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Marjie Sackett

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## Forced Child Labor and Cocoa Production in West Africa

### Abstract

The cocoa industry has profited from the utilization of forced labor in West Africa since the late 1800s. Despite the Portuguese decree in 1876 abolishing slavery, and the release of cocoa plantation slaves, slave labor was quickly reemployed, aided by the exploitation of legal loopholes and government officials willing to turn a blind eye. In 1905, after hearing reports of unfavorable labor conditions, William Cadbury dispatched a member of the Anti-Slavery Society to investigate the cocoa plantations. Upon receiving confirmation of human rights violations, Cadbury boycotted Portuguese cocoa and persuaded two other chocolate firms to do the same. Cadbury's actions affected not only the British chocolate markets, but also American ones, which eventually stopped using slave-produced cocoa.

### Keywords

Human rights, Slavery, Contemporary slavery, Child labor, West Africa

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## Forced Child Labor and Cocoa Production in West Africa

By Marjie Sackett

The cocoa industry has profited from the utilization of forced labor in West Africa since the late 1800s. Despite the Portuguese decree in 1876 abolishing slavery, and the release of cocoa plantation slaves, slave labor was quickly reemployed, aided by the exploitation of legal loopholes and government officials willing to turn a blind eye. In 1905, after hearing reports of unfavorable labor conditions, William Cadbury dispatched a member of the Anti-Slavery Society to investigate the cocoa plantations. Upon receiving confirmation of human rights violations, Cadbury boycotted Portuguese cocoa and persuaded two other chocolate firms to do the same. Cadbury's actions affected not only the British chocolate markets, but also American ones, which eventually stopped using slave-produced cocoa.

The cocoa sector has since grown into a multi-billion dollar industry, yet it cannot shake its unsavory labor issues. Present day cocoa farms "employ" hundreds of thousands of West African children. While not as clear cut as the slave/slave-owner relationship of previous centuries, contemporary slavery is characterized as the control of a person for economic exploitation by violence (or the threat of violence) or coercion (loss of choice and freedom). In poverty-stricken developing countries, it is seldom a child's choice to work, but rather a decision born out of economic necessity.

### General Sources

Bales, Kevin. 2004. Disposable People: New Slavery in the Global Economy. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Annotation: Beginning with the story of a child who was enslaved in the 1990s, this book provides a thorough introduction to the topic of contemporary slavery. The author, Kevin Bales, defines modern slavery as roughly the control of a person for economic gain. Bales goes on to estimate the number of slaves worldwide, and to examine factors like population growth and modernization as contributions to new slavery. In addition, the author sets old slavery against new in order to define the term further, describing different forms of slavery (chattel, debt bondage, and contract slavery), as well as false labor contracts. This book is very beneficial for understanding the debate on contemporary slavery.

Clarence-Smith, William Gervase. 1993. "Cocoa Plantations and Coerced Labor in the Gulf of Guinea, 1870-1914." In Breaking the Chains. Slavery, Bondage, and Emancipation in Modern Africa and Asia. Edited by M. A. Klein. Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press.

Annotation: In this chapter, Clarence-Smith imparts useful information about the boom and bust of cocoa plantations in West Africa in the late nineteenth to early twentieth century. After discussing vital factors like technological advancements and market prices, the author introduces the major industry players of the time, the Portuguese, Spanish, and German, and describes their use of slave and coerced labor from an economic point of view. Despite the creation of

abolition laws, the use of slave labor continued on cocoa plantations until a change to forced labor occurred around 1910. The historical background found here is helpful for understanding the current situation in West Africa. Cameroon, Côte d'Ivoire, Ghana, and Nigeria, 2000-Present  
Cameroon, Côte d'Ivoire, Ghana, and Nigeria account for over seventy percent of global cocoa production today; Côte d'Ivoire is the world's largest producer. Despite this huge market share, the majority of cocoa growers operate farms ranging in size from two to ten hectares. Small farms are often solely family-run, whereas farmers with larger holdings turn to family members, wage or contract laborers, or forced labor to meet production demands.

### **Extent of Forced Labor**

Reliable figures concerning forced child labor on cocoa farms are notoriously hard to obtain. That stated, a 2002 International Institute of Tropical Agriculture (IITA) study estimated that some 625,000 children were involved in at least one aspect of cocoa production in Côte d'Ivoire, and of those, 12,000 had no local family connection (IITA 2002: 13, 15). This appears to demonstrate that only a small percentage of children are forced laborers. However, the IITA results have been criticized due to questions regarding survey methodology and data. A more recent International Labor Organization (ILO) study challenges the IITA findings by suggesting that the number of non-family laborers is much higher than previously thought, with possibly a third of cocoa farms utilizing labor outside the family.

