Viral Video ‘Blood Chocolate’ Activism, Millennial Anti-Trafficking, and the Neoliberal Resurgence of Shaming

Benjamin N. Lawrance and Richard L. Roberts

‘People make films on the internet in order to show
that they exist, not in order to look at things’.¹

Jean-Luc Godard

As the popularization of internet portals such as YouTube and *vimeo* spread in the first decade of the new millennium, anti-trafficking campaigners embraced new networked media platforms for the rapid dissemination of anti-slavery messaging in an effort to embarrass cocoa producers and chocolate consumers into action. Would-be ‘viral video’ activists, such as NGO staff, freelance filmmakers, and even school-aged students, offered competing and complementary accounts of the nature of exploitation in West African cocoa production as they created and spread user-generated content. Adapting Jean-Luc Godard’s ambiguous assertion above, we contend that people envision internet videos as a mechanism with which to ‘show’ to an ignorant or unaware audience of chocolate consumers that *both* child slavery *and* a vibrant anti-trafficking activist community exist, the latter actively devising remedies and critiquing exploitation via artistic expression. To interpret the meanings and motivations behind such video production, we turn to scholarship on visual representations of slavery and slave bodies and theory accounting for the dissemination of socio-political rhetoric via the internet. We observe that the viral video is envisioned as a means to generate awareness and social action facilitating a critical look at the

relationship between chocolate production and child slavery with the objective of ‘kickstart[ing] a conversation’ and, occasionally, proposing a remedy.²

Short videos offer a ‘seductive’, instantaneous mechanism to distribute a concise, provocative narrative.³ While the arrival of anti-trafficking web-based videography points to the new role of the internet as a medium for the circulation of abolitionist discourse in particular and globalization critique in general, the significance of such videos, and indeed anti-trafficking film of all kinds, is clearer when resituated within the rich history of naming and shaming in the international human rights arena. Karen Halttunen famously interpreted the ‘obscenely titillating’ eighteenth-century visual culture and humanitarian action as a ‘pornography of pain’, wherein compassion was extended to slaves and other ‘previously despised persons’.⁴ Videos echo historical patterns of anti-slavery mobilization and the employment of shame-inducing slave imagery in important ways. Various naming and shaming techniques, employing iconic ‘visual metonymy’, have played a crucial role in antislavery, anti-trafficking, and human rights advocacy efforts in and beyond Africa from the eighteenth century as Marcus Wood and others have documented.⁵ Historical efforts to name and shame were motivated often by a humanitarian desire to change norms by making the wider public aware of an abusive status quo.⁶ The process of changing behavioral norms relies on the conjuncture of new ways of thinking about social, economic, political, and cultural orders together with new dissemination mechanisms linked to groups committed to pursuing these goals.

This article examines an emergent mechanism that imagines new potential with which to alter behavioral norms around cocoa and chocolate, namely anti-trafficking video media, specifically those uploaded to the internet by individuals or organizations, and collected between 2007 and 2010, that reference slavery and metaphors of shameful exploitation. We discuss

theories and approaches to several historical and contemporary modalities of shaming, spanning the eighteenth to twenty-first centuries. We outline video style, format, and content, and document a ‘blood chocolate’ visual and textual metonymy and their links to consumer-based solutions. We identify two prevailing themes in textual content: the role of transnational power and corporate actors, and the horrifying scale of exploitation. In some respects, we are tempted to view anti-trafficking videos as ‘weapons of the weak’ insofar as they engage a viewership through lateral or ‘viral’ axes of power—in this case supranational media portals that imagine direct producer-consumer relationships—to challenge the neoliberal global economy.⁷ Michael Barnett observes that humanitarianism in its various guises has the power to emancipate *and* dominate by shedding light and liberating, but simultaneously ‘narrowing’ the frame of reference.⁸

We are also reminded by Lilie Chouliaraki that the strategies of media discourse—the texts that enter our lives via computer screens or hand-held devices—mediate the fundamentally asymmetrical ‘spectacle of suffering’ into something palatable and safe. In so doing, media rhetorics engage a moral cause: live footage of suffering enacts an ecstatic identification on the part of the viewer.⁹ In light of this, we conclude that a neoliberal discursive shift in the 1990s, that framed child labor as an endemic form of abuse and resituated trafficking in all its forms as derivative and illegitimate, gave rise to a new form of popular and dissimulating anti-trafficking activism which sees locates remedy not in radical change upheaval but market reform via consumer action.¹⁰ Echoing nineteenth-century abolitionist ‘legitimate commerce’ discourse, millennial anti-trafficking video narratives appear deeply influenced by neoliberal economic models that celebrate lawful commercial enterprise and promote consumer-driven policy change.¹¹

Cocoa, Neoliberalism, and Child Trafficking

At the beginning of the twenty-first century, two news stories about child slavery in the cocoa industry of West Africa became global headlines. In September 2000, UK Channel 4 aired a documentary that featured Darissa, a Malian youth who was tricked by human traffickers into agreeing to work on a cocoa farm in the Côte d'Ivoire. The documentary used this single case to assert that trafficking of children to Ivorian cocoa farms was widespread. The BBC followed up on this story by claiming that the slave trade from southern Mali was robust with some 15,000 children trafficked into Côte d'Ivoire. Children could be bought for as little as USD30 and most ended up on cocoa farms.¹² Then in April 2001, a flurry of news accounts focused on the Nigerian steamer, the *MV Etireno*, which was transporting up to 250 children in 'appalling conditions' from Nigeria to work elsewhere in West Africa.¹³ Also in April 2001, the *Financial Times* further fueled the debate by reporting that Nestlé and Cadbury were ignoring reports of child slavery in cocoa production.¹⁴ We do not want to suggest a direct causality, but a wave of scholarly research, non-governmental and governmental action increased after 2001, including special studies by Antislavery International, the International Labour Organization, and by various EU and US agencies.¹⁵ The research that emerged could not adequately analyze the cocoa farming sector in West Africa in part because of its size and its diversity. While cocoa is produced throughout much of the West African forest zone, more than 60% of the world's cocoa is grown in Ghana and Côte d'Ivoire, with Ivorian cocoa constituting between 33-40% of total global output.¹⁶ Ivorian cocoa production began in the early twentieth century but expanded rapidly in the 1930s. By 1961, some 250,000 hectares were in cocoa production. By 2004, cocoa production had expanded to 4,000,000 hectares and involved an estimated 800,000 individual

farms. Ivorian cocoa accounts for one-third of all economic activity in Côte d'Ivoire and in 2002-2003 cocoa exports accounted for 90% of export earnings.¹⁷ Most of this cocoa is grown by small-scale farmers primarily on plots of one to three hectares and rarely larger than six hectares. Once planted, trees yield fruit within five years, have two harvests annually, and reach maturity in ten. Yields decline after about three decades.¹⁸

Ivorian smallholders benefited from rising commodity prices for cocoa. Despite price fluctuations, cocoa largely fueled the 'Ivorian Miracle' of sustained growth during the first two decades of independence due to generally favorable prices and new farms entering production. Cocoa (and coffee and cotton) prices at independence were set by the state-owned Caisse de Stabilisation et de Soutient des Prix des Produits Agricoles (Caistab), which annually administered a price for exported agricultural products at rates below international commodity prices. Caistab was intended to stabilize international price fluctuation, but resulted in an agricultural tax. Cocoa prices moved upward in the 1970s, peaked in 1979, and then collapsed dramatically. For the first time in 25 years, Caistab cut its producer price by 38%. Global prices kept falling through the 1980s and, by 1989, Caistab cut producer prices a further 20%, thus offering farmers only half of what they received in 1979.¹⁹ Under World Bank and IMF pressure, Côte d'Ivoire abolished Caistab in 1999.²⁰ In 2000, cocoa prices hit a 27-year low.²¹ The collapse of cocoa prices plunged farmers into poverty and contributed to crisis and civil war.

