

THE PENNSYLVANIA STATE UNIVERSITY
SCHREYER HONORS COLLEGE

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

THE ROLE OF INTEREST GROUPS AND GOVERNMENTAL AGENCIES IN
INFLUENCING CORPORATE SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY

SARAH DEMARTINO
Spring 2014

A thesis
submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements
for a baccalaureate degree
in International Politics
with honors in Political Science

Reviewed and approved* by the following:

Marie Hojnacki
Associate Professor of Political Science
Thesis Supervisor

Michael Berkman
Professor of Political Science
Honors Adviser

* Signatures are on file in the Schreyer Honors College.

ABSTRACT

Corporations are under more and more pressure to be socially responsible corporate citizens, whether it be by improving labor standards or promoting environmental sustainability. For a variety of reasons, among them the desire to avoid public relations nightmares like those created by the fire at the garment factory in Bangladesh or Apple's Foxconn scandal, businesses are becoming more socially responsible. My research seeks to examine why corporations adopt more ethical business practices, and how interest groups, governmental agencies, and other organizations, facilitate such changes. Specifically, I use the cocoa industry, namely Hershey, Nestlé, Cadbury, and Mars, as a case study for examining whether or not outside groups have an effect over a corporation's decision to commit to corporate social responsibility (CSR). I look at how groups directly and indirectly try to influence corporations through positive and negative pressuring techniques, and through the media. I find that groups may well have influence in a corporation's decision to commit to CSR, but additional sources of pressures must be present as well.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

List of Figures	iii
List of Tables	iv
Acknowledgements.....	v
Chapter 1 Introduction	1
Chapter 2 Literature Review	3
2.1 Group Behavior and Consumers	4
2.2 Direct Pressuring Techniques	6
2.3 Indirect Pressuring through the Media.....	8
2.4 Transparency and CSR.....	11
2.5 Benefits of CSR	12
2.6 Implications for Research	14
Chapter 3 Methods.....	15
3.1 Hypotheses	15
3.2 Concepts and Measures.....	19
3.3 Data.....	23
Chapter 4 The Cocoa Industry: A Context for Studying CSR.....	24
4.1 Cocoa Companies	28
4.2 The Trouble with the Cocoa Industry	30
Chapter 5 Results	33
5.1 Analysis of Hypotheses.....	33
5.2 Cadbury	45
5.3 Nestlé, Mars, and Hershey	47
5.4 Company Comparisons	51
Chapter 6 Conclusion.....	53
Appendix A Symbolic Gain, Symbolic Damage, Neutrality, and Extremism	
Examples	55
Appendix B Interview Questions for Interest Groups and Certifying Bodies	58
Appendix C Interview Questions for Governmental Agencies.....	60
Appendix D Interview Questions for Cocoa Companies	62

REFERENCES.....	64
-----------------	----

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1. Diagram of Variables	16
Figure 2. Extreme Positioning Over Time	34
Figure 3. Symbolic Gain Positioning Over Time	35
Figure 4. Symbolic Damage Positioning Over Time	35
Figure 5. Neutral Positioning Over Time.....	36
Figure 6. Transparency Score Over Time	37
Figure 7. Number of Groups and Agencies Over Time	41
Figure 8. Number of Articles Over Time.....	43
Figure 9. Annual Profit Over Time.....	54

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1. Positioning Techniques20

Table 2. Framing Techniques22

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to express my appreciation to Dr. Marie Hojnacki, my thesis adviser, for her guidance, encouragement, and invaluable insight throughout the thesis process. I would also like to thank Dr. Michael Berkman, my honors adviser, for his assistance and support in obtaining grant funding for completing this thesis. I would like to thank Dr. Gretchen Casper, Dr. David Lowery, and my 300H and 306H classes for helping me, first, research a topic, and second, refine my topic. Finally, I would like to thank Julia Jacobs for taking the time to transcribe my interviews, which greatly sped up my research process.

I would also like to thank the following departments, programs, and interviewees for their support and time in helping me to complete this project:

The Department of Political Science

The Enrichment Fund

The Fair Labor Association

The Hershey Corporation

Fair Trade USA

UTZ Certification

The International Labor Rights Forum

The Department of Labor

The International Cocoa Organization

Chapter 1

Introduction

On November 24, 2012, a garment factory in Bangladesh caught fire, killing 112 factory workers. Bangladesh, the number two supplier of clothes after China, provides garments for many retailers, like Walmart, who stated they were unaware of the poor conditions within the factory (Harris 2013). Six months prior to this fire, another factory in Bangladesh collapsed, killing 1,100 workers (Sajjad 2013). Supply chains for multinational corporations are often large and complicated, and the garment factory incidents brought to light how little attention companies were giving their supply chains to ensure safe working conditions on every level, and illuminated the fact that more attention needed to be given to mitigating poor working conditions (Harris 2013). These events in Bangladesh did lead to some changes. Both the government and employers began efforts to improve poor labor standards and policy. However, corruption and political instability permeated much of the government, making movements toward improved policy dubious; much more must be done to effectively address poor standards beyond just governmental regulations (Sajjad 2013). Labor rights issues and similar topics, like environmental protection, are often systemic issues with many complexities, spanning from long and unmonitored supply chains, to poor governmental labor regulations, to small factory owners who try to compete on the world market by running their operations under poor working conditions.

Stakeholders are becoming more environmentally and socially aware as issues occur, such as the fire in Bangladesh or Apple's Foxconn scandal (Worstall 2013). They are likewise seeking corporations that engage in more sustainable business, voting with their dollars, and purchasing products made ethically (Thorpe 2013). Thus, as stakeholders become aware of unethical business practices, it is becoming more and more necessary for corporations to commit to corporate social responsibility (CSR) to stem poor public relations and public outrage (MacGregor 2006, p. 35). Corporate social responsibility (CSR) is becoming an increasingly important topic in today's consumer market. CSR refers to how businesses seek to address and uphold the desires of stakeholders, typically to improve standards (MacGregor 2006, p. 35; Killian 2012, p. 30).

Some corporations have made strides toward adopting more CSR in response to the growing stakeholder awareness. E.I. du Pont de Nemours and Co. ., for example, developed a method for improving its environmental impact, and is creating ways through which other companies can also reduce their carbon footprints. Aloa Inc. has developed a cellphone app that calculates how much money is made from recycling beer and soda cans (MacDonald 2011). The Hershey Company created its CocoaLink mobile app for its producers, through which farmers are able to access information on child safety, farm safety, disease prevention, and marketing, right from their mobile phones (Beckman 2012). Companies are developing innovative and new ways to show stakeholders they are committed to doing good in the world. These changes however must be institutionalized by corporations, and show a sustainable commitment to bettering the world, beyond a single, isolated event.

This study seeks to examine specifically why corporations employ CSR and engage in more ethical business practices. To date, little attention has been given to the examination of why corporations seek CSR and the factors that go into this decision. I examine the cocoa industry, namely Hershey, Nestlé, Cadbury, and Mars, and the ethical cocoa movement as a pertinent case study, and explores the role of interest groups and governmental agencies in facilitating the adoption of CSR. This is a particularly relevant question to explore because as other industries move toward adopting CSR, it is necessary for consumers, governments, and advocates of ethical business to understand the most effective tactics to influence change. Confidence as to whether or not NGOs, groups, and other organizations, have had a positive influence over corporate decision making has been waning. Only 40 percent of such organizations feel as though they are successfully influencing corporate behavior, a percentage that has been falling at least ten points per year (Schumpeter 2013). Thus, analyzing whether groups, agencies, and organizations play a role in company behavior and adoption of CSR is all the more relevant and important for this study to examine.

Chapter 2

Literature Review

Corporate social responsibility is typically defined as a set of criteria corporations follow in order to appease stake holders, like consumers (Killian 2012, p. 30). These responsibilities are not static, however, and change over time depending on stakeholder

concerns and preferences. Concerns over social responsibility may arise when a firm's transparency is in question. Transparency is defined as "corporate social reporting" (Den Hond, De Bakker 2007, p. 908) by which corporations make their ethical standards publically known, demonstrate how these standards are being upheld, and state what future goals exist for progressing those standards. In other words, a firm should provide enough information for consumers and stakeholders to independently determine how responsible a corporation is (p. 908).

Interest groups and governmental agencies can be key actors in bringing about changes in corporate social responsibility and pressuring corporations to increase transparency. This section first examines group behavior and advocacy in terms of appealing to consumers, and then examines how groups pressure corporations. There are two main methods identified within the literature through which interest groups influence corporate policy. First, interest groups may seek to pressure corporations through different positioning techniques: extremism, symbolic damage, and symbolic gain. Second, interest groups may seek to influence policy change through indirect means, namely through the media by using diagnostic, prognostic, and motivational framing.

2.1 Group Behavior and Consumers

Literature tends to consider NGO's and interest groups as part of the CSR "stakeholder group". Stakeholders can be anyone with an interest in a corporation. They may be consumers, NGO's, employees, interest groups, or charity organizations (Rowley & Moldoveanu 2003, p. 204). Stakeholders, while striving to influence CSR, may also

seek to influence one another as a means of rallying. Consumers of corporations are a powerful force and are a key group to be galvanized, perhaps the most important stakeholder group to appeal to. A recent article by Ditley-Simonsen and Wenstop (2013) found that NGO's and student groups believe that consumers are the most important group in influencing CSR. Managers of corporations, NGO's, and students also believe that groups are the least important drivers of CSR. Thus, it may be even more important for groups to reach out to consumers (p. 144).

Groups themselves tend to focus on one specific area or a narrow range of topics and issues. If needed, groups may choose to work together to better address issues and form temporary alliances based on common interest. Alliances can be useful in terms of protecting a group's objectives if something threatens these goals, and may be necessary in the short run (Callahan 2004, p.36). It may also be useful for groups to work together to exchange resources and information. Information exchange is typically viewed as the ability to collect and possess knowledge on an issue, and resource exchange is typically viewed as manpower or money. This exchange is particularly important because smaller groups may lack these resources. Resources may be limited among certain groups because the individuals themselves may be limited in resources, and this may hinder a campaign's impact (Formacola and Hernandez-Coredero 2011, p. 15). Smaller groups may also lack information because they do not have sufficient resources to collect data on an issue. Thus, it could be important for interest groups to work together in order exert the most influence (Formacola and Hernandez-Coredero 2011, p. 15; Sooryamoorthy 2003, p. 306). Consumers are of course a target audience for groups to influence, and so working together to maximize group influence is essential.

Interest groups are key educators of consumers, working on a grassroots level to distribute information to make consumers better aware of the products they purchase (p.140). Groups have incentive to try to work together in order to distribute such information. By working together and sharing their resources, interest groups can better provide for whomever they are trying educate, as well as share crucial information with one another (Heaney 2004, p. 238). The use of the media, and now the Internet and social media, has helped to expand this ability, and so groups can influence consumers and share information on a much larger scale (Ditley-Simonsen and Wenstop 2013, p. 140). Groups educate consumers by making them aware of an “expectational gap” in the standards and services of a business (Dahan and Gittens 2010, pp. 228-229). For example, stakeholders may not expect there to be child labor in the production of a good when buying from an industry initially, but it may exist. Groups and agencies help to provide a voice for such gaps in expectations and turn an otherwise private issue into a public one (p.229, p. 243).

2.2 Direct Pressuring Techniques

Interest groups use several methods when approaching industries as they try to change policy. These techniques can include practices of extremism, symbolic damage, and symbolic gain. Research by Simola (2009) discusses the significance of anger and emotional appeals in influencing corporate change. Anger is used as a mobilization factor and gives a group a common emotion to rally around; however, some corporations may claim that anger impairs a group’s ability to judge a situation, such as whether or not a

firm is using unethical business practices, and may consequently disregard the interest group entirely, claiming that they are irrational, hysterical, or extreme (p. 218-221).

Corporations that perceive this extremism may respond to activist groups reactively and not proactively, meaning they may be aware of an issue, but will only commit to change when they have no other option (226). Turner (2007) discussed citizen activists, and the importance of linking efficacy to interest group “anger”. Efficacy is seen as presenting a solution and an action in addition to an emotional appeal in order to prevent outsiders to the interest from undervaluing the legitimacy of the cause. Only presenting an emotional appeal, while it may be effective in drawing attention to an issue, will drive no change in policy (pp.114-118), and thus the perception of extremism continues.

Groups may also choose to take a more positive approach to influencing corporations, and may encourage or work with firms. Huijstee and Glasbergen (2010) examined groups that positioned themselves in terms of symbolic gain and symbolic damage in order to pressure businesses (p. 592). Symbolic gain involves groups encouraging and working with a business to bring about change, while symbolic damage involves more adversarial actions on the groups part, such as the use of petitions and boycotts, in order to damage a firm’s reputation and force change (Huijstee and Glasbergen 2010, p. 592; Den Hond and De Bakker 2007, p. 909). Groups may use a combination of gain and damage techniques to bring about change, similar to how people use constructive criticism with one another. Groups that use symbolic gain tend to be viewed more favorably, and reputation or credibility in the eyes of consumers of both the company and interest group improve because they are able to successfully work together to better business standards. However, organizations that only use symbolic damage

produce the weakest results in changing a business because firms tend not to trust “radical” organizations or their information (Huijstee and Glasbergen 2010, pp. 603-612). Interest groups working on issues are typically concerned with reputation, because reputation and how outsiders (politicians, corporations, etc.) perceive certain groups impacts which groups are taken seriously. Groups do not have formal power, and must rely on their abilities to influence (Heaney 2014, p.66), or pressure. Groups may discuss amongst themselves who has the most influence, because within a network of groups, each group wants to maximize the groups’ overall effectiveness, and less influential groups may hinder overall goals (p.67). In terms of symbolic gain, symbolic damage, and extremism, the network may overall have a preference for a balance of positive and negative groups, or prefer positive groups. Thus, not all solutions offered are effective in influencing corporations, and interest groups must carefully construct an optimal amount of emotional appeal and constructive solutions.

2.3 Indirect Pressuring through the Media

In addition to directly influencing corporations, groups may seek to indirectly influence them through the media. As discussed previously, the media has become an important tool through which groups educate other stakeholders, namely consumers, about issues. Consumers, who may not know a great deal about an issue, are suddenly presented with the knowledge, and can then appropriately adjust their opinions about a corporation (Dahan and Gittens 2010, p, 228).