### *Labor Conditions & Treatment*

While the number of forced child laborers may be disputed, children are undoubtedly involved in hazardous activities and subjected to mistreatment. Children typically perform the same arduous tasks and work the same hours as adults, but receive less pay. Tasks include transporting heavy loads, pesticide and fertilizer application, and the use of machetes. A 2005 survey found that 92 percent of children carried heavy loads (often causing open wounds), among them some as young as five years of age (USDOL 2006: 153). Other reports indicate instances of farmers withholding meals or physically abusing children for not meeting expectations or attempting to escape.

### *Lack of Education*

In addition to the physical ramifications, child labor has also been shown to hamper educational achievement. A recent study of children ages nine to eighteen in Ghana found that labor not only keeps children from attending school, but also hinders the learning ability of attendees. Specifically, the survey indicated that child labor directly impacts math and reading achievement, which is likely a consequence of sheer exhaustion or distracted interests. This is especially problematic, as education is crucial if individuals are to improve their quality of lives.

*Sources*

Anti-Slavery Society. 2007. "Do Slaves Produce Your Favorite Chocolates?" Website: <http://www.anti-slaverysociety.addr.com/chocolates1.htm>.

Annotation: This section of the Anti-Slavery Society website provides a brief overview of the issue of child labor on West African cocoa plantations. Highlighting the need for a "slave free" cocoa labeling system, the Society emphasizes the role that the consumer can play in the fight against contemporary slavery. Valuable links to other websites with consumer consumption awareness campaigns can also be found here.

Heady, Christopher. 2003. "The Effect of Child Labor on Learning Achievement." *World Development* 31(2):385.

Annotation: This technical paper examines the effect of child labor on learning achievement in children ages nine to eighteen in Ghana. As part of the 1988-89 Ghana Living Standards Survey (GLSS2), children in eighteen sampling clusters were asked to provide information about their economic and educational activities. After analyzing and describing the survey results in depth, author Christopher Heady concludes that child work in Ghana has a fairly small effect on school attendance, but that work outside the home makes a significant impact on math and reading achievement. He believes that this direct link between child labor and learning achievement may be attributed to sheer exhaustion or redirected interest.

International Institute of Tropical Agriculture (IITA). 2002. "Child Labor in the Cocoa Sector of West Africa: A Synthesis of Findings in Cameroon, Côte d'Ivoire, Ghana, and Nigeria." Croydon: International Institute of Tropical Agriculture. <http://www.globalexchange.org/campaigns/fairtrade/cocoa/resources.html>

Annotation: This study seeks to determine the extent and nature of child labor in cocoa production in West Africa. Specific objectives include: determining the number of children working in the cocoa industry, discovering their country of origin, how they were recruited, and if they attend school, examining working conditions, and finding out why children work in the cocoa industry. The report then outlines the investigation methods used and describes the limitations of the study. The authors conclude that only a small percentage of children could be considered forced labor, as farmers rarely employ children from outside of their families. A helpful glossary of terms used in the study is included at the end.

International Labour Organization. 2003. "Ghana Child Labour Survey." Geneva: International Labour Office. <http://www.ilo.org/ipeinfo/product/viewProduct.do?productId=690>

Annotation: Undertaken by the Ghana Statistical Service in 2001, this nationwide survey collected information on children ages five to seventeen in 9,889 rural and urban households. The study's objective was to obtain data on children's activities in order to determine the nature

of and reasons for child labor. Results showed that half of rural children and approximately one fifth of urban children were economically active. Poverty and low incomes are considered to be the primary causes of child labor in Ghana. The authors suggest that the survey findings can be used to raise awareness, to support campaigns against child labor, and to serve as a foundation for intervention programs.

International Labour Organization. 2006. "The End of Child Labour: Within Reach General Report under the follow-up to the ILO Declaration on Fundamental Principles and Rights at Work. In *International Labour Conference*." Geneva: International Labour Organization.  
<http://www.ilo.org/ipecinfor/product/viewProduct.do?productId=2419>

Annotation: This lengthy report outlines the progress that has been made from 2002 to 2006 by the ILO and its partners in the fight against child labor worldwide. In great detail, the authors examine the causes and many forms of child labor, the policies and laws implemented, other actions undertaken, and the multitude of challenges ahead. They go on to discuss a strategy for future action, striving to abolish the worst kinds of child labor in the next decade. The data, charts, and other information found in this report are very useful. The overall tone is much more hopeful than that found in most NGO reports.

Kielland, Anne, and Maurizia Tovo. 2006. *Children at Work: Child Labor Practices in Africa*. Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, Inc.