The timing of the cocoa collapse, the eventual market deregulation, and a growing awareness of child labor and slavery in the Ivorian sector was not happenstance. It was related to the wider efforts by state and non-state advocates of neoliberalism to promote economic growth by encouraging open borders and economic deregulation. The collapse of the Soviet Union in 1989 further fueled neoliberal political economies by advancing the notion that entrepreneurial

energies unencumbered by restrictions on private property, free markets, and free trade improved human well-being and maximized market transactions. Neoliberal ideas encouraged deregulation, privatization, and the withdrawal of the state from economic and social life, including the withering of social safety net provisions assumed to hinder individual entrepreneurial inclinations. States were encouraged to reduce barriers to the movement of capital and commodities, thus enhancing global competition, thus enhancing global competition, which was understood to improve efficiency, lower prices, and improve quality.²² The net result of increased neoliberalism was more complex, yielding increased global and national inequalities as capital and incomes were redistributed from the developing world to the developed world and from rural areas to urban-based elites. In some cases, neoliberal globalization exacerbated rural poverty and vulnerabilities to contemporary forms of enslavement, including chattel slavery, child slavery, and trafficking.²³

Rather than increased prosperity generally, the consequences of neoliberal adjustments in the global cocoa supply chain led to increased consolidation on the manufacturing side and therefore the ability of major chocolate producers to influence prices paid farmers. Cocoa has a highly complex value chain with a large number of small-scale farmers facing downstream traders and manufacturers with a high degree of market power. Especially with the collapse of state marketing boards like Casitab, Ivorian cocoa producers normally sell their minimally processed cocoa to local middlemen, who in turn sell their purchases to international traders. These international traders sell their stock to major international cocoa brands. Increasing consolidation has, however, decreased the market power of the small traders and even the international traders. Thanks to deregulation, 75% of the global cocoa market is now dominated by five multinational companies. These companies have not hesitated to exert their influence

over global supply chains, including building up reserve stocks of cocoa to weather prices increases, thus squeezing value from lower levels and enhancing profits of global multinationals.²⁴

Given the long-term investment in arboriculture, small-scale cocoa farmers cannot easily shift crops to suit changing market conditions. Falling prices for cocoa has led to increased rural poverty in Côte d'Ivoire; increased poverty has resulted in the increase in child labor on cocoa farms.²⁵ Small-scale cocoa farmers have long used family labor augmented by hiring agricultural labor and fostering, whereby children are placed temporarily with other kin-based households with a labor deficit. With declining prices, farmers sought to boost output. Few, however, can afford wages for adults, who increasingly migrated to urban centers, especially Abidjan. Cocoa farmers shifted to employing younger boys.²⁶ In 2017, Reuters estimated that more than two million children work in Ivorian and Ghanaian cocoa production.²⁷ Based on Ivorian household surveys, Denis Cogneau and Rémi Jedwab estimate that one child in four is fostered with cocoa households.²⁸ Child labor circulating within kinship units presumably have some protection against exploitation. However, this is not the case with children trafficked to cocoa zones from non-kin groups and from neighboring states.²⁹ Neoliberal globalization has also exacerbated poverty and inequality in nations not primary commodity exporters. Genevieve Lebaron and Alison Ayers argue that there has been a 'neoliberal acceleration of unfree labour' in which workers are 'coerced into bonded labour through fraudulent contractual relations... the most rapidly accelerating form of contemporary unfree labour in the African context.'³⁰ In the Ivorian cocoa context, it is unfree child labor, more highly exploitable because they lack kinship protections.³¹ Many tens of thousands of boys in particular are trafficked annually in West Africa.³²

The reports of child trafficking and child slavery in Côte d'Ivoire stimulated members of the wider and diffuse world of internet video production to express their concerns about the connections between cocoa production, chocolate, and child trafficking and child labor. In so doing, these participants drew on a long history of invoking shocking images to raise awareness of the conditions of slavery and to encourage action to end these practices. One of the challenges facing those who produce viral videos to shape popular opinion within the wider antislavery movement is how to sustain public pressure to achieve their goals.

A Brief History of Visual Metonymy and Abolitionist Humiliation

The histories of anti-slavery, abolition, and anti-trafficking rhetorics are united by the prominent role of public humiliation and visual imagery. During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, through the colonial period and into the twentieth century in Africa, most states, imperial powers, and international organizations did not have the capacity to broadcast their powers to enforce legislation.³³ Even in the few cases where states and organizations enforced abolitionist legislation, they were often confronted with an inability to provide victims with substantive remedy because victims were easily disguised as family members.³⁴ Antislavery activists also had to confront their own challenges in broadcasting their message. As Richard Rorty observed, humiliation plays a prominent role in human rights mobilization through a pedagogy of pity, or what Michael Ignatieff described as the foundational recognition that your pain is my pain.³⁵ In anti-trafficking and abolitionist rhetoric, humiliation via naming and shaming zeroes in on weak enforcement and failing institutions. Shame-centered rhetoric also imagines a capacity to change norms as the wider public becomes aware of an abusive status quo.

Naming and shaming have a long history and appear in many of the world's regions and across historical periods.³⁶ In the context of anti-slavery, abolition, and anti-trafficking, several historical and contemporary moments stand out for their use of visual cues. Each of these moments points to specific modalities of naming and shaming using violent and horrific imagery.³⁷ And just as Page duBois and Jeffrey Kerr-Ritchie remind us that since ancient times, 'it has been 'difficult to dislodge' the slave as smaller than free persons, crouching, submissive, bent, grotesque, 'suppliant', and nude, we also attempt to adhere to Jerome Handler's and Annis Steiner's caution to 'pay as much attention' to the 'context' in which illustrations of slavery are created.³⁸

The first significant historical abolitionist episode responded to publicly by naming and shaming began in 1781 when Captain Luke Collingwood of the *Zong* failed to make anchor at Jamaica after a voyage from West Africa carrying 440 slaves. With water and provisions running low and sickness spreading among his slave 'cargo', Collingwood ordered 133 of the sickest thrown overboard with the foreknowledge that insurance covered against loss from rebellion and shipwreck, including human 'cargo'. On the basis of this insurance, the ship's owners sued for recovery.³⁹ The *Zong* would probably have gone unnoticed had Gustavus Vassa (Olaudah Equiano) not seen a news notice, which he passed on to Granville Sharp, a central figure in a deeply group men disturbed about the inhumanity of the slave trade.⁴⁰ The widely circulated illustration of slaves being thrown overboard [see Figure 1], what Marcus Wood calls the visual imagery of 'atrocities', postdated the events that galvanized these individuals into forming the Society for Effecting the Abolition of the Slave Trade in 1787 by some 50 years and was originally produced in Brazil.⁴¹ But when Equiano published his *Interesting Narrative* in 1789,

this powerful rhetorical precursor to global abolitionism set the cruelty and horrors of the Middle Passage to text.⁴²

