



TASTE THE EARTH'S RAREST PLACES

A Case for Sustainable Chocolate Production

*An examination of chocolate production in the Plurinational State of Bolivia
from producer to vendor using the case of Original Beans*

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Abstract

The current climate changes are affecting the foundation of cacao production, taking account for the rising demand of chocolate in the developing countries, and facing limited options in terms of cultivating sufficient amounts on limited areas in Latin America, the African West Coast and Asia. While Bolivia is one of the smaller producers in the Latin American region, it currently shows a great potential for sustainable production, considering the political momentum, with legal framework respectively promoting ecological production and agricultural reforms towards sustainability. By looking at a specific Supply Chain from the point of production in the Bolivian rainforest and at the arrival of the finished product on the market in Denmark, this thesis seeks to investigate: *How does the current upsurge of sustainability affect the sustainable production of chocolate in the Department of Beni?* The research question will be examined through the use of theories Corporate Social Responsibility and Doughnut Economics. These theories will outline a macro perspective, whereas the interviews will provide a micro perspective.

The relevance of sustainable production will be examined through a series of interviews with the producer and vendor of the Dutch manufacturing company Original Beans. Utilising a descriptive research design and Display Technique, elite interviews with a representative of the Original Beans and the vendor of the chocolate on the Danish market will be analysed. This has been done in order to fully comprehend the significance of sustainable production throughout the Supply Chain, as well as the perception of the product on the Danish market. The perception on the Danish market is in the thesis investigated through the perspective of the vendor, focusing on the Millennials as a specific consumer group. Though Bolivia represents a narrow case selection, the argument of sustainable chocolate production can be projected on to any other sustainable food production. Therefore, the aim of the thesis is to account for the importance of continued focus on sustainable production. As the research question remains open and investigative, an inductive approach is applied to guide the methodological structure. The thesis finds that the current upsurge in sustainability has introduced positive development for the high-quality ‘niche’ chocolate industry in Bolivia, both in terms of improving working conditions with the small-scale cacao farmers, as well as creating sustainable cultivation methods for a fragile crop. Meanwhile, the branding opportunities following the production of sustainable chocolate could prove to be a great advantage for Bolivian chocolate producers in an international context. Among others, the emergence of conscious consumers and the

presence of a native wild cacao sort can be mentioned as great competitive advantages in the high-quality ‘niche’ chocolate industry.

List of abbreviations

COP23	23rd Conference of the Parties to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change
CSR	Corporate Social Responsibility
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organisations of the United Nations
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GNI	Gross National Income
ILO	International Labour Organisation
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
NGOs	Non-Governmental Organisations
SDGs	Sustainable Development Goals
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNODC	United Nations Office Against Drugs and Crimes

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1. Introduction

The current climate changes are affecting the foundation of cacao production, taking account for the rising demand of chocolate in the developing countries, and facing limited options in terms of cultivating sufficient amounts of cacao on limited areas in Latin America, the African West Coast and Asia (CBC, 2017). Meanwhile, the chocolate industry is vulnerable towards the consequences of increased temperatures and scarcity of water. Businesses in the food industry have increased their focus on the issue after pressure from governments and non-governmental organisations, who are alarmed by the impact on the areas where the companies operate, both in terms of the changes brought to the local communities and the use of natural resources (Lombardi *et al.*, 2015; World Cocoa Foundation, 2019). The increased focus on private businesses by international organisations is visible through the adoption of Corporate Social Responsibility in the objectives of organisations such as the United Nations, guiding private businesses in which activities to engage social and environmentally responsible activities (Kaydan, 2016). Several reports account of an existing Danish market for sustainable products, and it can be expected that the demand will rise as the Millennial generation reaches its' full economic potential in about five years with expectancy of a continued increase in demand (Lerro *et al.*, 2019; Russel, 2016; Danish Agriculture & Food Council, 2017). Therefore, it can be argued that global enterprises stand to gain support and reputational value and potentially increased profits by engaging in sustainable production.

While Bolivia is one of the smaller cacao producers in the Latin American region, it currently shows a great potential for sustainable production, considering the political momentum. During the presidency of Evo Morales, a number of laws have been adopted, initiating the steps towards the promotion of organic and sustainable production. In 2006, Law 3525 and 3545 was implemented, respectively promoting ecological production and agricultural reforms towards sustainability. In 2010 and 2012, the Rights of Mother Earth was adopted into the constitution through Law 071 and 300, acknowledging 'Mother Earth' as an individual with the same rights as humans (Estado Plurinacional de Bolivia & FAO, 2012). As Jacobi *et al.* argue, one could expect that a country such as Bolivia would embrace incentives towards more sustainable production methods, as "*[...] ecological production in harmony with Mother Earth*" is encouraged by the law and constitution (Jacobi *et al.*, 2017, p. 365).

By looking at a specific Supply Chain from the point of production in the Bolivian rainforest and at the arrival of the finished product on the market in Denmark, this thesis seeks to investigate:

How does the current upsurge of sustainability affect the sustainable production of chocolate in the Department of Beni?