Annotation: In this book, authors Anne Kielland and Maurizia Tovo provide a thorough introduction to the issue of child labor in Africa. They begin by examining the various aspects of child labor and its possible causes. They also include a list of thirty-five things that can make child labor harmful. Kielland and Tovo next provide an overview of child labor in and around households, as apprenticeships, in the commercial labor market, and its worst forms. The authors then discuss the physiological, psychological, and educational consequences of child labor, and conclude by detailing some crucial strategies for ending its use.

Mull, L. Diane, and Steven R. Kirkhorn. 2005. "Child Labor in Ghana Cocoa Production: Focus upon Agricultural Tasks, Ergonomic Exposures, and Associated Injuries and Illnesses." *Public Health Reports* 120(6):649-656.

Annotation: The authors of this report, Mull and Kirkhorn, determined that children harvesting cocoa in western Ghana were oftentimes involved in hazardous activities such as strenuous labor, the use of sharp knives, and pesticide application. Supporting data were obtained through interviews with cocoa workers, who ranged in age from nine to seventeen, and through the observation of labor practices. Mull and Kirkhorn also found that children often receive no safety training or protective gear, which results in injury and sickness, including musculoskeletal disorders, sprains, strains, lacerations, fractures, eye injuries, rashes, and coughing. The authors conclude that unless changes are made to improve safety measures, long-term negative health effects are likely.

Onishi, Norimitsu. 2001. "The Bondage of Poverty That Produces Chocolate." *New York Times* 150 (51829):1.

Annotation: This article depicts the lives of Africans working in the cocoa industry in the village of Petit Tieme, Côte d'Ivoire. While few children under fifteen years of age were found, one cocoa farmer illustrated the propensity for child labor, saying that older workers are larger, less respectful, and more difficult to control. The author indicates that workers are not typically paid a set wage, but are paid based on the price of cocoa. In 2001, the price of cocoa was so low that farmers were pressed to have more family members work, or not pay their workers their due wages. This brief account highlights the difficult situation faced by both the cocoa farmers and laborers in West Africa.

Ould, David, Claire Jordan, Rebecca Reynolds, and Lacey Loftin. 2004. "The Cocoa Industry in West Africa: A History of Exploitation." London: Anti-Slavery International.  
<http://www.antislavery.org/homepage/resources/PDF/PDFchildlabour.htm>

Annotation: This report gives an extensive overview of the history of the cocoa industry and the methods used in cocoa production in West Africa. The authors also discuss the global cocoa market at length, and provide detailed information on labor practices. The action taken over the last four years by cocoa manufacturers, governments, and NGOs is evaluated, and future steps to improve the industry are proposed. This report is a great source of information, providing a comprehensive account of forced child labor and cocoa production in West Africa.

U.S. Department of Labor. 2006. "The Department of Labor's 2006 Findings on the Worst Forms of Child Labor." U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of International Labor Affairs (ILAB).  
<http://www.dol.gov/ilab/>

Annotation: This exhaustive report, covering the period from March 2006 to February 2007 and filling some seven hundred pages, thoroughly details the state of child labor around the world. Profiling 122 independent countries and nineteen non-independent countries, this report outlines key data on child labor and education in each country. The nature of child labor, pertinent laws and their enforcement, and programs and policies related to exploitive child labor are also examined in depth. A glossary of terms, as well as a list of data sources and definitions is included.

### **Complex Causation Factors**

The causes of forced child labor in the cocoa industry are far from straightforward. An amalgamation of factors such as low cocoa market prices, the labor-intensive nature of cocoa farming, and cultural views contribute to the widespread use of child labor.

*Economy & Cocoa Market*

World Bank and IMF structural adjustment programs (SAP) instituted in the 1990s required the privatization of cocoa boards in exchange for debt forgiveness. Previously, governments regulated the market, guaranteeing farmers a minimum price regardless of the true market price. Following the new policy implementation, market prices fell. Unprepared and receiving no instruction on the new market workings, the price drop had a detrimental effect on farmers. Each country's economy was also negatively affected due to its lack of diversification. For example, cocoa represents approximately 40 percent of Côte d'Ivoire's GDP and 60 percent of export revenues.

*Agricultural Labor & Cocoa Farmers*

Low market prices mean low returns for cocoa farmers. Only able to sell harvests once or twice a year, farmers obtain food and fertilizer on credit, reducing possible profits. Further cutting into proceeds, cocoa is produced with little machine use and requires a vast quantity of labor. In an effort to keep costs low, farmers seek the cheapest forms of labor.

*Cultural Views*

Not only West African farmers view child labor as culturally acceptable. In general, it is seen as a way for children to learn a skill, and to sustain a community's farming culture. Surveys taken in six Nigerian farming communities found that a common reason for raising children is to help the parents. While great emphasis is placed on the importance of training children to ensure a better future, it is generally accepted that labor should not rob children of the right to attend school, nor should it put them in danger.