The *Zong* story and William Blake's illustrations of slave torture in Surinam [see Figure 2] circulated widely in publications, letters, and speeches, to raise awareness of slave trading atrocities, to name companies and slave traders, to shame judges, and generally to pressure Parliament toward abolition.⁴³ These and other images provoked others to produce paraphernalia to raise awareness and campaign funds.⁴⁴ William Hackwood, designing for Josiah Wedgwood, produced porcelain medallions from 1787 emblazoned with a slave breaking chains accompanied by the slogan 'Am I not a man and a brother' [see Figure 3]; its 'visual economy' was also its 'genius', and it was adapted to snuffboxes, hatpins, broaches, and other ornaments.⁴⁵ Sugar bowls and other popular tableware feted antislavery, and in so doing reframed slave-produced sugar as 'blood sugar'.⁴⁶ According to Maurie McInnis, however, the first antislavery image to 'enter' the 'British visual lexicon' was not a rendition of the *Zong* but James Phillips' 1789 *Plan and Sections of a Slave Ship*. Phillips' key innovation [Figure 4] was to populate the ship 'conforming to the rules of draftsmanship' with recognizable human forms: images with 'an air of scientific precision and authenticity' possessed 'potent moral suasion'.⁴⁷ After two decades of public pressure, Parliament voted to abolish the slave trade in 1807, paving the way for grander abolitionist activity throughout the British Empire and beyond. As McInnis argues, anti-slavery imagery was a 'vital part' of British 'visual culture' and 'antislavery efforts self-referentially drew on earlier antislavery materials', and the 'suppliant slave was repeated endlessly'.⁴⁸

A second key historical benchmark solidifying the interweaving of naming and shaming with visual metonymy began in central Africa at the turn of the nineteenth century. The Scramble for Africa was framed by the humanitarian impulse to end the slave trade in Africa. European

nations met in Berlin in 1884–1885 pledging to prohibit the export of slaves from Africa ‘on land and sea’. Imperial powers reiterated commitments to end slave trafficking with the 1890 General Act of the Brussels Conference. Few of the imperial states actively pursued their pledges to end slavery. Britain perhaps made the most significant efforts, especially in the Indian Ocean, the Cape Colony, Lagos, and the Gold Coast.⁴⁹ The antislavery veneer of European motivations coincided with significant demand for raw materials, such as palm oil, ivory, and rubber.⁵⁰ Global demand encouraged Africans to enhance commodity production. Amateur photographers, like Herbert Lang, rushed to document ‘culture’ and ‘spectacle’.⁵¹ As African societies had long used slaves and both domestic and market-oriented slavery was widespread, European commodity demands expanded the use of African coercive labor.⁵²

Such was the case with the abuses of the Congo Free State, which had emerged out of the ostensibly non-governmental Congo International Association. Missionaries and consuls disseminated factual data about abuses relating to wild rubber collection. Journalists (like E.D. Morel), satirists (think Mark Twain), cartoonists (such as Linley Sambourne), African American missionaries (such as George Washington Williams), and consular officials (like Roger Casement), supported by British commercial interests eager to tap into the trade of the Congo, brought public attention to massive violence ‘in the rubber coils’ [see Figure 5].⁵³ In 1904, Morel, Casement, and the Congo Reform Association (CRA) published Alice Harris’s photographs of maimed Congolese [see Figure 6], what Sharon Sliwinski calls ‘atrocities photographs’, refiguring a seemingly innocuous consumer product used primarily for bicycle tires as ‘red rubber’ or ‘blood rubber’; unremarkable acts of colonial violence became ‘crimes against humanity’.⁵⁴ Importantly, as Sliwinski notes,

The CRA was not only the largest humanitarian movement of the era, it was also the first humanitarian movement to use atrocity photographs as a central tool. Crimes occurring in far-away places were made *publicly visible* for the first time in history.⁵⁵

Photographers and cartoonists ridiculed the King and the Catholic church, and scandalized the Belgian people for their complicity in what Robert Harms called ‘a plundering tribute-collecting empire of the crudest sort’: they also, in Sliwinski’s words, instantiated human rights as ‘conceived’ of ‘by spectators’, and ‘compelled’ viewers to ‘judge’.⁵⁶ Consequently, the Belgian parliament investigated, acknowledged the abuses, and annexed Congo in 1908.⁵⁷

A third significant historical cluster of incidents of abolitionist visually metonymic naming and shaming in Africa erupted between the two world wars, which coincided with the shift from still to moving images. Following decades of relative quiescence regarding European popular sentiment about colonial abuses, empire returned to the agenda with the establishment of the League of Nations, the International Labor Organization, and especially the League’s Temporary Commission on Slavery. With its founding in 1919, the League became a crucible for the development of international treaties. The 1926 Convention to Suppress the Slave Trade and Slavery formulated an international definition of slavery as ‘the status or condition of a person over whom any or all of the powers attaching to the right of ownership are exercised’. Signatories were mandated to bring about ‘progressively and as soon as possible, the complete abolition of slavery in all its forms’.⁵⁸ The Temporary Commission adopted a quasi-scientific approach to naming and shaming, investigating claims of alleged persistence of slavery. Reports often resulted in a flurry of administrative activity as, for example, when the French Ministry of Colonies called for investigations into human trafficking in French West Africa.⁵⁹ While the

Temporary Commission was often reluctant to publicly shame member states, the League used shame to force Abyssinia to renounce slavery and slave trading as a condition of admission. Imagery of ‘girl slaves’ shocked European and American audiences; G. C. Baravelli’s explosive *The Last Stronghold of Slavery: What Abyssinia Is* (1935) [see Figure 7] published in at least four languages, featured blood-soaked slave shackles in color.⁶⁰ While little changed on the ground, as David Killingray and Andrew Roberts observe, although the ‘Fascist propaganda machine assiduously used both still and movie photography’ against Ethiopia, stills seem to have played a lesser part ‘for the purposes of popular instruction or persuasion’, and from circa 1920 there was a discernible shift toward moving images.⁶¹

These examples demonstrate how naming and shaming operated hand in hand with developments in visual culture, from a ‘two-dimensional replica’ of ‘one moment of reality’ in lithograph or photograph, to moving images as a precursor to globalized internet mediated metonymy.⁶² Mirroring James Scott’s theorization of resistance as a hidden transcript located somewhere between structure and agency, we see the naming and shaming as operating laterally whereby concerned observers and bystanders inject themselves into the debate and thereby seek to change norms and behavior.⁶³ Saidiya Hartman reminds us to remain vigilant to how enslavement representation is always incomplete and depends on formal legal and political processes for efficacy.⁶⁴

Today contemporary examples of public shaming via newer internet-based media abound. Africa-centric narratives have played a foundational role in the popularization of viral video. One of the most widely celebrated, ‘Kony2012’, a ‘wonderful, horrible’ production of Invisible Children, Inc., became the ‘most viral video in history’, with approximately 34,000,000 views three days after its initial upload to YouTube on 5 March 2012, and 100,000,000 views

within six days.⁶⁵ Kony2012 was a successful use of this new ‘repertoire of protest’.⁶⁶ Legislative prohibitions on ‘blood diamonds’ and other conflict minerals also point to the lasting success of reshaping debates by renaming products with sanguinary metonyms, brought to life and to a larger global audience on the big screen.⁶⁷ Perhaps the most celebrated newer naming and shaming model is the United States Department of State’s annual Trafficking in Persons Report.⁶⁸ Anne Gallagher argues that ‘there can be no doubt’ that because of potentially ‘serious consequences’ these reports ‘radically altered’ state ‘compliance’ with international trafficking law.⁶⁹

