



Radboud Universiteit Nijmegen

Nestlé's war on two fronts:

A case study into the child labour accusations against
Nestlé

Master thesis

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Abstract

This study examines the context in which child labour accusations against Nestlé are discussed. Based on a thematic analysis, a hundred different data sources have been analysed. Nestlé has been accused of using child labour since 2012 and has been issued to solve this issue ever since. Progress has been made but not enough to solve the many root problems that lay the foundation for the child labour issue. Nestlé has been focussing on reporting on root problems, naming solutions for these problems, and stating the progress that has been made. The reports lacked insight into customer trends, and failures, which were complemented by NGO reports and newspaper articles. The findings confirm that Nestlé has become more profitable in times when they were using child labour, which is seen as a form of modern slavery.

Keywords

Child labour, Nestlé, Ivory Coast, modern slavery, forced labour, corporate social irresponsibility

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1. Introduction

1.1 Background

Over a hundred and fifty years ago Abraham Lincoln approved the Joint Resolution of Congress, which submitted the 13th amendment which abolished slavery in the United States (National Geographic Society, 2013). Mauritania abolished slavery in 1981 and was the last country to make slavery a crime in 2007 (Sutter, 2012). Although slavery is a crime all around the world more and more articles and news reports indicate otherwise. The definition of modern slavery according to Caruana et al. (2020, p. 251) is: “a term used to describe severe forms of labor exploitation” and called an urgent societal problem (p. 252). According to Anti-slavery International (2021), there are currently still over 40 million people who are trapped in modern slavery. Modern slavery can be identified in four different ways: labour exploitation, domestic servitude, sexual exploitation, and criminal exploitation (Cooper et al., 2017). The image most people have of slavery is that it only happens in Asia or Africa, but cannabis factories are located in the United Kingdom and there is sexual slavery in the United States (BBC News, 2016). The most frequently discussed examples of modern slavery are the building of football stadiums in Qatar and factories in China and North Korea. The media has reported many news reports and written many articles about the situation in these countries but yet a big event like the World Cup of football is still happening in Qatar. In addition, big sponsors like Adidas, Coca-Cola, McDonald’s, and Budweiser proudly keep their names attached (Sanwal, 2022) to this so-called ‘World Cup of Shame’ (Amnesty International, 2021).

The strange contrast when looking at companies like Adidas, McDonald’s, and Coca-Cola is that they, like many others, support equality movements like Black Lives Matter (BLM) in 2020. The media portrayed the BLM movement largely all around the world and there was some social pressure to declare support but there are not many statements made about the situation in Qatar. This insinuates that companies might only care for equality when the social pressure rises, which raises the question of the influence of media on this subject. Some companies are very aware of their role in modern slavery, one example is Tony Chocolonely, which is known for its fight against unequal prices for its suppliers and wanting to sell slave-free chocolate bars (Tonys Chocolonely, n.d.). However, the cocoa industry is often linked to human rights abuses, structural poverty, low wages, and child labour (Balch, 2021). Nestlé has been accused of

modern slavery in the form of child labour (Balch, 2021). In this case, eight children claim that they were used for slave labour in the cocoa industry. However, the court ruled that Nestlé was not responsible for forced labour because there was no evidence that decisions made in the US have led to forced labour on the Ivory Coast cocoa plantations (BBC News, 2018).

1.2 Research Problem

Shilling et al. (2021) state that modern slavery is complex and hidden. Their research into the modern slavery footprint in supply chains shows that countries like the United States, Germany, Japan and the United Kingdom are accountable for a big part of modern slavery. The said countries import products embodied in modern slavery, due to this import the countries can be held accountable for their part in modern slavery (Shilling et al., 2021). The difference between a country's consumption and production states a ratio that describes the accountability for modern slavery.

In the last few years, Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) has become more and more important for companies. CSR might be one of the most discussed themes in the business and academic world (Idowu et al., 2015). It has become an addition to the product or service companies are selling to their customers. Ditlev-Simonsen and Midttun (2011) state that the main motivators for conducting CSR are to brand, maximize value, and for stakeholders. The responsible part of CSR, namely ethics and sustainability are given much lower priority by managers. However, Hahn (2008) evidenced that environmental, social responsibility, and ethics were the reasons why companies pursued CSR. Marano and Kostova (2016), explain that companies are pressured by the transnational field to go beyond what is required in the company's home country concerning CSR. However, the focus being mostly on CSR results in a lack of looking at the other side, Corporate Social Irresponsibility (CSI). CSI is just like modern slavery, an understudied topic (Jain & Zaman, 2020). The focus on CSR instead of CSI might be connected with the 'greenwashing' that has been happening lately. Companies are often acting 'greener' than they are and misleading consumers, which is called greenwashing (Delmas & Burbano, 2011). The importance to look sustainable and environmentally friendly seems to be more important than actually being it (Elford, 2009). This highlights the problem of understudying CSI and the context it happens in, where companies overshadow their CSI practices with their CSR policies.

A reason why the eradication of modern slavery might not be on the top of every company's priority list might be because it is still in the early stages of public awareness. Baron (1995) made a framework addressing the four I's which are four stages of public awareness (Institutions, Issues, Interests, and Information). This framework offers a way of analysing the nonmarket environment. An 'Issue' is something that has severe effects on a large identifiable group of the society. It is influenced by impact, controversy, and the expectational gap. Modern slavery seems to be in the 2nd stage of the nonmarket issue life cycle (see Appendix 1), which is called interest group formation. In this stage, businesses notice the issue but are not taking any action. Another important feature of the second stage is that the issue is covered by the media and public awareness is raised. To reach the third stage the issue has to be picked up by governments and gain more institutional attention. In this stage, businesses start to take action against the issue as well. Since it is clear that MNCs are not taking action, and not even their responsibility it requires more attention to move modern slavery to the next stage. Another reason why MNCs do not have eradication on top of their priority list is the lack of convicted companies. Multiple companies have been charged with the involvement of modern slavery-like Mars, Nestlé, and Hershey, but none of them has actually been found guilty (Balch, 2021). Although CSR is getting more widely known, Surroca et al. (2013) found evidence of companies using their subsidiaries for corporate socially irresponsible actions (CSI). While there may be rules in a home country for certain companies those rules do not automatically apply to subsidiaries abroad. Surroca et al. (2013) also state that MNEs maintain a minority party in the subsidiary so MNE cannot be traced back directly, and therefore the subsidiary is completely accountable. If companies can get away with modern slavery in their supply chains there is less reason for them to change their supply chains. To understand why modern slavery is still a complex and hidden problem it can be relevant to see how modern slavery is discussed in a certain context. Despite the written books and articles, there is limited research done on the topic of modern slavery and the role of MNCs.

1.3 Objective

Academics have mostly researched CSR and have done limited research into CSI and modern slavery. However, the combination of the three has limited research available. As previously explained it is unsure why MNCs can get away with involvement in modern slavery and why so little is done to eradicate it. The lack of business research done into the subject of modern slavery

makes it look like it is non-existent (Caruana et al., 2020). Doing research into CSI and modern slavery and how this is discussed can help acquire new insights. The objective of this research is therefore to complement the existing knowledge by researching how modern slavery is discussed in context with Nestlé's child labour accusations.

1.4 Research Question

The objective of this thesis is to investigate how modern slavery is discussed in the context of Nestlé's child labour accusations. To understand how an MNC like Nestlé can be involved in modern slavery but not face any consequences. The research question formulated for this research is:

How is modern slavery discussed in the context of Nestlé's child labour accusations?

To answer this research question archival data will be used to conduct a thematic analysis. News articles, NGOs, and Business reports from Nestlé will be used for triangulation. By using news articles and NGO reports the sensitivity of this topic will be taken into account as well as the obstacle of limited data.

1.5 Relevance

As indicated earlier in paragraph 1.2, the topic of modern slavery has been widely overlooked and is understudied. Therefore it is theoretically relevant to do research into CSI activities of MNCs in the form of modern slavery and how this is discussed. This will highlight the importance of this subject, and make it more known so that more research into this subject can be done, to make it a less understudied subject. This research will focus on adding theory to the limited existing literature and theories about modern slavery, so the research into modern slavery may advance.

This thesis also has a practical relevance since it will increase awareness and make modern slavery less hidden. It will also help understand how modern slavery is discussed in a particular case. Furthermore, it will show how modern slavery is perceived when dealing with an MNC. It might help to take action against MNCs and hold them accountable for their irresponsible role in child labour and modern slavery in general. This could have a positive practical social impact on society.

1.6 Outline

This paper is divided into six chapters. The next chapter will contain the literature review which will elaborate on the concepts that were introduced in the introduction. The third chapter explains the used research method, along with a clarification of the data collection and analysis. The fourth chapter contains the results of the analysis. The fifth chapter will give a conclusion based on the results of chapter four. The sixth chapter will discuss the conclusions and proposals for future research.

2. Literature review

This chapter focuses on providing background knowledge on the concepts of modern slavery, CSR and CSI. Recent business and economical literature will be discussed. The focus of this literature review is on the CSR, and CSI literature. different nonmarket strategies and their connection to CSR and possible motivations for conducting CSR.

2.1 CSR, CSI and modern slavery

This thesis researches the effects of CSI and CSR on modern slavery. To be able to understand the difference between CSI and CSR it is important to know both concepts. CSI can be defined as: “a focus on ethical failures in order to relate corporate responsibility to business ethics” (Alexander, 2015, p. 2). Another definition is “business doing wrong in relation to the environment, community, society, ethics, and business practices. CSI is when things go wrong concerning profitability, the environment, and people” (Tench et al., 2012, p. 558). The latter definition will be the leading definition in this thesis. Frederick (2018) describes CSR as: “a series of evolving stages characterized by shifting attitudes and behaviours by business firms, their stakeholders, and public policies” (p. 3). The used definition of modern slavery in this thesis is “situations of exploitation that a person cannot refuse or leave because of threats, violence, coercion, deception, and/or abuse of power” (Crane et al., 2021, p. 1).

As said earlier Nestlé is one of the companies buying cocoa in the Ivory Coast, also called Côte d’Ivoire. One of the forms of modern slavery and the one that Nestlé is accused of is child labour. Since this research will look into how modern slavery is discussed in the context of Nestlé’s accusations, it is important to know what is perceived as child labour. Child labour is seen as insidious evil because it frequently harms the child’s future opportunities (Udry, 2006). Any child that is involved in market activities, which is work outside its household for wages or compensation and this includes work on family farms and businesses is considered a child labourer (Janzen, 2018).

2.2 CSI

CSR is a way to undo CSI but to undo CSR CSI has to be addressed first. CSI will allow CSR to become more realistic and effective. Although a lot of research has been done into CSR, CSI however, remains an understudied topic (Jain & Zaman, 2020). This is despite CSI enriching and expanding CSR, so to fully understand CSR one has to first understand CSI (Tench et al., 2012).

When looking at legal and illegal activities it is easy to say that illegal activities are irresponsible. However, when it comes to legal activities it becomes a bit harder to define what is responsible and what is not. When a company is not sustainable and/or unethical it can be said it is irresponsible and when they are sustainable and ethical they are responsible. The grey area in between is something legal with minor sustainable and ethical issues (Tench et al., 2012). The grey area is defined by the society which decides what is responsible and accepted and what is not. Kwamboka et al. (2018) complement this research by linking customer purchase intention and CSI. Where the connection is made between CSI and corporate reputation and consumer attitude. CSI harms on purchase intention because corporate reputation is negatively influenced by CSI. Bianchi et al. (2020) and Kwamboka et al. (2018) show that customers have a certain standard for deciding what is responsible or not, which according to Tench et al. (2012) defines the thin line between CSR and CSI. Zhang et al. (2021) add the stakeholder ecosystem. Not only consumers and organisations define this line but also the stakeholder ecosystem, which influences the growth of supply and demand. Idemudia (2011), suggests that CSR should be formed with fewer influences from the west to fit the developing countries as well. Businesses should not only focus on what has done well or failed but on the complex relationships that lead to the desired outcomes.

Although, when conducting CSI like tax evasion or modern slavery often is thought that companies would make more profit, however, this results in a lower share price performance. Avoiding CSI results in a higher share price performance which leads to a higher return (Hoepner et al., 2018). According to Hoepner et al. (2018) sticking with good moral principles even when institutions are weak is good for business. Companies with more CSI activities tend to have more legal directors on their board than companies that have fewer CSI activities (Dharwadkar et al., 2021). This has the purpose of mitigating the negative effect associated with CSI. This effect is more present for external CSI than internal CSI. Companies conduct irresponsible activities, and research has been done into the relocation of the irresponsible practices of the organisation. Organizations will move their irresponsible practices to subsidiaries that are loosely connected to the headquarters of an MNE but the MNE still controls the board. By transferring the irresponsible activities to a subsidiary the customer will not link the irresponsible activities to the MNE and therefore not influence purchase intention or corporate reputation. Moving the CSI towards subsidiaries also transforms it from an inward CSI into an

outward CSI, and thus according to Dharwadkar et al. (2021), more legal directors are added to the board. MNEs transfer the irresponsible activities to subsidiaries when in financial trouble or when they have to compete in a highly competitive industry.

CSI includes legal and illegal activities, forced child labour is one of the illegal matters. However, tying child labour to an organisation is difficult because companies do not own the farms or factories the children work in or only partly own them. CSI is happening in many companies just like its counterpart CSR but is a lot less publicly known.

2.3 CSR

Now that it is clear what Corporate Social Irresponsibility is it is also important to know what responsible is so that both concepts can be fully understood. Corporate social responsibilities finds their roots back in 1953 when Howard Bowen wrote a book called: ‘the social responsibilities of a businessman’ (Bowen & Johnson, 1953). Bowen argues that businessmen must have a larger responsibility if capitalism continues and prospers. The next step toward CSR is in 1971 with the ‘labour’s social contract’, which stated that businesses have an obligation to serve the need of society, not only by selling products but by contributing more to society (Wilkinson & Tarling, 1977). Frederick (2018), names five phases of CSR:

1. Corporate Social Stewardship (1950-1960)
2. Corporate Social Responsiveness (1960-1970)
3. Corporate/Business Ethics (1980-1990)
4. Corporate/Global Citizenship (1990-2000)
5. Toward a Millennial Future (2000-3000)

The drivers for CSR started mostly as image/reputation and public relations but worked their way towards sustainability processes and generational changes. Frederick (2018) calls the present CSR phase “a puzzling and indeterminate condition” (p.26). The three key concepts that may shape the millennial future are sustainability, generational changes and big questions, puzzles, and challenges. Where sustainability is about making it a reality for both business and society. Generational changes are about the ‘millennial’ and the characteristics of this generation. Technology and globally-minded are two important aspects of this generation also workplace focus and values are looked into. Ethics and integrity are found most important and CSR ended up at the bottom when asked what supports long-term success. There are several big questions

and puzzles which have no clear answer and involve the earth and its population. CSR is still in its development and shows a path with voluntarism and socially imposed compliance. There still is a search going on that CSR pays, is a good business, and a market for virtue exists. Frederick (2018) concludes his research with companies that are seeking to sustain not only themselves but also the people whose lives they influence. The extent and spirit of a business's commitment to CSR determine the quality of life also for the people that are influenced.

Hudson and Descubes (2021), conducted research among managers in France from 2007 to 2017 about CSR motivations and engagements. In ten years, CSR engagement increased among the researched managers. The increased engagement came forward in particularly four dimensions, personal, economic, stakeholder, and strategic. The latter means whether CSR is a core part of the company's strategy or not. All of these dimensions scored higher than in 2017 and the motivations shifted from mostly instrumental to normative terms. The motivation shifted from a business case view toward a more moral or normative view. Where CSR became a more integrated part of the company's overall strategy. Lee's research (2020) agrees with this statement, who states that LMEs have decreased the lowest level of a firm's competitive motivation and increased the socially cohesive motivation for CSR. Hudson and Descubes (2021) also state that CSR motivation in a company often depends on the manager's values, interests, and challenges. The motivation changed from good for business to the right thing to do, but that is affected by personal thoughts. The managers now view their actions as normal. It can thereby be stated that personal engagement with CSR has a positive influence on company CSR motivation. This is also supported by the research done by Antal and Sobczak (2007). Acharyya and Agarwala (2020), complement this with 'eventually, the CSR approach demands a commitment from within. The organisations need to emphasize more voluntary engagement of employees and go beyond statutory requirements for realizing the true CSR benefits'.

2.4 Modern Slavery

Modern slavery has been an understudied subject and it is not easy to define. Slavery is often viewed as something premodern, but it persists in many forms and contexts in modern business. Most research that has been done nowadays focuses on the victims while the organisations themselves receive less attention (Laczko, 2005). Crane (2013), states that modern slavery is one of the worst forms of human exploitation. Jansson (2014) describes it as one of the most serious

crimes of our time and the main form of organised crime. Crane developed a theory of modern slavery that exists of four main parts, conditions enabling slavery, exploiting and insulating capabilities, sustaining and shaping capabilities, and modern slavery. Conditions enabling slavery are the external factors that are divided into five contexts, industry, socioeconomic, geographic, cultural, and regulatory. Where industry fully focuses on the labour intensity, value distribution, demand, legitimacy, and regional clustering, the other four contexts focus on the institutional context. Exploiting and insulating capabilities exist in four parts, access and deployment of violence, debt management, accounting opacity, and labour supply chain management. Sustaining and shaping capabilities are split up between moral legitimization and domain maintenance. All these factors together form, enable and sustain modern slavery. Which is divided into five key points, forced work through threat, ownership/control through abuse, dehumanization and commoditization, constraints on freedom of movement, and economic exploitation through underpayment. Where Hoepner et al. (2018) state that companies can perform better even when there are weak institutions Crane (2013) states that institutions are key in changing modern slavery. Institutional spaces create an opportunity that can be exploited for modern slavery.