Tarrow (1998) explains that the media is used to gain viewership and raise awareness, effectively acting as a platform through which interest groups can project their ideas to larger audiences and stakeholders, and thereby gain supporters (p. 116). Interest groups use the media when they feel they are in a “stalemate” with a company, and need a means to draw more eyes to the issue in the hopes that other interest groups and the public will take up the issue and increase pressure (Dahan and Gittens 2010, p. 229). However, some media sources may sensationalize news more than others, and may even encourage more radical behavior from interest groups to make news articles more interesting (Tarrow 1998, pp.116-117). Sensationalism is defined as the defining of a problem in an “extravagant” and superficial way that is often unrealistic to the actual problem. Sensationalism employs negative tones in language and focuses on negative aspects of an issue. This can desensitize the public to a problem and often disconnects them from the reality of the issue, thus making an issue seem less legitimate. Journalists sensationalizing an issue often use only superficial details and will not conduct a “deeper analysis” (Ransohoff 2001, p. 35). One can expect that a media outlet that uses sensationalism may push a group into a position of symbolic damage and extremism, and this may end up hurting the group’s ability to change company policy. Thus, it is important for groups to be selective and careful when they reach out to the media.

In order to appeal to consumers and stakeholders, interest groups must frame their media articles. As Dahans and Gittens (2010) observe different framing techniques that groups and the media use in order to appeal to consumers and pressure corporations. These framing techniques are used to present an issue in such a way that consumers take interest (pp.228-229). To understand how groups appeal to the public, Dahan and Gittens

look at three framing techniques: diagnostic framing (defining the issue to the public), prognostic framing (offering a single solution to a problem), and motivational framing (enticing the public to action). Their study found that through diagnostic framing, issues become sensationalized. Often groups will use loaded terms to try and raise awareness and evoke the greatest emotional response. In fact, sometimes the actual cause behind the issue is lost in that sensationalism. It is not entirely an effective method of educating people so much as a way to pull people in, similar to extremism. Prognostic framing is usually used to keep an issue simple. Offering one solution as opposed to many still has a powerful impact on the public without overwhelming them (the example they gave was slavery and how people seek to certify products as Fair Trade). Motivational framing uses loaded terms to pull the public into the cause. Words like *urgency* and *unacceptable* are often used in motivational framing techniques, and these terms can lead to sensationalism (228-231). The article then went on to discuss that using all three techniques yields more potent results, meaning businesses are more likely to listen to these groups, and keeping the solutions broad and generalizable does a better job of appealing to the public. The article also discusses credibility and how a group's willingness to successfully work with an organization to address an issue is viewed as more credible with the public and industries (pp.237-242).

These techniques are very similar to symbolic gain, damage, and extremism, and many of the terms used to identify these three positioning techniques can be used in terms of framing. It would make sense that organizations taking certain positions would frame articles and documents to match those positions, though these framing techniques seem particularly negatively charged.

2.4 Transparency and CSR

As previously stated, corporate transparency is defined as a business's willingness to make certain information (such as financial information) available for public disclosure (Bushman, Piotroski, & Smith 2004, p. 208). Transparency and CSR go hand in hand—stakeholders often ask that businesses seeking to adopt CSR measures become more transparent as a means for holding corporations accountable and responsible for their actions. Transparency serves to show stakeholders what actions a corporation is taking to mitigate issues, such as poor labor standards, and builds trust between stakeholder and company. In essence, transparency is a contract between corporations and the people they wish to provide services to, showing how corporations have committed to and fulfilled their promises to adopt CSR (Cohen 2011). Failure to become transparent can result in a loss in stakeholder support, which can be detrimental to the overall survival of the business. It is therefore in the best interest of a corporation to begin steps toward transparency to maintain support of stakeholders (Simpson & Taylor 2013, pp. 7-8, p. 203).

Corporations must signal to stakeholders a change in CSR, and the use of transparency is often a signal corporations use to let stakeholders know they are implementing CSR. Consumers can evaluate a corporation's level of transparency by the existence of three primary criteria: First, has the company admitted that its business practices need improving (such as owning up to the use of child labor)? Second, has the corporation put steps in motion to mitigate these issues and develop future goals for continuing to ensure ethical business is practiced? Finally, has the corporation allowed

third parties to audit its supply chains, providing outside opinion and proof that these goals to mitigate problems are being adopted and practiced (Linton 2013; Simpson & Taylor 2013, pp. 209-210)?

Companies may publish their own CSR reports to show social responsibility, but in order for consumers to determine if CSR is truly being practiced, the three criteria above should help consumers determine the scale of a corporation's ethical commitment. If these three criteria are not present, it may be hard to determine whether a company is truly credible in claiming that it is transparent. For instance, third party auditing is more objective, unbiased, and helps to eliminate the risk of companies lying on their CSR report (Simpson & Taylor 2013, p. 210). Thus, third party auditing signals to stakeholders that companies are being truthful and that adds to their credibility.

2.5 Benefits of CSR

In addition to curbing a public relations nightmare, CSR may offer benefits to corporations helping to incentivize the adoption of ethical means of business practice. New research and news media have been exploring these possible benefits as CSR becomes a more widely discussed topic. Since 2000, over 8,000 corporations have adopted CSR measures, and more non-profits are stepping up to help firms internalize these socially responsible changes. At least 65 percent of all MBA programs in the United States include CSR within their programs, thus producing more ethically-minded business men and women. Thus, it is not only reputation that drives corporations to seek

CSR, but a desire of workers and employees to listen to non-profits and pursue more ethical ways of producing goods (Warton 2012).

CSR has real economic benefits for corporations. First, it helps to promote worker wellbeing within a company. Employees are happier and are more likely to work with a company they believe is doing good in the world (Warton 2012). Many corporations have adopted the idea of “do good in order to do well,” meaning that CSR helps firms competitively and financially in the long run. Stakeholders tend to favor corporations that value higher labor and environmental standards, and are more likely to support those industries as opposed to unethical industries. High labor and environmental standards are becoming viewed as key resources that dictate how businesses conduct their actions. Stakeholders view these standards as non-negotiable aspects of business that cannot be disregarded by corporations. Because high standards are viewed as a resource and not an option, businesses compete over who has higher and better standards for workers and the environment (Physica-Verlag 2008, pp.89-90, p. 92), thus transforming CSR into a competitive industry. Corporations have to take on these changes if they wish to maintain a competitive advantage (p.90). Additionally, by raising standards, corporations can make more profit on goods. For example, adopting higher standards typically means workers are paid more, and thus corporations can charge higher prices for products to accommodate this change in worker salary, leading to higher profits (p.91).

Corporations are making larger strides to improve their CSR measures, spending money on R&D to develop more environmentally friendly technologies and develop more efficient business strategies to promoting social welfare (Gupta & Sharma 2009, p. 397). Corporations that wait longer to make these changes may find themselves at a

disadvantage, losing their competitive edge, experiencing a decrease in reputation due to poor PR, and having to spend more money in the long run to make up lost credibility and develop extensive CSR programs (Physica-Verlag 2008, p. 91). It is more beneficial for companies to commit to CSR early on in a movement, to stay ahead of bad PR, and develop cutting-edge strategies for employing effective CSR programs.

2.6 Implications for Research

CSR has benefits to entice corporations; yet, not every corporation commits to CSR because it is a long and potentially costly (at least in the short run) process. However, as more time goes on, it can be expected more corporations will join the movement toward a more ethical and sustainable business market. As more consumers become aware of sustainability and poor environmental and labor standards, it may become less and less acceptable for corporations to not adopt CSR. This study seeks to draw together how groups and agencies directly and indirectly pressure corporations to seek CSR, either by using symbolic gain, symbolic damage, or extremism or through the media. These groups and organizations could play a pivotal role in attracting corporate attention, even if they do not believe they are necessarily the most important actors, and they employ a variety of techniques and methods to capture this attention. Determining the most useful and effective techniques could help future movements and other advocates create successful campaigns to influence corporate behavior.

Chapter 3

Methods

This study seeks to determine the extent to which groups and agencies have either helped or hindered the growth of CSR, specifically within the ethical cocoa movement, and whether or not the cocoa companies Hershey, Nestlé, Mars, and Cadbury, were influenced by groups and agencies. First, this section outlines the hypotheses that will be tested, and then details the variables being measured. It then goes on to describe the data being collected.

3.1 Hypotheses

Figure 1 depicts a visualization of the variables and relationships being examined. Each relationship shown below was turned into a formal hypothesis. Eight hypotheses were designed based on the visualization. The time period for this study ranges from 2001 to 2013. This section organizes each of the eight hypotheses by dependent variable.

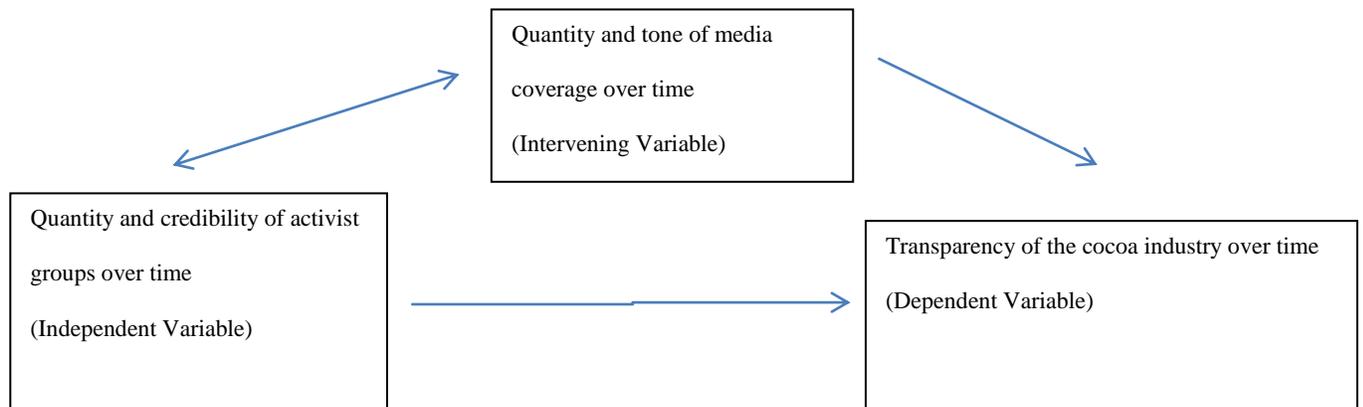


Figure 1. Diagram of Variables

Transparency Related Hypotheses

Hypothesis One: Activist groups are expected to have greater influence over the transparency of the chocolate industry when they are relatively more rather than less credible.

The independent variable for this hypothesis is the credibility of activist groups, and the dependent variable is the transparency of the cocoa industry. This hypothesis uses symbolic gain, symbolic damage, extremism, and the added variable of neutrality, to measure credibility. Each of these variables is discussed at length in section 3.2, but each variable relates to the literature, in that groups which are more adversarial and viewed as less credible tend to discourage corporations from adopting CSR, while groups that are more positive and viewed as more credible encourage corporations to adopt CSR. Through this research, I would expect to see a movement made up primarily of positively oriented and/or neutral agencies, or a movement that is relatively well balanced between positive, neutral, and negative agencies, when corporations began to become more transparent.

Hypothesis Two: Activist groups are expected to help increase transparency within the chocolate industry when they are working relatively in greater numbers rather than individually.

The independent variable is the number of activist groups, and the dependent variable is transparency. As the literature touches upon, the number of groups may impact a corporation's choice to adopt CSR. The more groups exerting pressure on an industry, the harder it is for that industry to ignore these groups, and the more likely corporations are to listen to the groups' demands.

Hypothesis Three: Media coverage that is more positive in tone is expected to lead to greater transparency than coverage that is negative in tone.

The intervening variable is tone and the dependent variable is transparency. Similar to symbolic gain, symbolic damage, and extremism, tone of the media could be important for facilitating a corporation's likelihood of becoming more transparent. Corporations may be more likely to view media that is more positive as more favorable and credible than negative media.

Quantity Related Hypotheses

Hypothesis Four: Activist groups are expected to have greater influence over the quantity of media coverage when they are relatively more rather than less credible.

The independent variable is the credibility of activist groups, measured and the independent variable quantity of media. As touched on in previous hypotheses, groups

that are more positive may also have a better chance of attracting media attention if they are inherently seen as more credible.

Hypothesis Five: Activist groups are expected to have greater influence over the quantity of media coverage when they are working relatively in greater numbers rather than individually.

The independent variable is the number of groups, and the dependent variable is the quantity of media coverage. Number of groups may also contribute to the likelihood of the media picking up an issue. If there are more groups, just as with corporations, it may be harder for the media to ignore larger numbers, and thus groups may be more likely to attract media attention.

Tone Related Hypotheses

Hypothesis Six: Media coverage that is more positive in tone is expected have a more positive influence over credibility of activist groups than coverage that is negative in tone.

The intervening variable is tone and the independent variable is credibility of groups. As literature suggested, the media may encourage more radical behavior from groups, and more negative media may encourage more negative behavior from groups. The opposite may be true for positive media and group behavior.

Hypothesis Seven: Activist groups that are more rather less credible are expected to have greater influence over a positive tone in media coverage.

The independent variable is the credibility of activist and the intervening variable is tone. Groups that use more symbolic gain as opposed to damage may be more likely to influence positive media.

Hypothesis Eight: Activist groups are expected to have greater influence over a positive tone in media coverage when they are working relatively in greater numbers rather than individually.

The independent variable is the numbers of groups and the intervening variable is tone. Many groups which are more positive may also help to encourage positive media coverage. Likewise, many negative groups working on an issue may also influence more negative media coverage.

3.2 Concepts and Measures

This section goes over the six key concepts mentioned in the previous section, and details subsequent variables created to measure each concept. Concepts included the quantity of groups per year, group credibility, quantity of media, the tone of media coverage, and transparency of corporations. Below lists further descriptions of each of the concepts. The time frame for this study was from 2001 to 2013.

Group and Agencies Variables

Credibility

Credibility is determined using symbolic gain, symbolic damage, and extremism, as each positioning technique influences how the cocoa industry views each group. Different terminology used in the articles indicated what kind of positioning interest groups took. For symbolic gain, I looked for terms that implied a positive relationship

between interest groups and cocoa companies. This involved positive language, where a group praised the actions of the cocoa industry when it did something ethically, or the interest group discusses working with the company to develop more ethical business. For symbolic damage, I looked for negative language condemning the actions of the cocoa industry and following up with an action against the cocoa industry (e.g. creating a petition for consumers to sign). Extremism was determined through similar language as symbolic damage, except that no action was provided at the end of the article (*Table A in Appendix A* displays quotational examples of each technique). Exact terminology for coding each term is displayed in Table 1.