‘Blood Cocoa’ Metonymy in Viral Videos

Within a year or two of YouTube’s launch, individuals began uploading videos about slavery and trafficking in cocoa-growing regions of Africa. A ‘viral video’ is generally understood as a ‘user-generated amateur video’ that ‘gains popularity’ through a ‘viral’ process of internet sharing, typically through video-sharing websites, social media, and email.⁷⁰ In this respect, virality’s capacity to ‘exert influence’ or ‘intensify’ is usefully interpreted with the concept of ‘mediatization’ insofar as ‘media logic’ consists of a ‘formatting logic’ that ‘determines’ how material is presented.⁷¹ Thus, the very act of uploading is an expressive desire to ‘go viral’ and contains an expectation of impact.⁷²

Successfully *viral* videos may be humorous or shocking, and others operate as eyewitnesses. Various subjective tests gauge whether a video has ‘gone viral’, such as buzz or longevity.⁷³ Among the most widely cited are numbers and rates of viewing.⁷⁴ With technological advances and wider availability of personal digital devices, sharing is easier, but viewership thresholds are unstable and somewhat arbitrary.⁷⁵ We see viral videos as ‘extending’

communication over time and space, offering a ‘substitute’ for consensus-building actions that previously took place in person.⁷⁶ The emergence of a ‘new type of opinion leader’, namely user-generated social media content, is rapidly transforming scholarly models of opinion formation.⁷⁷

Media logic is an important component of mediatization insofar as it describes the capacity of the medium to influence opinions by controlling the information exchanged. Stig Hjarvard explains ‘media logic’ as the ‘institutional and technological modus operandi of the media, including the ways in which media distribute material and symbolic resources’.⁷⁸ A ‘logic of virality’ undergirds social media platforms like YouTube.com wherein virality is ‘tightly interconnected with popularity’ and ‘like-minded’ viewer/usership.⁷⁹ Early viewership patterns can forecast a peak.⁸⁰ We discern ‘blood chocolate’ metonymy as part of this logic. People overall seem more likely to share any video that evokes intense emotions, and ‘only content that generates stronger affective responses’ are ‘likely to spread’ virally.⁸¹ According to Ulrike Klinger and Jakob Svensson, intermediaries, such as leading general-bloggers, can ‘stimulate’ virality, but it cannot be ‘created’.⁸² ‘Blood chocolate’ metonymy captures viewer’s attention stimulating virality, and it connects the viewer to similar videos created by likeminded activists.

Methodological Considerations

These preceding observations also necessitate several methodological caveats in advance of our discussion. First, a selection of 60 videos from YouTube was made ‘virally’ following the ‘network media logic’ elaborated by Klinger and Svensson, insofar as the ‘network is part of the content displayed’: thus, a search was initiated with the terms ‘child slavery chocolate’, and as one video played, a list of ‘similar’ or related video suggestions appeared in the right column.⁸³ An implicit ‘blood chocolate’ metonymy structures our sample. Of these 60 videos, 20 were

chosen as the focus of the preliminary analysis, and three are examined here in depth. As the selected videos were therefore collected subject to a proprietary algorithm, we caution against any generalized claims about representation. Second, video files were saved in a variety of formats, but contain little or no metadata: we were not so forward-thinking. YouTube is a dynamic platform: a number of videos remain accessible, others have been erased. While we are reluctant to make specific claims about virality, for a study about neoabolitionist rhetoric, virality is less important than video production and composition.

We consider a variety of qualitative data from and around the videos—the textuality, imagery, and composition, interviews with the creators, crowdsourced viewing feedback, and online metadata—to argue that two shameful ‘blood chocolate’ metonymic archetypes prevail: namely, the unfettered role of corporations presented as corporate greed and the startling untold scale of slavery. At the same time, these two archetypes subtly dissimulate the violence of slavery from the broader global context, narrowing the remedy to varying grades of market-based action. Based on our limited interactions with the video producers, it seems clear that these videos were created and uploaded to YouTube to demonstrate that child slavery in chocolate production ‘exists’ and to ‘kickstart’ a conversation about shamefulness and potential remedies. The social engagement enacted by video production and dissemination ‘springs to life, acquires value, and fulfills its purpose’ as a potential ‘social agent’ of change.⁸⁴

Example One: ‘Blood Chocolate’ [view at <https://vimeo.com/267998339> password bloodchocolate]

This video was uploaded to YouTube on May 15, 2007 by an individual with a YouTube account known as ‘HalfAsianQT’ and a (now defunct) myspace account ‘maria1’ (subsequently

identified as Maria Lemone Santella, b. 1979, of Los Angeles, California). The grainy video is called 'Blood Chocolate' and it runs for one minute and six seconds. The YouTube host site offers a production note: 'I made this video for my presentation on the Blood Chocolate in Africa (sic)', as part of undergraduate computer science studies at California State University Long Beach. Originally it was submitted for a grade for coursework accompanied by a written report and PowerPoint slides, and it shared with the class via BeachBoard®, a pedagogical interface. In a telephone interview, Ms. Lemone reiterated that she wanted to 'share it with the world', 'to bring attention to' and to share the view of 'the effects of this child slavery'. The Windows Movie Maker® video is composed of low resolution image collages, saved as multiple gif animated images, that appear a series of eight slides with text, graphics and photographic stills, accompanied by Gary Jules' and Michael Andrews' 2003 cover of the 1982 Tears for Fears track 'Mad World', which was selected from her private collection because it 'really evoked emotion from the viewer and empathy and the feeling, the sadness, the melancholy', and edited for timing. Ms. Lemone explained that in addition to her classmates, and social sharing by email, all 35,000 myspace subscribers could view the video, and many posted their reactions. YouTube.com metadata lists 36,015 views, 50 'likes', three 'dislikes', and 21 comments by viewers.⁸⁵

As the music starts the first slide begins with the question: 'Where does chocolate come from?' This segues into a sequence of images and text. The first image is a collage of candies, with Hershey's prominently centered. The subsequent slides offer points of information, punctuated by graphic images. The second text reads: '1/2 of All the Worlds (sic) Chocolate is Produced Along the Ivory Coast'. This text segues to contemporary map of Africa and zooms to Ivory Coast. The third text reads: '90% of Ivory Coast Cocoa Plantations use Slave Labor'. The

subsequent photograph appears to show African men, women, and children working in a field, but it is not a cocoa plantation. This is followed by ‘The Going Price of a Child Sold into Slavery is \$30, U.S. Currency’, and then a blurry image of children carrying head-loads, which Lemone admitted was not a cocoa plantation, but found searching online images. Slide four reads: ‘Over 200,000 Children are Traded Each Year’, followed by an image of five unkempt African children of various ages in a village. Slide five reads: ‘If They Try to Escape, They are Killed or Beaten to Near Death’, followed by an image of the back of an African youth, with noticeable signs of physical abuse.⁸⁶

While the video is a single sequence, the second half is more interpretative. Slide six reads: ‘Being a Slave is a Process of Systematic Desensitization of One’s Mind, Body, and Spirit’, followed by another image of a child, shown sideways, with apparent signs of abuse or injury. The penultimate slide reads: ‘“Made by Slaves” Labels on All Chocolate Products Would Apply Public Pressure World Wide’, and is followed by an image of a Hershey’s Milk Chocolate five-pound bar, with the language ‘MADE BY SLAVES’ inserted onto the packaging at the bottom right, and circled in red. The final slide is a collage overlaid over the earlier image of laborers, and, via slow zoom, a final red text overlay appears with the words ‘Blood Chocolate in Africa’ and fades.