It was only in 2015 that the UK's Modern Slavery Act was implemented (Caruana et al., 2018). It has been very difficult to scale modern slavery into one certain crime (Caruana et al., 2018; Jansson, 2014). In the United States, different states had different laws which could be exploited to gain lower penalties or no penalty at all. However, prosecution is one of the main tools to fight human trafficking and modern slavery (Jansson, 2014). Despite it being one of the main tools to fight modern slavery and the international awareness and efforts only a few convictions are made. Locations of modern slavery are well known like the Thai fishing industry delivers to big companies like Costco, Walmart, and Carrefour and cocoa farming in Ivory Coast still exists (Crane et al., 2021).

Crane et al. (2021) state that very limited attention has been paid to the supply chains that contain modern slavery. Business models need to be changed to exterminate modern slavery. Businesses can be producers or intermediaries of slavery and gain value through revenue generation or cost-reduction activities. Four business models come forward out of these dimensions risk reduction, asset leveraging, evading legal minimums, and workers as consumers.

Where risk reduction can lead to illegal labour practices which use coercion to force workers to hide the value-capturing practices and illegal markets which use coercion and physical restraints to also hide the value-capturing practices. Asset leveraging can lead to levering an organisation's assets which generates additional revenue by cutting labour costs and leveraging workers' assets which generate additional revenue from activities that are not related to the core of the business. Evading legal minimums can be divided into subcontracting to other intermediates which creates value by reducing the labour costs and exploiting regulatory loopholes which creates value by cutting labour costs in a regulatory way. Workers as consumers generate value via exploiting control over-indebted workers. Crane et al. (2021) also looked into the similarities between traditional and modern slavery. One of the biggest similarities was the motivation, which was and still is of economic rationale and reliance on coercion. While for coercion the physical chains have disappeared employers still rely on threats and physical constraints on their employees. The biggest difference between traditional and modern slavery is that modern slavery is more about coercing the employee by threats and physically instead of purchasing enslaved people.

The difference between traditional and modern slavery is mostly the evidence one has of slavery. Previously it was more obvious a person was a slave, because he or she could be purchased and most likely had a chain. This made it also a lot easier to know who caused slavery and who the victims were, nowadays it is a lot more complex, and not certain who is mainly responsible for modern slavery. However, slavery is illegal and therefore also irresponsible, as stated before. The Modern Slavery Act (Caruana et al., 2018), states that there can be no modern slavery or human trafficking in a company or its supply chain or it will be seen as CSI. Companies who buy from suppliers with child labour could just remove them from their list but often they choose to make an ethically grounded argument that is it better to pursue progressive upgrading (New, 2015). However, New (2015) states that it is not realistic to expect improvement and the buying company has the obligation to report forced labour or modern slavery to the authorities. Not reporting the illegal activities and maintaining them in the company's supply chain is a form of CSI.

2.5 Child labour

Modern slavery, as said before, has many different forms and contexts, one of them being child labour. Since this research is about modern slavery with a focus on child labour this will be discussed in this paragraph. Child labour can be described as an insidious evil because it limits a child's future (Udry, 2006). This description also paints the line between child labour and child work, where child labour is harmful and child work is harmless (Sinha, 2013). Child labour involves hazardous work, but this lacks definition, which should be done by governments (Sinha, 2013). The measuring of child labour, however, is a complex process, this leads to wide spreading inconsistencies (Janzen, 2018). According to Janzen (2018), the amount of child labourers in the world depends on who is asked, the child involved, the parent or the guardian, since not all see child labour as the same, children do not even see child labour as the same themselves (Santos et al., 2013). Child labour has a negative effect on the children, because it deprives the child of playing, hinders study, health, and exposes them to risks, but the child does it to support the family needs (Kassouf, 2019; Santos et al., 2013). Child labour has been linked to global trade, therefore international law should be doing something to prevent it, but the problem with international laws is enforceability (Dillon, 2015).

Fighting child labour by penalising the employer or boycotting products that are made with child labour tends to result in more child labour (Blanco Arana, 2020). Another way to fight child labour is by sending children to school, going to school significantly benefits the children and basic education gives benefits to poor families (Blanco Arana, 2020; Kassouf, 2019; Sinha, 2013). Where parents of child labourers use to resist sending their children to school they are now making sacrifices to keep their children in school and take pride in the transformation of their children from child labourers to students (Sinha, 2013).

However, although education is one solution, or according to Sinha (2013) the only key, to the child labour problem, it has some problems as well. For one the quality of schools in countries with large numbers of child labourers is poor (Blanco Arana, 2020). Another problem is the poverty since sending children to school costs money but also prevents them from working for money (Sinha, 2013).

3. Methodology

In this chapter, the methodology of this research will be discussed. Six different subjects will be addressed, being the case description, data collection, data analysis, validity and reliability, and research ethics. This thesis studies the case of modern slavery within Nestlé, and in specific child labour. Modern slavery is a sensitive subject therefore, little data has been collected. The lack of data makes a quantitative approach very difficult so a qualitative approach is more suitable to study this understudied subject. Qualitative research is often used to describe understudied subjects such as modern slavery. Therefore, qualitative research in the form of thematic analysis is the most appropriate approach. The thematic analysis offers a flexible approach to understanding the context in which Nestlé's child labour accusations are discussed. It follows an inductive research orientation where existing archival data is used. Van Thiel (2014) states that the choice of methods and techniques for analysis needs to reflect on the research aim, scientific knowledge available, and the nature of the study object under investigation.

3.1 Nestlé Case

This research focuses on the child labour accusations against Nestlé. The accusations started with a report by the Fair Labor Association (FLA) on the 29th of June in 2012 (Fair Labor Association, 2012). In this report, the FLA found multiple serious violations of Nestlé's code. The supply chain of Nestlé has been researched and exposed in this report and the FLA gave Nestlé ways to improve its supply chain. On the 17th of June in 2021 the US court ruled that Nestlé is not found responsible for child slavery on African farms (BBC News, 2021). Nestlé is not responsible but a report in 2012 stated that it had serious violations in its supply chain. To see what has evolved in those nine years this research will dig into reports, newspapers, and Nestlé.

3.2 Data collection

Because of the limited data available and the sensitivity of the subject, this research uses archival data collection methods as data sources. All the data has been collected starting from when the first FLA report came out, which is on the 29th of June 2012 until the 31st of March 2022. This is in the first place due to the time restraints because of the submission date of the research and to make sure that the data can be analysed in time. In the second place because this timeframe covers the start of the accusations, the reaction and response of Nestlé, NGOs and newspapers,

which should be sufficient to explain the context. The collected data is also restrained to Ivory Coast, which is the country the initial report was about. The focus on this specific area is to ensure all relevant data that can be found about this topic, in this area, and within the timeframe can be analysed. The final set of data that has been collected and analysed contains 100 texts that contain at least 300 words, are written in English and are related to the subject. The texts have to be in English because that is Nestlé's and the NGO's main language for communicating. Analysing 100 texts with a minimum of 300 words ensures that the phenomenon is described and the texts can be analysed in their social contexts (van Dijk, 2013).

The first data sources are derived in the form of reports from international NGOs which had a report about Nestlé and child labour published. The NGOs that have reported on Nestlé and are used are Amnesty International, Fair Labor Association (FLA), Anti-Slavery, Facing Finance, Stop The Traffik, International Cocoa Initiative, Unicef and Oxfam International (including Novib and Amerika).

Besides the reports from NGOs newspaper articles are being used, only national and international newspapers and websites are being used but no local newspapers or websites. The newspapers used are newspapers that act on a(n) (inter) national or on state level. If there was any doubt about a newspaper the readers had to be above 100,000 each week or be a significant source of news in the specific country (example being Ghana News Agency the official news agency of Ghana). The case around Nestlé is not happening in one place but multiple countries are involved, using only global or national newspapers is, therefore, most suitable. These articles have been derived from the data sources LexisNexis and Business & Human Rights Resource Centre.

The third source for data is Nestlé itself, statements, announcements, and press releases about the topic will be analysed. Mullet, (2018) states that a qualitative approach with different data sources will elaborate on the credibility of each type of data source. The collected data has been included in a table in appendix 3. This table includes the source (in APA), title, length (in words), and date of publication.

The keywords that have been used for the collection of all data are Nestlé, modern slavery, child labour, CSI, cacao industry, lawsuit, Ivory Coast, and African farms. To maximise

the newspapers found these keywords have been combined in order to collect more relevant data to analyse.

The search for newspapers with the term ‘Nestlé’ gave over 10,000 results, when narrowing it down with other keywords such as ‘child labour’ the results were around 1,100 results. To lower the number of articles and improve the usefulness of the articles that were unrelated and below the 300-word mark (as can be seen in LexisNexis) were removed. This resulted in a remaining 112 articles for both data sources (LexisNexis and Business & Human Rights Resource Centre). Five sources found that were in Dutch or French, or articles that were below 300 words and from too small newspapers have been excluded. Seven sources were too repetitive in the literal sense (word for word) compared to other sources and therefore excluded. The exclusion of these sources lowered the total sources from 112 to the 100 remaining sources.

3.3 Data analysis

To analyse the qualitative data an inductive thematic analysis has been used to identify common or overarching themes, ideas and patterns. The thematic analysis provides an approach that is accessible and theoretically flexible to analyse qualitative data (Braun & Clarke, 2006). The analyses will be done in six steps which are based on Braun and Clarke (2006). The analyses via thematic coding will use open inductive coding.

The first step is to familiarize with the data by reading and rereading the data and noting down initial ideas while doing this. Which has been executed during the collection of the data and during the first phase of analysing the texts, while also noting down the pieces of texts that are useful to answer the research question. performed. The second step is to generate codes, this will produce initial codes for the data. The first generated codes were derived from the texts, examples are ‘risks in labour standards’, ‘increasing awareness of CoC’, ‘TNCP has potential’, ‘improving livelihoods by 2030’, ‘lack of training’, ‘mixed motivations’, ‘accused of child labour’, and ‘customer demand changes’. The first code then got overlapping second codes, such as ‘assessment goals’, ‘lack of documentation’, ‘increasing awareness’, ‘TNCP impact’, ‘failed program’, ‘court ruling’, ‘sustainability and CSR’, and ‘breaking the cycle’.

When all data has been coded it is time for step 3, which is searching for themes. This will collide the list of codes into themes, the codes will be analysed to consider how different codes

can be combined into one overarching theme. The analysing of the data has delivered an initial ten different themes. These themes are: 'legal issues', 'Nestlé's view', 'root problems', 'future goals', 'progress', 'failures', 'responsibility and accountability', 'solutions', and 'motivation'.

The fourth step is reviewing the themes, this is done to reduce, split up, and refine the themes. and after reviewing them 8 of them remained. The removed theme 'Nestlé's view', has been put under 'motivation'. The theme had much overlap with the motivation theme and it was, therefore, unnecessary to keep them separate. The other removed theme, 'responsibility and accountability' has been put under different other themes. This theme was mostly repetitive of what other themes already said and had no additional value on its own, therefore the different texts were placed under other themes.

The fifth step is defining and naming themes, in this step the themes will be further refined and defined. This means that the essence of what each theme means will be identified. Two themes have been refined, 'motivation' has been refined to 'motivation for changing the business'. This has been done to address what the motivation was for. The other theme that has been refined is 'solutions', which has been changed to 'solutions to the root problems', stating what the solution is solving.

The remaining themes are: 'legal issues', 'root problems', 'future goals', 'progress', 'failures', 'solutions to the root problems', and 'motivation for changing the business'. Where 'legal issues' is a theme that came forward out of the codes 'accusations' that were made against Nestlé (and possibly other companies) and 'court rulings'. This theme mostly presents the view of newspapers. 'Root problems' presents a theme that overarches all the different problems in Ivory Coast that causes child labour and prevents eradicating it. It consists mostly of 'lack of' codes, such as lack of education, training, law and responsibility. This theme presents the view of NGO and Nestlé reports. 'Progress' is the overarching theme for all the progress that has been made in fighting child labour and improving the livelihoods of Ivorian people, which includes different varieties of codes such as 'impact of' and 'improvement of'. It also includes the achieving of goals that have been set. This theme consists of a combination of data presented by newspapers and Nestlé. 'Failures' is the theme that is the opposite of progress which includes codes such as

‘failed programs’ and ‘failing systems’. It represents all the failures that have been found made by either NGOs, governments, Nestlé, or other companies, viewed by NGOs and newspapers. The fifth theme is ‘motivation for changing the business’, this includes motivations for handling and tackling child labour, and codes such as ‘Nestlé’s view’ and ‘different motivations’, to describe why companies like Nestlé change their business. This theme presents the view of Nestlé which state their motivation and newspapers who think otherwise about motivations companies have. The sixth theme is ‘trends’, where newspapers are used to describe current trends and give insight into the customer view with codes such as ‘sustainability and CSR’ and ‘responsibility’. The next theme ‘solutions to the root problems’, includes solutions that will solve the said root problems and help achieve the future goals that have been set. Example codes that fall under ‘solutions to the root problems’ are ‘education’, ‘monitoring system’, and ‘responsibility/ accountability’. Both this theme and ‘future goals’ are viewed from a combined NGO and Nestlé standpoint. The last theme is ‘future goals’ a theme that exists of codes such as ‘program opportunities’ and ‘income goals’, either to eradicate child labour directly or via indirect goals such as increasing income and helping children get to school.

The final step is to produce the report, this includes the final analysis and writing of the report. These six steps (as stated above and in Appendix 2) ensure the data is coded and themed so the data for the conclusion of the research is provided. Van Thiel (2014) describes a code as the summary of contents of a particular concept, with which an operationalization can be compared. Where the final codes will be called themes in this research. The analysed data has been included in appendix 4 where the texts used have been coded and themed according to the steps above.

3.4 Validity and Reliability

Validity exists in two types: internal and external validity (Van Thiel, 2014). Internal validity is the most important criterion of qualitative research (Bleijenbergh, 2015). This criteria tests if the research measured what it had to measure. It also contains a critical reflection if there are any systematic biases in the way data has been analysed. The uniqueness of the research has the potential to make the used data sources credible since quite some information is gathered (Yin, 2013).

The external validity, also called generalisability, refers to the criteria that the findings have to be generalizable for a bigger population (Bleijenbergh, 2015; Van Thiel, 2014). Qualitative research has some limitations. The thematic analysis itself cannot be generalised but the patterns might be generalizable. The findings can be used to explain the gaps in the literature, which generalises the thematic analysis more meaningful (Yin, 2013).

Reliability is less important but still important for qualitative research (Bleijenbergh, 2015). The reliability means that the collected data is not distorted by random differences, in other words, if the data is consistent. Reliability can partly be replaced in qualitative research by the verifiability of the collected data (Bleijenbergh, 2015). The data collected will only be from acknowledged NGOs, Nestlé's statements and reports, and (inter) national newspapers (as stated above). The reports and articles are publicly accessible so everyone can collect the same data, which ensures the reliability of this thesis. To ensure the validity and reliability are not endangered triangulation will be used, this will lower the chance the research is not valid or reliable (Van Thiel, 2004).

3.5 Limitations

This research has some limitations, some of them occur because the research will be done in a qualitative way. This means that the results are possibly biased because the researcher is the instrument used for data collection and analysis, this will result in a biased interpretation (Bleijenbergh, 2015). However, the researcher will work as unbiased as possible to counter this limitation. In addition, the data sources that will be used will be collected from public data sources and noted down in appendix 3 so that this research can be reproduced. Additionally, the research will also be done by one person and therefore not have interpretations from other researchers. Another limitation is the data that can be collected, this is limited to archival data because of the sensitiveness of the modern slavery subject. This means the results cannot be generalised, because one case is selected. However, the results do try to explain the phenomenon and create an addition to the limited research available.

3.6 Research Ethics

Compliance with the APA Ethics Code and the Netherlands Code of Conduct for Research is ensured in this thesis (Nederlandse gedragscode wetenschappelijke integriteit, 2018). While analysing the data the researcher makes sure the data is not fabricated or manipulated in any

form. To ensure transparency all the coding used to come to the results of this research will be included in the appendix. The researcher also withholds himself to the best of his knowledge from any unacceptable research practices as is listed in both the APA Ethics Code and the Netherlands Code of Conduct for Research. Once the research is completed it will be stored, according to the RDM guidelines, on the university drive for ten years.

4. Results

After collecting all data and analysing it via the thematic analysis ten different themes came forward that will be discussed in this chapter. A hundred different sources have been analysed to understand what NGOs, Nestlé and the media are saying about Nestlé's connection to modern slavery and in particular child labour. First, the 'legal issues' that Nestlé faced will be discussed. Second the 'root problems' of modern slavery, with a focus on child labour. This will discuss the problems that cause modern slavery in the first place. Next, the 'progress' will be looked into, what has Nestlé but also NGOs have done so far, and what steps have been taken. The progress is followed by a part with all the failures that those same said parties have made. Then motivation for changing business from Nestlé and NGOs and why they do things in a certain way. Sixth the current trends will be discussed, the future goals are partly fuelled by these current trends. This is followed by the 'solution to the root problems' that are discussed in different sources to tackle the root problems and achieve the future goals. The eighth theme is 'future goals' that Nestlé and NGOs have will be discussed, to see what has to change to decrease or eliminate child labour.