Table 1. Positioning Techniques

Symbolic Gain (positive, team oriented, praising)	Partnering, Partnership, Working with, Teaming up with, Collaborating with, is Helping (or any form of help), Supporting/Supports, Endorses, Approves of, Applauds, Praises, or any praiseworthy language
Symbolic Damage (adversarial and deconstructive)	Actions: Protests, Boycotts, Petitions, Letter Writing (as in letter writing campaigns), or any negatively charged action
Extremism	Against, Condemning, Working Against, Fighting Against, Demanding, Calling Upon, or any negatively charged language

Each positioning technique is listed in the left-hand side of the table, while terms and words to indicate each technique are shown in the right-hand side.

Using the results of the language assessment, four more variables with possible values of 0 and 1 were used to characterize articles as symbolically gainful, symbolically damaging, extremist (or a combination of these), or neutral (meaning they took no position and relayed information in an unbiased way. A governmental agency would be an example of a neutral group. Neutrality was not something discussed or termed in the literature, but for the sake of this research, a term was assigned to such bodies). If at least

20 percent of an organization's articles included the same technique, the organization was defined as gain oriented, damage oriented, and/or extremism oriented, respectively.

Groups could also use several different techniques at the same time. For example, a group may indicate working with one cocoa company (symbolic gain), but may also condemn another company (extremism) in the same article.

In terms of coding data, data were examined for these techniques by cocoa company. In other words, data were broken up by which cocoa company, Hershey, Nestlé, Cadbury, or Mars, groups were trying pressure through one of these techniques. This was done to determine common or different trends between companies and the techniques groups used.

Quantity

The quantity of groups working on mitigating child labor was measured over time, from 2000 to 2013. The more groups there were working on the issue, the more likely businesses were to adopt CSR due to increased pressure.

Media Variables

Quantity

The amount of press coverage was measured in two ways. First, the quantity of articles written since 2000 was examined, and second, I looked at average word count of articles for each year. The more articles and more lengthier the articles were, the better an indication there was that activist groups were successfully influencing the media to project their cause.

Tone

Tone was measured through sensationalism. Sensationalism was coded using diagnostic framing, prognostic framing, and motivational framing. Each framing technique was coded as either a 1 (yes) or 0 (no). Table 2 shows how each framing technique was observed and coded for. Articles showing evidence of negative motivational and diagnostic framing were considered to be sensationalized, while articles using prognostic framing were not. Some articles did not fall into any of these framing categories, and instead sensationalism was determined using word count and article length. It did occur that some articles appeared to be unbiased, simply stating what was happening in the cocoa industry, and thus received a code of 0 in each category.

Table 2. Framing Techniques

Diagnostic Framing (Negative)	Deplorable, awful, despicable, disheartening, suspicious, or any other negatively toned terms to negatively define business actions
Prognostic Framing	Article offers a solution to an issue, such as proposing a company pursue certification (like Fair Trade), or offers other brands a consumer could buy
Motivational Framing	Urgency, urgent, concerning, haste, much needed, calling into question (as in, asking somebody to question another's actions, practices, etc.) or language evoking the need for some sort of action from the audience

Company Variables

Transparency

Transparency was indicated by whether or not companies made information on their sourcing of cocoa available. Data were examined over time from 2001 to 2013.

Three criteria were used to judge how transparent and ethical a company was. First, I

identified whether or not cocoa companies stated they were using a third party to audit their supply chains rather than auditing the supply chains themselves. By allowing a third-party to review supply chains and production, it would be harder to cover up issues such as child labor. This third-party auditing could be provided by organizations, such as the Fair Labor Association, or through certain kinds of certification, like Fair Trade, which requires third party audit supply (Fair Labor Association 2012a). A second and third criterion were whether or not cocoa companies admitted using child labor and whether or not they had goals in place to mitigate the issue. Each of these three criteria were coded as either 1 (yes) or 0 (no), and from there, were given a score of 0 to 3 to determine how transparent the company was. A score of zero indicated the least amount of transparency and a score of 3 indicated the most amount of transparency.

3.3 Data

Data were collected from a compilation of online articles (press releases, reports, petitions, blog posts, newsletters, etc.) published by interest groups, articles published by newspapers and news stations, and information published by cocoa companies (auditing reports, CSR reports, information on CSR measures, etc.). Data were collected from 36 interest groups and a total of 484 documents were coded (average of 13.4 articles per organization). A total of 115 articles were collected from nine news agencies in the United States and the United Kingdom. News media data were collected from the top three news media sources based on either circulation (newspapers) or viewership (news stations) in the US and the UK. In the United States, USA Today, WallStreet Journal, and

New York Times were used (*Top ten* 2012). The top three news media channels in the US were CNN, MSNBC, and Fox (Plunkett 2012). The top three UK newspapers were the Guardian (in top 5 global) (*The World's top...* 2011), followed by London Times, and the Telegraph (2008, *Britain's top...*, p.1). One UK news channel was used, the BBC (Sawers 2011). Data on CSR efforts were collected from Nestlé, Hershey, Cadbury, and Mars, and 29 reports were analyzed.

Seven interviews were conducted with the Fair Labor Association, the International Labor Rights Forum, UTZ Certification, Fair Trade USA, the Hershey Company, the International Cocoa Organization, and the Department of Labor . Interviewees were selected relatively randomly, chosen from groups that ranged from those that were deemed to be central to the movement (those who published the most documents) to those that were deemed more peripheral (those who published fewer documents). Interviews were included to add descriptive details to the results to better understand what data were describing.

Chapter 4

The Cocoa Industry: A Context for Studying CSR

This study uses the cocoa industry as an example through which to examine why companies seek more ethical means of business practice. Many cocoa companies have begun to seek more ethical business practices, ethics in this sense being defined as improved labor standards. The cocoa industry has been rife with child slavery for many years, and corporations have only recently started to mitigate the use of child labor within

their supply chains. Companies have pursued different methods of eradicating child labor and in varying degrees and commitment levels, making this case study diverse.

In early October of 2012, a call of victory was echoed by groups and media sources alike, all around America. After years of pressure from groups, the Hershey Corporation had announced it was committing itself to 100 percent ethically-sourced chocolate by 2020 (Green America 2012; Global Exchange 2013; Geffne, 2013). For many years, the cocoa industry had relied upon child labor for harvesting its cocoa beans. Seventy five percent of the world's cocoa comes from West Africa, primarily Ghana and the Ivory Coast (Mistrati & Romano 2010), and a 2008 report conducted by Tulane University indicated that 1.8 million child slaves had been responsible for the harvest of cocoa (BBC 2011). Hershey's momentous announcement came after several other companies had made their own declarations of ethical sourcing, namely Nestlé, Mars, Cadbury, which had already begun to seek alternative cocoa supplies in 2011 and 2009 (BBC 2011; BBC 2009; Mars 2011).

But what had triggered the cocoa industry to begin seeking a cocoa production that was free of child labor? In recent history, the first reports of child labor in the cocoa industry came out in the mid 1990's (Zensius 2011, p. 1). However, the issue came to light even earlier than this. In 1901, Cadbury sued the *London Standard* for libel after the newspaper reported on the chocolate company using child slaves on an island just off the West African coast. This means that at least for a hundred years, if not longer, the cocoa industry had been using slavery to harvest its cocoa (Dahan and Gittens 2010, p. 227).

Interest groups, non-governmental organizations, and governmental agencies became aware of this issue in the early to mid-1990. Several agencies, including the

International Labor Organization (ILO), developed international laws to reduce child labor as a whole, but it was not until the early 2000's that child labor in West Africa was addressed. In September of 2001, the Harkin-Engle Protocol was signed to try and mitigate the issue of child labor. In 2000, the United Kingdom's Channel Four produced a series documenting child labor in the cocoa industry and this sparked immediate reaction. The Harkin-Engle Protocol was a trade agreement signed by the Chocolate Manufacturers Association (CMA) and the World Cocoa Foundation (WCF) (Zensius 2010, p. 1), which include some of the largest cocoa companies in world, such as Hershey, Nestlé, and Mars, in the witness of US Senator Tom Harkin, Congressman Eliot Engle, Senator Herbert Kohl, Director Frans Roselaers of the International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labor (IPEC/ILO), and the Ambassador of the Ivory Coast Youssoufou Bamba, and several other NGOs. The protocol established an agreement within the cocoa industry to eradicate the worst forms of child labor and create a network of groups to facilitate the eradication of child labor (Harkin-Engle Protocol 2001).

Since the Protocol's passing, there has been some question over how well it has served to mitigate child labor. The Ivory Coast went through two politically driven civil wars, one in 2002 in the wake of a rebellion, and another in 2010 just after a presidential election, and these wars inhibited the Protocol's ability to bring about change (BBC 2013). Because of these civil wars and continued turmoil within the Ivory Coast, establishing an auditing system was made difficult, and the issue of child labor was obscured by the political goings-on, falling out of public eye. While the Protocol was finally able to make major cocoa companies recognize that child labor existed, it was

unclear as to whether or not recognition was enough to drive change, and child labor continued (CNN 2012).

In 2008, a study conducted by Tulane University and sponsored by the US Department of Labor revealed that 1.8 million slaves worked in West Africa on cocoa fields, a far larger number than the hundreds of thousands that was estimated in the early 2000's (BBC 2011), revealing how little the cocoa industry had done to address the issue of child labor. Thus, there are some interest groups who felt that the protocol needed changing in order to make it more effective, although no alteration of the protocol ever occurred (Campbell and Athreya 2008, pp. 16-18). Since 2008, many cocoa companies, such as Hershey, have begun to change their business practices, seeking a more ethical means of production (Green America, 2012). Clearly, although some may claim that the Protocol may have been limited in facilitating change, change did occur and *something* fostered this alteration of business practice.

However, the Harkin-Engel Protocol not only sought to mitigate child slavery, but it also strived to create a network of a variety of interest groups and governmental agencies to address the issue of child labor and provide oversight for cocoa industry change (Zensius 2011, p. 1). It is also possible that groups sought to influence the Harkin-Engle Protocol itself, but my study does not examine this, and takes the Protocol at face value. To date, no research has been conducted to determine whether or not this network of groups and agencies has been able to successfully pressure the cocoa industry into adopting a more ethical means of business. Some groups credit their work to uphold the Protocol as successful in bringing about this ethical change (International Labor

Rights Forum 2012), but the extent to which they actually had an impact has not been examined.

4.1 Cocoa Companies

My study examined four cases within the cocoa industry, Hershey, Nestlé, Cadbury, and Mars and seeks to determine why they began to seek a more ethical means of business practice. I hope to understand whether interest groups have played a role in this change as the Harkin-Engle Protocol strived to create a network of organizations to pressure cocoa companies. Each of these four companies was part the global top ten largest companies in terms of net sales in 2012 and 2013. Mars was the largest, followed by Mondelez which owns Kraft which owns Cadbury, followed by the Nestlé Corporation, and finally Hershey (International Cocoa Organization 2013). Each of these four companies has made strides toward eliminating child labor through an ethical means of production within the last four-to-five years, though in varying degrees.

An ethical means of business can be brought about through certification and/or through third-party auditing. Certification includes labelling, such as Rainforest Alliance, Fair Trade International, UTZ, or Fair Trade USA, and labelling bodies serve to police production lines to ensure workers are treated and paid fairly, and also, most importantly, that no children are used in the production of cocoa. Each certifying body is slightly different, but each helps to protect children, a key issue in cocoa production (Traubman, 2009). Companies may also ask for help through third-party auditing groups, like the Fair Labor Association, that specialize in identifying poor labor practices, such as in cases of

child labor, and which work to develop solutions for remedying these situations (Fair Labor Association 2012). Hershey, Nestlé, Cadbury, and Mars have all made steps toward ending their use of child labor, either through certification or third-party auditing.

Cadbury was the first to commit to more ethically sourced chocolate (Fairtrade Foundation 2009), certifying 300 million of its milk chocolate bars in 2009 to Fair Trade (Alter 2009). Cadbury's own commitment to Fair Trade and the eradication of child labor was mimicked by Mars later in 2009. During that year, Mars committed to having its Maltesers brand become Fair Trade produced by 2012, and went on to state that all of its products would be Fair Trade by 2020 (Bowling & Reykia 2009). In 2011, Nestlé partnered with the Fair Labor Association (an organization specializing in the audit of companies and the proposal of solutions to issues such as child labor) to determine the extent to which child labor existed in its cocoa production and to also find solutions for mitigating the issue (Fair Labor Association 2012a). Finally, in late 2012, Hershey announced that it would commit to eradicating child labor from its supply chain (Green America 2012a), and in early 2013, stated it would turn over one hundred percent of its product to Fair Trade by 2020 (The Hershey Company 2012).

Porter and Miles (2013) discuss how recently there has been a tremendous amount of demand from stakeholders for corporations to develop CSR, but that the focus of developing CSR has largely been for the short-term. Yet CSR, once committed to, can take years to properly develop, as corporations must internally govern their transition to sustainability and transparency; it is not a change that happens overnight (pp. 313-314). There has been some contention over the prolonged nature of change over to CSR from some of these cocoa companies; however, as Porter and Miles point out, these lengthy

time frames, sometimes ten or more years, are a good rather than a bad indication of a commitment to CSR. Longer time frames indicate a firm's willingness to embed CSR within its company and to make an institutional change. It also allows a firm to build a strong reputation as an environmentally and socially-friendly corporation, one that is clearly not superficial or surface level. Finally, it allows higher-level management to better understand CSR, better lead the company through such changes, and hire more employees who reflect this commitment (pp. 318-319). Thus, when companies, like Hershey and Mars, have lengthy plans to adopt CSR, it should be viewed as positive rather than a negative. What should be viewed more critically, however, is why these companies did not begin to seek CSR with the creation of the Harkin-Engle Protocol in 2001, and why it took over ten years for some of these companies to address child labor.