Example Two: ‘Chocolate Slavery’ [View at <https://vimeo.com/267998304> password: bloodchocolate]

The second video was produced by a three-person team, led by Jenny Z (comic Jenny Zigrino). The black and white video consists of a performance by Zigrino, running one minute and forty-

five seconds, set to music—a 1954 recording of Benny Goodman’s ‘Let’s Dance’, with the following updated lyrics.

I love chocolate, yes I do,
I love chocolate, yes it’s true,
I don’t need a man or a fast car,
all I want is a chocolate bar,
I love chocolate yes I do.

I love chocolate, yes it’s true,
I eat it every time I feel blue.
It makes me feel happy again, and
I just can’t pretend
That I don’t love it more than you.

Just give me that rich, dark taste,
Any time of the day
Whether it’s nutty, creamy, caramel,
It takes my breath away
I can’t understand
Why you don’t agree
That chocolate is all I’ll ever need.

From mid-2007, the video was viewed at least 30,000 times before it was removed from YouTube. Our analysis also draws on a brief email exchange with Ms. Zigrino.

The video opens with what appears to be a Hershey's Kiss[®] alone atop a table, after which Goodman's clarinet begins and an incomplete image of a woman's upper legs and lower torso in a dress moves across the screen, pauses and turns toward the Kiss, arms moving apart, in an expression of surprise. The woman—again incomplete as only part of her face and hair is shown—rushes the table, grabs, unwraps, and stuffs the Kiss in her mouth. As she chews, her head lowers, to reveal her eyes, which search across the screen. She appears to see something (in the distance, off camera), and disappears.

In the second scene she is on her knees, wearing a bunny-ear headdress, atop a table littered with Hershey's Kisses, chocolate bars, and also a Hershey's chocolate syrup bottle. She tears open a candy bar and begins to gorge. As she pauses, the lyrics (above) begin, and the scene cuts to a title slide with two lines of text, namely 'Hundreds of children are enslaved, on cocoa farms on (sic) the Ivory Coast'. The camera returns to the woman stuffing more and more chocolate into her mouth, with the remnants streaming down her face. As she opens a second chocolate bar, a second slide appears with the following: 'Their parents sell them for 50\$-100\$ (sic), in hopes that they will make money on their own'. The camera returns briefly to the table, and we see the hands of the woman rummaging among the pile of candy, as a fourth slide appears with: 'They work 80-100 hours a week, for little or no money'. Each slide features white font on black background, but the second line is slightly smaller. We return to the woman as she grabs the syrup bottle and pours it directly into her mouth. It drips down her lips, and she hoards the remaining candy. A fifth slide reads 'They are regularly beaten, starved, and exhausted'. We return to the woman, focusing on part of her face, dripping with chocolate. She smiles. A sixth slide appears with the question, 'Do these facts make you sick?' Cupping her mouth as if she is about to vomit, she leaps off the table.

In the penultimate scene, the camera rests on the table, and an open bag of Hershey's Kisses lies foreground. In the distance, the woman runs to the bathroom and opens the door. As she falls to her knees, head over the toilet, a slide appears with the text 'They should'. The final scene returns to a close-up of her head over the open toilet; she is vomiting, and a stream of dark liquid falls from her mouth. The credits roll. A final slide reads: 'For more information regarding Ivory Coast or Modern Day Slavery visit your local library... or google it'.

Example Three: 'Do you like your chocolate?' [View at <https://vimeo.com/267998317> password: bloodchocolate]

The third video is a professional product by London-based filmmaker Roy Petersen of Bubble Up! Media from 2007, part of a competition by an anti-trafficking coalition called Stop the Traffik, Inc. 'Do you like your chocolate?' or, alternatively, 'Woman eating Chocolate Commercial', is forty-five seconds long and consists of two components. Uploaded to YouTube.com on December 11, 2007, it has 3,779 views, two 'likes', three 'dislikes', but no public comments. Mr. Petersen consented to an informal interview in a bar in Camden Town, London.

The first part runs for 38 seconds and features the head, neck, and part of the shoulders of a heavily made up woman (actor Marianne Sheehan) wearing a black sweater. Her makeup is almost clown-like, with deep red lips, heavy rouge, and fake eyelashes. She stares up and out, not directly at the camera, and there is silence. She puts a cube of chocolate in her mouth with her left hand, and begins to chew, and smiles. Eight seconds in, a synthetic polyvocal voiceover asks 'Do you like your chocolate?' lingering on the last syllable. A gold-painted hand appears top right and puts a chunk of chocolate in her mouth. She reacts with surprise and pleasure. Two

seconds later a second gold-painted hand appears center top-left, her eyes drift up left as she continues chewing. Simultaneously, the voiceover asks, ‘do you know what it’s bought with?’ Her mouth opens and she accepts the chocolate with some puzzlement, her eyes darting left and right. As she looks right, the voiceover rejoins, ‘that’s right! It’s bought with twelve thousand children sold’, lingering long and oddly on the last word, as a third painted hand appears left, and circles her lips with yet more chocolate.

The first hand reappears and feeds her again, immediately followed by the second and third, as the first and second questions are repeated in a higher pitch. The hands reappear a third time with more chocolate as the rejoinder is repeated again, at a high pitch, and they all return in sequence a fourth and fifth time throwing the chocolate at her face, missing her mouth completely. It falls by her shoulders but she continues to open her mouth to receive as much as possible, to chew, and she attempts to swallow. She closes her eyes. The second brief sequence begins with one single word ‘Stop!’ accompanied by a handprint emblazoned with a key. The call ‘Stop!’ echoes four times in decreasing volume, as the words ‘Stop the Traffik’ appear, followed by a sequence of three slides reading: ‘12,000 children trafficking to pick cocoa beans’, followed by ‘Do YOU still like Chocolate?’ and finally a web address.

These three examples are illustrative of the messaging, format, and aesthetics of 20 videos collected and reviewed. The three examined here demonstrate the intrinsic value of these texts as documentation of popular anti-trafficking sentiment as well as the crucial place of video portals, such as YouTube, as conduits of a new wave of millennial abolitionist activism. What remains to be seen, however, is how the modalities of naming and shaming map also dissimulate and narrow options for remedy.

‘Blood Chocolate’ Metonymy: Naming, Shaming, and Remedy

These three videos are illustrative of a broader selection of texts that shame and propose remedy. The first directly implicates corporations and people in the persistence of ‘blood chocolate’ and child slavery. Shaming is monolithic, all-encompassing and indiscriminately taints all facets of chocolate production and consumption. The second targets ‘modern slavery’ and endemic physical abuse, without any reference to ‘blood chocolate’ *per se*. Corporate naming and shaming is intuited by association. And the third video implies references to abuse in cocoa production via the visual violence of force feeding. Here we analyze the messaging each of these in more depth.

Lemone’s video directs the audience’s attention to the shameful role of corporations in creating the contexts for the persistence of slavery. It begins with a provocation: ‘Where does chocolate come from?’ Her answer is both physical and geographical. Chocolate comes from ‘slave’ labor and specifically from Côte d’Ivoire. The assertions are buttressed by unsourced statistical ‘data-points’, keeping in mind that the sources were part of the written report submitted.⁸⁷ And because corporations, particularly Hershey’s, shoulder responsibility for the persistence of slavery, the remedy comes in the form of a consumer-led consciousness-raising whereby products ‘made by slaves’ must be designated as such. Hershey’s is named and shamed as a purveyor of slave-produced products, and shame is extended to the public should it continue to purchase chocolate with such labeling.