4.1 Legal issues

Legal issues are mostly discussed by newspapers, which explain the accusations against Nestlé and the court rulings that followed. Nestlé has faced some legal issues during the time and they have been exposed for using child labour while trying to eradicate it as well. In addition, Nestlé almost only reports on their fight against child labour and not against accusations of using child labour. It started in 2012, when major international cocoa manufacturers were under fire for using child labour over a decade ago, which Nestlé admitted (Associated Press, 2012; Emmerson, 2012). The next legal issue came forward in the Financial Times, where a judge ruled that Nestlé was found guilty of infiltrating anti-globalisation groups (Shotter & Lucas, 2013). A new accusation arose in 2013, when Nestlé, Cargill, Hershey, and Mars were accused of sourcing from farms engaged in appalling exploitation (Stevens, 2013). According to The Guardian (Clarke, 2017), it was only in 2015 when the first major case against Nestlé in regard to child labour occurred. Three people who claimed to have worked on plantations were Nestlé sourced from sued Nestlé for being whipped, beaten and forced to work (Blevins, 2015; Clarke, 2017). The only response so far from Nestlé was to try and buy their way out of the lawsuit but did so unsuccessfully according to the Financial Times (Hurley, 2016). However, the legal issues

have not presented any problems for Nestlé because according to Justice John Roberts violations elsewhere ‘must touch and concern U.S. territory with sufficient force to displace the presumption’ (Hurley, 2016). Nestlé distances itself from the accusation because the injuries of the victims cannot be traced back (Bloomberg, 2020), which is in line with the judge’s ruling. The Washington Post (Whoriskey et al., 2019) describes this as the main problem with these lawsuits because the allegations always include overseas slave labour. This makes it impossible to successfully sue companies like Nestlé. However, this does not stop victims from suing Nestlé as in 2021 Nestlé, along with Cargill, Hershey, Olam, Mars, Mondelez, and Barry Callebaut were sued under the name of ‘should have known’, meaning that the cocoa manufacturers should have known that there was child labour happening in their supply chains (Whoriskey et al., 2019). Nonetheless, all these accusations lead to the same conclusion, Nestlé is not found guilty of child labour and has been able to fend off any legal issues they are faced with.

4.2 Root problems

The foundation of modern slavery and child labour is a consequence of many root problems which are broadly discussed over the years by both Nestlé and different NGOs. Discussing the root problems increases the awareness and understanding of the problems but also enables the shift of the burden on the cause of child labour. Nonetheless, all parties involved agree that modern slavery and in particular child labour is a complex issue and not easy to solve (Balch, 2020; Nestlé & International Cocoa Initiative, 2019). The International Cocoa Initiative (Nestlé & International Cocoa Initiative, 2019) describes it as: “child labor in cocoa is complex, individual, shifting, and vulnerable to forces beyond the child’s or their family’s control (p. 15). The Fair Labor Association (2012c) explains that the complexity of the issue comes mainly out of the many causes that create the current and past situation and the big dependence of income for people on cocoa production. Ivory Coast is a country that has dealt with civil wars, and a lack of basic needs such as clean water, which increases the difficulty of eradicating child labour (Nestlé, 2022a). The dependence on cocoa is one of the root problems that increased over the last decade, 600,000 farmers and six million people depended on cocoa in 2012 which accounted for 35 per cent of the world’s cocoa supply (Fair Labor Association, 2012b). In 2020 this increased to 60 per cent for Ghana and Ivory Coast combined (Fair Labor Association, 2020). Which included the involvement of two million child labourers. According to Unicef (Jackson, 2020) “1.15 million children in Côte d’Ivoire were engaged in hazardous work in the cocoa sector”

(p.11), which VOA News (2016) confirms. Unicef (Jackson, 2020) continues by adding that “agriculture is the sector responsible for the largest amount of child labour worldwide” (p.8).

Findings suggest that although this high amount of child labourers and children working in hazardous environments should increase actions taken, root problems are still present. Most of the time, one root problem leads to another and one problem has multiple causes, which increases the complexity of the issue. One of the problems is documentation. According to The Fair Labor Association (2012b), the majority of the actors are not registered. Therefore, several labour risks have been identified, child labour, forced labour, health and safety, discrimination and compensation (Fair Labor Association, 2012b), which are all a consequence of people being unregistered. Young children have to do dangerous tasks and work in hazardous environments, the same as adults. According to Amnesty International (2016) “children as young as eight doing hazardous, hard physical work, sometimes dropping out of school to help their parents on the plantation”. Children doing this kind of work, for a very low income, increases their vulnerability to minor economic or climate shocks and puts them in a poverty cycle that is almost impossible to escape (Gneiting, 2019; Lambert, 2014). Income is one of the other major problems in the Ivory Coast and the cocoa sector in general. Farmers receive a very low amount of income for their cocoa but need money to invest in supplies to maintain their farms (Lambert, 2014). This leads to farmers lending money and exploiting their workers (Harris, 2020). The Daily Telegraph (Christie, 2019) recognizes this, “the majority of farm owners struggle to make ends meet and resort to the use of children to keep their prices competitive”. The economic gap between what a farmer needs to earn to make a living income and what they are paid now is one of the root problems of the child labour issue, and the reason why companies such as Nestlé are focusing on solving poverty (Koltrowitz & Angel, 2022). However, since this issue is not solved poverty still results, according to Unicef (Pluess & Farzaneh, 2018), in vulnerability to “child labour, exploitation, violence and lack of legal identity” for the children of cocoa farmers (p. 17). Although newspapers such as The Guardian (Balch, 2021), call this “a humanitarian disaster”, Ivoirians keep saying that cocoa means everything to them and even though their income is low cocoa pays for everything they have even if it involves child labour (Whoriskey, 2019b). This dependence and willingness to use child labour to earn a low income strengthens the statement The Guardian made.

As stated above, one root problem can lead to another and it's no different with poverty, which influences many other root problems. One of them is the increased dependence on children as workers. Farmers have a low amount of income which makes them unable to hire extra adult workers, so they hire child labourers (Lambert, 2014). However, even if the farmers earn enough to hire extra adult workers, the current farming demographic is ageing which creates a labour shortage. Young adults who are suitable for working on cocoa farms are leaving to work in rural communities instead of staying. This reason for using child labour is also one that Nestlé (Nestlé & International Cocoa Initiative, 2017) uses in their report, saying "As young adults leave rural communities, the farming demographic is ageing. Where farmers would previously have drawn on the support of their older children, they now look to their younger children for support" (p. 9). However, the reason is supported by the Fair Labor Association, acknowledging the labour shortage created by young adults who move to bigger cities when they get older.

To solve the labour shortage two things are currently done, first child labourers are used and according to Unicef (Jackson, 2020), the second currently used solution is the trafficking of migrant workers into Ivory Coast. However, the migrant workers face the same problems autochthonous workers face. Migrant workers often do not have any documentation which makes them even more vulnerable to earlier said labour risks (Jackson, 2020). Nestlé (2017) is acknowledging this problem by saying in their reports that "migrant labour has been identified as a root cause of some of the key issues to be addressed, such as child and forced labour" (p. 136). However, Nestlé does not address that this, according to Unicef (Jackson, 2020), results in no or little payment for their work, by stating that "only 9 of 133 young people from Burkina Faso and Mali that had worked in the Ivorian cocoa sector were paid according to prior agreements and the rest were unpaid or paid very little" (p.12). The farmers are partly to blame for receiving low payments because they are trying to produce as much as they can, often resulting in overproduction. In addition, Ivorian farms are inefficient and produce low-quality beans which are worth less. However, this is only because they are paid per tonne, so increasing prices will cause them to produce even more. So argues the Los Angeles Times (Pilling, 2019) "even if prices go up, say traders, that will encourage farmers to grow more, sending prices back down again". Another problem when companies agree to pay higher prices is that there is always

another company that is less scrupulous and will undercut the higher-paying company (Gunther, 2014). According to Anti-Slavery International (2017), similar problems happen with ethical practices, stating that “efforts towards ethical practices were undermined by competitors who were able to undercut them by adopting exploitative labour practices, including slavery”. However, Nestlé has yet to acknowledge or deny this reasoning for the use of child labour.

One of the other root problems that are discussed by both NGOs and Nestlé is the lack of rules and law enforcement Ivory Coast and countries involving cocoa farming in general have. The undercutting of prices as stated above is hard to solve without having proper laws in place to regulate this (Gunther, 2014). This is acknowledged by Anti-Slavery International (2017) “taking action down the supply chain is a challenge without the support of European regulation“. Laws that are present are installed in a way that it is very hard for workers to successfully sue the companies that have an impact on child labour (Revesz, 2016a). However, the problem lies not only with having regulations but also with the ability of countries like Ivory Coast to enforce laws. The Washington Post (Whoriskey et al., 2019) says that “child labor and child trafficking have flourished nonetheless because of the country’s inability to enforce the laws”. This statement is endorsed by both Deseret News (Associated Press, 2012) and the Fair Labor Association (2012c). There are no local laws that provide a fair and safe working environment or opportunities for workers to organize. The cocoa industry is dangerous not only for children but also for critics, Guy-Andre Kieffer, a journalist doing research into the cocoa industry, went missing and is probably murdered (McSweeney, 2014). This shows the level of danger and the lack of safety from the government, something that according to Unicef (Pluess & Farzaneh, 2018), The Guardian (McQuade, 2016), and the Fair Labor Association (2020) is something they should take care of. The lack of laws is something that helps companies such as Nestlé in legal issues fighting accusations and in addition also slows down the process of fighting child labour at the root problems as well.

As previously discussed there is a lack of documentation in the Ivory Coast which causes increased labour risks. Unfortunately, that is not the only risk people have, it also involves education. Which is one of the major root problems of child labour (Fair Labor Association, 2020; McQuade, 2016). Children drop out of school to work on farms and find themselves in

hazardous environments working for little payments. However, children who remain in school need to have a certificate to attend secondary school, which most children do not have (Pluess & Farzaneh, 2018). Therefore their choices are limited and often they are ending up in the cocoa industry anyway. Another reason for dropping out of school is the lack of income, education costs money and children in school do not gain any income. Even if the children come from a family that has enough money and the needed certificates the quality of the education is poor (Fair Labor Association, 2012c; Fair Labor Association, 2020). According to the Fair Labor Association (2012b), education has also been a problem in the past which can be noted when looking at the effect certain programs have. Farmers often do not understand the important links between plant propagation and social standards. Nestlé has started programs that have worked and some that have not which according to the Fair Labor Association (2012b), can be partly blamed due to the lack of education of the farmers. These farmers only have basic training and education, so say the Financial Times (Lucas, 2012) and The Guardian (Clarke, 2017). However, even when children attend school they often still perform child labour between classes on weekends. Nestlé and International Cocoa Initiative (2019), found some controversy as children are asked to do hazardous work for their school, by reporting that “a 16-year-old cannot use a machete to harvest cocoa, but primary schools sometimes ask young children to use them to weed the school grounds” (p. 31). This indicates that the lack of education is not a simple problem that can be solved by sending the children to school but needs a more thorough approach to improve the whole system.

There is a lack of many things in the Ivory Coast but the lack of documentation is a problem that reaches into many other problems. According to the Fair Labor Association (2012b, 2014, 2015, 2016), there is also a lack of monitoring, clearly defined requirements, KPIs, public reporting, age-verification and health- and safety policies. In addition, the problems named above increase labour risks and violations, including child labour and the lack of system and documentation, which increases the lack of transparency. Which increases the consequences of many other root problems, such as education and labour risks. Another consequence is the inefficiency of programs that NGOs and Nestlé start, because there are no monitoring systems in place it is hard to keep track of points where change is needed. Nestlé and other companies have started programs to solve child labour and help farmers earn a liveable income, however, Unicef

(Jackson, 2020) argues that “the focus of these efforts has largely been on Tier 1 supplier entities.” (p. 4). More work has to be done upstream supply chain to tackle the problem of child labour.

One of the root problems that are up for discussion is the responsibility that has been taken to tackle the child labour issue. So states Aurret van Heerden in a report from the Fair Labor Association (2012c) that “for too long child labor in cocoa production has been everybody’s problem and therefore nobody’s responsibility, child labour has been everyone’s problem but therefore also nobody’s responsibility”. Where this responsibility lies differs according to newspapers and Nestlé, but NGOs seem to be contradicting themselves. Where newspapers like the Washington Post (Whoriskey et al., 2019) and The Guardian (Balch, 2021) call child labour a humanitarian disaster and say that it has always been too little too late, Nestlé (2015, 2020a) and its NGO partner the Fair Labor Association (2012b, 2012c) keep saying that Nestlé cannot do it alone. Stop The Traffik (Boles, 2018) agrees with them because companies, farmers and other involved actors have tried to eradicate child labour, unfortunately, it is still present. However, Stop The Traffik (Boles, 2018) and the Fair Labor Association (2012b, 2012d) also say that Nestlé is in a good position to change the livelihood of workers in the cocoa industry, which contradicts the statement that Nestlé alone cannot make a difference. The NGOs seem to understand that Nestlé is not capable of solving the issue alone but also say that Nestlé could do more considering its current position.

The child labour issue is an issue that cannot be completely solved by one organisation alone, but the difference lies between solving the problem and doing enough to change it. Where the Financial Times (Lucas, 2012), argues that all actors involved must cooperate to eradicate child labour, by saying “the big challenge for branded manufacturers will be to find a way to work with their traditional rivals”. This is supported by NGOs, Unicef (Jackson, 2020), Amnesty International (2016), Oxfam Novib (2017), Business & Human Rights Resource Centre (Liptak, 2020), newspapers the Washington Post (Whoriskey et al., 2019,), and The Guardian (Balch, 2020), the problem is not that companies do not admit that there is no child labour, the problem lays with the action they take and the transparency companies offer. Companies most often own up to their problems when they are already public and they need to react to minimize the

reputational damage they suffer. Nestlé (2013b), does agree with this statement but at the same time keeps arguing that they cannot solve it alone. To make real change companies should start investigating and take action before it becomes public and they have to do something under public pressure (Kelly, 2016a). Which could be argued to be the nature of companies “it will take a long time to change that due to the nature of large corporations” because companies keep “using child labour so they can continue to benefit from cheap cocoa” (Bancroft, 2021a; Revesz, 2016b).

The responsibility problem goes further than only companies, governments but also parents are responsible for taking care of the children and need to offer a safe environment. Unicef (Pluess & Farzaneh, 2018) argue that “While parents and caregivers have the primary responsibility to protect their children and help them develop to their fullest potential, government systems have an important role to play in setting rules and regulations that protect and support children’s rights” (p. 10). Parents are a big part of the child labour problem because they bring their children to the farms to work. The reason to bring them to work is partly because of the income but also because the parents think that their children have to become as tough as they are and the older they are the more likely it is that their parents bring them to the farm (Nestlé & International Cocoa Initiative, 2017). However, The Guardian (Kelly, 2016b) argues that “People on the ground are scared of being accused of child labour and everybody wants the best for their children”. So the parents want the best for their children and bring them to work because they think that is best. There lies a part in informing the parents about the choices they make for their children. Parents are, however, not the only ones that need to be better informed, the consumer also has to take responsibility. Informed consumers can make a change in the fight against child labour but often they do not want to think about child labour when they buy chocolate (Baranyai, 2022; Singer, 2013). This makes companies scared of increasing the prices and the willingness of the customer to pay those high prices since they want to stay competitive (University Wire, 2020).

Besides the root problems discussed above that make the child labour issue difficult to solve, there is also the spread of misinformation. This last root cause of the child labour problem is that there are certain newspapers in the affected countries that spread misinformation. The Ghanaian

Chronicle (2015), is one of them saying that “it is ideologically inept Western nationals and NGOs which harp on non-existent child labour on cocoa farms in Ghana and elsewhere, in an attempt to discredit cocoa production and undermine our economies” and “non-governmental organisations, incidentally run by Ghanaians, to poison the minds of consumers of cocoa products that this country and La Cote d'Ivoire use child labour to produce cocoa on a large scale. This information is false, mischievous and calculated to harm the economies of these neighbouring countries”. The newspaper might try to convince their own people and the outside world that the cocoa industry is not as bad as it appears or might be afraid to lose the buyers due to the child labour involvement.

Many of the root problems that are discussed in earlier reports from 2012 still occur in reports in 2022. This enhances the earlier statement that child labour is a difficult issue to solve. In addition, many of the root problems are intertwined which makes it a very complex issue. Nestlé sees some of the root problems as something they cannot do much about and is part of the industry, which might explain why they argue that they cannot solve it alone but it does not help solve the child labour issue.