4.2 The Trouble with the Cocoa Industry

The agricultural market is subject to drastic and sudden changes in price, and these changes are acutely felt by farmers (Maurizio et. al. 2011, p. 2021). Cocoa farming shares this sensitivity. Although larger plantations can also grow cocoa, cocoa farming is typically conducted on a small scale in West Africa. Cocoa is particularly labor intensive, requiring the help of entire families and communities to cultivate around six hectares of land (Almeida & Monnier 2013; Food Empowerment Project 2014). Cocoa prices have fluctuated greatly over the last decade alone, plummeting in 2000 due an oversupply, and sky rocketing in 2011 in the wake of an attempted coup in the Ivory Coast, the world's largest supplier of chocolate. Diseases and pests have also impacted cocoa prices,

destroying crops and crippling farmer incomes. In addition to problems with child labor, cocoa farmers, namely those working on small family run farms, are typically subsistence farmers and are paid little to nothing for their crops, no matter the global price. Farmers able to leave the cocoa farming business have been moving into other industries, like rubber, which are far more stable, pay better, and are less subject to tumultuous climate change (Goodyear 2013).

According to the International Center for Tropical Agriculture, rising temperatures and increased droughts could make it impossible to grow cocoa in West Africa by 2060 if scientists are unable to produce a drought-resistant cocoa plant (Bloudoff-Indelicato 2012). However, small farmers are difficult to reach in the rural and isolated parts of West Africa, meaning that the distribution of such crops and dispersal of information about cocoa farming in a changing climate is very difficult, which makes the future of the cocoa industry look hazy, a fact that is known by both small farmers and the cocoa industry (Bloudoff-Indelicato 2012; Goodyear 2013). This is especially concerning for ethical branches of cocoa production, such as Fairtrade, which typically prohibit the use of genetically-modified plants (Fairtrade Foundation 2008). Thus, the fact that cocoa companies such as Hershey and Mars are committed to a more ethical means of production despite these dubious predictions is particularly surprising and noteworthy. It is possible that other regions of Africa could begin to grow cocoa as the climate changes, but it is unlikely these regions will be able to meet the growing global demand, which increases at about three percent per year. The cocoa industry is already predicting a 1.5 million ton shortage by 2020 as farmers continue to leave in search of better work, and

such trends could hinder corporate profits as well as farmer livelihoods (Bloudoff-Indelicato 2012).

With the economic situation and future of the cocoa industry questionable, it is all the more important to understand why chocolate corporations have made steps toward ethically-sourced cocoa. While ethical means of production has certain benefits, like increased worker pay, it also limits additional solutions to climate change, such as the use of genetically modified plants, which companies may find more appealing. Changing business practices with so much uncertainty in the future is therefore an even more significant step for corporations to have made.

Chapter 5

Results

This section presents the results of my analysis of CSR and group and governmental activity. Data were examined graphically—through line graphs and bar charts—for each cocoa company, Nestlé, Hershey, Cadbury and Mars, to determine the validity of each hypothesis. The rest of this section examines each of the significant hypotheses, and then examines each of the four case studies to better understand why corporations seek CSR. Interview¹ data and quotes are additionally added to provide descriptive details for each section.

5.1 Analysis of Hypotheses

Hypothesis One: Activist groups are expected to have greater influence over the transparency of the chocolate industry when they are relatively more rather than less credible.

As stated in section 3, data were analyzed specifically for each cocoa company, Nestlé, Hershey, Cadbury and Mars, by which technique, symbolic gain, symbolic damage, extremism, or neutrality, groups used. Figures 2 through 5 display the

¹ This paper and information has been approved by the Institutional Review Board at the Pennsylvania State University. Submission ID: 1051035

percentage of groups and agencies using symbolic gain, symbolic damage, extremism, or those that were neutral for each year.

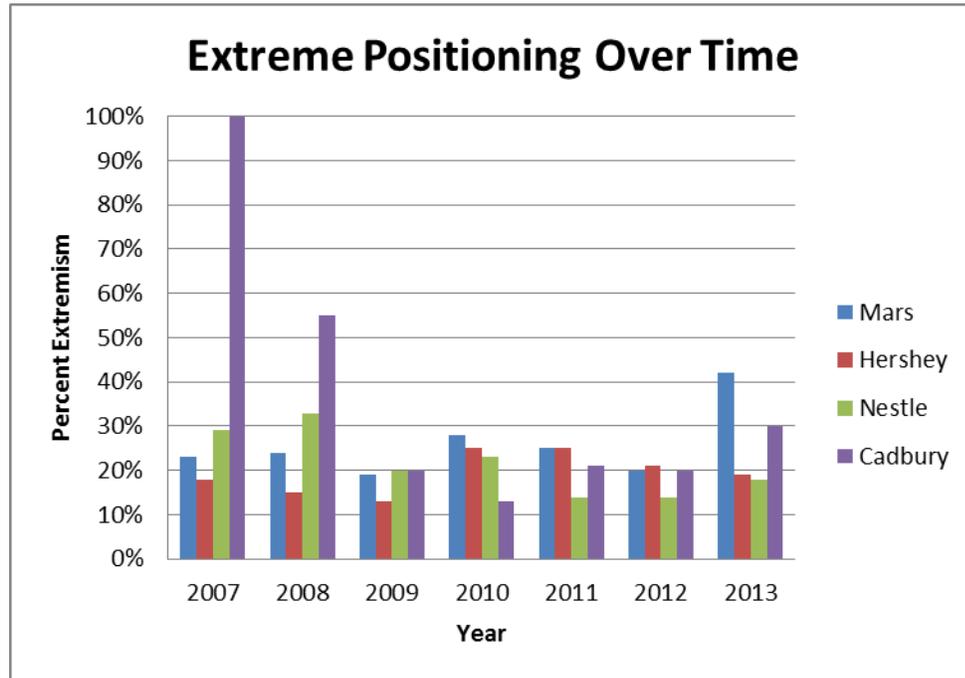


Figure 2. Extreme Positioning Over Time

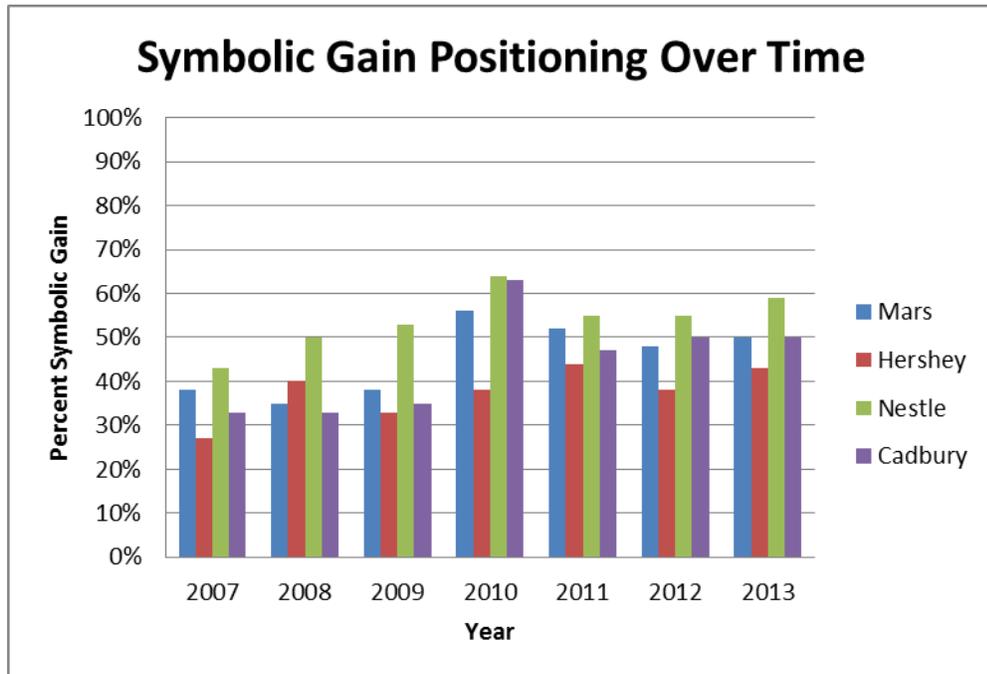


Figure 3. Symbolic Gain Positioning Over Time

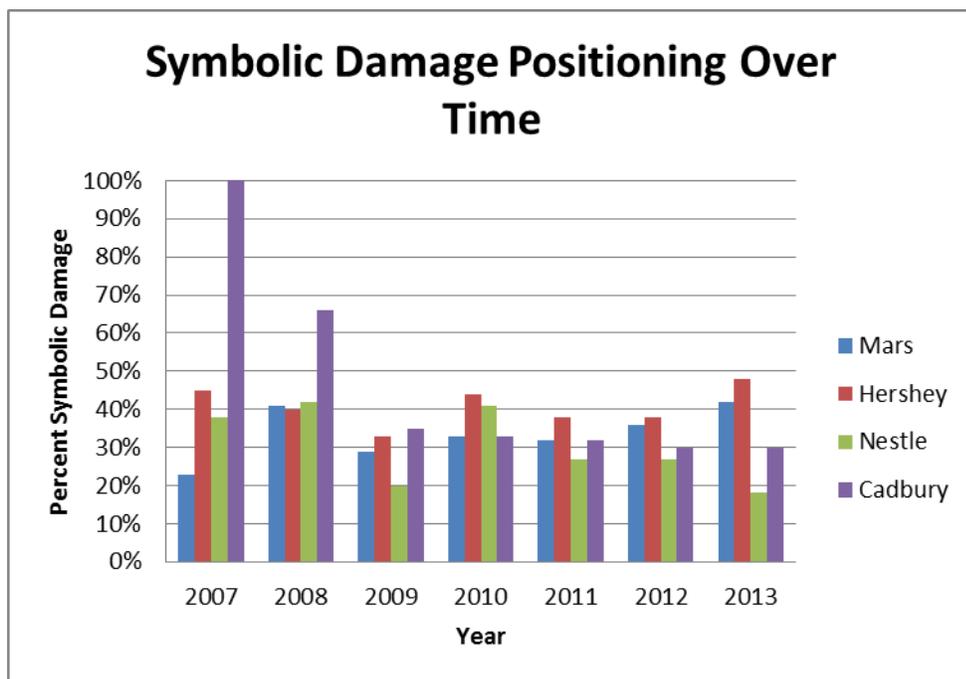


Figure 4. Symbolic Damage Positioning Over Time

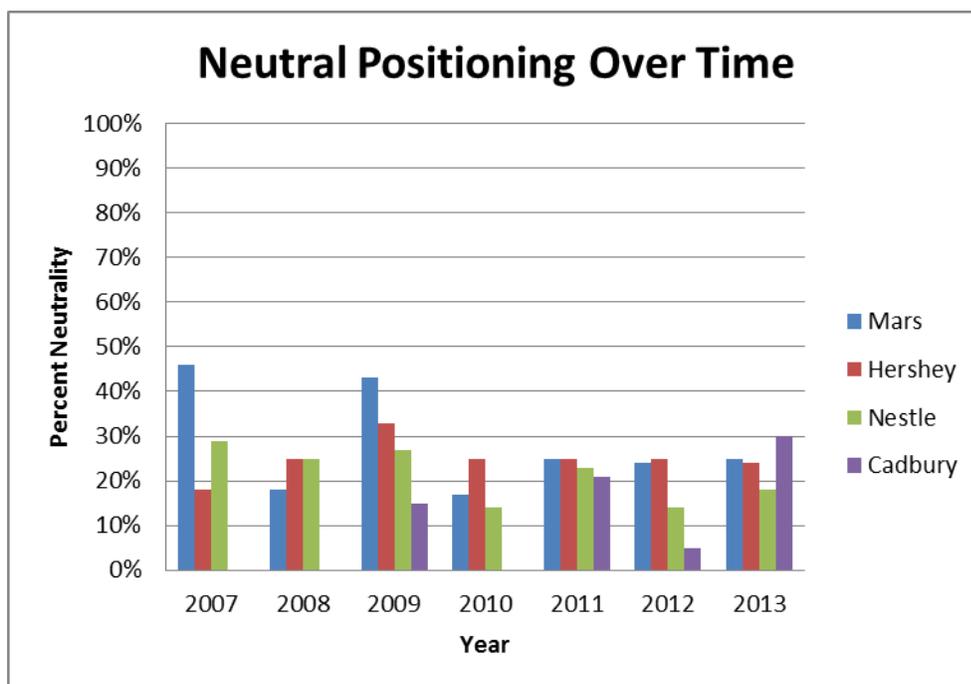


Figure 5. Neutral Positioning Over Time

The data represented from 2001 to 2006 in each of the four figures were not particularly useful, as so few groups worked on the issue during that time (see Figure 7). These data were skewed and were omitted from the figures. From 2007 to 2008 and onwards, however, as the number of groups increases, the data represented in each of the figures are much more informative. The percentages of groups using each of these different techniques, or those that were neutral, becomes more stable, meaning there are fewer spikes in the data. There is a slightly higher and consistent percentage of groups using symbolic gain from 2007 to 2008 and onwards for most of the cocoa companies (Cadbury being the exception in 2007 and 2008, where groups using extremism and symbolic damage were in higher percentages). This indicates that the interest group and agency movement, as a whole, should have been better able to effectively influence

corporations to seek CSR because groups were willing to use tactics that encouraged the adoption of CSR and were willing to work with corporations.

Figure 6 seems to reflect the findings depicted in the credibility data. Starting in 2007, the first company, Cadbury, began moving toward CSR, and the CSR score for each company only increases as the years progress, showing a positive movement toward the adoption of more ethical practices.