Lemone believes that consumers have the power to change the laboring relationships between cocoa producers and corporations.⁸⁸ She ‘looked up solutions to this issue, because this is a big issue’. When asked if the proposed remedy was ‘feasible’, she replied,

I think so, just like they have fair trade on coffee. They could definitely put at least fair trade on chocolate; maybe not made by slaves. Maybe the chocolate manufacturers would never admit to doing that, but maybe at least some sort of marking.⁸⁹

The remedy proposed, while somewhat ambiguous, takes the form of a capitalist market reform in the shape of certification of fair trade practices. Like Wedgwood's sugar bowls, labeling chocolate 'made by slaves' is provocative: 'then whenever anybody's eating a chocolate bar, then they will at least know that this is something that's made by slaves'.⁹⁰ But unlike the 'blood sugar' antecedent, the implementation of Lemone's remedy is unclear. In some ways, Lemone's vision of shaming resonates more with Alice Harris's 'red rubber' photographs: embarrassing imagery may force greater and more powerful forces to act. She referenced her training in computer science and 'problem-solving': when people buy chocolate, they would read the slogan, and at least some would recoil in shame. Regulatory agency labeling, forcing producers and corporate manufacturers to alter their production model, resides comfortably within a neoliberal market-based set of practices.

The second example, from Zigrino, draws in the audience with humor and playfulness, but it provokes a very visceral response. When tested on student audiences in the authors' classroom setting, students complained of feeling nauseous. Elicitation of personal shame is layered with guilt at chocolate's sensuality. The binge-eating narrative is easily recognizable, but it is disturbingly and uncomfortably elided with white female obesity. The textual narrative contains what purport to be 'facts', such as the cost of 'enslaved' children and parental complicity, but no sources support factuality assertions. The conclusion is almost a challenge to the audience: if you doubt, go find out! Hershey's is not explicitly named, but logos and

proprietary products are omnipresent. Shame, on the other hand, is exclusively the consumer's. The audience is sickened, ashamed, embarrassed because chocolate consumption instantiates human rights violations. The viewer is complicit in rights violations, and the startling realization that slavery continues today is enough to 'make you sick'.

Zigrino's implied, but no less neoliberal, remedy is more diffuse. Boycotting or abstaining, or alternatively, identifying alternatives that better reflect the consumer's sudden awakening to exploitation, is predicated on corporations responding and self-reforming. Consumer-led campaigns targeting 'blood sugar' shifted trade to some extent; abstaining from West Indian sugar pressured plantation owners and opting for Indian sugar created new markets and investment opportunities in London and British India and certainly contributed to abolition. Yet the media circus around 'blood rubber'—first in the Congo and then in Amazonia—provoked few consumer boycotts.⁹¹ Extreme human rights violations lessened but also relocated as new plantations were established in Malaysia.⁹²

But there is a second neoliberal component to Zigrino's remedy that resonates with earlier market-based solutions. By conducting personal research, individuals can contribute to solutions by provoking market reform. This rhetoric found new voice in the 1990s 'social responsibility movement', whereby fairness becomes a commodity attribute and an expression of personal conviction.⁹³ The marketing of chocolate in 'ostensibly ethical terms' is predicated on consumers' interest in matters of a humanitarian or environmental nature.⁹⁴ Consumers can either reward similarly inclined brands and businesses, or punish the disengaged. Zigrino suggests that shame can be refigured as direct market action, inverting the embarrassment into pride: as Maryann McCabe explains, the ethical choice becomes the embodiment of 'justice *and* sensual enjoyment'.⁹⁵

In Roy Petersen's production, shame and neoliberalism are hand-in-hand as a creepy, synthetic voiceover sets the viewer on edge. The startling realization that a supposedly anodyne incident—a person eating chocolate—embodies slavery shocks and shames deeply. But unlike the others, Petersen invokes no corporate attachment and provides no manufacture or production imagery. Chocolate is not identified with any one world region. The mysterious number 12,000 is never explained or sourced. We never learn who the children are, where they reside, or who is selling them. Naming and shaming targets the audience, and the viewer/user bears the responsibility for ignorance and complicity. The viewer/user is refigured as slave trader.

This final visceral and nauseous video collapses 'blood chocolate' metonymy and neoliberalism when the voiceover refers to 'twelve thousand children sold' as gold-painted hands force-feed a white, vibrantly made-up woman. Being force-fed unsettles; complex racial and gendered imagery is untethered. The proposed remedy is consumer-driven self-constraint. Whereas coherent and concise messaging and supporting iconography has been central to successful naming and shaming from the earliest moments of 'blood sugar' campaigns, the remedy proposed being and ends with a vague appeal to boycott.

In an interview, Petersen explained that this final example was actually one of nine produced by Bubble Up! Media as part of a £5000 commission to launch Stop the Traffik's online competition. He explained the goal was to 'really get people's attention' because they had a 'strong desire to do grassroots stuff', and to virally stimulate others to create their own anti-trafficking videos. He and his team recognized that the most effective videos would be as 'short as possible', 30 seconds, 'quick, with one message—one issue'. His team was also guided by Stop the Traffik to 'make the idea' of 'fighting trafficking a cool thing'.⁹⁶ In this respect then, Petersen's video resonates with previous abolitionist marketing, beginning with Wedgwood and

continuing to the present day with the highly coveted ‘Fair Trade’ certification, but also surpasses it. ‘Do you like your chocolate’ represents the apex of the neoliberal shaming resurgence insofar as the brand *is* the solution.

Conclusion

We do not advocate for or against neoliberal market-based remedies to solve the problem of child slavery in the cocoa industry. The persistence of coerced child labor necessitates a complex and multivalent remedy, within which capitalist market-driven tools certainly have a role.

‘Liberal’ *laissez faire* free trade surely contributed to trans-Atlantic slavery’s contraction, just as it did to the massive expansion of coercive labor in colonial Africa.⁹⁷ Yet other scholars have argued that the ‘violent expansion of unfree labor’ in contemporary Africa is ‘rooted in fundamental shifts in social property relations associated with the neoliberal project’.⁹⁸

As historians, what we find worthy of further study are products of ‘activists beyond borders’ who embrace new tools to advocate particular remedies. As Margaret E. Keck and Kathryn Sikkink observe, ‘technological and institutional change’ can ‘alter’ the moral universe in which we operate by ‘changing how people think about responsibility and guilt’.⁹⁹ Viral videos are one part of the internet’s social logic that projects a common horizon of concern as part of the new shared global experience borne of mediatization.¹⁰⁰ Indeed, Hjarvard sees mediatization as a significant social force, on a par with industrialization or urbanization. And as historians, both imagining the future archive of neoabolitionism and reflecting on the striking historical value of sugar bowls, lithographs, and cartoons, we offer this preliminary analysis of ‘blood chocolate’ metonymy in a cluster of viral videos in our attempt to tell a history of a present provocative moment.