*Sources*

Ajayi, A. O., and D. O. Torimiro. 2004. "Perspectives on Child Abuse and Labour: Global Ethical Ideals versus African Cultural Realities." *Early Child Development & Care* 174(2):183-191.

Annotation: This report is a crucial assessment of African and global views on the issues of child abuse and child labor. Authors, Ajayi and Torimiro, outline global views based on characterizations from the United Nation's Children Fund (UNICEF) and the International Labor Organization (ILO). African viewpoints are determined through focus group discussions set-up in six Nigerian farming communities. Ajayi and Torimiro find that global and African views correspond on three necessities: to protect children from physical and psychological injuries; to provide children basic needs; and to allow children to be educated. In addition, the authors make a significant point: what is abuse in one culture may not be considered abuse in another.



Ashiabi, Godwin S. 2000. "Some Correlates of Childhood Poverty in Ghana." *Journal of Children & Poverty* 6(2):155-168.

Annotation: The author of this paper, Godwin Ashiabi, investigates the severe poverty in Ghana as it relates to children's schooling, nutrition, health, and general development. The author addresses details such as causation factors, measures, characteristics, and the geographical variations of poverty. Ashiabi goes on to submit that in addition to the long-term negative health effects in the form of malnutrition, poverty affects decisions relating to children's schooling and employment. Calling for governmental measures to reduce and eliminate poverty, the author notes that efforts should be directed primarily at food security.

Canagarajah, Sudharshan, and Helena Skyt Nielsen. 2001. "Child Labor in Africa: A Comparative Study." *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 575:71-91.

Annotation: In this article, Canagarajah and Nielsen investigate child labor in Ghana, Zambia, and Côte d'Ivoire. Basing their work on data from five studies conducted in the three countries, the authors analyze the causes of the high percentage of child laborers in Africa. The article outlines five main hypotheses used to explain the use of child labor: poverty, school costs, quality of schooling, household composition, and capital markets. The authors conclude that each factor, in varying degrees, plays a role in child labor. They propose that better access to credit, gradual policy change promoting education and work would help to decrease the number of child laborers. This is a valuable source in the sense that it breaks down the issue of child labor into a number of factors, and critiques them separately as well as in combination with one another.

Chant, Sylvia, and Gareth Jones. 2005. "Youth, Gender and Livelihoods in West Africa: Perspectives from Ghana and the Gambia." *Children's Geographies* 3(2):185-199.

Annotation: The interconnections between youth, gender, and livelihoods are examined in this paper. Authors Chant and Jones describe fieldwork conducted in Ghana and Gambia in 2003 that was aimed at investigating child labor and education policy. The authors found that the youth face conflicting incentives regarding education and work, because schooling often requires work, and labor markets are not accessed via education. As a result, few youth see a connection between education and income. Chant and Jones argue that despite important policy changes over the last twenty years, such changes have not had substantial effects on poverty. The authors propose that policy could be enhanced by taking local perceptions of the situation into consideration.

International Labour Organization. 2006. "Tackling Hazardous Child Labor in Agriculture: Guidance on Policy and Practice. User Guide." Turin: International Training Centre of the ILO. <http://www.ilo.org/ipeinfo/product/viewProduct.do?productId=2799>.

Annotation: This three hundred-page document consists of five guidebooks on child labor in the agricultural sector. It is an amazing resource on the subject, including significant information on West Africa's cocoa industry. The first guidebook includes important definitions and supplies an overview of the main international child labor conventions. The second guidebook presents numerous aspects of child labor and analyzes the forces affecting the use of child workers. Guidebook Three examines hazardous child labor in depth. A review of recent initiatives to end child labor is included in guidebook four. Lastly, Guidebook Five provides information to develop and implement policies and programs to eliminate hazardous child labor in agriculture.

Manzo, Kate. 2005. "Modern Slavery, Global Capitalism & Deproletarianisation in West Africa." *Review of African Political Economy* 32(106):521-534.

Annotation: Partially based on the work of Kevin Bales, this paper's author, Kate Manzo, examines the definition of modern slavery and distinguishes it from slavery in previous centuries. Focusing on child slavery on cocoa farms in Côte d'Ivoire, the author analyzes complicated factors that breed agricultural enslavement today, such as commodity production, labor costs, unequal terms of trade, and capitalist expansion. Straying from a more traditional argument, Manzo puts forth a Marxian, or neo-Marxian explanation, concentrating on the relationship between global capitalism and slavery. This paper makes a sound argument through methodical assessment of the various economic forces affecting the cocoa industry.