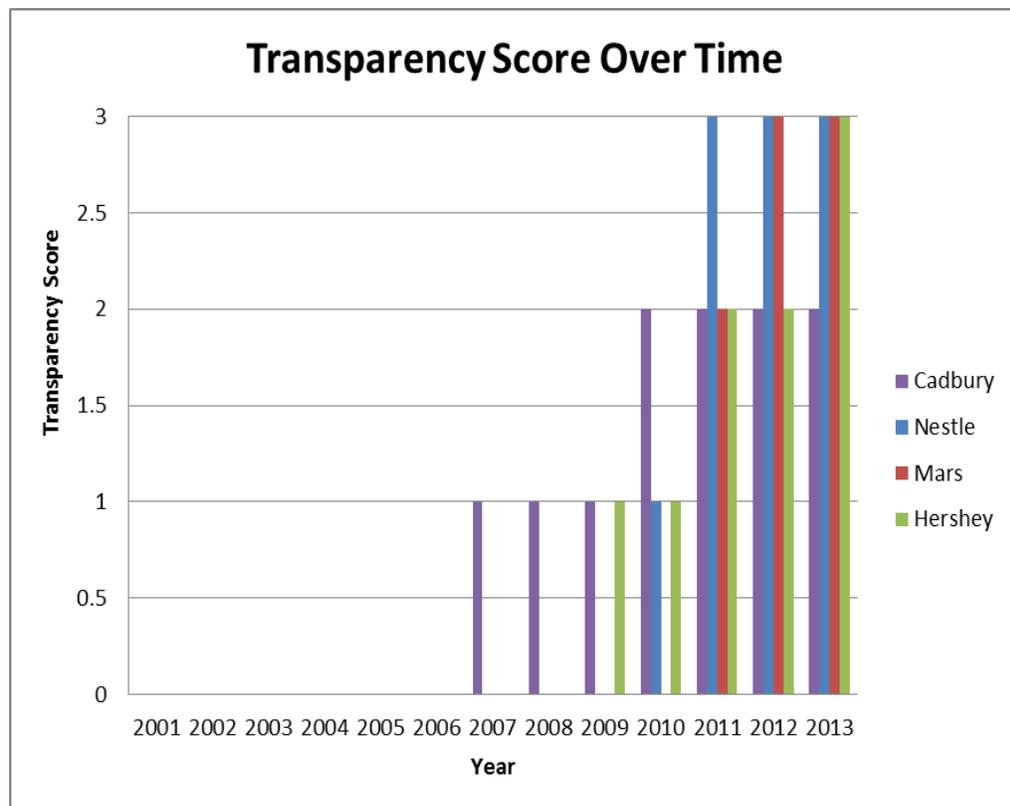


Figure 6. Transparency Score Over Time

Aaron from Fair Trade USA, a fair trade certifying body, described some of his organization's goals in terms of facilitating change. Fair Trade USA, and other similar certifying bodies, develop ethical criteria for companies to follow. Those companies then receive a label confirming that they meet these criteria. In terms of working with

companies, Aaron explained that, “We also actively reach out to cocoa companies. We try to educate them on the issues that are facing cocoa farmers and then discuss how Fair Trade could be the solution.”

Interestingly, Aaron also talked about the importance of activism and consumer demand in facilitating change. He explained that,

“...for some companies like Hershey...there was enough activism and enough effort from their consumer base saying ‘Hey you guys need to do something,’ and they stepped up.”

These descriptive details do reflect the findings and the previous literature that show, where a movement that uses both symbolic gain, in Fair Trade USA’s case education, symbolic damage, and extremism, and balances these techniques, that movement tends to see greater results. When corporations do not experience targeted activism or a large consumer demand for ethical products, Aaron stated that that was when Fair Trade USA would also reach out and contact these companies; but, he also noted, that education alone may not be enough of an incentive to facilitate change. From this information and the results, it appears that, although negative activism plays a part in incentivizing corporations because of the negative PR that comes with it, and symbolic gain provides information, encouragement, and help while corporations develop CSR, both are key components in bringing about change.

However, one counter to the argument of consumer driven CSR was expressed by Elaine of UTZ Certification. Elaine explained that,

“Consumer research tells us that even though, when asked, most people will say they are willing to pay more for a sustainable product, very few are willing in practice, and that consumers are more loyal to their own brands. So the

key is that these brands/companies switch their supply chains to consist of sustainably produced commodities and not give the consumer the option between sustainable and non-sustainable.”

Consumers may be less willing to purchase sustainably made products, either because they feel loyal to one brand, or because these products have a higher monetary cost associated with them. This could indicate that consumers have a very important role, not just in terms of pressure, but follow-up. Consumers vote with their dollars, and if the demand is not there, companies may not seek CSR because there is no money to be made. However, as fewer products are made unethically, consumers, as Elaine discusses, will have little choice about buying sustainable goods. In terms of cocoa, more and more companies are seeking ethical means of production, narrowing what consumers can buy. As other industries move toward CSR, this may also occur as sustainability becomes normalized in society. Thus, groups and companies, at least in this critique, may carry even more weight in terms of bringing about CSR, as groups are more responsible for pressuring companies, and companies must take more initiative in committing to CSR even if the benefits are not immediate.

Although not always true, neutral groups tended to be made up of governmental agencies and subgroups of the United Nations (UNICEF, for example). These groups did not function in the same way that other groups did, meaning they did not take a positive or negative approach to dealing with the cocoa industry. For example, the Department of Labor explained that they typically prefer to work with governments, generate reports and documents about countries that use child labor, and fund “awareness-raising campaigns” to educate people about child labor and exploitation. They do work with

cocoa companies, like Hershey, Nestlé, Mondelez (which owns Kraft which owns Cadbury), and Mars, through the international cocoa and chocolate industry to address the issue of child exploitation; however, this kind of work is not necessarily its focus, which lies in working directly with the governments of Ghana and the Ivory Coast to strengthen legislation and advocacy.

In general, neutral agencies are much more focused on facilitating progress toward more ethical cocoa productions, rather than working with cocoa companies to develop ethical supply chains, or creating boycotts, petitions, and the like. This is an important distinction to make because it shows an added dimension to the process of pressuring companies. Adding governmental pressure may help to add legitimacy to the movement, similar to the credibility achieved through groups using symbolic gain.

***Hypothesis Two:** Activist groups are expected to help increase transparency within the chocolate industry when they are working relatively in greater numbers rather than individually.*

Figure 7 depicts the number of groups and agencies pressuring the cocoa industry from 2001 to 2013, and clearly shows far fewer groups and agencies working on the issue from around 2001 to 2006. The number of groups and agencies then rises in 2007 and 2008, just before Cadbury's commitment to Fair Trade in 2009.

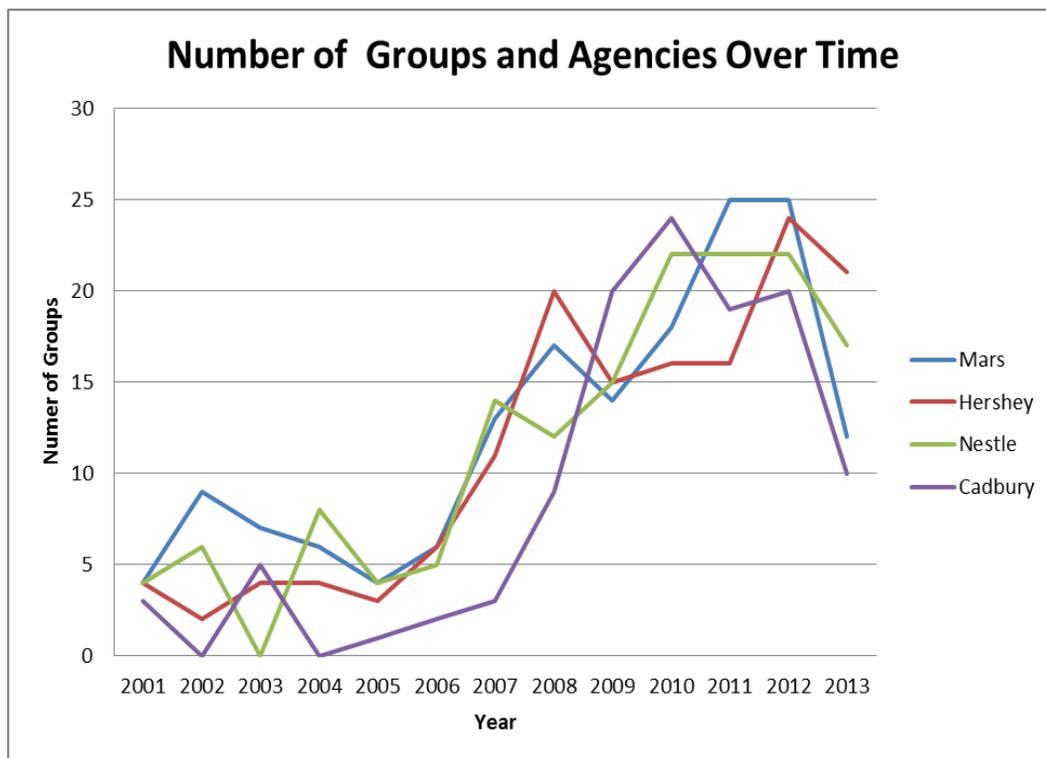


Figure 7. Number of Groups and Agencies Over Time

Figure 6 follows this general trend, where more companies begin to seek CSR in 2007, about the same time more groups become active on the issue. Thus, the number of groups could very well be important in influencing CSR.

Sophia from the International Labor Rights Forum discussed the benefits of working with groups.

“Well ‘Raise the Bar’ is a coalition effort...and we work with them... I guess one of the strategies is that each organization [in the coalition] has a different audience, so if we have a blog post or something like that, it’ll go out to each organization’s listserv or social media page... And that’s the case in any campaign...you send it out to your allies and they all tweet it...”

Sophia discussed the importance of coalitions and social media, how having a network of groups, or “allies,” helps to gain more attention to an issue. As more groups work together on an issue, share one another’s information, they can then reach a wider audience and appeal to more consumers. As more groups draw attention to an issue and attract consumers, corporations become more concerned with PR, and may seek to adopt CSR.

Linda from the Fair Labor Association reflected some of Sophia’s insights as well, stating that,

“So things that we couldn’t... have the capacity to do ourselves or the social knowledge to what the best solution would be, we really have to tap those local forces.”

In this quote, Linda was specifically discussing some of the Fair Labor Association’s other projects in other countries, projects worked on with other organizations, not necessarily pertaining to cocoa. However, she stressed the importance of being able to work with other organizations in general in order to increase overall effectiveness, knowledge, and impact. Sometimes, it is hard for a group to achieve its goals on its own and being able to network increases each group’s ability to meet those goals.

Conclusively, the more groups that work on an issue, the more it makes sense for corporations to adopt CSR. Groups are better equipped with knowledge, support, resources, and can reach a wider pool of consumers.

Hypothesis Four: *Activist groups are expected to have greater influence over the quantity of media coverage when they are relatively more rather than less credible.*

Media usage was only somewhat helpful to groups. Figure 8 shows the number of articles published between 2001 and 2013, and again similarly to the pattern seen with groups and agencies, there is a lack of media attention until 2008. Sensationalism and word count were not particularly significant or descriptive; however, the number of articles published per year is a little more helpful. Most groups interviewed indicated they used the media, but that it was not a major part of their campaigns.

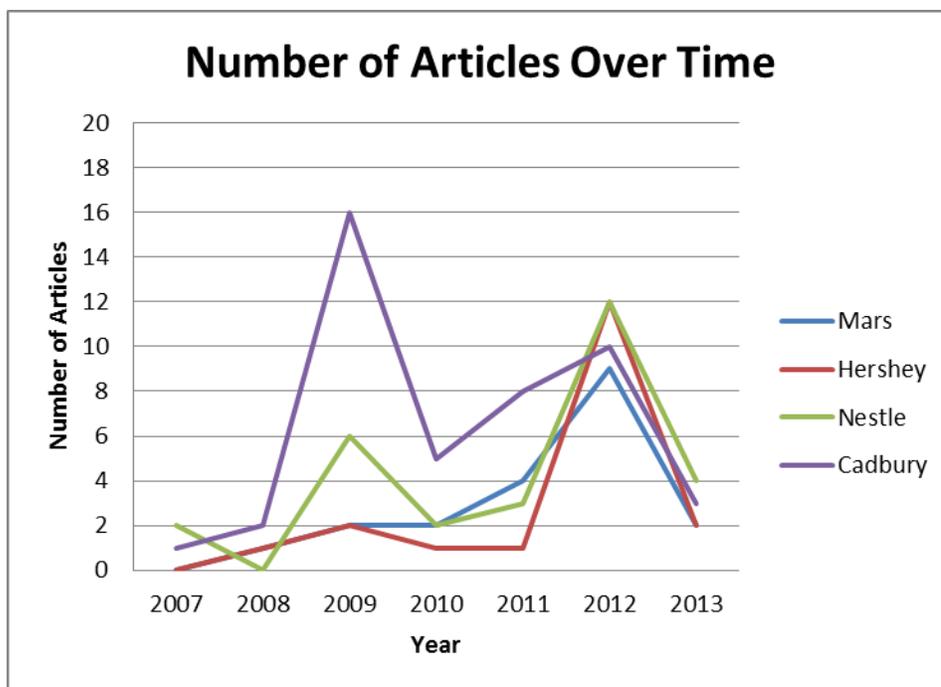


Figure 8. Number of Articles Over Time

Sophia from the International Labor Rights Forum explained,

“... we put out press releases and yeah. We don’t like collaborate really, we just have our press releases. That’s basically it.”

Linda from the Fair Labor Association also stated that,

“... we put out press releases...Typically when we have, when we do a report for a high profile, like Nestlé or Apple, that gets put out in the media. ...So we're in the media that way. Again, we don't really engage in any media campaigns.”

Both quotes help to highlight the how media can be used by groups, but that the media is not necessarily the primary way groups pressure cocoa companies. In some cases, as Thomas from ICCO explained, the media will seek out groups, rather than the other way around.

“As the ICCO is a major source of unbiased statistics covering the industry, it has something that is sought out by various media outlets.”

This reversal may have had to do with the nature of the nature of ICCO, as it is much more of a neutral agency, and not every group may be approached by the media directly. This shows that sometimes the media inserts itself into group issues, and is not always sought out by groups.

The media may have been a more useful tool for simply educating the public and spreading awareness, gaining consumer awareness of an issue, but groups in this case study may have preferred to directly influence industries rather than indirectly.

Hypothesis Five: *Activist groups are expected to have greater influence over the quantity of media coverage when they are working relatively in greater numbers rather than individually.*

It makes sense that as the number of groups working on an issue increase (Figure 7), so would the number of articles (Figure 8). An increase in articles could indicate an

increase in the number of groups publishing press releases and reaching out to the media to appeal to consumers. It could also indicate that as more groups work on an issue and draw attention to their cause, the media is more likely to pick up on these activities and reach out to organizations. As Thomas from ICCO indicated, the media reaching out to groups and agencies does indeed happen, and with more groups working on an issue, there is increased opportunity for the media to approach groups.

The concepts that were not useful pertained to article word count and tone of media coverage. There were relatively few articles published each year for each cocoa company, and so these data were skewed. Tone and word count may be more useful with a larger “n” value, and future research should include more media sources to properly determine whether or not these concepts are null or have importance. In this study, it was more useful to look at the raw number of articles as opposed to more detailed data. The hypotheses three, six, seven, and eight from the previous section were determined to be null based upon the data collected, but future studies may have different results if they include more media sources.