Reputations are important, and mediatized naming and shaming, when carefully honed, can result in qualitative change of varying degrees of success: one only has to consider how ‘blood diamond’ social activism contributed to the emergence of the problematic self-regulatory ‘Kimberley Process’ for conflict-free gemstones in 2003.¹⁰¹ Beyond the private sector, scholars who have examined enforcement of international human rights treaties have identified a ‘reputation effect’ that promotes social conformity by pressuring states to ratify international conventions.¹⁰² Emilie Hafner-Burton and Kiyoteru Tsutsui observe that ‘because of strong pressure to ratify international human rights treaties and the relatively low cost of ratification, many governments ratify without the will or capability’ to align domestic behaviors with treaty provisions.¹⁰³ In this context, international organizations, like the UN Commission on Human Rights and international non-governmental and private entities, such as Stop the Traffick!, have turned to what Mary Robinson describes as ‘the generation of public pressure to advance human rights, and more specifically, advocacy designed to hold governments to account’ by naming and shaming.¹⁰⁴ We would suggest that future research about viral media campaigns, whether concerning chocolate, other commodities such as coffee or t-shirts, or even other humanitarian issues, might try to develop quantitative measures with which to gauge the potential for truly transformative impact.

Naming and shaming contribute to the development of new norms of political behavior, but the process of changing norms of behavior relies on the conjuncture of new ways of thinking about social, economic, political, and cultural orders together with new mechanisms of dissemination of information and new ways of organizing for sustained political action.¹⁰⁵ Enlightenment ideas about individual responsibility and humanitarian sensibility gained traction precisely because growing literacy, new economic instruments, and what Thomas Haskell calls

the ‘techniques’ or ‘recipes’ for ‘intervening’, all drew together distant events and local communities.¹⁰⁶ We are also keenly aware of the limitations of viral videos as effective tools in changing norms and behavior, especially of corporate actors. The very nature of the internet and the multiple ways of engaging with videos tends to individualize viewers and operates against sustainable collective political action. To be an effective tool of antislavery mobilization, viewers influenced by videos need to join together to sustain political and legal change.

Although our three examples offer differing critiques and remedies, ultimately, they concur that child labor in cocoa farming is an abusive aberration that can be ended with market reform. One of the great ironies of the neoliberal apogee in sub-Saharan Africa in the 1990s and early 2000s is that the endemic problem of child labor, and other indices of the persistence *and expansion* of unfreedom such as human trafficking, are routinely framed as evidence of the insufficiency of market liberalism in commodity production, what William Davies explains as the central promise and paradox of market competition.¹⁰⁷ And in Ivorian internet anti-trafficking activism, we see echoes of this conflation of cause and effect, of problem and solution: they do not marshal sustained support for radical change.

¹ Geert Lovink, ‘The Art of Watching Databases: Introduction to the Video Vortex Reader’. In Geert Lovink and Sabine Niederer, eds., *Video vortex reader: responses to YouTube* (Amsterdam: Institute of Network Cultures, 2008), 9.

² Carolyn Guertin, *Digital prohibition: piracy and authorship in new media art* (New York: Bloomsbury, 2012), 125.

³ Saidiya Hartman, *Scenes of subjection: terror, slavery, and self-making in nineteenth-century America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 8-9, 79-113.

⁴ Karen Halttunen, ‘Humanitarianism and the Pornography of Pain in Anglo-American Culture’, *American Historical Review* 100, No.2 (1995): 303-4.

⁵ For an introduction to visual metonymy, see Russell Willerton, ‘Visual metonymy and synecdoche: rhetoric for stage-setting images’, *Journal of Technical Writing and Communication* Vol. 35, Issue 1 (2005): 3-31; Marcus Wood, *Blind memory: visual representations of slavery in England and America* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1999); *Slavery, empathy, and pornography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002); *The horrible gift of freedom: Atlantic slavery and the representation of emancipation* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2010); *Black milk: imagining slavery in the visual cultures of Brazil and America* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013); Jeffrey R. Kerr-Ritchie, ‘Slaves Suppliant and slave triumphant: The

- Middle Passage of an abolitionist icon', in Ana Lucia Araujo (ed.), *Paths of the Atlantic Slave Trade: Interactions, Identities, and Images* (Amherst: Cambria Press, 2011), 327-353.
- ⁶ For the broader historical research agenda of humanitarianism, see Rob Skinner and Alan Lester, 'Humanitarianism and Empire: New Research Agendas', *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 40, No.5 (2012): 729-747.
- ⁷ James Scott, *Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985).
- ⁸ Michael Barnett, *Empire of Humanity: A History of Humanitarianism* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2011), 11.
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- ¹⁰ Benjamin N. Lawrance, 'From Child Labor 'Problem' to Human Trafficking 'Crisis': Child Advocacy and Anti-Trafficking Legislation in Ghana', *International Labor and Working-Class History* 78, No.1 (2010): 63-88.
- ¹¹ Neil P. Howard, 'Teenage Labor Migration and Antitrafficking Policy in West Africa', *Annals of the AAPSS* 653, no.124 (2014): 124-40.
- ¹² BBC News, Africa, 12 April 2001, accessed 12/15/2017 <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/1272522.stm>
- ¹³ Amanda Barlan, 'Child Labour and Cocoa: whose voices prevail? *International Journal of Sociology and Social Policy* 29, no.3/4 (2009): 144-45.
- ¹⁴ Nicolas Dahan and Milton Gittens, 'Business and the Public Affairs of Slavery: A Discursive Approach of an Ethical Public Issue', *Journal of Business Ethics* 92, no. 2 (2010): 227.
- ¹⁵ In the US, the Harkin-Engel Protocol of September 2001 led to an industry-wide agreement to end dangerous child labor practices in the cocoa industry and to fair-trade and antitrafficking efforts.
- ¹⁶ UN FAO, Robson, 'Ending Child Trafficking', 10.
- ¹⁷ Robson, 'Ending Child Trafficking', 10, 27. International Law and Policy Institute (ILPI), *Child Labour in the West African Cocoa Sector* (Norway: ILPI, 2015), estimates that cocoa yields 20% of Ivorian GDP: 23.
- ¹⁸ ILPI, *Child Labour*, 24. For more information on cocoa, see the classic G.A.R. Wood and R.A. Lass, *Cocoa* (London: Longman, 1985, 4th edition), published online 2008;
- ¹⁹ Denin Cogneau and Rémi Jedwab, 'Commodity Price Shocks and Child Outcomes: The 1990 Cocoa Crisis in the Côte d'Ivoire', *Economic Development and Cultural Change* 60, no.3 (2012): 510.
- ²⁰ Irene Musselli, *Agriculture, Price Stabilisation and Trade Rules: A Principled Approach* (Leiden: Brill, 2017): 75.
- ²¹ Judy Gearhart, 'The Fairness Gap: Farmer Incomes and Root Cause Solutions to Ending Child Labor in the Cocoa Industry', *International Labor Rights Forum* (Washington, DC: ILRF, December 2014): 19.
- ²² David Harvey, *A Brief History of Neoliberalism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005): 2-7, 64-67.
- ²³ Christien van den Anker, 'Contemporary Slavery, Global Justice and Globalization'. In Christien van de Anker ed., *The Political Economy of New Slavery* (Houndsmill: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), 15-22; Genevieve Lebaron and Alison J. Ayers, 'The Rise of a "New Slavery"? Understanding African Unfree Labour through Neoliberalism', *Third World Quarterly* 34 no.5 (2013): 873-92; Harvey, *A Brief History*: 159-71. For a general overview, see James G. Ferguson, *Global Shadows: Africa in the Neoliberal World Order* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2006).
- ²⁴ ILPI, *Child Labour*, 6, 27-28. ILPI estimates that cocoa bean production accounts for just over 10% of the value of the global chocolate market, 19. See also Gearhart, 'The Fairness Gap', 12; Elliot J. Schrage and Anthony P. Ewing, 'The Cocoa Industry and Child Labour', *Journal of Corporate Citizenship* 18 (2005): 99-112; Robson, 'Ending Child Trafficking in West Africa', 11.
- ²⁵ International Cocoa Institute, ICI Briefing Paper, 'Declining Cocoa Prices and Potential Child Labour Risks', 22 June 2017: 1.
- ²⁶ Robson, 'Ending Child Trafficking in West Africa', 12, 29.
- ²⁷ 'Falling Cocoa Prices Threaten Child Labor Spike in Ghana, Côte d'Ivoire', Reuters, 12 June 2017. Accessed 13 December 2017.
- ²⁸ Cogneau and Jedwab, 'Commodity Price Shocks and Child Outcomes', 523-24.
- ²⁹ Van den Anker, 'Contemporary Slavery', 23-24.
- ³⁰ Lebaron and Ayers, 'The Rise of a "New Slavery"', 875-76. See also Kate Manzo, 'Modern Slavery, globalization, and Deproletarianization in West Africa', *Review of African Political Economy* 106 (2005): 521-34.
- ³¹ Robson, 'Ending Child Trafficking in West Africa', 13, 20.