4.3 Progress

Although the child labour issue looks just as urgent as it was a decade ago, several newspapers but mostly Nestlé claim that progress has been made in fighting child labour. Nestlé as one of the biggest companies in the cocoa industry has been proactive so far but still has a very long road ahead before this child labour issue is solved. Nestlé has introduced The Nestlé Cocoa Plan (TNCP), which is a plan to get farmers to a more sustainable way of farming, this includes the eradication of child labour. During its first assessment in 2012 by the Fair Labor Association (2012b), the conclusion was that it had the potential to become a well-rounded program after some improvements. The Fair Labor Association is working with Nestlé to assess the progress Nestlé makes in eradicating child labour. According to the Fair Labor Association, Nestlé has made progress in traceability, by ensuring that all suppliers are traceable since 2012. In addition, Nestlé has also made progress with training farmers and improving the cocoa plants. However, it is not only Nestlé's NGO partner that reports on the success of Nestlé's programs the Financial Times (Bounds, 2012) reports that “agricultural co-operatives are growing in strength. The move has been encouraged not just by producers and governments, seeking greater efficiency and

bargaining power, but big multinational buyers who need security of supply”. Ghana News Agency (2014a), has reported that “more than 130 suppliers and personnel have already been trained between 2012 and 2013”. However, there is still progress to be made which Nestlé is working on, in 2022 they introduced a new incentive that gives farmers a bonus that does not depend on volume (Akweley & Okertchiri, 2022). Fair income campaigners were positive about the incentive and said that “Nestlé's announcement was encouraging” (Terazono, 2022). The positive reaction also came from newspapers, the CE Noticias Financieras English (2022a) calls the incentive a “significant support to small farmers”. Nestlé (2015) responded by reporting that “We welcome the attention paid to child labour, as a better understanding of the problem through new data and insights will enable us to further strengthen our efforts”. However, no company has yet paid farmers a fair price for their cocoa so reports Oxfam International (2013) “None have publicly committed to pay a fair price to farmers or fair business arrangements with them across all agricultural operations”. Progress has been made and acknowledged by newspapers but there is room for improvement in the current programs.

In terms of progress, reports by Nestlé (2015, 2016b) and the Fair Labor Association (2020) keep track of what Nestlé has done to solve the child labour issue, over the years many child labour causes have decreased, labour gaps have been filled by adults, producers claim to send children more often to school, and educational infrastructure has improved. Newspapers are yet to have a critical view of these reports and look beyond the reports from Nestlé and the Fair Labor Association. Newspapers call the report “a positive reflection”, but lack looking further (Charoensuthipan, 2015). Progress is not only made by Nestlé, Unicef (2022) has also been setting up programs to solve the child labour issue and published a report that in 2021 improvements have been made, economic growth was 6.5 per cent, they also helped 4,000 out of school children participating in learning again, 6,000 children were provided with learning materials, 5,000 children have received support for experienced violence and 76 per cent of the children below 1 year old have been registered. Unfortunately, not only Nestlé but also Unicef (Jackson, 2020) focuses mostly on the Tier 1 suppliers, however, the number of child labourers in that tier has decreased to less than 900,000. This amount is still enormous and shows what amount of work still has to be done, and puts the above-stated progress in perspective.

Nestlé has been working with the Fair Labor Association since 2012 and often said they could not solve child labour alone. Nestlé has, therefore, sought help from other organisations such as the Earthworm Foundation which improves the welfare of children (Nestlé, n.d.-a, n.d.-b). In addition, Nestlé (2016b) has a programme aligned with UN Business and Human Rights to increase the human rights of the people in the Ivory Coast and Nestlé (2017) is one of the first companies to adopt the UN Guiding Principles on Business and Human Rights. This shows that Nestlé is working on gaining partners to gain more impact. The result of the increased impact can be seen in the Dow Jones Sustainability Index, where Nestlé (2017) scored “an overall score of 92 out of 100, Nestlé received industry-best scores in all three dimensions (economic, environmental and social) of the 2016 Dow Jones Sustainability Index” (p. 6).

One of the other programs Nestlé (2016b) has been developing is the Child labour Monitoring and Remediation System (CLMRS) in cooperation with the International Cocoa Initiative. This system improves the monitoring in the supply chain and will be extended every few years to gain impact. In the end, the CLMRS needs to be able to track child labourers and help them get out and get into school. According to the International Cocoa Initiative (2018b) the second phase of the CLMRS has been launched in 2018, this phase “seeks to support children who were identified as being engaged in child labour during the data collection phase”. Nestlé (2015) has claimed in multiple reports that the system is successful and that the “CLMRS has been introduced in 22 farmer co-operatives and will be rolled out to all Nestlé Cocoa Plan co-operatives, around 70, by the end of 2016”. To ensure further success Nestlé and International Cocoa Initiative (2017) argue that the CLMRS will be “Community-driven, holistic and embedded into the heart of our supply chain” (p. 12). However, to help all the remaining 900,000 children involved in child labour the CLMRS needs to make significant steps but Nestlé (2020a) claims they will share their progress “we will continue to report on the progress of our CLMRS, share our learnings and invite others to do the same”.

Luckily Nestlé does not have to do everything alone, Ivory Coast has made some progress themselves as well. A very important change is setting the minimum legal age to work at 16 and light work at 13 (Fair Labor Association, 2020). To increase the ability to solve both the forced labour and child labour problem it is important that the two are separated and the differences are

known. Nestlé (2016a), has reported that “split child labour and forced labour, which was initially combined as one salient issue. These two issues have different geographical scopes and different root causes, and should, therefore, be looked at and dealt with separately” (p. 229). However, not only Ivory coast is a country that has made progress, the U.S. banned the import of products that were unethically produced. This means that products such as cocoa should not be allowed to be imported into the U.S. since they are unethically produced. Companies based in the U.S. will have to find other ways to buy their cocoa or take the child labour issue more seriously and act accordingly (Whoriskey, 2019b). Consumers have also made progress in their willingness to buy more expensive but responsible cocoa, Nestlé reports that “We stepped up pricing in a responsible manner and saw sustained consumer demand”. Consumer willingness was one of the problems companies had with increasing prices and acting against child labour, however, this shows that consumers are willing to pay more for an ethically produced product. Although consumer willingness is a good step in the right direction, major progress has not been made, Nestlé is working with NGOs to tackle the child labour problem but yet almost 900,000 children remain victims of child labour.

4.4 Failures

Child labour in general has been a failure of all actors involved. In the fight against child labour some failures occurred as well, however, only NGOs and newspapers appear to discuss them. The whole process of eradicating child labour started with a failure as well, when Cocoa industry representatives signed an agreement in 2001 to get rid of the worst forms of child labour. However, little progress has been made in ten years (Associated Press, 2012). The Washington Post (Whoriskey, 2020; Whoriskey et al. 2019) claims that representatives were not even close to eradicating child labour, and non-profit organisations blame the companies for not meeting the goal. The next big agreement made was another failure, companies and governments said they would reduce child labour by seventy per cent by 2020, but nowadays it is still nowhere near that number. The reason for these failures is that “the roadmap has simply not been adequately implemented to eliminate the worst forms of child labour (McQuade, 2016). Where Nestlé reports that progress is being made and children are being helped, newspapers think otherwise and report that “The world’s chocolate companies have missed deadlines to uproot child labor from their cocoa supply chains in 2005, 2008 and 2010. Next year, they face another target date and, industry officials indicate, they probably will miss that, too” (Whoriskey et al., 2019). The

confidence that companies are meeting deadlines they have set themselves or in cooperation with other parties is little. However, there are few consequences for not meeting the set deadlines, only the Triodos bank held Nestlé accountable by labelling them as not eligible for investment because of human rights violations (Facing Finance, 2015).

Another failure more directly aimed at Nestlé is the child labourers that are found on plantations Nestlé sources from. Nestlé claims to be committed to fighting child labour but children working on cocoa farms keep getting found so report Triple Pundit (Stevens, 2013) in 2013, Fair Labor Association (2015, 2016) in 2015 and 2016 and The Guardian (Clarke, 2017) in 2017. Nestlé claims to have working programs that monitor and solve child labour but they do not work properly since the child labourers are still being found. Companies, like Nestlé, keep claiming they do everything in their power to eradicate child labour but yet they still source from farms where child labour persists. The Independent (Bancroft, 2021a) addressed this concern “lawyers are arguing that the companies banded together to make it look like they were trying to tackle the problem but they continued to profit from forced child labour instead”.

The problem with missing deadlines and not being able to eradicate child labour has its consequences on the programs Nestlé has set out. Which companies are now admitting “the sector has also been increasingly forthcoming about its failure to deliver despite millions of dollars in investment” (Gneiting, 2019). The Code of Conduct (CoC) is one of these programs that did not work well for Nestlé. First, the CoC lacked training, which caused the farmers to not understand what this new CoC meant, in addition, the CoC had no non-discrimination clause (Fair Labor Association, 2014). Nevertheless a year later a program to increase the awareness of the CoC failed as well, it was only displayed in four of the thirteen visited cooperatives (Fair Labor Association, 2015). Two years later the CoC still had little awareness and information that was available and known was not shared properly. A program that should have increased the strength of the CoC led to a failure, where farmers did not understand or even know the CoC. Another program that has failed is the program to increase the payment farmers get for their cocoa. The program is a big part of the strategy against child labour is to increase the income of the farmers to get them out of poverty so they can afford to hire workers and educate their children. However, the International Cocoa Initiative (Lambert, 2014) found that “these

programs have not yet demonstrated a net income gain to farmers” (p. 7). The amount of money the farmers got for their cocoa went down from 50 per cent in 1970 to 6 per cent in 2019, yet companies like Nestlé are blaming customers for their unwillingness to pay increased prices. Even when the companies who have this shared responsibility have a revenue of over \$325 billion, they are unable to have decent human rights in place, only admitting it but not taking action, something is wrong (Amnesty International, 2016). Revenue is made by profiting from cutting costs such as human rights, while they argue that they are sustainable and socially responsible. However, most chocolate companies are very secretive about their supply chain so checking this is impossible so argues Oxfam Novib (2017) “companies are lagging in implementing robust traceability, transparency and risk assessment processes to achieve their sourcing commitments” (p. 2).

Remarkably, when programs are working such as the Fairtrade certification, companies are stopping them. Which according to BBC News (2020) costs the farmer £1.6 million. However, although the farmer gains more income from certain certifications it cannot be guaranteed that the cocoa does not contain child labour. So argues Stop The Traffik (Boles, 2018) “A certification logo appears on chocolate bars manufactured by companies who pay the additional premium to farmer cooperatives. However, it does not guarantee that certified cocoa beans went into that specific bar of chocolate” (p.18). Laws are one of the solutions to child labour however, these do not appear to do their work either. The Washington Post (Whoriskey, 2019a) writes that laws are not helping either “A long-standing law enabled customs agents to block such imports, but an exemption allowed their importation if the goods could not be obtained elsewhere”. So modern laws still have holes which allow sourcing from child labour, only because there is no other place to get it from. This appears contradictory if the government wants to eradicate child labour, especially when the dependence on cocoa from Ghana and Ivorian Coast grew from 31 per cent in 2008 to 45 per cent in 2019 (Whoriskey, 2020). These laws do not solve the child labour issue, on the contrary, The Guardian (Balch, 2020), claims that “we are creating a safe haven for human rights abusers”.

Although these failures, which lack Nestlé’s input, do not mean no progress has been made, an important detail is a focus on the supplier Tier. Most focus has been on Tier 1 suppliers, who are

reducing child labour, but Unicef (Jackson, 2020) argues that the 2nd 3rd and 4th are overlooked. This increases the situation the industry is in, even when companies eradicate child labour in their supply chains, it will only be in their Tier 1 suppliers. Calling chocolate child labour free when that only accounts for the first Tier sounds irresponsible. Companies are still making a profit by cutting costs on human rights it is only less visible, but therefore not less important.

4.5 Motivation for changing the business

Nestlé is changing its business to connect to its goals of solving the child labour issue. However, as stated above the motivation of companies might not be as pure as they say, Nestlé's and others' motivation might be split. As said before Nestlé is working with NGO the Fair Labor Association (2012b), an independent NGO that helps Nestlé improve their supply chain and detects human rights violations. Improving the supply chain includes improving the yield and quality of the cocoa, which appears to be good for both parties. Nestlé gains a better quality product and is, therefore, willing to pay more for the cocoa, hence the farmer's income increases. However, this motivation is most of the time for the company's own gain, so argues the International Cocoa Initiative (Lambert, 2014) "many companies have preferred programs that prioritize increasing yield and quality as a means to better incomes rather than certifications that guarantee premium pricing for farmers." (p.7). Unfortunately even the motivation for the usage of certifications is questionable because "it can be difficult to assess the credibility of such moves" (Haq, 2015).

Companies are improving not only for the gain of the victims of child labour but also to gain income themselves. This does remain the main motivation to keep using the cheapest form of labour possible (Blevins, 2015). Using child labour to cut back on costs would do reputational damage to the company, which should be a major motivation to not use child labour or any other form of cheap labour that violates human rights. This is why companies like Nestlé are now cleaning up their supply chains and improving the livelihoods of the farmers whom they source from. Nestlé and others do, however, keep arguing that it is difficult to gain insight into their supply chains. Nonetheless, this seems to change when it's not about child labour but health or product issues regarding the consumers of the products, "you can be sure that if one of these companies' products were contaminated and had to be taken off the shelves of supermarkets, they would ensure that they could trace the source to specific plantations" (Davies, 2016). The

motivation for finding the supplier for one is different than for the other, which shows mixed motivations. According to the Washington Post (Whoriskey et al., 2019), this is to blame for the lack of consequences for using child labour, there is no consequence for having the wrong motivation for doing business. Companies like Nestlé are fighting two sides, fighting lawsuits on one side, saying they are not liable or responsible for what happens there, and fighting child labour on the other side, saying they will do anything to eradicate child labour from their supply chains. The Independent (Bancroft, 2021a), called out this split motivation saying that “these companies are running a war on two fronts. They are telling the public; we’re working with cocoa farmers, we are giving them schooling and money, we’ve got this under control. Then they stand up in court and say we’re just buying chocolate, we don’t have anything to do with what’s going on there”.

Unfortunately, Nestlé does contradict itself more often, one example being the costs of fighting child labour. Nestlé argues that they are investing a lot of money into the fight against child labour but prices for consumers are rising and farmers are receiving less per cent of that sale price as stated above. Where one could argue that the consumer is paying for this war against child labour and not Nestlé itself. Another example is Nestlé (2017) committing to fight child labour saying “we have formally incorporated our human rights commitment into our Corporate Business Principles and our Management Principles. These are the guiding principles we expect each and every Nestlé employee to live by, every day, wherever they are in the world. And these are not negotiable.” (p.133). On the other hand “Nestle believes that it's impossible to have a chocolate company and not have "some child labor" in their farms, but there are many completely fair trade chocolate companies throughout the globe.” (Blevins, 2015). The motivations Nestlé has are not completely clear and one-sided as they would appear to be. Nestlé keeps fighting a war on two fronts and thereby splits its motivation to solve the child labour issue.

4.6 Trends

Companies are worried that increasing prices to become more sustainable and human rights friendly will not sustain consumer demand. However, the current trends seem to prove otherwise, several newspapers have proven that consumers are willing to pay more for a product that has not been made with child labour. “People are becoming much more alert to sustainability and

health issues around the ingredients in the foods they are regularly buying,” said Charlotte Borger of Divine Chocolate (Haq, 2015). It’s not only consumers that are becoming more alert it’s also the companies that are focusing more on sustainability and CSR, both are embracing the socially responsive choices. According to BBC News (2020), people are becoming more aware of the impact they can have and says that “Consumers can make an impact by spreading awareness, and buying certified fair trade chocolate.”. In more recent events consumers have even stepped up against Nestlé when they announce they will stop using Fairtrade, collecting over 300,000 signatures (BBC News, 2020). This shows that the consumer is well aware of the impact they can have and are willing to pay extra if that means the farmer will have extra income.

4.7 Solutions to the root problems

To solve the many root problems NGOs and Nestlé have published multiple reports with possible solutions to solve the child labour issue. TNCP is one of the solutions that both the Fair Labor Association (2012a, 2012b, 2012c) and Nestlé (n.d.-a) claim has the potential, when scaled up and sustained, to enhance monitoring, increase accountability, train stakeholders, increase plant expertise, increase traceability and set up social projects. TNCP is already in place but is not yet at a scale where it will help the Ivorian people, it also lacks proper goals. As said earlier Nestlé wants to improve the quality and efficiency of the cocoa farms not only for the farmers but also for themselves. Which could argue that it is more of a solution for Nestlé to earn more money than for the farmers to receive equal pay as stated earlier in the motivation for changing the business. However, combining economic success for Nestlé with social responsibility is possible, so calls Stop The Traffik (Boles, 2018) “commercial success can be coupled with social responsibility and sustainability” (p. 49).

The consumer can hold Nestlé (2016a) accountable for what happens under the TNCP because of the auditing of the Fair Labor Association, however as seen before Nestlé is not benevolent in admitting failures. Nevertheless, Nestlé (2013a) does claim it is working as much as it can to eradicate child labour and wants to go a step further than CSR, “We believe we can make an important contribution to society, by going a step beyond corporate social responsibility to create value through our core business both for our shareholders and society” (p. 5). Responsibility is one of the key factors in solving child labour since every actor needs to understand what its role

is and what part it can influence to change. The Fair Labor Association (2012d) divides this responsibility into different levels community level, cooperative level, supplier level, and Nestlé level. All of them are responsible for taking their role in solving the child labour issue. However, the government seems to be left out, who are equally as important and responsible, “as the number of human-rights demands placed on business (...) continues to escalate, there’s a risk that governments will be let off the hook. After all, governments are obligated, if not always willing or able, to protect human rights.” (Gunther, 2014). Everyone has the responsibility to eradicate child labour, the Washington Post (Whoriskey et al., 2019) argues that “There is a moral responsibility for us not to allow slavery, child slavery, in the 21st century”. Nestlé and the Fair Labor Association think that responsibility is a burden all the consumers and producers of cocoa have to bear and take. Taking the responsibility one has is the only way to make programs like TNCP work and solve the child labour issue.