Omokhodion, F. O., S. I. Omokhodion, and T. O. Odusote. 2006. "Perceptions of Child Labour Among Working Children in Ibadan, Nigeria." *Child: Care, Health & Development* 32(3):281-286.

Annotation: The aim of this study is to determine the perspective of working children on child labor, including both perceived benefits and disadvantages. In order to achieve this, the authors conducted a cross-sectional survey of working children in southwest Nigeria. According to the results, the belief that child labor is a sign of deprivation was more common among child laborers who had only attended school through the primary level, children who had worked in excess of six months, and those who earned small sums. Concluding, the authors submit that in spite of harsh economic circumstances, schooling should be still a top priority.

Sheth, Anita. 2003. "Children Still in the Chocolate Trade: The Buying, Selling and Toiling of West African Child Workers in the Multi-Billion Dollar Industry." In *A Working Paper Series: Children in Global Trade*. Toronto: Save the Children Canada. <http://www.savethechildren.ca/canada/media/publications/cocoa2003.pdf>.

Annotation: This paper provides an in-depth investigation into the cocoa industry in Côte d'Ivoire. The author, Anita Sheth, begins by discussing the economy of Côte d'Ivoire, as well as

changes in the country's cocoa market and its effects on cocoa prices. Sheth next addresses the issue of child labor in cocoa production and examines possible causation factors. A lengthy evaluation of the success and failure of the Harkin-Engel Protocol is also included. The author then proposes a system for monitoring child labor on cocoa farms and suggests other key steps to be undertaken by international governments and financial institutions.

Tiffen, Pauline. 2002. "A Chocolate-Coated Case for Alternative International Business Models." *Development in Practice* 12(3/4):383-397.

Annotation: While not considered directly accountable for the impact of their commodity purchases on farms in the developing world, the author of this paper argues that the large chocolate companies and small-scale cocoa farmers of West Africa are "irrevocably, if unaccountably" linked. As a result of this link, the author recommends that large companies make changes to minimize devastating effects like persistent rural poverty and economic devaluation of small-scale farms. The author goes on to analyze the commercial chain developed over the last decade (1992-2002), reviews Kuapa Kokoo, the cocoa farmers' organization and trading company that was set-up in 1993, and describes the Day Chocolate Company, an international chocolate company with a farmer-oriented voice, founded in 1998.

Woods, Dwayne. 2004. "Predatory Elites, Rents and Cocoa: A Comparative Analysis of Ghana and Ivory Coast." *Commonwealth & Comparative Politics* 42(2):224-241.

Annotation: The author of this article, Dwayne Woods, examines how the cocoa sector shaped the behavior of state and cocoa farmers in Ghana and Côte d'Ivoire. Woods argues that in each country, political and economic gain and crisis closely followed the cocoa industry's pattern of growth and decline. For example, growth in the cocoa sector resulted in single-party regimes, industrialization, increased rural education, and income diversification efforts by farmers. During periods of decline, land and labor disputes contributed to increased political and social tensions between classes, ethnic groups and regions. Woods asserts that this parallel is a result of the cocoa industry's dominance in each country.

### **Action to Reduce the Worst Forms of Child Labor**

Nearly one hundred years after Cadbury's boycott, media reports again surfaced about cocoa industry labor practices. In 2000, the BBC aired a documentary uncovering the plight of children working on West African cocoa farms. This triggered a wave of international media coverage, and ignited public outrage. Ensuing efforts by governments, cocoa manufacturers, and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) have ranged from improving working conditions and education for children to eliminating child labor.

*U.S. Government and Governmental Organizations*

Signed on September 19, 2001, the Harkin-Engel Protocol, also known as the Cocoa Protocol, proposed guidelines for producing cocoa in adherence with ILO Convention 182, which calls for the eradication of the worst forms of child labor. The Protocol included a six-step action plan for cocoa manufacturers to complete by July 2005. While supported by various governments, manufacturers, and human rights organizations, the Protocol is not legally binding.

Major programs have been undertaken by the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) and by the U.S. Department of Labor (USDOL). USAID started the Child Labor Regional Project in 2002 as part of the Sustainable Tree Crop Program. Their aim was to raise social and economic standards through agricultural and child labor training programs. To achieve this, Farmer Field Schools were set up in Côte d'Ivoire, Ghana, Nigeria, and Cameroon. The labor training focused on changing local perceptions regarding production tasks that are considered to be the worst forms of child labor.

Aspiring to gradually end hazardous child labor, the West African Cocoa/Commercial Agriculture Program was run by the USDOL and the ILO from 2003 to 2006. Accomplishments included the installation of the Child Labor Monitoring System in five countries, and the removal of several thousand children at risk of child labor or engaged in child labor. The lack of continued financial support, however, has raised concerns about the fate of the children rescued.

