to both “push” and “pull” factors in labor trafficking... Small farmers throughout West Africa are often not equipped with up-to-date information about the price of cocoa on the world market and often even lack scales to weigh their beans themselves. As a result, they have little bargaining power with the middlemen who buy their cocoa beans to sell to multinational corporations and end up consistently being paid below the market price.<sup>28</sup>

Of the many problems here, that fact is that farmers are paid below market price. As the demand for cocoa beans increase so does the demand for labor. As suggested, this creates a desperate culture of farmers, who themselves are at the indentured mercy of the market to provide their harvest at any cost. The lack of bargaining power for the smallholder producer is forcing farmers towards poverty and desperate measures to compete.

### ***Conclusion and Analysis***

The response to present day WFCL in the coca industry is clearly a matter of urgency that gets frustratingly tied up into protocols, initiatives and bureaucracy. The Harken-Engel Protocol, with its constant updating to make up for failed milestones, has been criticized as largely infective.<sup>29</sup> As for Ghana

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<sup>28</sup> Bama Athreya, “White Man’s ‘Burden’ and the New Colonialism in West African Cocoa Production.” [Race/Ethnicity: Multidisciplinary Global Contexts](#). Vol. 5, No. 1, Food Justice (Autumn 2011) (pp. 51-59)

<sup>29</sup> Offices of Senator Tom Harkin, Representative Eliot Engel, The United States Department of Labor, The Government of Cote d’Ivoire, The Ghana Ministry on Employment and Social Welfare, and the International Chocolate and Cocoa Industry, “Annual

and the Ivory Coast, they also look to protocol to take the lead. Ghana has a certified Cocobod that regulates 100 % of their coca industry. Yet, as the statistics point out, they fail when it comes to child labor. As for the barely regulated Ivory Coast, even though child labor under the age of 18 is against the law, the worst forms of child labor not only exists, but is rampant.<sup>30</sup> Finally border nations like Bukina Faso and Mali, the source of most child trafficking, are unable to rectify the source of the smuggling and trafficking. They are unstable counties. For example, Mali is presently in complete turmoil with a very recent April 2012 military coup. As a result Malian refugees are feeling into Burkina Faso where staple shortages and severe malnutrition country-wide is on the brink.<sup>31</sup> The crisis here begins in tandem both on the farm in need of labor and simultaneously across the border in the villages in need of poverty relief. Cooperation and support is needed from neighboring nations and international communities to help create laws protecting child labor that is enforceable with fines and incarceration. Clearly, eliminating child

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Report Of The Child Labor Cocoa Coordinating Group,” *The Child Labor Cocoa Coordinating Group, January 23, 2012*

Accessed from <http://www.dol.gov/ilab/2012CLCCGAnnualReport.pdf>

<sup>30</sup> Christian Parenti. “Chocolate’s Bittersweet Economy.” *CNN Money*. February 15<sup>th</sup> 2008. Retrieved from: [http://money.cnn.com/2008/01/24/news/international/chocolate\\_bittersweet.fortune/](http://money.cnn.com/2008/01/24/news/international/chocolate_bittersweet.fortune/)

<sup>31</sup> Nick Loomis. Voice of America. Crises Converge on Burkina Faso.

Retrieved from: <http://www.voanews.com/english/news/africa/Crises-Converge-on-Burkina- April 2012. Faso-146132655.html>

labor is a difficult task which often seems impossible with the underlying issues so imbedded into the social structure of livelihoods and cultures.

But if this is a liberal market driven problem then the market must be a first responder and engage. Companies like Cadbury (now owned by Kraft) have long been a leader in addressing the issue of WFCL, yet it still persists for reason explained here.

Additionally, many platforms and initiatives are pouring significant dollars into educations and training around child labor.

According to a report from World Vision Australia, “Current projections of volumes of ethically certified cocoa (derived from company commitments and standards systems capacity estimates) could reach 25-40% of global cocoa production by 2020 (compared to less than 5% in 2010).”<sup>32</sup>

While this is hopeful, in a corporate culture steeped in market competition, this goal seems rather unlikely. Therefore, the question remains is industry able to self regulate without enforceable legal repercussion to root out the issue surrounding product supply that is directly linked to child labor along their supply chains?<sup>33</sup> Do they have an obligation to

improve working conditions on the farm from where the main ingredient of their billion-dollar product is sourced? I would unequivocally answer yes that firms must be held responsible to engage at the farm level with a “by any means necessary” to regulate their product to ensure children are not harmed in any way in the production of chocolate, cocoa, cosmetics, and even tobacco. Firms must do more than contribute money to protocols and SRB initiatives; they must take immediate action on the ground at the very beginning of their value chain. In essence, when a firm analyzes their market supply chain, they must acknowledge and account for the “supply” farmer/laborer to harvest their product.

While it is not likely that speculation of cocoa will ever cease to be, small holder farmers must be given more incentive not use child labor by means of uplifting livelihoods with support mechanisms that empower them financially. In all, fair pricing, granting bargaining power to the farmer, and firm traceability would go a long way to help eliminate WFCL in the cocoa sector. Ultimately however, it is up to the industry to be proactive and take action with a sense of urgency. The most unbearable links on the cocoa supply chain

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<sup>32</sup> Susan Mizrahi, Fiona Wellb, “Our Guilty Pleasure: Exploitative Child Labour in the Chocolate Industry; 10 Years on From the Harkin-Engel Cocoa Protocol,” *World Vision Australia*, April 2011.