Another important issue to solve the child labour issue is to clearly understand what it means and what it entails. There have to be clearly defined rules, definitions, roles, and what kind of child labour exactly happens. If this is not clear it will be an impossible task to eradicate the issue. To tackle this issue Nestlé and International Cocoa Initiative (2017) have developed a child labour monitoring and remediation system (CLRMS). To ensure the success and that the definition is clear the system will be “community-driven, holistic and embedded into the heart of our supply chain” (p. 12). The community plays a big part in defining what the child labour problem is and how it can be tackled, the community sees the problem from close by. The Guardian (Gunther, 2014) agrees and says that “one of the most important things companies can do to promote human rights is to become more active in the public-policy arena”. Although Nestlé (2020a) has been fighting off any child labour accusations they still claim it is important that regulation of the supply chain is one of the most important things to take human rights issues head-on. NGO Anti-Slavery International (2017), thinks that regulation would “assist EU businesses in addressing these types of abuses in lower tiers of supply chains”. These regulations would lead to more transparency, another point that Nestlé and other major cocoa companies do offer voluntarily, however, “increased transparency is key to reducing forms of modern slavery in supply chains” (Boles, p. 9). Traceability has other advantages, so claims the Irish Times (O’Sullivan, 2022) “by increasing traceability at scale, we will help build consumer trust in our products and respond to

the growing demand for responsibly and sustainably sourced cocoa”. Increasing traceability and regulation are two important factors in solving the child labour issue but also two factors that Nestlé has been fighting and keeping as secret as possible. So although Nestlé is claiming these are factors to solve the issue they are not using them themselves, which would be a good starting point.

Education is one of the biggest root problems in the child labour issue, therefore solving the education issue is one of the biggest solutions to the problem. Education ensures that children are not on the farm because they are spending their time on school, enabling them to work only after school and during school breaks. Education increases the well-being of children and decreases child labour. In addition, Stop the Traffik (Boles, 2018), says education has an extra advantage, “investing in education as it increase human capital which can have a long-term positive impact on the region” (p.12). This long-term positive effect is what the farmers, Nestlé and NGOs appear to be looking for. In addition, not only the well-being of the children is improved but also the well-being of the entire family when the children go to school instead of working on farms (Fair Labor Association, 2020). Another way Nestlé and International Cocoa Initiative (2019) decrease child labour is by remediation, “Remediation is about supporting children, their families and communities to remove children from a situation of risk. The purpose is twofold: to try and prevent children from doing hazardous work in the first place, and to help children who are engaged in hazardous work to stop” (p. 10). Increasing the chance for education in combination with remediation looks to be one of the solutions to switch from short-term goals to long-term goals and farmers and their families to invest in themselves so they increase their human capital.

One of the biggest failures was the CoC, however, it also offers a possible solution, strengthening the CoC and creating more awareness and understanding amongst upstream suppliers could help solve the problem, so argues the Fair Labor Association (2012b, 2014). However, since the CoC has been a failure, in exact those two things. Another way to gain more understanding amongst upstream suppliers appears to be to understand how much value they can offer. Suppliers can be the best business partners a company like Nestlé can have since they finance the company and raw materials. However, awareness is not only a problem for the CoC, other existing programs need more awareness creation as well. Awareness is best created when

community members work together with local and internal stakeholders to see what role they play (Boles, 2018). Nestlé and NGOs agree that a better financial premium would solve many of the problems farmers have. Farmers who gain more income can pay their workers better, hire adults instead of children and workers have the money to send their children to school. Thus, solving many of the child labour problems and creating more long-term goals. Therefore, Nestlé has promised to triple its sustainability funding over the next eight years, which will not only be based on cocoa volume. According to *The Independent* (Rivera, 2020), Nestlé will now be paying more for their cocoa than they ever have to increase the living wage gap for their farmers. Unfortunately, this does not mean that farmers will now receive a living income, just an increased income. It also highlights the income problems farmers have, tripling the financial premiums and still not being at a living income means they are now earning extremely low incomes but it is a step in the right direction.

Findings also suggest that it is important to have alternative programs and options ready to help farmers and other stakeholders in case the current options are not working right or not working right for a certain group. Alternatives include laws that work along with the programs or ensure the success of certain programs, “a coordinated response (...) is needed to find collective solutions and proportionately share costs and commitments” (Pluess & Farzaneh, 2018, p. 31). Regulation can put pressure on companies so they will have to change their way of doing business, which has worked before when the European Union threatened to ban Thai seafood if regulations were not improved (Whoriskey, 2019a). There have been other laws as stated before, however, often loopholes enable companies to keep using child labour. So for laws to work, better restrictions have to be in place. However, Nestlé argues that lawsuits do not help to eradicate the child labour issue, “this lawsuit does not advance the shared goal of ending child labour in the cocoa industry because it does not address the root causes of the issue and will not improve the conditions in west Africa” (Balch, 2020). One way to improve laws is by making Fairtrade and ethical practice a non-negotiable standard. Farmers claim that Fairtrade certification is the best for them and their families, which should in the case of child labour be the priority (Rivera, 2020; University Wire, 2020). According to *Times and Transcript* (2019), Fairtrade cocoa and a non-negotiable standard would ensure that “in the process of eating better

chocolate, you'll probably be rewarding the farmers in ways that they should be rewarded and the whole process is more ethical”.

4.8 Future goals

The fight against child labour is far from over and only limited progress has been made. To ensure that child labour will be an issue that is solved as quickly as possible it is important to have clear goals for the future to tackle the problem. Where several NGOs and Nestlé have set their own goals to do this, however, it might not be as voluntarily as they want. China Daily Europe (Yingqun, 2015) explains that “if we want to ensure that we can also eat in 50 years, then we will have to start to change our agricultural methods now”. So in order to even have cocoa in the future Nestlé will have to change. Nestlé (2013b) and the Fair Labor Association (2012b) often start reports with general statements such as “Nestlé is against all forms of exploitation of children and is firmly committed to actions to eradicate child labour from its agricultural supply chains” (p. 1) and “to help cocoa farmers run profitable farms, respect the environment, have a good quality of life and for their children to benefit from an education and see cocoa farming as a respectable profession” (p.1). These goals do not have tangible aspects or numbers that can be measured. It is, therefore, hard to assess if these goals are met or what is exactly understood with reaching the goal.

The same goes for Nestlé’s TNCP, which according to the Fair Labor Association (2012d) has the goal to create shared value with and for all actors in their supply chain. Creating this shared value means improving productivity, strengthening farmer organisations, and improving relations and social standards. However, Nestlé does have tangible goals for TNCP as well, to gain all cocoa they need, which is about 400,000 tonnes, via this plan by 2025. This goal is not about the creation of shared value but it does involve the TNCP plan which will have an impact on that said shared value and ensure that all the cocoa is farmed sustainably (Haq, 2015). To ensure that the aspects are improved the Ghana News Agency (2014b) believes “collaboration with partners, a multi-stakeholder approach and transparency are critical to our long-term success and will benefit the communities”. However, Nestlé (2022b) does collaborate with partners to reach the goals they set, one example is working closely with farmers to become deforestation-free by the end of 2022.

One of the bigger future goals for Nestlé is to improve the pay for farmers, Nestlé (2022a) claims that they have the opportunity to make a large-scale positive impact on cocoa-farming families. The Financial Times (Terazono & Evans, 2022) goes on by saying that “The initiative announced yesterday aims to improve livelihoods of cocoa-farming families (...), while also advancing sustainable practices and gender equality. It will tackle issues including child labour, enhancing family-farm income and scaling-up regenerative agriculture in cocoa production up to 2030”. This said initiative pays farmers beyond the volume of their cocoa, farmers will receive additional payments if they send their children to school or follow the programs Nestlé has set up. Nestlé (2022a) explains the program as it “will transform the global sourcing of cocoa to achieve full traceability and segregation of its cocoa products from origin to factory. This new effort will help transform the supply chain of Nestlé and the broader industry”. Unfortunately, Stop The Traffik (Boles, 2018) has noticed that “Nestlé has yet to commit to paying farmers more for their cocoa and does not currently have any long-term plans for a living income Nestlé, however, aims to increase farmer income through increased productivity, income diversification training and the additional premium paid for certified cocoa” (p.48). As said earlier the findings suggests that switching from short-term goals to long-term goals is an important aspect of solving the child labour issue. This additional premium plays a significant role, “in the long term, too, increasing farmers’ yields boosts incomes and, in turn, wider prosperity, so consumers have spare cash to spend, which is in everyone’s interests” (Bounds, 2012). Nestlé’s (2017) ultimate goal is to improve the livelihoods of thirty million people by 2030. This goal as the earlier stated ones does not have specifics, what does improving the livelihood exactly mean and how can it be measured. If these goals are achievable is questionable since every major deadline so far has been missed, however, to solve the child labour issue Nestlé and other major cocoa companies have to start achieving their set goals.

5. Conclusion

As stated in the first chapter of this research, this thesis was designed to complement existing research about modern slavery by inspecting how the child labour accusations against Nestlé are discussed. By analyzing a hundred sources the context of Nestlé's child labour accusations has been established, which resulted in eight different themes. In this concluding chapter, the analytical results, which resulted in eight themes, are recapitulated. These themes will be briefly discussed to answer the research question as stated in chapter 1:

How is modern slavery discussed in the context of Nestlé's child labour accusations?

Nestlé's child labour accusations started in 2012 when Nestlé was called out for not having done anything to eradicate child labour from their supply chain. Accusations came back in 2013, 2015 and 2021, when Nestlé was accused again of having child labour in their supply chains. However, all Nestlé has been able to fend off any child labour accusations.

The child labour issue is the consequence of many root problems, many of the problems found in 2012 are still persistent. Education, poverty, and responsibility are key points in solving child labour but are still root problems for the cause of child labour today. Ivoirians are still very dependent on cocoa and willing to sacrifice their human rights to farm cocoa. As seen with the accusations against Nestlé, suing companies that use child labour is also an impossible task. In addition, all the root problems are intertwined with each other which makes it a difficult and complex issue to solve.

In the last decade, some progress has been made, but child labourers remain a little below 900,000. However, systems and programs have been set up such as the CLMRS and TNCP to break the poverty cycle and solve the child labour issue. Other progress has been made with traceability, transparency and setting legal ages for hazardous and light work. The potential of the systems and programs should help reach the goal to help increase the livelihood of thirty million people by the end of 2030.

Despite Nestlé and the cocoa industry making progress, failures have occurred in the last decade as well. Major chocolate companies have had multiple deadlines to solve the child labour issue

but were unable to meet those. The deadlines and set goals are not realistic because the roadmaps are not implemented properly. Child labourers were still found in Nestlé's supply chain in 2013, 2015, 2016, and 2017. Increasing farmer income has been on the top of Nestlé's list however, in 2014 no increase in pay had been noticed. Another failure is the focus on the first Tier only, which means chocolate will not be free of child labour until they solve the other Tiers as well.

The motivation for changing the business so it will not have to source cocoa from farmers who use child labour can be different and sometimes split. Nestlé is fighting child labour accusations on one side and saying they do everything they can to remove child labour from their supply chains on the other side. This two-front war splits the motivation Nestlé has to solve the child labour issue. While the motivation for using cheap labour remains the same, which is to cut costs.

Looking at the reports about current trends it can be noted that Western economies have a strong focus on sustainability and CSR. Customers are embracing socially responsible choices and becoming more aware of the impact they can have by buying sustainable products and spreading awareness. This decreases the scare of companies that were afraid customers are unwilling to pay for responsible and sustainable products.

Solving the root problems can be done in many ways but mainly by tackling the biggest problems. TNCP has the potential to tackle some of the problems that cause child labour, like monitoring, accountability, training, traceability, and violation identification. Responsibility and transparency are two important factors for solving the problems, all actors involved need to take responsibility to be able to solve the problem. Education is one of the biggest problem solutions, when children are in school they cannot be working on farms. However, that is not the only benefit of education, education also improves the well-being of children, human capital, and prevents children from doing hazardous work.

Many goals have been set in the past and many more have been set for the future, most of the goals in the reports of Nestlé and its partner NGO the Fair Labor Association were lacking in detail. No units of measurement were involved just the improvement of many things. There is no

doubt that Nestlé is in the right position to make a difference, it just needs to show that it can by achieving major goals that solve child labour.

Concluding it can be seen that the data sources about the context in which child labour accusations against Nestlé are discussed are focusing on the root problems, progress and solutions to the root problems. Little attention has been paid to current trends and failures, especially by Nestlé. The context describes the problems that are the foundation of child labour followed by what has been done and what has to change to solve the problem. The progress made is primarily described by sources from Nestlé and their NGO partner the Fair Labor Association, while all data sources report on the root problems and problem solutions. If child labour is ever to be eradicated things will have to change because the current pace is not eradicating child labour fast enough.

6. Discussion

The current research is a confirmation and addition to the existing literature. It confirms the existing theories that have been discussed in chapter 2 by confirming the theories with the context in which Nestlé's child labour accusations have been discussed. Education and increasing income appear to be the key points in handling the child labour situation as stated by Sinha (2013) and Kassouf (2019) and confirmed by Nestlé and multiple newspapers and NGOs. This research also adds that the current focus in this particular modern slavery case is on the root problems, progress made and solutions to the root problems which Nestlé and NGOs report mostly about. Not on the failures that have been made or the customer view/trends, those are reported by newspapers. The findings confirm most theoretical research found but are in disagreement with the theory of Hoepner et al. (2018), which states that companies that conduct CSI are not profiting from it. The findings confirm that Nestlé has become more profitable in times when they were using child labour, which is seen as a form of modern slavery.

This research has used 100 data sources to describe the context of Nestlé's child labour accusations. Since modern slavery is a sensitive subject and not much data is available on this subject qualitative research in the form of an inductive thematic analysis is the most appropriate tool. Thematic analyses of archival data ensures that the experiences, opinions and knowledge are found in the data. To ensure the validity of this research data triangulation between newspapers, NGOs and Nestlé sources has been used. Since the data used are all from the past redoing the research should deliver the same sources. However, since using the thematic analysis is more subjective and based on the judgement of the researcher slightly different results could occur. Therefore, the thematic analysis cannot be generalized but the patterns found can, the results of this research are thus internal and externally valid. The data has been retrieved from public accessible sources and can therefore be accessed by everyone. In addition, all data sources contain at least 300 words, are in English and have a connection to the subject. Newspapers have to be (inter)national or otherwise seen as a significant news source in the country it has been published. Therefore the research can also be seen as reliable. The entire research was an iterative process, which in the end gave insight into the different motives of the different actors regarding this specific case.

The results of this study show that the context of Nestlé's child labour accusations is mostly discussed on three themes, root problems, progress, and solutions to the root problems. As stated in chapter 5 the progress is mostly discussed by Nestlé itself and its partner NGO the Fair Labor Association. This puts the progress that has been made in a context that has not been confirmed by others. One interesting finding is that when looking at failures one can see that it's mostly other NGOs and newspapers that put this progress into context. All the progress that Nestlé has made is only at Tier 1 suppliers and the remaining child labourers are still at almost 900,000 in that same said Tier. Additionally, Nestlé is fighting a war on two fronts, saying they are doing everything they can on one side but saying it is out of their jurisdiction on the other. Nonetheless, Nestlé shows, according to the data, to do a good job at fighting child labour, but it appears to be a bit more complex than that.

Child labour as it is discussed in the results in the cocoa industry is in line with the definition that Tench et al. (2012) gave, "business doing wrong concerning the environment, community, society, ethics, and business partners" (p.558). Looking at the root problems of child labour and how Nestlé is doing business with the farmers in the involved countries align with the definition. The environment is harmed by unsustainable farming, the community and society are very dependent on the cocoa industry but get paid little and have to work in hazardous environments, ethics are ignored since child labour is used to gain the cocoa, and the business partners chosen often also have child labour in their supply chains.

The results are in agreement with the findings of Tench et al. (2012) which showed that it's easy to say what is illegal, which is child labour but hard to say what legal irresponsible activities are. The results further show that although the farmers and many newspapers and NGOs hold the companies responsible for using child labour the law sees it otherwise. Therefore it is difficult to see what legal activities are responsible or not. However, it also aligns with Idemudia's (2011) findings that the western NGOs and newspapers influence what is responsible and what is not.

These results differ from the study of Hoepner et al. (2018), saying that the companies do not profit from using modern slavery. Nestlé is seen as very profitable and its stock value increased from 56.5 CHF in June 2012 to 120 CHF in March 2022 (Trading Economics, 2022). However,

the results are partly in agreement with the findings of Dharwadkar et al. (2021) which showed that companies move the CSI towards subsidiaries or external parties, to prevent influencing the corporate reputation or purchase intention. Nestlé does source from farmers that they do not own on purpose, so they cannot be directly linked, moving the CSI away from the headquarters. However, Nestlé did face reputational damage, which surprisingly did not influence purchase intentions negatively.