5.2 Cadbury

Cadbury was the first of the four case studies to commit to Fair Trade in 2009. Figure 7 shows the number of groups pressuring Cadbury starting to increase in 2007, though the number of groups remained low (3 in 2007 and 9 in 2008) and does not reach more than 20 until 2009. There is also continued activist group pressure on Cadbury in

2010, though that number drops in 2011. This continued and increased pressure in 2010 is due to Cadbury's merger with Kraft. The merger alarmed groups who believed Kraft might not uphold Cadbury's recent commitment to Fair Trade. However, later in 2010 Kraft stated that it would respect Cadbury's commitment to Fair Trade, to the relief of groups (Carrell 2010). There is also a higher percentage of groups using symbolic gain than symbolic damage, extremism, and those agencies who were neutral. This is especially true in 2010, where 63 percent of the organizations pressuring Cadbury used symbolic gain, while 33 percent used damage, 13 percent used extremism, and none were neutral. This means that while groups worried about Cadbury not following through with its commitment to Fair Trade, the movement remained encouraging and supportive, which may have also helped to influence Kraft's decision to allow Cadbury to continue its commitment. This is speculative, however.

Figure 6 shows company CSR scores from 2001 to 2013. Cadbury began making commitments to CSR in 2007, though they had been somewhat vocal about the issue of child labor in the cocoa industry since the Harkin-Engle Protocol. In 2001, Cadbury stated that it would commit to ending child labor, even though it had not signed the Harkin-Engle Protocol ("Cadbury seeks..." 2001). Thus, it could be expected that it would be one of the first companies to commit to CSR. However, full CSR reports and details about its work with Fair Trade were difficult to find, and the company declined to be interviewed, so this study could not award Cadbury a score above 2.

Because of Cadbury's previous statements in 2001, and because Cadbury did not sign the Harkin-Engle Protocol, groups may have been satisfied with Cadbury and felt less of a need to use pressure prior to 2009. Group activity may have been somewhat

important in Cadbury's commitment to CSR in 2009 but more important in ensuring Kraft continued to support Cadbury's CSR measures in 2010. Cadbury may have also served to add additional pressure over the other companies, being the first to commit to CSR. While Cadbury is owned by Hershey in the United States (The Hershey Company, 2014), it is a rival to Mars and Nestlé in Europe, and Mars and Nestlé both compete against Hershey in the United States. There would have been pressure on Mars and Nestlé after Cadbury's commitment, and that could possibly also help to explain why these companies adopted CSR later in 2011. Mars and Nestlé's commitment could then have influenced Hershey.

Conclusively, Cadbury was an important actor because it was the first company to commit to CSR. It did not see the same kind of pressuring exerted on Hershey, Nestlé, and Mars (to be discussed in the next section), though it was pressured, and it may have additionally served to add pressure on the other companies.

5.3 Nestlé, Mars, and Hershey

Data in Figure 7 show a similar rise the numbers of groups between Nestlé, Mars, and Hershey. In the years prior to CSR commitment, there is a greater increase in interest group activity for each of these three companies. Nestlé, which began working with the Fair Labor Association in 2011, began to experience increasing pressure prior to this commitment, rising from 5 in 2006, to 14 in 2007, 12 in 2008, and 15 in 2009. The number of groups rose to 22 in 2010, and remained constant until 2013. Mars, which declared its commitment to some form of Fair Trade in 2009 (to be implemented in

2012), also saw an increase in groups starting in 2007 and 2008 (14 and 17 groups respectively), rising from 6 in 2006. This number then dropped slightly to 15 in 2009. The number then grows to 18 in 2010, and continues to rise to 25 in 2011 and 2012. Hershey, which announced its commitment to Fair Trade in 2012, started to see an increase in group activity in 2007, rising to 14 from 6 in 2006. In 2008, the number rose to 20, then slightly decreased between 2009 and 2011 as the number dropped to 15 and then 16 (respectively, 16 being for both 2010 and 2011), and then rose again to 24 in 2012. The number of groups in the years prior to commitment for these three companies remains higher than that of Cadbury's, and shows increasing pressure toward the latter half of the 2001 to 2013 timeframe, typically around 2007 and 2008. This increase in pressure prior to CSR commitment may have been due to the Harkin-Engle Protocol, which each of these three companies signed but also subsequently did not immediately uphold through their commitments to mitigating child labor.

Sophia from the International Labor Rights Forum stated that, while the goals of the Protocol have been largely met in today's terms, it was a useful tool in that:

“...it's always something we can come back to and say, 'look, you've made this commitment.'”

The Protocol served, in part, as a way for the cocoa movement to hold companies accountable for their actions or inactions. Groups serve as policing agencies, making sure commitments are upheld, and as companies delay implementing CSR, groups feel as though they must step in to drive change. This could explain the lack of activity in the earlier part of the 2000s. However, as the Department of Labor stresses, the Protocol was most effective in terms of:

“...raising public awareness of the problem and bringing industry and governments together to acknowledge the problem and commit to taking actions to address it.”

So while the Protocol was a tool for groups to use in terms of holding the industry accountable, the Protocol also served other purposes, like creating this network of groups, agencies, and companies, and raising public awareness, and a lack of company movement may not have been the only reason groups began to increase in numbers toward 2007 and 2008. However, it still took groups several years to mobilize, and these data do not fully explain why that is. It may be likely that groups were waiting to see if the cocoa industry would act on its own, and after years had gone by, decided it would not. This is speculative, however, and an explanation was not touched upon in the interviews.

In terms of group positioning, as with Cadbury, there were a slightly higher percentage of groups using symbolic gain toward the latter half of the time period, or the percentages were at least very close. From 2007 to 2008, the percentages of groups using symbolic gain and damage for all three companies ranged from around 30 percent to 40 percent. In 2009, the number of groups using symbolic damage diminished and, from then on, the gap continues to grow. Groups using extremism or groups who were neutral tended to be in lower percentages (typically remaining around 20 percent, except in a few cases). The balance between symbolic gain and damage shows a movement that wanted to work with companies to develop and encourage CSR, and one that cocoa companies may have been more responsive to.

In an interview with Steven from the Hershey Company, he stated that they had been working with groups, such as the World Cocoa Foundation and the International

Cocoa Initiative, since 2001, but it has been these last three to four years, that Hershey has:

“...created more on the ground programming ...through government or industry associations...” (Hershey developed its Cocoa Link program Hershey Learn to Grow).

Steven, then went on to explain that,

“...we have more presence in terms of our own programming but by and large these are very big very complex issues, and you need to have companies, NGOs, and government involved together where you can.”

If the other companies were just as aware of the issue of child labor, as is evident by their signing of the Harkin-Engle Protocol, and continued to work with groups and organizations, even though there were only a few in the earlier part of the 2000 's, this may have also helped cocoa companies be more receptive to activist group pressure later on, especially since the movement as a whole was balanced between symbolic gain and symbolic damage groups. Companies would have been more likely to favor the adoption of CSR measures.

As with Cadbury, there is an adoption of CSR measures that corresponds to the increase in interest groups, governmental agencies, and the like. Nestlé first began making small steps toward CSR in 2010, earning a score of 1 on the CSR scale, but this grew to a 3 after they began working with the Fair Labor Association. Mars began adopting CSR in 2011, earning a 2 on the scale, and rose to a 3 in 2012, a year after making plans to change all of their cocoa to Fair Trade chocolate by 2020. There was evidence of Hershey making some effort toward CSR in 2009, but their full commitment

didn't occur until 2013 when details about their commitment to CSR were made public. Note that these scores were awarded based on steps made toward more ethical business practice, and were not based on whether or not practices were fully established.

5.4 Company Comparisons

At least to some extent, each company appeared to be influenced by interest group and governmental agency pressure. The number of groups seems to correspond to companies adopting CSR, the first company—Cadbury— starting to adopt CSR in 2007, about the time when the number of groups began to increase. Thus, it does appear that the number of groups pressuring companies is important, to some extent, between all four companies. The nature of the groups also appears to be important, as the movement tended to be slightly more positive, which indicates that companies would have been more receptive to interest groups and governmental agencies. While sensationalism and word count were not useful, the number of articles may have been a better indication of the media's indirect pressure on cocoa companies, and was a useful means for raising awareness. The credibility of groups and the quantity of groups may have made the media more receptive to publishing more media about the cocoa industry. As the number of articles also increases, the number of groups increases and, as previously stated, the movement was slightly more positive as opposed to negative, so the media may have taken the movement more seriously, as cocoa companies would have.

Cadbury appeared to be a little bit of an outlier, though it still followed a similar group, media, and CSR pattern as the rest of the companies. Cadbury may have

additionally helped to pressure other cocoa companies. Cadbury's slightly different experience adopting CSR may be due to its previous statements about ending child labor. The lack of group activity prior to Cadbury's commitment could indicate a certain level of trust between groups, agencies, and Cadbury that was not necessarily present for the other companies. Most of the other companies saw an increase in group activity around 2007 and 2008, but Cadbury only began to experience increased group activity in 2009 when it made its commitment, and in 2010 when there was uncertainty surrounding Kraft. However, Cadbury was able to successfully commit to Fair Trade and CSR, which may have added additional pressure on other companies. It may have also signaled to the other companies that they could safely invest in ethical cocoa.

Hershey stated that some of the challenges in committing to CSR and Fair Trade lay in the numbers of farmers within West Africa. Steven from the Hershey Company explained that,

“The issue is supply of certified cocoa... the vast majority of cocoa farmers...they're small farms they have between 5 and 15 acres, and there's roughly 2 million farmers across from Liberia to Nigeria...there's a lot of small farmers, [and] not a lot of big farmers, so getting about farm modernization is very challenging.”

However, with more companies devoting themselves to Fair Trade, other companies may feel more comfortable getting into the industry.

Chapter 6

Conclusion

Previous research discussed the role of outside pressure on bringing about ethical changes within corporate policy. Existing research stressed the importance of working with an industry as opposed to against an industry in order to foster ethical change, and suggested that more groups and agencies working on an issue may add additional pressure. The media was also indicated to be a means through which interest groups could pressure corporations, and number of articles, tone of articles, and length of articles were potential factors to consider in the effectiveness of group pressure. My study applied findings in previous literature to better understand why corporations adopt CSR, and how interest groups and governmental agencies play a role in this commitment.

This study found that groups may indeed help influence corporations to seek more ethical means of business practice. This study also found that the number of groups does appear to be important, as well as how groups use symbolic gain, symbolic damage, extremism, or remain neutral. These findings indicate that fewer groups working on the issue in the early 2000's may have contributed to a lack of action on the cocoa industry's part, meaning that groups and agencies play an important role in holding corporations accountable and policing such situations. Corporations may or may not be willing to change without pressure, or may be reluctant to make changes if they are unsure of how to proceed, and require information and support from groups. Additionally, a slightly more positive movement toward the latter half of the 2000's helped to bring about a more

positive change within the cocoa industry. This suggests that other similar movements in other industries may seek to follow a similar strategy, and that working with or within organizations to bring about change may be more beneficial. Media attention may have been somewhat helpful in pressuring the cocoa industry, and the number of articles may have helped to add pressure.

This study was limited in several ways, and future research should consider looking into the following. First, future research should consider profit as a potential incentive for corporations to seek CSR, especially in the years to come. I did a brief examination of net profit earned by each company since 2001.

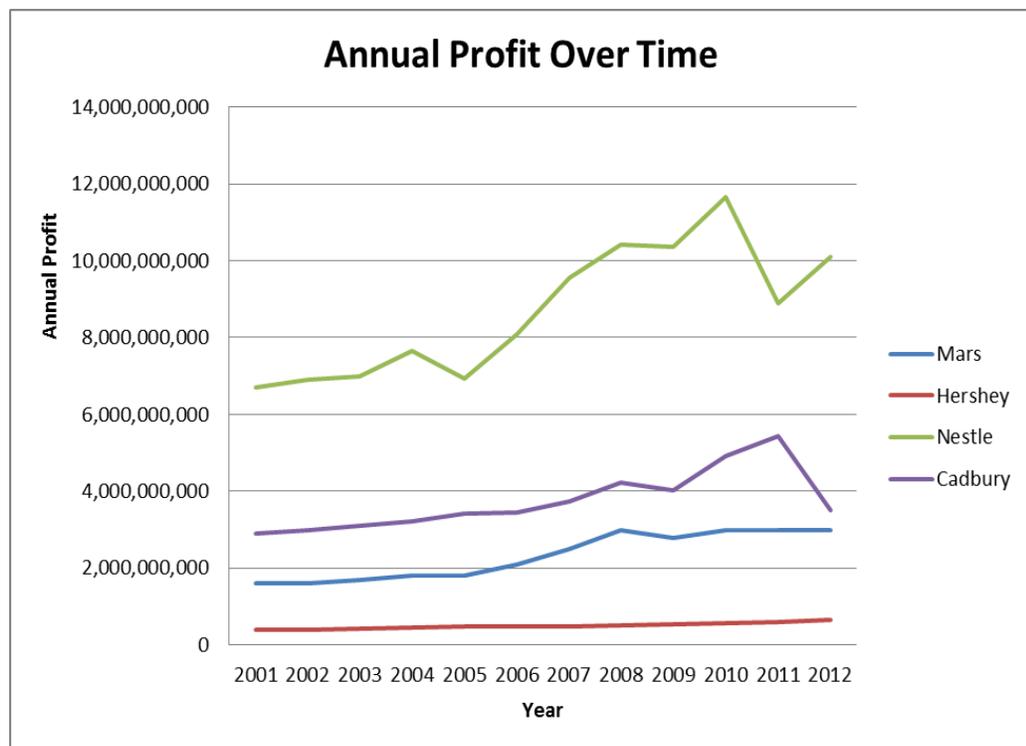


Figure 9. Annual Profit Over Time

Figure 9 shows company profits from 2001 to 2012. These data were gathered from Hoover, and were used to see if adopting CSR has impacted company profits, as a potential other variable. However, it does not appear as though an increase in profits is

contributing to the adoption of CSR, at least not yet. Hershey has a fairly stable increase in profit, as does Mars. Nestlé and Cadbury fluctuate somewhat, their profits falling slightly the year of their commitment to CSR, then rising again the year after. However, since the other two companies did not see a similar pattern, it is hard to determine whether there could be a relationship between CSR and profits. It might be more useful for future research to examine profit once more time has gone by and perhaps to examine other companies as well.

Second, the “n” value of this study was small in terms of groups, media sources examined, and companies studied. It may be helpful to broaden this scope to other industries and companies as more and more of them commit to CSR. This may also help to increase the number of groups that were examined, as different industries may have different groups and agencies pressuring them. Third, it may be useful for future research to ask why it took several years for groups to mobilize, especially after the Harkin-Engle Protocol sought to establish a network. Forth, additional research should examine the idea of companies pressuring other companies, especially in terms of CSR.