*Non-Governmental Organizations*

Many NGOs like Anti-Slavery International and Free the Slaves have worked to raise awareness about forced child labor in the cocoa industry. In addition, they are developing research and advocacy tools, and are lobbying governments and governmental agencies, to make child labor issues a priority. NGOs have also taken action through legal channels. In 2004, The International Labor Rights Fund, along with Global Exchange, pursued legal action in the International Trade Court. The suit sought the enforcement of customs rules, which prohibit the importation of goods produced by forced child labor. Industry members, however, moved to block the suit against the Customs Service, and the case was dismissed.

*Cocoa Industry Members, Foundations, and Organizations*

The International Cocoa Initiative (ICI) is a joint foundation established as step five of the Cocoa Protocol. Characteristic of many industry tactics, the ICI has taken a “bottom-up” approach by educating, motivating, and supporting communities to be proactive in solving *their* child labor problem. The industry also formed the Verification Working Group as the final step outlined in the Protocol. The Group’s aim is to establish a verification system that ensures that cocoa is grown without the use of forced labor. Despite repeated assurances, the industry failed to implement the system by the July 2005 deadline, and instead negotiated new parameters with a deadline of July 2008.

Another industry focus has been education. Established in 2005 by a number of cocoa companies and associations, the Initiative for African Cocoa Communities (IACC) has funded a handful of education programs. Among them: 1) the Winrock CLASSE program in Côte d'Ivoire; 2) a UNICEF and National Confectioners Association supported program, providing afternoon schooling in several communities in Ghana; and 3) a primary and secondary teacher training program in Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana.

### *West African Governments*

The four main cocoa producing countries have undertaken measures to deal with the child labor issue to varying degrees. Working with NGOs and cocoa foundations, action has ranged from improving child education to sustainable crop management. In addition, Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana have instituted laws regarding forced and exploitative labor, mandatory education, and legal minimum working age; however, these laws remain largely unenforced, especially in rural areas. Cameroon and Nigeria also have forced labor and minimum working age laws, but again, such laws are infrequently enforced.

### *Sources*

Aaronson, Susan Ariel. 2007. "Globalization and Child Labor: The Cause Can Also Be a Cure." *YaleGlobal Online* <http://yaleglobal.yale.edu/display.article?id=8907>.

Annotation: This brief article details the events leading up to the signing of the Cocoa Protocol in 2001. The author, Susan Aaronson, cites globalization as a cause of forced labor, and believes that global pressure can also be used to end this exploitation. Aaronson argues that five years after the signing of the Protocol, the problem of forced child labor in the cocoa industry is still widespread, and as a result, a new multi-sector strategy must be developed.

Anti-Slavery International. 2007. "Child Labour." Website: <http://www.antislavery.org/homepage/antislavery/childlabour.htm>.

Annotation: A major player in the fight against contemporary slavery, Anti-Slavery International's website provides a wealth of information on the topic of modern slavery, and more specifically, forced child labor. This section contains background information regarding the nature and causes of child labor, as well as case studies and a number of detailed reports on issues ranging from the cocoa industry in West Africa to camel jockeys in the United Arab Emirates.

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Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor. 2007. "2006 Country Reports on Human Rights Practices." Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of State.

Cameroon - <http://www.state.gov/g/drl/rls/hrrpt/2006/78723.htm>

Côte d'Ivoire - <http://www.state.gov/g/drl/rls/hrrpt/2006/78730.htm>

Ghana - <http://www.state.gov/g/drl/rls/hrrpt/2006/78737.htm>

Nigeria - <http://www.state.gov/g/drl/rls/hrrpt/2006/78751.htm>

Annotation: Compiled by U.S. embassies, the Country Reports on Human Rights Practices depict the adherence of foreign governments to internationally recognized human rights. Pertinent to the issue of child labor, the Country Reports cover individual, civil, political, and worker rights as outlined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. In addition to numerous other issues, these reports evaluate the occurrence of forced or compulsory labor, child labor practices, the minimum age for employment of children, and acceptable work conditions.

Cullen, Holly. 1999. "The Limits of International Trade Mechanisms in Enforcing Human Rights: The Case of Child Labour." *International Journal of Children's Rights* 7(1):1-29.

Annotation: This paper by Holly Cullen examines the issue of child labor and the reasons it is considered a human rights issue today. The author goes on to evaluate several unilateral and regional international trade mechanisms that are used to promote the elimination of child labor, highlighting their legal limitations, effectiveness, and possible incompatibility with the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT). Cullen additionally seeks to determine whether trade sanctions should be used in the fight against child labor. The author concludes that trade sanctions alone cannot combat the causes of child labor, but they can be more effective when used as part of a larger strategy.