The study of Frederick (2018) shows that companies are seeking to sustain not only themselves but also the people whose lives they influence. The results corroborate this, showing that Nestlé has been setting up programs to influence the lives of the farmers and their families by providing extra financial aid and education. The results and Frederick (2018) also align by stating that CSR works best when done voluntarily, however, results show that companies have trouble doing so. Which are in accord with Frederick's (2018) study indicating that CSR shows a path with socially imposed compliance.

The results are in agreement with Crane's (2013) findings which showed that modern slavery is enabled by economic exploitation by underpayment. In addition one of the four parts of exploitation and insulating capabilities is the labour supply chain which has been found to be one of the root problems in the cocoa industry. The results further support the idea of Crane's (2013) institutional spaces creating opportunities that can be exploited for modern slavery in this case, particularly for child labour and forced labour. The results corroborate the study of Jansson (2014) and Dillon (2015), who stated that although prosecution is one of the main tools to fight modern slavery, very few convictions have been made. The results show that Nestlé has been accused and sued multiple times but has never been convicted.

The results support New's (2015) findings, which showed that companies do not break ties with suppliers that are involved in child labour but try to improve them. However, as New (2015) shows in his study it is not realistic to expect improvement, and the buying company would have the obligation to report to the authorities, if not it would be considered CSI. Nestlé also chose to try to improve the suppliers instead of breaking ties, however, there are still a little less than 900,000 child labourers in Tier 1 suppliers which appears to be little improvement.

Sinha (2013), states in her research that child labour involves hazardous work, which lacks definition and that should be done by governments. The results are in accord with Sinha's (2013) study and show that the Ivorian government ratified a hazardous worklist and light worklist. The results further support the idea of Santos et al. (2013) and Kassouf (2019), who show that child labour has a negative effect on the children, the results show a deprivation of education and health and exposure to risks. The results are also in agreement with Blanco Arana's (2020), Sinha's (2013), and Kassouf's (2019) findings which showed that one of the ways of fighting child labour is by sending children to school, which benefits the children and their families. The problem of the low quality of education and lack of money to send children to school, which is shown in the study by Sinha (2013), is also supported by the results.

The readers should bear in mind that this study has been done by one researcher and therefore the codes used can be more subjective than when the study has been done by multiple researchers. This researcher did not face any unforeseen problems during the execution of the study. However, collecting and analysing the data took more time than was anticipated and some parts of the literature had to be rewritten. Apart from that, there were no problems during this study. It is beyond the scope of this study to examine multiple companies that have been accused of child labour. Therefore, the findings of this study cannot be generalised to other companies or the cocoa or agricultural sector. This study is also unable to encompass the view of the customers, who according to multiple other studies decide what is responsible and whatnot. Including the context in which customers see the child labour accusations of Nestlé the results may change. Customers, as stated in paragraph 4.4, are asking for more socially sustainable and environmentally friendly products, this strong view could result in a more discussed context in regard to failures and motivation for changing the business.

6.1 Future research

The advice for future research is, therefore, to look into the grey area that has been discussed in the literature review, this research has shown how modern slavery in the form of child labour is discussed by the NGOs, newspapers and Nestlé was but it is important to see what decisions customers make to deem an organisation responsible or not to further enhance this research. Another piece of advice for future research is to look into another company either in or outside

the agricultural sector to see if the context of likewise accusations are discussed in the same way and if the focus is on the same themes as they are with Nestlé.

6.2 Practical recommendations

The results show that in order to tackle child labour it is very important that parties work together and take responsibility. Therefore, the advice is that Nestlé seeks to work more with governments next to the current collaborations with NGOs it currently has. Nestlé appears to focus mostly on suppliers and seeks advice from NGOs but to solve the problem significant changes have to be made in the entire country which only a government can do. Therefore, it is also the recommendation for NGOs to seek more collaboration with governments. Victims of child labour are currently unable to successfully sue multinational corporations like Nestlé and hold them accountable for the violation of human rights. NGOs could work together with not only governments from the countries where cocoa farms are located but also countries where the companies are located to enable convictions for partaking in child labour.

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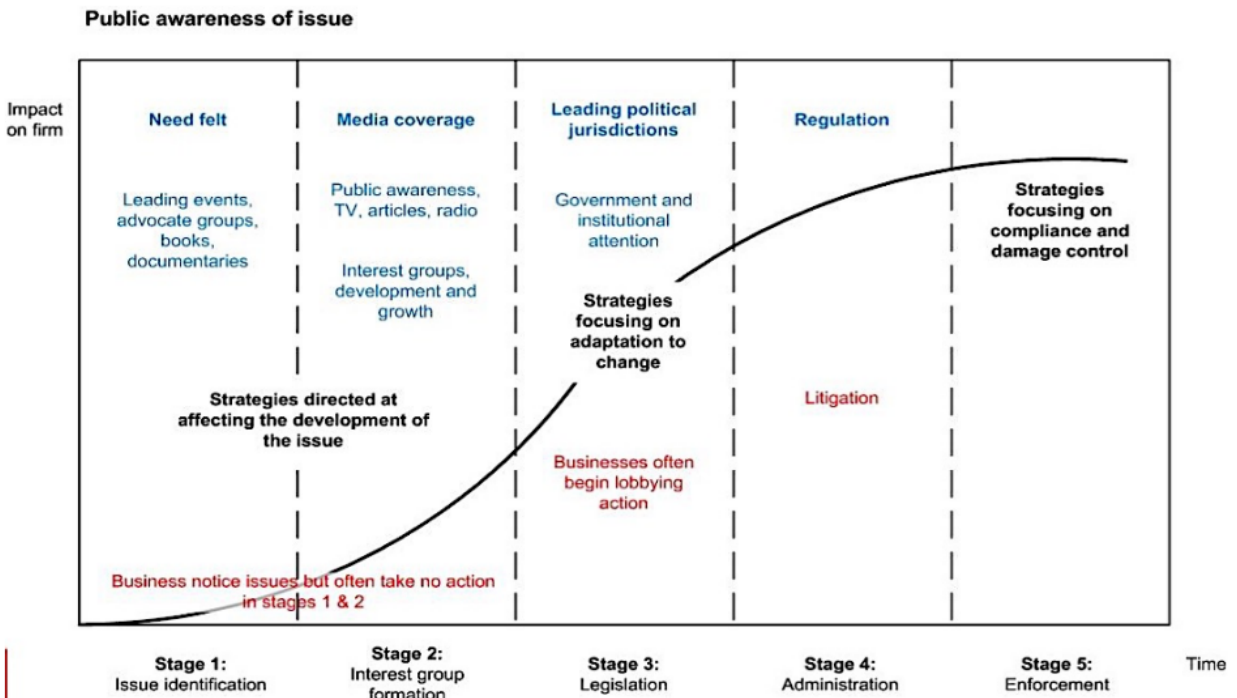
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Appendix

Appendix 1 Life cycle



Source: Voinea & van Kranenburg, 2017

Appendix 2 Thematic analysis

Phase	Description of the process
1. Familiarizing yourself with your data:	Transcribing data (if necessary), reading and re-reading the data, noting down initial ideas.
2. Generating initial codes:	Coding interesting features of the data in a systematic fashion across the entire data set, collating data relevant to each code.
3. Searching for themes:	Collating codes into potential themes, gathering all data relevant to each potential theme.
4. Reviewing themes:	Checking if the themes work in relation to the coded extracts (Level 1) and the entire data set (Level 2), generating a thematic 'map' of the analysis.
5. Defining and naming themes:	Ongoing analysis to refine the specifics of each theme, and the overall story the analysis tells, generating clear definitions and names for each theme.
6. Producing the report:	The final opportunity for analysis. Selection of vivid, compelling extract examples, final analysis of selected extracts, relating back of the analysis to the research question and literature, producing a scholarly report of the analysis.

Source: (Braun & Clarke, 2006)

Appendix 3 Data collection

	Data sources	Source	Title	Length (in words)	Date of publication
1	NGO	Fair Labor Association. (2012b, June). <i>Sustainable Management of Nestlé's Cocoa Supply Chain in the Ivory Coast—Focus on Labor Standards</i> . FLA. https://www.fairlabor.org/sites/default/files/documents/reports/cocoa-report-final_0.pdf	Sustainable Management of Nestlé's Cocoa Supply Chain in the Ivory Coast—Focus on Labor Standards	35.014	29-06-2012
2	NGO	Fair Labor Association. (2012c, June 29). FLA Highlights Underlying Challenges of Child Labor After Extensive Investigation of Nestlé Cocoa Supply Chain Fair Labor Association. FLA. Retrieved 4 May 2022, from https://www.fairlabor.org/blog/entry/fla-highlights-underlying-challenges-child-labor-after-extensive-investigation-nestle	FLA highlights underlying challenges of child labor after extensive investigation of Nestlé cocoa supply chain.	1.465	29-06-2012
3	NGO	Fair Labor Association. (2012a, June). <i>Nestlé Action Plan on the Responsible Sourcing of Cocoa from Côte d'Ivoire</i> . FLA. https://www.fairlabor.org/sites/default/files/documents/reports/fla_report_-_nestle_action_plan_final.pdf	Nestlé Action Plan on the Responsible Sourcing of Cocoa from Côte d'Ivoire	4.824	29-06-2012
4	NGO	Fair Labor Association. (2012d, November). <i>Addressing Child Labor in Nestlé's Cocoa Supply Chain in Côte d'Ivoire</i> . FLA. https://www.fairlabor.org/sites/default/files/documents/reports/nestle_cocoa_consultation.pdf	Addressing Child Labor in Nestlé's Cocoa Supply Chain in Côte d'Ivoire	6.336	26-11-2012
5	NGO	Oxfam International. (2013, February 26). <i>Ten biggest food and beverage companies failing millions of people who grow their ingredients</i> [Press release]. https://www.oxfam.org/en/press-releases/ten-biggest-food-and-beverage-companies-failing-millions-people-who-grow-their	Ten biggest food and beverage companies failing millions of people who grow their ingredients	834	26-02-2013

6	NGO	Fair Labor Association. (2014, August). <i>Independent external monitoring of Nestlé's cocoa supply chain in Ivory Coast</i> FLA. http://www.fairlabor.org/sites/default/files/documents/reports/august-2014-nestle-executive-summary_0.pdf	Independent external monitoring of Nestlé's cocoa supply chain in Ivory Coast	1697	12-08-2014
7	NGO	Tamir, I. (2014, September 16). <i>Child laborers bring case against food companies: 'you're enabling enslavement'</i> . Oxfam. Retrieved 4 May 2022, from https://politicsofpoverty.oxfamamerica.org/child-laborers-bring-case-food-companies-youre-enabling-enslavement/	Child laborers bring case against food companies: "You're enabling enslavement"	837	16-09-2014
8	NGO	Lambert, A. (2014, December). <i>The Fairness Gap: Farmer Incomes & Solutions to Child Labor in Cocoa</i> . International Cocoa Initiative. https://laborrights.org/sites/default/files/publications/Fairness%20gap_low_res.pdf	The Fairness Gap: Farmer Incomes & Solutions to Child Labor in Cocoa	18.863	17-12-2014
9	NGO	Facing Finance. (2015, January). <i>Report on Companies and Financial Institutions Benefiting from Violations of Human Rights</i> (No. 4). https://fairfinanceguide.org/media/277141/dirty-profits-4-report-on-companies-and-financial-institutions-benefiting-from-violations-of-human-rights-de.pdf	Report on Companies and Financial Institutions Benefiting from Violations of Human Rights	N.D.	01-01-2015
10	NGO	Fair Labor Association. (2015, September). <i>Independent external monitoring of Nestlé's cocoa supply chain in Ivory Coast: 2014-2015</i> . FLA. http://www.fairlabor.org/sites/default/files/documents/reports/september_2015_nestle_executive_summary.pdf	Independent external monitoring of Nestlé's cocoa supply chain in Ivory Coast: 2014-2015.	3.778	02-09-2015
11	NGO	Fair Labor Association. (2016, August). <i>Assessment</i>	Assessment of Nestlé's	20.260	08-2016

		<i>of Nestlé’s standard cocoa supply chain (not covered by the “Nestlé Cocoa Plan”) in Côte d’Ivoire.</i> FLA. http://www.fairlabor.org/sites/default/files/document_s/reports/assessment_nestle_standard_supply_chain_ivoiry_coast_august_2016.pdf	standard cocoa supply chain (not covered by the “Nestlé Cocoa Plan”) in Côte d’Ivoire.		
12	NGO	Amnesty International. (2016, November 30). <i>Palm Oil: Global brands profiting from child and forced labour.</i> Retrieved 4 May 2022, from https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/news/2016/11/palm-oil-global-brands-profiting-from-child-and-forced-labour/	Palm Oil: Global brands profiting from child and forced labour	1.727	30-11-2016
13	NGO	Anti-Slavery International. (2017, September 12). <i>European Parliament should back transparency of global supply chains.</i> Retrieved 4 May 2022, from https://www.antislavery.org/european-parliament-vote-favour-transparency-global-supply-chains/	European Parliament should back transparency of global supply chains	877	12-09-2017
14	NGO	Oxfam Novib. (2017, September). <i>Pathways to deforestation-free food.</i> https://www.oxfamnovib.nl/Files/rapporten/2017/20170906%20bp%20deforestation%20exploitation%20free%20food%20sector...pdf	Pathways to deforestation-free food.	11.864	09-2017
15	NGO	Boles, H. (2018, March). <i>A Matter of Taste: A benchmark of current industry efforts to address child labour, worst forms of child labour and human trafficking on cocoa farm in Côte d’Ivoire and Ghana.</i> STOP THE TRAFFIK Australian Coalition. https://static1.squarespace.com/static/5600d036e4b056134c4419f3/t/5aba37232b6a28f01f7640a2/1522153273047/2018+STT+Report+Final+27032018.compressed.pdf	A benchmark of current industry efforts to address child labour, worst forms of child labour and human trafficking on cocoa farm in Côte d’Ivoire and Ghana.	18.087	03-2018
16	NGO	International Cocoa Initiative. (2018a, July 17). <i>A look into the Child Labour Monitoring and Remediation System (CLMRS) ICI Cocoa Initiative.</i>	A look into the Child Labour Monitoring and Remediation System (CLMRS)	340	17-07-2018

		Retrieved 4 May 2022, from https://www.cocoainitiative.org/news/look-child-labour-monitoring-and-remediation-system-clmrs			
17	NGO	International Cocoa Initiative. (2018b, September 26). <i>Nestlé advances actions to curb child labour in cocoa in Ashanti Region ICI Cocoa Initiative</i> . Retrieved 4 May 2022, from https://www.cocoainitiative.org/news/nestle-advances-actions-curb-child-labour-cocoa-ashanti-region	Nestlé advances actions to curb child labour in cocoa in Ashanti Region	464	26-09-2018
18	NGO	Pluess, J. D., & Farzaneh, N. (2018, November). <i>Children's Rights in the Cocoa-Growing Communities of Côte d'Ivoire</i> . Unicef. https://sites.unicef.org/csr/css/synthesis-report-children-rights-cocoa-communities-en.pdf	Children's Rights in the Cocoa-Growing Communities of Côte d'Ivoire	14.141	11-2018
19	NGO	Gneiting, U. (2019, June 26). <i>The cocoa sector still has a child labor problem. Can higher prices help solve it?</i> Oxfam. Retrieved 4 May 2022, from https://politicsofpoverty.oxfamamerica.org/the-cocoa-sector-child-labor-problem-higher-prices/	The cocoa sector still has a child labor problem. Can higher prices help solve it?	1.006	26-06-2019
20	NGO	Fair Labor Association. (2020, October). <i>Is Nestlé's CLMRS contributing to the reduction of child labor in its cocoa supply chain in Côte d'Ivoire?</i> FLA. https://www.fairlabor.org/sites/default/files/documents/reports/adressing-child-labor-cocoa-cote-divoire-oct_2020.pdf	Is Nestlé's CLMRS contributing to the reduction of child labor in its cocoa supply chain in Côte D'Ivoire	14.430	08-10-2020
21	NGO	Jackson, R. (2020, January). <i>Mapping child labour risks in global supply chains</i> . Unicef. https://www.unicef.nl/files/Child%20Labour%20in%20Global%20Supply%20Chains.pdf	Mapping Child Labour Risks in Global Supply Chains	15.832	01-2020
22	NGO	Unicef. (2022, March). <i>Update on the context and situation of children</i> . https://www.unicef.org/media/118106/file/Cote-d-	UNICEF Côte d'Ivoire Country Office Annual Report 2021	4.493	27-03-2022