Appendix A

Symbolic Gain, Symbolic Damage, Neutrality, and Extremism Examples

Table A . Quotes

Symbolic Gain	“We meet with companies that source cocoa... and help them to have a more responsible supply-chain... The first thing that we often have to do is actually help
---------------	--

	<p>these large companies learn where their cocoa comes from... then obviously the next step would be to help either to eliminate their abuses on the farm.” <i>Linda from the Fair Labor Association, 2013</i></p> <p>“The approach is through this multi-stakeholder participatory and comprehensive method, by which all issues are discussed in a transparent manner and all stakeholders agree on the best options to address key challenges. The members of the ICCO Council, who have all signed the Agreement, are engaged in addressing key issues and challenges facing the sector. The related bodies of the ICCO, including... has the role of providing advice and recommendations to the Council on key issues.” <i>Thomas from ICCO, 2013</i></p> <p>“Mars Chocolate and Fairtrade International today announced a new agreement to introduce the first Fairtrade labelled Mars product and to work together to enable farmers to have sustainable livelihoods and substantially increased productivity.” <i>Part of an article from Fairtrade International in 2012</i></p> <p>“We warmly welcome the news from Mars Chocolate UK that Maltesers are to carry the Fairtrade Mark from next year... We also welcome the announcement that all Mars cocoa will be ethically certified by 2020 and hope this will, therefore, include the extension of the Fairtrade Mark to many other Mars products.” <i>Part of an article from Traidcraft in 2011</i></p>
Symbolic Damage	<p>“Hershey has been one of our big campaigns, called “Raise the Bar Hershey”... in the beginning of the year we... put out this ad at the Super Bowl. And then they made their commitment and we didn’t go forward with it..” –<i>Sophia from the International Labor</i></p>

	<p><i>Rights Forum, 2013</i></p> <p>“HERSHEY CALL-IN SCRIPT:</p> <p>‘Hi, my name is ___ and I’m calling from ___. I am a huge fan of [insert your favorite HERSHEY candy here]*. I’m calling today in recognition of "World Day Against Child Labor" and because I want Hershey to commit to buying cocoa that has been harvested without the use of child labor. Ten years after Hershey committed to ending child labor, forced labor and trafficking in its cocoa, the abuses continue in West Africa. Many of your competitors have committed to certifying all their products child-labor-free, but you continue to drag your feet...’” <i>Part of a call in letter put together by Green America in 2012.</i></p>
Extremism	<p>“The Organic Consumers Association, the International Labor Rights Forum, Global Exchange and the International Brotherhood of Teamsters are demanding that Whole Foods join a growing coalition of grocery stores urging Hershey to fully commit to using only child labor free cocoa produced under fair-labor standards.” <i>Part of an article published by the Organic Consumer’s Association in 2012</i></p> <p>“The time for talk has passed. Children are suffering. Will the chocolate companies redouble their efforts and make good on their commitments? Or, as with blood diamonds, will legislation be necessary? Our preference is for the chocolate industry to take charge of its own destiny. But if corporate responsibility is lacking, government will have a responsibility to act.” <i>Part of an article from the International Labor Rights Forum in 2005</i></p>

Table A depicts quotes detailing symbolic gain, symbolic damage, and extremism from collected interviews and coded articles.

Appendix B

Interview Questions for Interest Groups and Certifying Bodies

Question 1:

What is your organization trying to accomplish through its interactions with the cocoa industry?

Follow up: How does your organization approach other actors in order to achieve its goals?

Follow Up: What have you found to be your most successful approaches [or campaigns/strategies]?

Then: Where did you learn these strategies [approaches]?

Through trial and error of your organization?

By modeling them after other campaigns by of other organizations? If so, which? Can you give an example?

Question 2: Does your organization work with the media in public relations efforts? (Either they approach the organization or the organization approaches them)

Question 3: Does your organization work with governments or governmental groups?

Follow Up: Have you always worked with governmental agencies?

Question 4: Is there a push for more governmental legislation or trade agreements? (Either they approach the organization or the organization approaches them). If so, what kind of legislation?

Follow Up: Do you believe the Harkin-Engle Protocol has been effective?

If no, what about it could be changed or why do you feel it hasn't been effective?

Question 5: Does your organization work with chocolate companies? (Either they approach the organization or the organization approaches them).

Questions 6: Are there any other organizations that you work with regularly, or is there a network of organizations that you work with?

Follow Up (if yes): Have you always worked with other organizations?

What on?

Follow Up: What is that relationship like? What methods do you use when working together? Do you ever work with these organizations when approaching the media, government bodies, or the cocoa industry?

Question 7: What are some challenges you have faced when trying to raise awareness about your cause and also effectively address child labor?

Questions 8: Is there anything else you think would be important for me to include in my research that I have not asked your organization?

Appendix C

Interview Questions for Governmental Agencies

Question 1:

What is your organization trying to accomplish through its interactions with the cocoa industry?

Follow up: How does your organization approach other actors in order to achieve these goals?

Follow Up: What have you found to be your most successful approaches [or campaigns/strategies]?

Then: Where did you learn these strategies [approaches]?

Through trial and error of your organization?

By modeling them after other campaigns by of other organizations? If so, which? Can you give an example?

Question 2: Does your organization work with the media in public relations efforts? (Either they approach the organization or the organization approaches them)

Question 3: Is there a push for more governmental legislation or trade agreements? (Either they approach the organization or the organization approaches them). If so, what kind of legislation?

*Follow Up: Do you believe the Harkin-Engle Protocol has been effective?
If no, what about it could be changed or why do you feel it hasn't been effective?*

Question 4: Does your organization work with chocolate companies?

Questions 5: Are there any other organizations that you work with regularly, or is there a network of organizations that you work with?

*Follow Up (if yes): Have you always worked with other organizations?
What on?*

Follow Up: What is that relationship like? What methods do you use when working together? Do you ever work with these organizations when approaching the media, government bodies, or the cocoa industry?

Question 6: What are some challenges you have faced when trying to raise awareness about your cause and also effectively address child labor?

Questions 7: Is there anything else you think would be important for me to include in my research that I have not asked your organization?

Appendix D

Interview Questions for Cocoa Companies

Question 2: What has been particularly difficult in changing business practices or addressing the issues with cocoa farmers?

Question 3: Does your company have a company code of conduct and social monitoring office/dept?

Follow up: Has this worked? If not, what might be done differently?

Then: Does your company belong to a multi-stakeholder initiative that addresses child labor, etc. [CSR program]?

Has this worked? If not, what might be done differently?

Question 4: Does your organization work with activist groups?

Follow Up (if yes): Have you always worked with other organizations?

Follow up: How have you gone about working with them?

Question 4: Has your organization engaged with the news media about child labor?

Question 5: How does your organization engage in PR?

Question 6: Does your organization work with governments or governmental groups? Is there a push for more governmental legislation or trade agreements? If so, what kind of legislation?

Question 7 (if yes): Has your group always worked with other governmental groups?

Question 8: Is there anything else you think would be important for me to include in my research that I have not asked your organization?

REFERENCES

- (17 April, 2001) “Cadbury seeks to end child slavery.” *The BBC*. Retrieved February 23, 2014 from <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/1282774.stm>
- (February 22, 2008). *Britain's top newspaper website*. The Guardian (London) (0261-3077), Retrieved from LexisNexis, October 31, 2012, p. 1.
- (December 7, 2009). “Kit kat biscuits go to fairtrade in the new year,” *BBC*. Retrieved October 30, 2013 from http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk_news/8397870.stm
- (September, 2011) “Mars and fairtrade international announce collaboration,” *Mars*. Retrieved October 30, 2013 from <http://www.mars.com/global/press-center/press-list/news-releases.aspx?SiteId=94&Id=3182>
- (2011, April 19). *The world's top ten newspaper websites*. Guardian. Retrieved October 31, 2012 from <http://www.guardian.co.uk/media/table/2011/apr/19/worlds-top-10-newspaper-websites>
- (November 28, 2011) “Nestlé ‘to act over child labor in cocoa industry,’” *BBC*. Retrieved October 30, 2013 from <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-15917164>
- Almeida, I., Monnier, O. (February 7, 2013) “Higher chocolate prices may follow africa’s shortfall” *Business Week*. Retrieved November 20, 2013
 BBC (2013) *Ivory Coast profile*. Retrieved November 14, 2013
<http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-13287216>
- Alter, B. (5 March, 2009) “Cadbury’s milk chocolate bar goes fair trade.” *Mother Nature Network*. Retrieved January 6, 2014 from <http://www.mnn.com/money/sustainable-business-practices/stories/cadburys-dairy-milk-chocolate-bar-goes-fair-trade>
- BBC (June 18, 2013) *Ivory Coast Profile*. Retrieved November 9, 2013 from <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-13287216>
- Beckman, J. (6 August, 2012) “Hershey’s cococalink mobile phone program delivers 100,000 farmer and family messages during first year in ghana.” *Reuters*. Retrieved March 22, from <http://www.reuters.com/article/2012/08/06/idUS137424+06-Aug-2012+BW20120806>

- Bloudoff-Indelicato, M. (April 13, 2012). "Africa grows too hot for cocoa". *The Scientific American*. Retrieved February 3, 2014 from <http://www.scientificamerican.com/article/africa-grows-too-hot-to-grow-chocolate/>.
- Bowling, R., Reykia, F. (2009) "Mars and fairtrade international announce collaboration." Retrieved January 6, 2014 from http://www.fairtrade.net/fileadmin/user_upload/content/2009/news/2011-09-27_mars-fairtrade-rls__final.pdf
- Bushman, R., Piotroski, J., Smith, A. (2004) *What determines corporate transparency?* Journal of Accounting Research, 2(42). Retrieved January 9, 2014 from <http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com.ezaccess.libraries.psu.edu/doi/10.1111/j.1475-679X.2004.00136.x/pdf>.
- Callahan, James J., Jr. (2004). "The world of interest-group advocacy: An 'insider's' view." *Generations*, 28(1). Retrieved March 23, 2014 from <http://search.proquest.com/docview/212233295?accountid=13158>, pp. 36-40.
- Carrel, S. (22 June, 2010). "Kraft pledges to honor cadbury's fairtrade sourcing commitments." *The Guardian*. Retrieved February 23, 2014 from <http://www.theguardian.com/business/2010/jan/23/kraft-cadbury-fairtrade>.
- CNN (January 16, 2012). *The human cost of chocolate*. Retrieved November 9, 2013 from <http://thecnnfreedomproject.blogs.cnn.com/2012/01/16/chocolate-explainer/>
- Cohen, E. (2011) *Transparency is the key to sustainability*. CSR Reporting. Retrieved January 9, 2014 from <http://csr-reporting.blogspot.com/2011/09/transparency-is-key-to-sustainability.html>
- Dahan, N., & Gittens, M. (2010). "Business and the public affairs of slavery: A discursive approach of an ethical public issue." *Journal of Business Ethics*, 92(2), Retrieved October 18, 2012 from <http://search.proquest.com.ezaccess.libraries.psu.edu/docview/198026859> , pp. 227-249
- Den Hond, F., De Bakker, F. (2007) Ideologically Motivated Activism: How Activist Groups Influence Corporate Social Change Activities. *The academy of Management Review*. 32(3). Retrieved October 16, 2013 from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/20159341>, pp. 901-924
- Ditlev-Simonsen, C., & Wenstøp, F. (2013). "How stakeholders view stakeholders as CSR motivators." *Social Responsibility Journal*, 9(1), Retrieved March 22, 2014 from <http://search.proquest.com.ezaccess.libraries.psu.edu/docview/1315360146/fulltextPDF?accountid=13158> 137-147. doi:<http://dx.doi.org/10.1108/17471111311307868>

Fairtrade Foundation (January 2008). *Fairtrade standards and genetically modified organisms*. Retrieved February 3, 2014, from http://www.fairtrade.org.uk/includes/documents/cm_docs/2008/f/fairtrade_gm_q_a_jan_08.pdf

Fairtrade Foundation (4 March, 2009) *Cadbury commits to going fairtrade*. Retrieved January 6, 2014 from http://www.fairtrade.org.uk/press_office/press_releases_and_statements/archive_2009/march_2009/cadbury_dairy_milk_commits_to_going_fairtrade.aspx

Fair Labor Association (2012). "Our work" Retrieved January 19, 2014 from <http://www.fairlabor.org/our-work/our-methodology>

Fair Labor Association. (29 June, 2012) "Fla highlights underlying challenges of child labor after extensive investigation of nestlé cocoa supply chain." Retrieved January 6, 2014 from <http://www.fairlabor.org/blog/entry/fla-highlights-underlying-challenges-child-labor-after-extensive-investigation-nestle>

Food Empowerment Project. (2014) *Slavery in the chocolate industry*. Retrieved February 3, 2014 from <http://www.foodispower.org/slavery-chocolate/>

Formacola, A., Hernandez-Coredero, L. (2011) *Mobilizing the community for better health*. New York, New York: Columbia University Press.

Geffner, D. (7 May, 2013) *Certified justice*. The Huffington Post. Retrieved October 9, 2013 from http://www.huffingtonpost.com/dana-geffner/hershey-chocolate-fair-trade_b_3244954.html

Global Exchange (2013). *Hershey and fair trade: is it a victory?* Retrieved October 9, 2013 from <http://www.globalexchange.org/blogs/fairtrade/2013/05/07/hersheys-and-fair-trade-is-it-a-victory/>

Goodyear, D. (March 28, 2013) "The future of chocolate: why cocoa production is at risk." *The Guardian*, Retrieved February 3, 2014 from <http://www.theguardian.com/sustainable-business/fairtrade-partner-zone/chocolate-cocoa-production-risk>

Green America (2012). *Breaking news: Hershey commits to fair trade*. Retrieved September 29, 2012, from <http://www.raisethebarhershey.org/>

Gupta, S., Sharma, N. (2009) "CSR-a business opportunity." *Indian Journal of Industrial Relations*. 3(44). Retrieved February 6, 2014 from

<http://www.jstor.org.ezaccess.libraries.psu.edu/stable/pdfplus/27768212.pdf?acceptTC=true&acceptTC=true&jpdConfirm=true>, pp. 396-401

Harkin-Engel Protocol. (2001, September 1). Retrieved October 30, 2013, from <http://harkin.senate.gov/documents/pdf/HarkinEngelProtocol.pdf>

Harris, G. (22 December, 2013) "Bangladeshi factory owner charged in fire that killed 112," *The New York Times*. Retrieved March 20, 2014 from http://www.nytimes.com/2013/12/23/world/asia/bangladeshi-factory-owners-charged-in-fatal-fire.html?_r=0.