Free the Slaves. 2007. Website: <http://www.freetheslaves.net>.

Annotation: This website is an indispensable resource on the topic of contemporary slavery. An immense amount of information is contained here, including historical information, issues related to the numerous forms of contemporary slavery, the regions affected, success stories, and a multi-sector action plan for ending slavery in the next twenty-five years. The research and publications section of the site is especially useful.

Global Exchange. 2007. Fair Trade Cocoa Campaign. Website:  
<http://www.globalexchange.org/campaigns/fairtrade/cocoa/>.

Annotation: Global Exchange is an international NGO that is working to promote social, economic, and environmental justice. This section of the NGO's website provides detailed background information on child labor in the West African cocoa industry. After discussing the causes of child labor, the authors offer solutions such as the purchase of fair trade cocoa and the implementation of an international monitoring and certification system. Once established, this system would work to guarantee a minimum price for cocoa, and would also end the use of abusive child labor. An extensive list of cocoa and child labor related resources, suggested actions for consumers, and news updates are also found here.

Harkin, Senator Tom (D-IA), and Representative Elliot Engel (D-NY). 2001. "Harkin-Engel Protocol."  
<http://www.cocoainitiative.org/images/stories/pdf/harkin%20engel%20protocol.pdf>.

Annotation: This important document from 2001, also known as the Cocoa Protocol, proposes guidelines for growing and processing cocoa in order to adhere to the International Labor Organization Convention 182, which calls for the elimination of the worst forms of child labor. A key action plan, comprised of six essential steps, is outlined in detail. The six steps are: 1) industry acknowledgement of the problem and a plan to address it; 2) formation of an advisory group for continued labor practice investigation; 3) a signed joint statement on child labor; 4) a binding memorandum of cooperation by major stakeholders; 5) the establishment of an international foundation by May 1, 2002 to be financed primarily by the cocoa industry; and 6) the design and implementation of a certification process by July 1, 2005 that would guarantee that cocoa is not grown using the worst forms of child labor.

Hawksley, Humphrey. 2007. "Child Cocoa Workers Still 'Exploited.'" *BBC NEWS* (April 2)  
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/6517695.stm>.

Annotation: The author of this short article harshly criticizes chocolate manufacturers for the dismal progress made in reducing forced child labor since the 2001 Cocoa Protocol. A mud hut school built in the village of Petit Yammousoukro in Côte d'Ivoire serves as a model project under the Cocoa Protocol, but unfortunately, it is only one of six (out of forty slated for the area) built in the five years since the signing of the Protocol. Local project managers cite lack of funding, training, and general support from cocoa manufacturers and their foundations as reasons for this shortcoming. This article paints a simplified black and white picture of the issue, omitting a multitude of complex factors.

International Cocoa Initiative. 2007. Website: <http://www.cocoainitiative.org/>.

Annotation: The International Cocoa Initiative (ICI) is an international non-profit entity that was established in 2002 as required by the Harkin-Engel Protocol. The ICI is partnered with

NGOs, trade unions, and the chocolate industry, and is funded by cocoa industry members. Their approach to eliminating the worst forms of child labor is to support programs developed and run at the community level. The ICI's website provides a brief history on forced and child labor in the cocoa industry, links to child labor statistics, and information on cocoa growing and processing. Current ICI programs in Ghana and Côte d'Ivoire are outlined here.

International Labor Rights Forum. 2005. "May 2005 Report: Child Labor in Agriculture: Focus on Child Labor on Cocoa Farms in West Africa and the Chocolate Industry's Initiative to Date." Washington, D.C.: International Labor Rights Forum.

[http://www.ilrf.org/projects/childlab/cocoa\\_childlabor\\_update\\_May05.pdf](http://www.ilrf.org/projects/childlab/cocoa_childlabor_update_May05.pdf).

Annotation: This five-page report summarizes actions by the cocoa industry, as well as those of non-industry parties, from the 2001 Harkin-Engel Protocol signing to May 2005. Portraying cocoa corporations in a poor light, the authors note that when the July 2005 deadline was looming, the industry was far from reaching its goal of guaranteeing that forced child labor would not be used to produce cocoa. Briefly highlighting several causes of child labor in West Africa, the International Labor Rights Forum (ILRF) goes on to provide an overview of approaches initiated by various governmental and non-governmental organizations.

International Labor Rights Forum. 2006. "Report on Cocoa and Forced Child Labor." Washington, D.C.: International Labor Rights Forum.

<http://www.ilrf.org/projects/childlab/CocoaProtocolUpdate101906.pdf>.