		Ivoire-2021-COAR.pdf			
23	Nestlé	Fair Labor Association. (2012a, June). <i>Nestlé Action Plan on the Responsible Sourcing of Cocoa from Côte d'Ivoire</i> . FLA. https://www.fairlabor.org/sites/default/files/documents/reports/fla_report_-_nestle_action_plan_final.pdf	Nestlé Action Plan on the Responsible Sourcing of Cocoa from Côte d'Ivoire	4.824	29-06-2012
24	Nestlé	Nestlé. (2013a). <i>Nestlé in society Creating Shared Value and meeting our commitments 2012</i> . https://www.oecd.org/forum/issues/nestle-csv-summary-report-2012-en.pdf	Creating Shared Value and Sustainability Report 2012	18.978	2013
25	Nestlé	Nestlé. (2013b, July). <i>The Nestlé Commitment on Child Labour in Agricultural Supply Chains</i> . https://www.nestle.com/sites/default/files/asset-library/documents/library/documents/corporate_social_responsibility/nestle-commitment-child-labour.pdf	The Nestlé Commitment on Child Labour in Agricultural Supply Chains	1.175	07-2013
26	Nestlé	Nestlé. (2015, September 8). <i>Nestlé's response</i> [Press release]. https://www.business-humanrights.org/en/latest-news/nestl%C3%A9s-response/	Nestlé's response	427	08-09-2015
27	Nestlé	Nestlé. (2016a, March). <i>Nestlé in society Creating Shared Value and meeting our commitments 2015</i> . https://www.nestle.com/sites/default/files/asset-library/documents/library/documents/corporate_social_responsibility/nestle-csv-full-report-2015-en.pdf	Creating Shared Value and meeting our commitments 2015	19.546	03-2016
28	Nestlé	Nestlé. (2016b, April 5). <i>Response Dirty Profits</i> [Press release]. https://media.business-humanrights.org/media/documents/files/documents/B_HRRC_Response_Dirty_Profits_4_21_03_16_-_FINAL.pdf	Response Dirty Profits	1.885	05-04-2016
29	Nestlé	Nestlé. (2017, March). <i>Nestlé in society Creating Shared Value and meeting our commitments 2016</i> . http://storage.nestle.com/nestle-society-full-2016/files/assets/basic-html/page-1.html	Nestlé in society Creating Shared Value and meeting our commitments 2016	93.189	03-2017

30	Nestlé	Nestlé & International Cocoa Initiative. (2017, October). <i>Tackling child labour Nestlé Cocoa Plan 2017 report</i> . Nestlé. https://respect.international/wp-content/uploads/2017/10/Tackling-Child-Labour-Nestlé-Cocoa-Plan-2017-Report.pdf	Tackling child labour Nestlé Cocoa Plan 2017 report	9.080	10-2017
31	Nestlé	Nestlé & International Cocoa Initiative. (2019, December). <i>Tackling child labour Nestlé Cocoa Plan 2019 report</i> . Nestlé. https://www.nestle.com/sites/default/files/2019-12/nestle-tackling-child-labor-report-2019-en.pdf	Tackling Child Labor	16.307	12-2019
32	Nestlé	Nestlé. (2020b, December). <i>Nestlé Cocoa Plan Progress Report 2020</i> . https://www.nestlecocoaplan.com/sites/site.prod.nestlecocoaplan.com/files/2021-11/Nestlé%CC%81%20Cocoa%20Plan%20Annual%20Report%202020.pdf	Nestlé Cocoa Plan Progress Report 2020	4.701	12-2020
33	Nestlé	Nestlé. (2020a, October 8). Response to the Fair Labor Association’s Social Impact Assessment: ‘Is Nestlé having a positive effect on the lives of cocoa workers and their children in Côte d’Ivoire?’ [Press release]. https://www.fairlabor.org/sites/default/files/documents/reports/response to fla sia 2019 final.pdf	Response to the Fair Labor Association’s Social Impact Assessment: ‘Is Nestlé having a positive effect on the lives of cocoa workers and their children in Côte d’Ivoire?’	1.137	08-10-2020
34	Nestlé	Nestlé. (2021, March). <i>Creating Shared Value and Sustainability Report 2020</i> . https://www.nestle.com/sites/default/files/2021-03/creating-shared-value-report-2020-en.pdf	Creating Shared Value and Sustainability Report 2020	31.825	03-2021
35	Nestlé	Nestlé. (2022a, January 27). <i>Nestlé announces innovative plan to tackle child labor risks, increase farmer income and achieve full traceability in cocoa</i> [Press release]. https://www.nestle.com/media/pressreleases/allpressreleases/tackle-child-labor-risks-farmer-income-	Nestlé announces innovative plan to tackle child labor risks, increase farmer income and achieve full traceability in cocoa	1.255	27-01-2022

		cocoa-traceability			
36	Nestlé	Nestlé. (2022b, March). <i>Creating Shared Value and Sustainability Report 2021</i> . https://www.nestle.com/sites/default/files/2022-03/creating-shared-value-sustainability-report-2021-en.pdf	Creating Shared Value and Sustainability Report 2021	41.921	03-2022
37	Nestlé	Nestlé. (n.d.-b). <i>Human rights issues in palm oil</i> . Nestlé Global. Retrieved 4 May 2022, from https://www.nestle.com/ask-nestle/human-rights/answers/amnesty-international-report-labour-abuses-palm-oil-supply-chain	Human rights issues in palm oil	1.305	N.D.
38	Nestlé	Nestlé. (n.d.-a). <i>How is Nestlé tackling child labor risk?</i> Nestlé Global. Retrieved 4 May 2022, from https://www.nestle.com/ask-nestle/human-rights/answers/nestle-child-labour-supply-chains	How is Nestlé tackling child labor risk?	1.082	N.D.
39	Newspaper	Associated Press. (2012, June 29). <i>Child labor still issue on Ivory Coast cocoa farms</i> . Deseret News. Retrieved 3 May 2022, from https://www.deseret.com/2012/6/29/20421602/child-labor-still-issue-on-ivory-coast-cocoa-farms	Child labor still issue on Ivory Coast cocoa farms	515	29-06-2012
40	Newspaper	Emmerson, R. (2012, July 23). <i>Value supply chain</i> . The Courier Mail. Retrieved 3 May 2022, from https://advance.lexis-com.ru.idm.oclc.org/api/permalink/eeaf1076-ea86-4ebc-93df-a7545043f24e/?context=1516831	Value supply chain	630	23-07-2012
41	Newspaper	Bounds, A. (2012, November 21). Co-operatives: Ethical and practical concerns drive efforts to assist suppliers. <i>Financial Times</i> . Retrieved 3 May 2022, from https://www.ft.com/content/f3f3f744-2c8a-11e2-9211-00144feabdc0	Ethical and practical concerns drive efforts to assist suppliers	858	21-10-2012
42	Newspaper	Lucas, L. (2012, November 21). Ethical sourcing: Business works with NGOs for the common good.	Ethical sourcing: Business works with NGOs for the	831	21-11-2012

		<i>Financial Times</i> . Retrieved 3 May 2022, from https://www.ft.com/content/e3459310-22af-11e2-8edf-00144feabdc0	common good		
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44	Newspaper	Stevens, H. (2013, September 28). <i>Nestlé CRUNCH Bars to be Made from Certified Cocoa</i> . Triple Pundit. Retrieved 3 May 2022, from https://www.triplepundit.com/story/2013/nestle-crunch-bars-be-made-certified-cocoa/51491	Nestlé CRUNCH Bars to be Made from Certified Cocoa	595	28-05-2013
45	Newspaper	Singer, P. (2013, November 18). Sugar is sweet, but the ethics of its production leave a bitter aftertaste. <i>The Daily Star (Lebanon)</i> . Retrieved 3 May 2022, from https://advance-lexis-com.ru.idm.oclc.org/document/?pdmfid=1516831&cid=d51fe28c-e15b-4d0c-8bb0-cc3c45ea5991&pddocfullpath=%2Fshared%2Fdocument%2Fnews%2Furn%3AcontentItem%3A59W8-PJ11-JDJN-60G8-00000-00&pdcontentcomponentid=335154&pdteaserkey=sr0&pditab=allpods&ecomp=szkn&earg=sr0&prid=9712cddc-25af-476d-af1d-a94dcd9baea3	Sugar is sweet, but the ethics of its production leave a bitter aftertaste	946	18-11-2013
46	Newspaper	McSweeney, L. (2014, January 6). Bittersweet - the truth about chocolate. <i>The Age</i> . Retrieved 3 May 2022, from https://advance-lexis-com.ru.idm.oclc.org/document/?pdmfid=1516831&cid=dbf7a8d2-1901-4986-bda9-c3ccd543596f&pddocfullpath=%2Fshared%2Fdocument%2Fnews%2Furn%3AcontentItem%3A5B6Y-6591-F0J6-J174-00000-	Bittersweet - the truth about chocolate	1.525	06-01-2014

		00&pdcontentcomponentid=314239&pdteaserkey=sr1&pditab=allpods&ecomp=szznk&earg=sr1&prid=e73123b9-f7da-4808-b0c7-1d86bd169b61			
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49	Newspaper	Ghana News Agency. (2014b, December 17). <i>Nestlé Ghana launches plan to support cocoa farmers</i> . Retrieved 3 May 2022, from https://advance-lexis-com.ru.idm.oclc.org/document/?pdmfid=1516831&cid=d1dbfd0a-026f-4eac-8670-3eb8f479c06d&pddocfullpath=%2Fshared%2Fdocument%2Fnews%2Furn%3AcontentItem%3A5DW4-D661-JDJN-628W-00000-00&pdcontentcomponentid=411388&pdteaserkey=sr0&pditab=allpods&ecomp=szznk&earg=sr0&prid=a3c5eb8d-a3fd-402a-ac01-273d0a01bba6	Nestlé Ghana launches plan to support cocoa farmers	342	17-12-2014

50	Newspaper	Yingqun, C. (2015, June 6). <i>Appetite grows for sustainably farmed food</i> Life chinadaily.com.cn. China Daily Europe. Retrieved 3 May 2022, from http://europe.chinadaily.com.cn/epaper/2015-06/05/content_20912896.htm	Appetite grows for sustainably farmed food	1.239	05-06-2015
51	Newspaper	Haq, H. (2015, September 2). Can a sustainably produced KitKat help clean up the chocolate business? <i>The Christian Science Monitor</i> . Retrieved 3 May 2022, from https://www.csmonitor.com/Business/The-Bite/2015/0902/Can-a-sustainably-produced-KitKat-help-clean-up-the-chocolate-business	Can a sustainably produced KitKat help clean up the chocolate business?;Nestlé will produce KitKat candy bars sold in the US with sustainably sourced cocoa starting next year, the company announced, and will eventually use child-labor-free cocoa for all of its candy bars.	558	02-09-2015
52	Newspaper	Clarke, J. S. (2017, October 6). Child labour on Nestlé farms: chocolate giant's problems continue. <i>The Guardian</i> . Retrieved 3 May 2022, from https://www.theguardian.com/global-development-professionals-network/2015/sep/02/child-labour-on-nestle-farms-chocolate-giants-problems-continue	Child labour on Nestlé farms: chocolate giant's problems continue	943	02-09-2015
53	Newspaper	Ghanaian Chronicle. (2015, October 6). <i>No Child Labour Here, Please!</i> Africa News. Retrieved 3 May 2022, from https://advance-lexis-com.ru.idm.oclc.org/document/?pdmfid=1516831&clid=d54069bd-e1e2-444b-8298-d0006875edfc&pddocfullpath=%2Fshared%2Fdocument%2Fnews%2Furn%3AcontentItem%3A5HXX-VBG1-JC86-C4B9-00000-00&pdcontentcomponentid=8320&pdteaserkey=sr0&pditab=allpods&ecomp=szkn&earg=sr0&prid=7ded4996-d3e1-4136-a126-7e2902c4077c	No Child Labour Here, Please!	780	06-10-2015

54	Newspaper	Blevins, A. (2015, October 28). <i>Nestle and Hershey accused of using child labor</i> . University Wire. Retrieved 3 May 2022, from https://advance-lexis-com.ru.idm.oclc.org/document/?pdmfid=1516831&cid=2a079e18-d9cf-4fa0-af03-ab194895a6e9&pddocfullpath=%2Fshared%2Fdocument%2Fnews%2Furn%3AcontentItem%3A5H81-VF21-JBSN-3172-00000-00&pdcontentcomponentid=172244&pdteaserkey=sr0&pditab=allpods&ecomp=szkn&earg=sr0&prid=e8f363a0-398b-4585-bc69-0e128873007f	Nestlé and Hershey accused of using child labor	514	28-10-2015
55	Newspaper	Associated Press. (2015, November 24). Nestlé admits to forced labour in its seafood supply chain in Thailand. <i>The Guardian</i> . Retrieved 3 May 2022, from https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2015/nov/24/nestle-admits-forced-labour-in-seafood-supply-chain	Nestlé admits to forced labour in its seafood supply chain in Thailand	922	24-11-2015
56	Newspaper	Charoensuthipan, P. (2015, November 25). Nestlé's labour abuse report not up-to-date. <i>The Bangkok Post</i> . Retrieved 3 May 2022, from https://advance-lexis-com.ru.idm.oclc.org/document/?pdmfid=1516831&cid=aeea238-75e9-4795-8248-4108c5995421&pddocfullpath=%2Fshared%2Fdocument%2Fnews%2Furn%3AcontentItem%3A5HG7-FB01-JD09-32SM-00000-00&pdcontentcomponentid=410348&pdteaserkey=sr0&pditab=allpods&ecomp=szkn&earg=sr0&prid=ec2da8ba-949d-4202-ad1b-ce65d0d7f065	Nestlé's labour abuse report not up-to-date	356	25-11-2015
57	Newspaper	Revesz, R. (2016a, January 11). Nestle is being sued for allegedly using child slaves on cocoa farms. <i>The Independent</i> . Retrieved 3 May 2022, from https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/americas	Nestlé is being sued for allegedly using child slaves on cocoa farms	491	11-01-2016

		/nestle-is-being-sued-for-allegedly-using-child-slaves-on-cocoa-farms-a6806646.html			
58	Newspaper	Hurley, L. (2016, January 11). UPDATE 1-U.S. top court rejects Nestle bid to throw out child slavery suit. <i>U.S.</i> Retrieved 3 May 2022, from https://www.reuters.com/article/usa-court-nestle-idUKL2N14V11120160111?edition-redirect=uk	UPDATE 1-U.S. top court rejects Nestlé bid to throw out child slavery suit	389	11-01-2016
59	Newspaper	Revesz, R. (2016b, January 12). Nestle is being sued for allegedly using child slaves on cocoa farms. <i>The Times of India</i> . Retrieved 3 May 2022, from https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/world/us/nestle-is-being-sued-for-allegedly-using-child-slaves-on-cocoa-farms/articleshow/50546974.cms	Nestlé is being sued allegedly using child slaves on cocoa farms	435	12-01-2016
60	Newspaper	Kelly, A. (2016a, February 1). Nestlé admits slavery in Thailand while fighting child labour lawsuit in Ivory Coast. <i>The Guardian</i> . Retrieved 3 May 2022, from https://www.theguardian.com/sustainable-business/2016/feb/01/nestle-slavery-thailand-fighting-child-labour-lawsuit-ivory-coast#:~:text=Nestl%C3%A9%20is%20one%20of%20the,farming%20in%20the%20Ivory%20Coast.	Nestlé admits slavery in Thailand while fighting child labour lawsuit in Ivory Coast; The company has won plaudits for its admission of forced labour in the Thai seafood industry but much of the supply chain remains hidden	985	01-02-2016
61	Newspaper	McQuade, A. (2016, February 9). Business must take a proactive approach to end child labour in supply chains. <i>The Guardian</i> . Retrieved 3 May 2022, from https://advance-lexis-com.ru.idm.oclc.org/document/?pdmfid=1516831&cid=fc144554-b8ca-43e8-ab39-1f681e837c3e&pddocfullpath=%2Fshared%2Fdocument%2Fnews%2Furn%3AcontentItem%3A5J22-GKT1-F021-648K-00000-00&pdcontentcomponentid=138620&pdteaserkey=sr0&pditab=allpods&ecomp=szkn&earg=sr0&prid=9	Business must take a proactive approach to end child labour in supply chains	837	09-02-2016