Heaney, M. (2014). "Multiplex networks and interest group influence reputation: An exponential random graph model" *Social Networks*. 36. Retrieved March 22, 2014 from, http://sk8es4mc2l.search.serialssolutions.com/?ctx_ver=Z39.88-2004&ctx_enc=info%3Aofi%2Fenc%3AUTF-8&rft_id=info:sid/summon.serialssolutions.com&rft_val_fmt=info:ofi/fmt:kev:mtx:journal&rft.genre=article&rft.atitle=Multiplex+networks+and+interest+group+influence+reputation%3A+An+exponential+random+graph+model&rft.jtitle=Social+Networks&rft.au=Heaney%2C+Michael+T&rft.date=2014-01-01&rft.pub=Elsevier+B.V&rft.issn=0378-8733&rft.eissn=1879-2111&rft.volume=36&rft.spage=66&rft_id=info:doi/10.1016%2Fj.socnet.2012.11.003&rft.externalDBID=n%2Fa&rft.externalDocID=352054981¶mdict=en-US p. 66-81

Heaney, M. (2004). "Issue networks, information, and interest group alliances: the case of Wisconsin welfare politics: 1993-1999." *State Politics and Policy Quarterly*. 4(3). Retrieved December 12, 2013 from <http://www.jstor.org.ezaccess.libraries.psu.edu/stable/40421519>, pp. 237-70

The Hershey Company. (October 3, 2012) "Hershey to source 100% certified cocoa by 2020". Retrieved January 6, 2014 from <http://www.thehersheycompany.com/newsroom/news-release.aspx?id=1741328>

The Hershey Company (2014) "Cadbury dairy milk chocolate bar." Retrieved February 23, 2014 from <http://www.thehersheycompany.com/brands/cadbury/dairy-milk-chocolate-bar.aspx>.

Huijstee, G., & Glasbergen, P. (2010). Ngos moving business: An analysis of contrasting strategies. *Business society*, 49(591), 591-619. Retrieved October 13, 2012 doi: 10.1177/0007650310365516

International Cocoa Organization (2013, May 29). "Who are the main manufacturers of chocolate in the world?" Retrieved January 6, 2014 from <http://www.icco.org/about-cocoa/chocolate-industry.html>

International Labor Rights Forum. (n/d) "The world bank and imf policies in cote d'ivoire: impact on child labor in the cocoa industry." Retrieved September 9, 2013 from <http://www.laborrights.org/sites/default/files/publications-and-resources/COCOAWBIMF.pdf>. Pages 1-8

International Labor Rights Forum (October 3, 2012). "Raise the bar, hershey! Campaign welcomes hershey's announcement to source 100% certified cocoa by 2020". Retrieved January 19, 2014 from <http://www.laborrights.org/stop-child-forced-labor/news/raise-the-bar-hershey-campaign-welcomes-hershey%E2%80%99s-announcement-to-sourc>

Killian, S. (2012). "Corporate social responsibility". *Accountancy Ireland*, 44(5), 30-31. Retrieved from <http://search.proquest.com/docview/1282844291?accountid=13158>

Linton, A. (October 29, 2013) Phone interview.

MacDonald, C. (27 June, 2011) "Corporations, meet transparency." *The Pacific Standard*. Retrieved March 22, 2014 from <http://www.psmag.com/navigation/business-economics/corporate-social-responsibility-meet-transparency-32613/>.

MacGregor, R. (2006). "Institutionalising CSR". *Finweek*, , Retrieved January 6, 2014 from <http://search.proquest.com/docview/215673479?accountid=13158>, p. 35

Maurizio, B., De Hoyos, R., Medvedev, D. (2011) "Free Trade in agricultural poverty." *The World Economy*, 34(12). Retrieved November 10, 2013 from <http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com.ezaccess.libraries.psu.edu/doi/10.1111/j.1467-9701.2011.01405.x/pdf>, pp.2019-43

Mistrati, M (Director), & Romano, R (Director), (2010). *The Dark Side of Chocolate* [Documentary]. Denmark.

Physica-Verlag, H. (2008) Major Potential Benefits of CSR Engagement, In Corporate Social Responsibility as International Strategy. Book (89-105) Physica-Verlag. Retrieved February 6, 2014 from http://link.springer.com.ezaccess.libraries.psu.edu/chapter/10.1007%2F978-3-7908-2024-9_6#

Plunkett, J. (2012, April 2). Cable news ratings april 2012: cnn has worst month in decade. *Huffington Post*. Retrieved from http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2012/05/02/cnn-ratings-april-cable-news-top-30_n_1471363.html

Porter, T., Miles, P. (2013). "CSR longevity: Evidence from long-term practices in large corporations". *Corporate Reputation Review*, 16(4), doi:<http://dx.doi.org/10.1057/crr.2013.17>, pp. 313-340.

Ransohoff, D, F. (2001) "Sensationalism in the media: when scientists and journalists may be complicit collaborators." *Effective clinical practice*, 4(4). Retrieved July 23, 2013 from

http://www.acponline.org/clinical_information/journals_publications/ecp/julaug01/ransohoff.pdf, pp. 185-189

Rowley, T., Moldoveanu, M. (2003) "When will stakeholder groups act? An interest-and-identity-based model of stakeholder group mobilization," *The Academy of Management Review*. 28(2). Retrieved March 22, 2014 from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/30040709>, pp. 204-219

Sajjad, H. (October 24, 2013) "Six months after Bangladesh factory collapse, workers remain in peril." *CNN*. Retrieved March 20, 2013 from <http://www.cnn.com/2013/10/24/opinion/bangladesh-garment-workers/>

Sawers, P. (2011, September 07). *Bbc remains the most popular new site in uk, study shows*. Retrieved from <http://thenextweb.com/uk/2011/09/07/bbc-remains-the-most-popular-news-site-in-the-uk-study-shows/>

Schumpeter. (2013). "The butterfly effect." *The Economist*. Retrieved March 20, 2014 <http://www.economist.com/news/business/21588853-charities-are-irritating-often-help-companies-do-right-thing-butterfly-effect>

Simola, S. K. (2009). Anti-corporate activist anger: Is inappropriate irrationality or social change essential? *Society and Business Review*, 4(3), Retrieved October 27, 2013 from <http://search.proquest.com.ezaccess.libraries.psu.edu/docview/211570004> 215-230.

Simpson, J., Taylor, J. (2013) *Corporate governance, ethics, and csr*. [EBL Reader]. Retrieved January 9, 2013 from [http://reader.eblib.com.ezaccess.libraries.psu.edu/\(S\(3tied2ppctvjdz201vmf4jpu\)\)/Reader.aspx?p=1098136&o=837&u=Dnain%2bjWM%2bUG%2fc7MNZVFUQ%3d%3d&t=1389300686&h=F276B6ECD285F52EAB1C61955A4458BD4148339C&s=20570241&ut=2679&pg=1&r=img&c=-1&pat=n#](http://reader.eblib.com.ezaccess.libraries.psu.edu/(S(3tied2ppctvjdz201vmf4jpu))/Reader.aspx?p=1098136&o=837&u=Dnain%2bjWM%2bUG%2fc7MNZVFUQ%3d%3d&t=1389300686&h=F276B6ECD285F52EAB1C61955A4458BD4148339C&s=20570241&ut=2679&pg=1&r=img&c=-1&pat=n#)

Sooryamoorthy, R (2003). "Democratization and Women's Grassroots Movements." *Journal of third world studies*. 20 (1), Retrieved October 6, 2013 from <http://web.ebscohost.com.ezaccess.libraries.psu.edu/ehost/pdfviewer/pdfviewer?sid=cebd1c06-90f3-4a29-a774-98593edac39c%40sessionmgr4&vid=2&hid=10>, p. 304-307

Tarrow, S. (1998). *Power in movement*. (2 ed.). Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Thorpe, D. (May 18, 2013) *Why CSR? The benefits of corporate social responsibility will move you to act*. Forbes, Retrieved December 7, 2013 from <http://www.forbes.com/sites/devinthorpe/2013/05/18/why-csr-the-benefits-of-corporate-social-responsibility-will-move-you-to-act/>

Top 10 newspapers. (2012). Retrieved, October 29, 2012 from <http://newspapers.com/top100.php>

Traubman, J. (June 23, 2009) "Fair expectations: rainforest alliance v. fair trade." *OCA*. Retrieved January 19, 2014 from http://www.organicconsumers.org/articles/article_18372.cfm

Turner, M. (2007). "Using emotion in risk communication: The Anger Activism Model", *Public Relations Review*, 33(2), Retrieved October 27, 2013 from (<http://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S036381110600155X>), Pages 114-119

Warton, K. (May 28, 2012) "Why companies can no longer to ignore their social responsibility." *Time magazine*. Retrieved February 5, 2014 from <http://business.time.com/2012/05/28/why-companies-can-no-longer-afford-to-ignore-their-social-responsibilities/>

Worstall, T. (October 11 2013) *Apple's foxconn and the non-scandal of the student interns on sony's ps4 line*. "Forbes", Retrieved December 7 2013 from <http://www.forbes.com/sites/timworstall/2013/10/11/apples-foxconn-and-the-non-scandal-of-the-student-interns-on-sonys-ps4-line/>

Zensius, A. (2012). *Inside the cocoa pod: An analysis of the harkin-engel protocol in cote d'ivoire*. (Georgetown University). *ProQuest Dissertations and Theses*, 55. Retrieved October 14, 2012 from ProQuest

ACADEMIC VITA

Sarah DeMartino
465 West Prospect Ave. Downingtown PA, 19335
Email: szd5130@gmail.com

Education

The Pennsylvania State University, State College, PA

- Schreyer Honors Scholar
- Major: International Relations
- Minor: Environmental Inquiry
- Graduation Year: 2014

Relevant Work Experience:

- Undergraduate Research Assistant, Penn State Brandywine, Media, PA Fall 2010-Spring 2012

Assisted Dr. Daniela Martin with academic research on gender and study abroad.

- Summer Launch Program, Penn State Brandywine, Media, PA, *Peer Tutor* Summer 2011

Tutored and mentored incoming freshmen students in Math and English.

Internship and Volunteer Experience:

- Member of the National Steering Committee for Fair Trade Campaigns
Fall 2012- Present
Aiding students within the American University system who want to support Fair Trade on campus in effectively promoting Fair Trade. Helping to run conferences and workshops for students and faculty supporting Fair Trade.
- Fair Trade Intern, Penn State Brandywine Summer 2012
Spearheaded Fair Trade initiatives and events on campus to further awareness and education of the Fair Trade movement amongst students, faculty, and staff.
- Internship with Congressman Patrick Meehan Winter 2011-Summer 2012
Worked on projects including human trafficking and immigration under the supervision of staff assistant Meredith Comley and Congressman Patrick Meehan.

Grants Received:

- Undergraduate Research Grant, Penn State Brandywine Fall 2010 –
Spring 2011
Amount: \$1,000
Grant awarded to research study abroad and gender with Dr. Daniela Martin
- Undergraduate Research Grant, Penn State Brandywine Fall 2011 –
Spring 2012

Amount: \$1,000

Grant awarded to work on a paper detailing the findings of research conducting gender and study abroad with Dr. Daniela Martin

- Enrichment Research Grant Funding, Penn State University Park Fall 2013

Amount: \$200

Grant awarded for student thesis research and data collection. Funding went toward hiring a research assistant to transcribe interviews.

- John D. Martz Memorial Fund in Political Science Fall 2013

Amount: \$150

Grant awarded for student thesis research and data collection. Funding went toward hiring a research assistant to transcribe interviews.

Scholarships and Awards:

- Chancellor's Award, Penn State Brandywine Fall 2010-Fall 2011
- The Penn State Brandywine Academic Excellence Scholarship Fall 2011
- Academic Achievement Award Spring 2011-Spring 2012
Won for achieving a 3.5 GPA and above
- The President's Freshman Award Spring 2011
Won for Achieving a 4.0 GPA
- Best of Freshmen Writing Award Fall 2011
Won for autobiographical essay, "God's Mutt"
- Undergraduate Research Award Spring 2012
Won \$250 for research conducted on Dementia in India
- Undergraduate Civic Engagement Award Spring 2012
Won \$25 for research conducted on Dementia in India

Publications:

- *"I looked at it as a growing experience": Gender differences in stress, coping, and intercultural development in study abroad, Paper under editing, to be submitted to the International Journal of Intercultural Relations. Martin, D., Yee, V., DeMartino, S. Lavert, D.*
- *Wolf-Eyed Girl* published in Penn in Hand Literary Magazine Spring 2012

The poem "Wolf-Eyed Girl" was published in the Penn State Brandywine literary magazine.

- *Ghost Ship* published in Penn in Hand Literary Magazine Spring 2012
The poem "Ghost Ship" was published in the Penn State Brandywine literary magazine..

Conference Experience and Presentations:

- DeMartino, S. Guertin, L., *A Gendered Analysis of Stress Among Students at Penn*

Spoke to an audience of student researchers addressing the benefit of student research on behalf of Penn State Brandywine

Student Club Leadership Experience:

- Fair Trade Penn State Fall 2012-Fall 2013
Served as Social Media Coordinator and Vice President in fall of 2012, and then was elected to President and Executive Director in the spring of 2013.

Additional Penn State Experiences:

- Cumberland Cemetery Historical Walking Tour Fall 2011
Actor and historian in a walking tour of Media's Cumberland Cemetery, put together by Eileen Fresta, a Penn State Brandywine honors student.
- Honors Service Projects, Penn State Brandywine Spring 2011/12, Fall 2011,

Assisted in Penn State Honors service projects by filming guest speakers (Spring, 2011), and helping to raise money for the Ronald McDonald House in Philadelphia (Fall, 2011). For Women's History Month, helped to collect cell phones and other technology to go to families in an effort to provide people with emergency help for domestic violence.

Study Abroad Experience:

- Prague and Vienna Spring 2012
Studied cross gender psychology for a study abroad trip to Vienna and Prague. The trip itself lasted 10 days in May, 2012, and work was conducted before, during and after the trip.

Language Proficiency:

- French, proficient in spoken and written.