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## **Unfree Labor in Côte D'ivoire's Cocoa Production: A Comparative Analysis of the Local Cocoa and Cotton Commodity Chains**

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Oral Presentation O7.2

**UNFREE LABOR IN CÔTE D'IVOIRE'S  
COCOA PRODUCTION: A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF  
THE LOCAL COCOA AND COTTON  
COMMODITY CHAINS**

Kacie Graves and William Munro\*  
International Studies Program, Illinois Wesleyan University

The Department of Labor's, "List of Goods Produced by Child or Forced Labor," reports forced and child labor in the production of cocoa, but not cotton, even though accounts of labor exploitation on cotton farms are widely documented across the globe. Scholars have determined the wider macroeconomic causations of labor exploitation in the Ivorian cocoa sector by attributing liberalization, market reformation, and increasing concentration to farmer marginalization. However, limited research examines how the local structure and governance of these supply chains contribute to un-free labor practices. Utilizing the framework of commodity chain research, this study employs a comparative analysis of the two supply chains strictly within Côte d'Ivoire to identify why forms of slavery exist in the cocoa production, but not cotton, though both are rooted in the same country. I conclude by explaining who wields power in these supply chains and how this power is formed, distributed, and combated.