		9becce5-8935-4b71-bbae-c2ebbb09aa1a			
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63	Newspaper	VOA News. (2016, March 29). <i>Ivory Coast Fights Child Labor on Cocoa Plantations</i> . VOA. Retrieved 3 May 2022, from https://www.voanews.com/a/ivory-coast-fights-child-labor-on-cocoa-plantations/3259054.html	Ivory Coast Fights Child Labor on Cocoa Plantations	539	28-03-2016
64	Newspaper	AFP. (2016, April 28). Ivoirians use schools to cut child labour. <i>Daily Nation Kenya</i> . Retrieved 3 May 2022, from https://advance-lexis-com.ru.idm.oclc.org/document/?pdmfid=1516831&clid=dbea4350-c48a-476b-8682-5dfc8f39d006&pddocfullpath=%2Fshared%2Fdocument%2Fnews%2Furn%3AcontentItem%3A5JMV-CWX1-F11P-X55J-00000-00&pdcontentcomponentid=407676&pdteaserkey=sr0&pditab=allpods&ecomp=szkn&earg=sr0&prid=e39a8f42-e483-4b6e-9d92-e9b0ce2e9a39	Ivoirians use schools to cut child labour	551	28-04-2016
65	Newspaper	Davies, R. (2016, October 30). Firms such as Kellogg's, Unilever and Nestlé 'use child-labour palm oil'. <i>The Guardian</i> . Retrieved 3 May 2022, from https://www.theguardian.com/law/2016/nov/30/kelloggs-unilever-nestle-child-labour-palm-oil-wilmar-amnesty	Firms such as Kellogg's, Unilever and Nestlé 'use child-labour palm oil'	808	30-10-2016
66	Newspaper	Kelly, A. (2016b, November 24). Child labour is part of most of what we buy today: what can we do? <i>The Guardian</i> . Retrieved 3 May 2022, from	Child labour is part of most of what we buy today: what can we do?	969	24-11-2016

		https://www.theguardian.com/sustainable-business/2016/nov/24/child-labour-what-can-we-do-africa-modern-slavery			
67	Newspaper	Elujoba, B. (2018, August 21). Tackling human trafficking. <i>The Sun Nigeria</i> . Retrieved 3 May 2022, from https://www.sunnewsonline.com/tackling-human-trafficking/	Tackling human trafficking	1.188	21-08-2018
68	Newspaper	Furneaux, R. (2018, October 31). <i>Your Halloween candy's hidden ingredient: child slave labor</i> . Mother Jones. Retrieved 3 May 2022, from https://www.motherjones.com/food/2018/10/halloween-candy-hidden-ingredient-chocolate-child-slave-labor-nestle-mars-cargill/	Your Halloween Candy's Hidden Ingredient: Child Slave Labor	1.481	31-10-2018
69	Newspaper	Christie, S. (2019, January 23). Africa's child-labour and the chocolate factory. <i>The Daily Telegraph</i> . Retrieved 3 May 2022, from https://advance-lexis-com.ru.idm.oclc.org/document/?pdmfid=1516831&cid=fccb3efd-3ec2-4c2f-9b6d-52ed8664025b&pddocfullpath=%2Fshared%2Fdocument%2Fnews%2Furn%3AcontentItem%3A5V84-2GW1-JCBW-N017-00000-00&pdcontentcomponentid=8109&pdteaserkey=sr0&pditab=allpods&ecomp=szkn&earg=sr0&prid=9524114d-3642-4867-a229-b38ed87966ba	Africa's child-labour and the chocolate factory; The industry is not doing enough to stop the use of young workers, say critics.	1.566	23-01-2019
70	Newspaper	Whoriskey, P., Siegel, R., & Georges, S. (2019, June 5). Hershey, Nestle and Mars broke their pledges to end child labor in chocolate production. <i>Washington Post</i> . Retrieved 3 May 2022, from https://www.washingtonpost.com/graphics/2019/business/hershey-nestle-mars-chocolate-child-labor-west-africa/	Cocoa's child laborers	6667	05-06-2019
71	Newspaper	Whoriskey, P. (2019a, July 16). Senators call for crackdown on cocoa imports made with forced child	Senators call for crackdown on cocoa imports made with	720	16-07-2019

		labor. Washington Post. Retrieved 3 May 2022, from https://www.washingtonpost.com/business/2019/07/16/senators-call-dhs-crack-down-cocoa-imports-made-with-forced-child-labor/	forced child labor		
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73	Newspaper	Times & Transcript. (2019, August 17). Cocoa explores the joy of world's most compelling foods. <i>Times & Transcript</i> . Retrieved 3 May 2022, from https://advance-lexis-com.ru.idm.oclc.org/document/?pdmfid=1516831&cid=4928797d-c8ad-491c-8443-5d17454ad4a0&pddocfullpath=%2Fshared%2Fdocument%2Fnews%2Furn%3AcontentItem%3A5WV2-1V21-JCT2-M4J3-00000-00&pdcontentcomponentid=306538&pdteaserkey=sr0&pditab=allpods&ecomp=szkn&earg=sr0&prid=9284c90c-9bb1-4f00-bb5e-c61fb2c25d02	Cocoa explores the joy of world's most compelling foods	874	17-08-2019
74	Newspaper	Adams, T. (2019, February 24). From bean to bar in Ivory Coast, a country built on cocoa. <i>The Guardian</i> . Retrieved 3 May 2022, from https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2019/feb/24/ivory-coast-cocoa-farmers-fairtrade-fortnight-women-farmers-trade-justice	From bean to bar in Ivory Coast, a country built on cocoa	2.504	24-02-2019
75	Newspaper	Pilling, D. (2019, December 17). The African cocoa farmers who are taking on Big Chocolate. <i>Los Angeles Times</i> . Retrieved 3 May 2022, from https://www.latimes.com/business/story/2019-12-	The African cocoa farmers who are taking on Big Chocolate	2.160	17-12-2019

		17/africa-big-chocolate			
76	Newspaper	Bloomberg. (2020, January 14). U.S. Supreme Court signals interest in child-slavery cocoa lawsuit. <i>Los Angeles Times</i> . Retrieved 3 May 2022, from https://www.latimes.com/business/story/2020-01-14/u-s-supreme-court-signals-interest-in-child-slavery-cocoa-lawsuit	U.S. Supreme Court signals interest in child-slavery cocoa lawsuit	565	14-01-2020
77	Newspaper	Robinson, K. S. (2020, May 26). <i>DOJ Urges High Court to Shield Companies From Slave Labor Suits</i> . Bloomberg Law. Retrieved 3 May 2022, from https://news.bloomberglaw.com/us-law-week/doj-urges-high-court-to-shield-companies-from-slave-labor-suits	DOJ Urges High Court to Shield Companies From Slave Labor Suits	433	26-05-2020
78	Newspaper	University Wire. (2020, June 10). <i>Opinion?Chocolate manufacturers must be held to a higher standard</i> . Retrieved 3 May 2022, from https://advance-lexis-com.ru.idm.oclc.org/document/?pdmfid=1516831&cid=984be2a9-232b-4458-9266-bd2629d2307b&pddocfullpath=%2Fshared%2Fdocument%2Fnews%2Furn%3AcontentItem%3A603N-G5W1-DY7P-T19D-00000-00&pdcontentcomponentid=172244&pdteaserkey=sr0&pditab=allpods&ecomp=szkn&earg=sr0&prid=6b989d2c-79c0-489b-9220-e08663769c48	Chocolate manufacturers must be held to a higher standard	797	10-06-2020
79	Newspaper	Rivera, L. (2020, June 22). 27,000 farmers ‘to miss out on £1.6m in payments’ as Nestle drops Fairtrade for KitKats. <i>The Independent</i> . Retrieved 3 May 2022, from https://www.independent.co.uk/climate-change/news/nestle-fairtrade-kitkat-a9580096.html	27,000 farmers 'to miss out on £1.6m' as Nestlé drops Fairtrade for KitKats	885	22-06-2020
80	Newspaper	Balch, O. (2020, August 5). US could become ‘safe haven’ for corporate abusers, activists warn. <i>The Guardian</i> . Retrieved 3 May 2022, from	US could become ‘safe haven’ for corporate abusers, activists warn	898	05-08-2020

		https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2020/aug/05/us-could-become-safe-haven-for-corporate-abusers-activists-warn			
81	Newspaper	BBC News. (2020, October 1). <i>KitKat: Petition delivered to Nestle opposing Fairtrade removal</i> . Retrieved 4 May 2022, from https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-england-york-north-yorkshire-54369543	KitKat: Petition delivered to Nestlé opposing Fairtrade removal	429	01-10-2020
82	Newspaper	Whoriskey, P. (2020, October 19). U.S. report: Much of the world’s chocolate supply relies on more than 1 million child workers. <i>The Washington Post</i> . Retrieved 3 May 2022, from https://www.washingtonpost.com/business/2020/10/19/million-child-laborers-chocolate-supply/	U.S. report: Much of the world’s chocolate supply relies on more than 1 million child workers	353	19-10-2020
83	Newspaper	Harris, S. (2020, November 17). Ice Cream Giant Ben & Jerry’s Commits To Paying Cocoa Farmers A Living Income In West Africa. <i>Forbes</i> . Retrieved 3 May 2022, from https://www.forbes.com/sites/shaynaharris/2020/11/17/ice-cream-giant-ben--jerrys-commits-to-paying-cocoa-farmers-a-living-income-in-west-africa/?sh=16ac4e84d1b5	Ice Cream Giant Ben & Jerry's Commits To Paying Cocoa Farmers A Living Income In West Africa	836	17-11-2020
84	Newspaper	Associated Press. (2020a, December 1). Nestle, Cargill at high court in child labor case. <i>The Independent</i> . Retrieved 3 May 2022, from https://www.independent.co.uk/news/nestle-cargill-at-high-court-in-child-labor-case-nestl-cargill-courts-lawsuit-farms-b1764775.html	Nestlé, Cargill at high court in child labor case	562	01-12-2020
85	Newspaper	Liptak, A. (2020, December 7). <i>USA: Supreme Court seems ready to limit human rights suits against corporations in Nestlé & Cargill v. Doe case</i> . Business & Human Rights Resource Centre. Retrieved 3 May 2022, from https://www.business-	USA: Supreme Court Seems Ready to Limit Human Rights Suits Against Corporations in Nestlé & Cargill v. Doe case	322	07-12-2020

		humanrights.org/en/latest-news/usa-supreme-court-seems-ready-to-limit-human-rights-suits-against-corporations-in-nestl%C3%A9-cargill-v-doe-case/			
86	Newspaper	Associated Press. (2020b, December 29). Child labor in palm oil industry tied to Girl Scout cookies. <i>The Independent</i> . Retrieved 3 May 2022, from https://www.independent.co.uk/news/child-labor-in-palm-oil-industry-tied-to-girl-scout-cookies-malaysia-cookies-ima-girls-indonesia-b1779786.html	Child labor in palm oil industry tied to Girl Scout cookies	1.291	29-12-2020
87	Newspaper	Balch, O. (2021, February 12). Mars, Nestlé and Hershey to face child slavery lawsuit in US. <i>The Guardian</i> . Retrieved 3 May 2022, from https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2021/feb/12/mars-nestle-and-hershey-to-face-landmark-child-slavery-lawsuit-in-us	Mars, Nestlé and Hershey to face child slavery lawsuit in US	1.229	12-02-2021
88	Newspaper	Neidig, H. (2021, June 17). Supreme Court throws out child slavery lawsuit against Nestle, Cargill. <i>The Hill</i> . Retrieved 3 May 2022, from https://thehill.com/regulation/court-battles/558934-supreme-court-throws-out-child-slavery-lawsuit-against-nestle/	Supreme Court throws out child slavery lawsuit against Nestlé, Cargill	391	17-06-2021
89	Newspaper	BBC News. (2021, June 18). <i>US Supreme Court blocks child slavery lawsuit against chocolate firms</i> . Retrieved 3 May 2022, from https://www.bbc.com/news/world-us-canada-57522186	US Supreme Court blocks child slavery lawsuit against chocolate firms	456	18-06-2021
90	Newspaper	Bancroft, H. (2021a, November 1). Nestle, Mars and Hersey accused of 'using child labour to get cheap cocoa' in new court papers. <i>The Independent</i> . Retrieved 3 May 2022, from https://www.independent.co.uk/world/nestle-mars-hersey-cocoa-child-slaves-b1948199.html	Nestlé, Mars and Hersey accused of 'using child labour to get cheap cocoa' in new court papers	809	01-11-2021
91	Newspaper	Bancroft, H. (2021b, November 2). Cocoa giants	Cocoa giants stand accused of	754	02-11-2021

		stand accused of using forced child labour. <i>The Independent</i> . Retrieved 3 May 2022, from https://advance-lexis-com.ru.idm.oclc.org/document/?pdmfid=1516831&cid=996ef243-cef7-4619-9fa7-413d77f0372b&pddocfullpath=%2Fshared%2Fdocument%2Fnews%2Furn%3AcontentItem%3A640B-JMK1-JCS0-D1W0-00000-00&pdcontentcomponentid=382507&pdteaserkey=sr0&pditab=allpods&ecomp=szkn&earg=sr0&prid=884dd915-1e0d-4248-8e53-9222c0ba46a1	using forced child labour		
92	Newspaper	CE Noticias Financieras English. (2022a, January 27). <i>Nestlé launches plan to combat child labor in the cocoa sector</i> . CE Noticias Financieras. Retrieved 3 May 2022, from https://advance-lexis-com.ru.idm.oclc.org/document/?pdmfid=1516831&cid=6951616d-0f35-4f8f-96db-0d07da81a8ad&pddocfullpath=%2Fshared%2Fdocument%2Fnews%2Furn%3AcontentItem%3A64MX-MF51-DYY9-00W4-00000-00&pdcontentcomponentid=443607&pdteaserkey=sr0&pditab=allpods&ecomp=szkn&earg=sr0&prid=80f4ecd3-20aa-448b-8c7a-50efb83768cd	Nestlé launches plan to combat child labor in the cocoa sector	310	27-01-2022
93	Newspaper	Koltowitz, S., & Angel, M. (2022, January 27). Nestle to give cocoa farmers cash to keep children in school. Reuters. Retrieved 3 May 2022, from https://www.reuters.com/business/sustainable-business/nestle-pay-cocoa-growers-keep-children-school-2022-01-27/	Nestlé to give cocoa farmers cash to keep children in school	849	27-01-2022
94	Newspaper	O’Sullivan, K. (2022, January 27). Nestlé unveils EUR 1.25bn plan to tackle child labour and increase farmer income in cocoa production. <i>The Irish Times</i> . Retrieved 3 May 2022, from https://advance-lexis-com.ru.idm.oclc.org/document/?pdmfid=1516831&cid=6951616d-0f35-4f8f-96db-0d07da81a8ad&pddocfullpath=%2Fshared%2Fdocument%2Fnews%2Furn%3AcontentItem%3A64MX-MF51-DYY9-00W4-00000-00&pdcontentcomponentid=443607&pdteaserkey=sr0&pditab=allpods&ecomp=szkn&earg=sr0&prid=80f4ecd3-20aa-448b-8c7a-50efb83768cd	Nestlé unveils EUR 1.25bn plan to tackle child labour and increase farmer income in cocoa production	537	27-01-2022

		com.ru.idm.oclc.org/document/?pdmfid=1516831&cid=501078bf-f40e-4cbc-a5c2-24ee8f5c6d10&pddocfullpath=%2Fshared%2Fdocument%2Fnews%2Furn%3AcontentItem%3A64MN-MX21-JC8Y-8355-00000-00&pdcontentcomponentid=142626&pdteaserkey=sr0&pditab=allpods&ecomp=szkn&earg=sr0&prid=98c59acd-a66b-40d5-88ef-b0a53556bb69			
95	Newspaper	Terazono, E. (2022, January 27). Nestlé to pay cocoa farmers to stop using child labour. <i>Financial Times</i> . Retrieved 3 May 2022, from https://www.ft.com/content/46ee0d7d-b25a-4604-a925-53a90eecd769	Nestlé to pay cocoa farmers to stop using child labour	353	27-01-2022
96	Newspaper	Terazono, E., & Evans, J. (2022, January 28). Nestlé plans cocoa farm aid to end child labour. <i>Financial Times</i> . Retrieved 3 May 2022, from https://advance-lexis-com.ru.idm.oclc.org/document/?pdmfid=1516831&cid=06fb79bf-6529-46af-a3a1-91dc32dfc709&pddocfullpath=%2Fshared%2Fdocument%2Fnews%2Furn%3AcontentItem%3A64MW-7011-DYTY-C4K5-00000-00&pdcontentcomponentid=293847&pdteaserkey=sr0&pditab=allpods&ecomp=szkn&earg=sr0&prid=e701af7-3ad7-4583-8e78-0923011ebc59	Nestlé plans cocoa farm aid to end child labour; Food & beverage	441	28-01-2022
97	Newspaper	Akweley, J., Okertchiri. (2022, February 2). Nestlé Tackles Child Labour On Cocoa Farms. <i>DailyGuide Network</i> . Retrieved 3 May 2022, from https://dailyguidenetwork.com/nestle-tackles-child-labour-on-cocoa-farms/	Nestlé Tackles Child Labour on Cocoa Farms	476	02-02-2022
98	Newspaper	CE Noticias Financieras English. (2022b, February 2). Nestlé, Lindt, Mars. . . what are the chocolate giants doing about child labor? <i>CE Noticias</i>	Nestlé, Lindt, Mars... what are the chocolate giants doing about child labor?	768	02-02-2022

		<i>Financieras</i> . Retrieved 3 May 2022, from https://advance-lexis-com.ru.idm.oclc.org/document/?pdmfid=1516831&cid=124895e0-6afd-498d-a300-010f49d673dd&pddocfullpath=%2Fshared%2Fdocument%2Furn%3AcontentItem%3A64P6-FKX1-JCG7-80N2-00000-00&pdcontentcomponentid=443607&pdteaserkey=sr0&pditab=allpods&ecomp=szkn&earg=sr0&prid=4ae81c87-87f7-4df6-803c-f39372dd60e4			
99	Newspaper	Baranyai, R. (2022, February 11). Baranyai: Big chocolate producers slow to address human trafficking, child labour problems. <i>London Free Press</i> . Retrieved 3 May 2022, from https://lfpres.com/opinion/columnists/baranyai-big-chocolate-producers-slow-to-address-human-trafficking-child-labour-problems	Baranyai: Big chocolate producers slow to address human trafficking, child labour problems	634	12-02-2022
100	Newspaper	BBC News. (2022, April 21). <i>KitKat maker Nestle warns of further price rises</i> . Retrieved 3 May 2022, from https://www.bbc.com/news/business-61168759	KitKat maker Nestlé warns of further price rises	309	21-04-2022

Appendix 4 Data Analysis

Due to the size of this appendix it has been sent separately.