- ³² Based on UNICEF estimates, Kate Manzo cites 200,000 children trafficked annually. This figure is contested and is shaped by widely varying definitions of what constitutes the child. Manzo, 'Exploiting West Africa's children,' 395. For a critique of the child labor exploitation narrative, see Berlan, 'Child Labour and Cocoa'.
- ³³ Jeffrey Herbst, *States and Power in Africa: Comparative Lessons in Authority and Control* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000).
- ³⁴ Illegibility and the failure to understand how societies function on the ground is a core problem James Scott addresses in *Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999).
- ³⁵ Richard Rorty, 'Human Rights, Rationality and Sentimentality' in Stephen Shute and Susan Hurley eds., *On Human Rights* (New York, Basic Books, 1993), 117; Rorty, *Contingency, Irony and Solidarity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), xvi; Michael Ignatieff, *Human Rights as Politics and Idolatry* (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 2000).
- ³⁶ E.g., the *charivari* as described by E.P. Thompson, "'Rough Music": Le Charivari anglais', *Annales: Histoire, Sciences Sociales* 27, No.2 (1972): 285-312, and Natalie Z. Davis, 'The Reasons of Misrule: Youth Groups and Charivaris in Sixteenth-Century France', *Past and Present* 50 (1971): 41-75; the East Asian farmers described by Scott, *Weapons of the Weak*; and West African women's protests, such as Judith Van Allen, "'Sitting on a Man": Colonialism and the Lost Political Institutions of Igbo Women', *Canadian Journal of African Studies* 6, No.2 (1972): 165-81; Misty Bastian, "'Vultures of the Marketplace": Southeastern Nigerian Women and Discourses of the *Ogu Umunwaanyi* (Women's War) of 1929'. In Jean Allman, Susan Geiger, and Nakanyike Musisi, eds., *Women in African Colonial Histories* (Bloomington: University of Indiana Press, 2002), 260-281; and Benjamin N. Lawrance, 'La Révolte des Femmes: Economic Upheaval and the Gender of Political Authority in Lomé, Togo, 1931-33', *African Studies Review* 46 (2003): 43-67.
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- ³⁸ Page duBois, *Slaves and other Objects* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003), 103; Kerr-Ritchie, 'Slaves supplicant', 327-29; Jerome Handler and Annis Steiner, 'Identifying Pictorial Images of Atlantic Slavery: Three Case Studies', *Slavery and Abolition* 27 (2006): 54-56.
- ³⁹ Robert Weisbord, 'The Case of the Slave Ship "Zong", 1783', *History Today* 19 (8), 1969: 561-67; Jane Webster, 'The *Zong* in the Context of the eighteenth-century Slave Trade', *Journal of Legal History* 28 No.3 (2007): 285-98; Jeremy Krikler, 'The *Zong* and the Lord Chief Justice', *History Workshop Journal* 64 (2007): 29-47; James Oldham, 'Insurance Litigation Involving the *Zong* and Other British Slave Ships, 1780-1807', *Journal of Legal History* 28 No.3 (2007): 299-318.
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- ⁴¹ Wood, *Horrible Gift*, 204; Anita Rupprecht, "'A Very Uncommon Case": Representations of the *Zong* and the British Campaign to Abolish the Slave Trade', *The Journal of Legal History* 28, No.3 (2007): 329-46; Srividhya Swaminathan, 'Reporting Atrocities: A Comparison of the *Zong* and the Trial of Captain John Kimber', *Slavery and Abolition* 31 No.4 (2010): 483-99; Handler and Steiner, 'Identifying Pictorial Images'.
- ⁴² Olaudah Equiano, *The Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equiano, or Gustavus Vassa, the African. Written by Himself* (London: printed for, and sold by the author; & G. G. J. & J. Robinson, Paternoster-Row; and by Charles Stalker, Stationers-Court, Ludgate-Street, London, [1793]), chapter 2.
- ⁴³ William Blake's illustration in John Gabriel Stedman, *Narrative of Five Years Expedition Against the Revolted Negroes of Surinam* (London: J. Johnson and J. Edwards, 1796).
- ⁴⁴ Kerr-Ritchie, 'Slaves supplicant', 329; J. R. Oldfield, *Popular Politics and British Anti-Slavery: The Mobilisation of Public Opinion against the Slave Trade, 1787-1807* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995), 155-84.
- ⁴⁵ Kerr-Ritchie, 'Slaves supplicant', 328-30; McInnis, *Slaves Waiting for Sale*, 29.
- ⁴⁶ See Sam Margolin, "'And Freedom to the Slave": Antislavery Ceramics, 1787-1865'. In Robert Hunter, ed., *Ceramics in America 2002* (Milwaukee: Chipstone Foundation, 2002), 80-109. One example from circa 1820 read: 'East India Sugar not made/By Slaves/By Six families using/East India, instead of/West India Sugar, one/Slave less is required' The wording may have been cribbed from William Fox's 1791 pamphlet.

- William Fox, *An Address to the People*; in *Correspondence of Josiah Wedgwood 1781–1794* (Didsbury, Manchester, Eng.: E. J. Morten Ltd, 1906), 3: 183.
- ⁴⁷ Maurie D. McInnis, *Slaves Waiting for Sale: Abolitionist Art and the American Slave Trade* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011), 6, 27-9.
- ⁴⁸ McInnis, *Slaves Waiting for Sale*, 27, 31; for a restatement of this history, see Adam Hochschild, *Bury the Chains: Prophets and Rebels in the Fight to Free an Empire's Slaves* (New York: Mariner, 2006).
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- ⁵⁴ Sharon Sliwinski, 'The Childhood of Human Rights: The Kodak on the Congo', *Journal of Visual Culture* 5, No.3 (2006): 333-363; E. D. Morel, *Red Rubber: The Story of the Rubber Slave Trade Flourishing on the Congo in the Year of Grace 1907* (London: Unwin, 1907)
- ⁵⁵ Sliwinski, 'The Childhood of Human Rights', 334 (emphasis added).
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