<sup>33</sup> “Unknown, Oversight of Public and Private Initiatives to Eliminate the Worst Forms of Child Labor in the Cocoa Sector in Côte d’Ivoire and Ghana,” *Payson Center for International*

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*Development and Technology Transfer Tulane University*, March 31, 2011. 27

are the relationships between the child and trafficker, and the child farmer vulnerable to WFCL and his employer. Industry must take immediate, full and rightful responsibility for the lives of millions of children. They must acknowledge and strategize around a new and truthful supply chain of accountability that begins outside their cocoa supply regions in nations like Mali and Burkina Faso where the child labor for their candy bars are sourced. Amongst the top six leading players, who will be the lone TNC to stand up in solidarity for the child and recognize that their value chain starts in the backyards of Mali, Burkina Faso, and the schoolyards of Ghana and Ivory Coast?

The overwhelming amount of research and review on this subject in comparison to the actual prevention of WFCL is incredibly imbalanced. Changes in the form of supporting the livelihoods and economies of cocoa farmers, as well the families from areas where children are trafficked are key to eliminating WFCL. This can start with a rewrite of the Harkin-Engel Protocol and every initiative to included the governments of Mali, Burkina Faso and neighboring countries where trafficking children is initiated. Additionally, consumers must educate themselves on this issue, they have immense power that firms are working hard to appease via SRB platforms that are ineffective. The truth is, that until the

livelihoods, and economies of the peoples of West Africa are elevated to a level well above poverty, there is little incentive for change and the worst forms of child labor will continue to climb.

### APPENDIX:<sup>34</sup>

International	
ICCO established, first International Cocoa Agreement.	1973
International Programme on the Elimination Of Child Labour established.	1992
The Office of Child Labor, Forced Labor, and Human Trafficking, part of the U.S. Department of Labor's Bureau of International Labor Affairs, is created.	1993
First Fairtrade cocoa producers certified. Green & Blacks Maya Gold chocolate the first Labeled product sold in the UK.	1994
Earliest report of children being trafficked for cocoa labour purposes in West Africa (Mali). Malian Government issues public statement against Malian children being used for child labour purposes in the Ivory Coast, working with UNICEF, Anti-Slavery International and Save The Children Canada.	1995
Mali establishes Consultative National Commission on Child Trafficking. U.S. Government clarifies 1930 Tarriff (Customs) Act to ban entry to the U.S. of products made by forced or indentured child labour. First Rainforest Alliance cocoa producers certified.	1998
Signing by ILO member nations of ILO Convention 182, The Prohibition and Immediate Action for the Elimination of the Worst Forms of Child Labor, and its Recommendation 190.	1999
Major media in Europe and the U.S. exposing child labour and trafficking in West African cocoa production, particularly the Ivory Coast. Ghana ratifies ILO Convention 182. World Cocoa Foundation established.	2000
Various reports from multilateral bodies (e.g. ILO, UN Security Council) and NGOs (e.g. ILRF) documenting worst forms of child labour in West Africa, and growing political condemnation of WFCL across Europe and the U.S. Harkin-Engel Protocol negotiated and signed. Sixth International Cocoa Agreement.	2001
International Cocoa Initiative established. IITA survey of West African cocoa farming report released documenting WFCL.	2002
2003 Ivory Coast ratifies ILO Convention 182.	2003
July First Harkin-Engel Protocol certification deadline (missed.)	2005
Stop The Traffik International launched.	2006
Roundtable for a Sustainable Cocoa Economy, first meeting. Ghana. First Rainforest Alliance cocoa certification in West Africa. October 1st report by The Payson Center for International Development Child Labor in the Cocoa Sector Project.	2007

<sup>34</sup> Susan Mizrahi, Fiona Wellb, "Our Guilty Pleasure: Exploitative Child Labour in the Chocolate Industry; 10 Years on From the Harkin-Engel Cocoa Protocol," *World Vision Australia*, April 2011



<p>July Second Harkin-Engel Protocol certification deadline. October 2nd report by The Payson Center for International Development Child Labor in the Cocoa Sector Project.</p>	2008
<p>Roundtable for a Sustainable Cocoa Economy, second meeting, Trinidad &amp; Tobago. First UTZ CERTIFIED cocoa producers certified. March Cadbury announces move to Fairtrade Certified cocoa for top selling chocolate products in the UK and Ireland. April Mars announces all cocoa for Mars products globally will be 'sustainably sourced' by 2020. June Interpol raid in Ivory Coast. Kraft Foods commits to using Rainforest Alliance Certified cocoa across its entire Côte d'Or and Marabou lines by the close of 2012. July Cadbury Dairy Milk milk chocolate carrying the Fairtrade Label hits shelves in the UK and Ireland. October Nestle Cocoa Plan is announced, along with move to Fairtrade Certified Kit Kats in the UK and Ireland. October 3rd report by The Payson Center for International Development Child Labor in the Cocoa Sector Project.</p>	2009
<p>January Kraft acquires Cadbury. First Mars chocolate products – Galaxy – carrying the Rainforest Alliance label sold in the UK and Ireland. Seventh International Cocoa Agreement. First UTZ CERTIFIED Good Inside® chocolate sold. January Nestle Fairtrade Certified 4 finger Kit Kats hits shelves in the UK. September 4th and final report by The Payson Center for International Development Child Labor in the Cocoa Sector Project.</p>	2010
	2011

Athreya, B., "White Man's 'Burden' and the New Colonialism in West African Cocoa Production." *Race/Ethnicity: Multidisciplinary Global Contexts*. Vol. 5, No. 1, Food Justice (Autumn 2011) (pp. 51-59)

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