Annotation: The authors of this report thoroughly critique the 2001 Cocoa Protocol, its policies, and industry members' adherence (or lack thereof) to those policies. The report is an assessment of the success and failure in implementation of the six steps outlined in the Protocol. Other important initiatives, like the Sustainable Tree Crop Program and the West African Cocoa and Commercial Agricultural Project, are also evaluated. The authors go on to discuss important issues yet to be addressed by the industry, and recommend numerous future steps to be taken, such as greater commitment to fair trade cocoa and the re-establishment of the International Cocoa Agreement. Although mostly an unfavorable review of cocoa industry members, this report is a valuable assessment of the work done in West Africa since 2001.

International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour (IPEC). 2007. Website:

<http://www.ilo.org/ipec/index.htm>.

Annotation: This site is an invaluable resource for program reports, research data, and other publications related to child labor in the West African cocoa industry. The goal of the ILO's International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour (IPEC) is the gradual eradication of child labor. To achieve this, IPEC works to strengthen the capacity of countries, in order to deal with the issue and to promote a worldwide movement to fight child labor. IPEC has a number of programs operating in Cameroon, Côte d'Ivoire, Ghana and Nigeria, both independently and in cooperation with other governmental agencies and international NGOs.



Liepziger, Deborah. 2006. "Raw Materials, Raw Issues and Progress." *Ethical Corporation* (July).  
<http://www.ethicalcorp.com/content.asp?ContentID=4370>

Annotation: Corporate social responsibility in the cocoa industry is highlighted and commended in this brief article. The author describes the work of the International Cocoa Initiative (ICI) and its partners, major chocolate companies, governmental organizations, and NGOs, since the ICI's mandated formation in 2002. This article portrays the ICI approach on national, local, and community levels in Ghana and Côte d'Ivoire, the major obstacles faced, and its bold strategy to expand programs into more West African countries. While details of the pilot programs outlined in this article are of use, it is important to note that the author is a consultant to the ICI.

Samin, Zam R. 2007. "Ghana: NGO Poised to Sensitise Cocoa Farmers on Child Labour." *Ghanaian Chronicle* (May 8).

Annotation: In this short newspaper article, the author describes a project currently conducted by the International Cocoa Initiative (ICI) Foundation in Ghana to educate cocoa growing communities about child labor. The premise of the program is to aid community members in understanding of why child labor needs to be reduced, and to introduce infrastructure projects to improve social and economic conditions. Illustrating the long road ahead, the local program manager makes the most telling statement, saying that after attending the weeklong workshop, many community members did not see the drawbacks of putting their children to work. This article provides a valuable insider's view of child labor in Ghana.

Tiaji Salaam-Blyther, Charles Hanrahan, Nicolas Cook. 2005. "Child Labor in West African Cocoa Production: Issues and U.S. Policy." Washington D.C.: Congressional Research Service, Library of Congress. <http://digital.library.unt.edu/govdocs/crs/permalink/meta-crs-9107>

Annotation: The authors of this report describe the nature of cocoa production and examine the use of child labor in the cocoa industry. Steps by Congress, including the Harkin-Engel Protocol to curb exploitative child labor, are outlined in detail. In addition, an assessment of current programs run by the International Labor Organization (ILO) in conjunction with U.S. support, such as the Sustainable Tree Crops Program (STCP) and the West African Cocoa/Commercial Agriculture Program (WACAP), is given. The authors also go on to identify possible policy options such as trade agreements or enhancements of the Harkin-Engel Protocol that could be implemented.

World Cocoa Foundation. 2007. Website: <http://www.worldcocoafoundation.org/default.asp>.

Annotation: The World Cocoa Foundation (WCF) is a non-profit organization that was formed in 2000, which primarily addresses child labor and sustainable farming issues. The majority of its members are cocoa manufacturers and cocoa industry associations. Similar to other cocoa

organizations, the WCF subscribes to a bottom-up approach, believing that local community participation is essential to improve conditions. The site outlines the Foundation's principles, in addition to providing information on responsible growing and on the international cocoa market. Progress reports on the Sustainable Tree Crops Program in Cameroon, Côte d'Ivoire, Ghana, Liberia, and Nigeria are also included. Additionally, links to the Field Farmer Schools, Winrock CLASSE program, and other projects in West Africa are provided.

## **Conclusion**

There is no quick fix for the problem of forced child labor in West Africa. Since 2001, significant progress has been made, but the complexity of the issue requires continued commitment from all parties. In particular, corporations making billions of dollars from the hazardous work of children have an obligation to play a more substantial role and make a larger financial commitment. Additionally, NGOs have recommended a number of steps that should be followed, including: greater supply chain transparency, the guaranteed purchase of a set percentage of fair trade cocoa, the implementation of the Cocoa Protocol verification system, the development of cooperatives to increase cocoa growers bargaining power, and enhanced educational opportunities for rural West African children.