In order to answer the research question, the Supply Chain of Original Beans will be investigated with a specific product, the Beni Wild Chocolate bar. The focus will be on the Beniano bean; a wild cacao sort which is only found in the Department of Beni in Bolivia. This way, various actors in the Supply Chain will be considered and involved in order to provide a thorough insight to the sustainable chocolate production and how it is received by the Danish conscious consumers, specifically the Millennials. Though Bolivia represents a narrow case selection, the argument of sustainable chocolate production can be projected on to any other sustainable food production. Therefore, the aim of the thesis is to account for the importance of continued focus on sustainable production.

The research question will be examined through the theories of CSR and Doughnut Economics. First, CSR will help shed light on how sustainability might be used as a marketing strategy in the light of this recent upsurge of sustainability. In addition, the theory will add to the structure of the analysis by outlining the perspective of a Social, Economic and Environmental Dimension. Second, Doughnut Economics will provide a future perspective on the economic situation in both the production country, Bolivia, but also in the vendor country. The thesis argues that global enterprises will need to actively brand CSR as a strategy to maintain profit and reach the conscious consumers of the future (Rasmussen & Erichsen, 2012). Today, green thinking is becoming essential to global companies that wish to remain competitive (Verhage, 2014). The combination of CSR and Doughnut Economics is interesting as the former assumes that economic growth is paramount for the environmental and social activities of businesses, whereas the latter suggests that economic growth should no longer be a determinant for success.

The thesis will first account for the methodological choices regarding research design and interview strategies in Chapter 2. Chapter 3 will cover the theoretical framework for the thesis, examining CSR, Doughnut Economics. Chapter 4 provides a brief account on the current development in the chocolate industry, focusing on sustainable production and Supply Chains. Chapter 5 presents an overview of the political and economic context of Bolivia, zooming in

on the chocolate industry, as well as an account of the development in the Department of Beni and the company in question, namely Original Beans. In Chapter 6, an analysis leading to an answer of the research question will follow. Next a discussion on the results of the analysis and what experience we can draw thereof will follow in Chapter 7. In Chapter 8, a conclusion will draw up the main findings of the paper.

2. Methodology

This section introduces the methodology of the thesis and provides the framework for the analysis of *how the current upsurge of sustainability affect the sustainable production of chocolate in the Department of Beni*, on which conclusions will be drawn. First, a brief account of the ontology and epistemology is offered, considering the implications of the researcher being a part of the empirical material in question. Second, the considerations regarding the choice of the applied theories will be outlined. Third, considerations about the collection of data will be clarified, including type of and gathering of interviews, as well as analytical strategy. Fourth, a review of the most important empirical sources is offered, considering background knowledge about the case country.

The thesis takes a social constructivist approach as ontology, assuming that a social phenomenon such as support for sustainability is a social construct, and that the perception of the achieved knowledge is dependent on one's prior understanding of the subject. Therefore, individuals cannot reach the same realisation of a social phenomenon. In practice, however, social constructivism is to be understood less rigidly as it recognises the possibility of intersubjectivity. Intersubjectivity refers to the notion of sharing a common sense, where shared meanings are “*constructed by people in their interactions with each other and used as an everyday resource to interpret the meaning [...] of social and cultural life*” (Seale, 2004). The thesis accordingly assumes that a social phenomenon is a social construct and acknowledges that several individuals can reach the same realisation. According to Andersen *et al.*, social constructivism is often applied to research that is based on interviews in qualitative studies (Andersen *et al.*, 2012). Particularly, it is relevant when one wishes to uncover and systematise a social phenomenon that is dependent on specific cultures, which for example is the case with the upsurge of sustainability in Bolivia, considering the political momentum, with legal

framework respectively promoting ecological production and agricultural reforms towards sustainability.

The thesis follows an interpretive epistemology, assuming that reality should be comprehended in accordance with common interpretation. The interpretive epistemology is used in order to explain and understand the Sustainable Development taking place in the food industry (von Zweck *et al.*, 2008). Hence, knowledge cannot be acquired by a neutral party (Lewis-Beck et al., 2004).

2.1. Research Design

In this section the specifics of the research design will be elaborated on. The research design refers to the overall strategy chosen to integrate the different components of the study in a coherent and logical way, thereby, ensuring effectiveness in addressing the research question. In addition, the argument for a single case study will be outlined as well as considerations of the case selection.

The thesis follows a descriptive research design, using an inductive approach. In using a descriptive research design, the aim is to describe and investigate the research question by comparing the results of the analysis with the existing literature on the subject. The inductive approach is suitable to reach this aim, as the thesis remains open towards the results of the analysis without having expressed hypotheses to test the theories (Andersen *et al.*, 2012).

A single case study provides the opportunity of making a strong and detailed case study, which can later be applied to other contexts. By choosing a descriptive research design and inductive approach, the single case study makes the strongest case in terms of investigating in-depth, which is what the research question requires (Andersen *et al.*, 2012) In this case, one criterion was determinant for the choice of case; it needed to be related to a country with a cacao production, such as Bolivia. A comparative case study could also have been applied, either comparing Sustainable Development between businesses or within the projects of Original Beans.

Furthermore, it is an explorative case study, as the choice of theory is being tested in a specific research environment characteristic for the Department of Beni in Bolivia. The explorative study is particularly useful, when faced with limited research resources and a given time frame. In the words of Mills *et al.*, the exploratory case study “ [...] is often regarded as little more than a preliminary step toward specific and focused causal research to generate required

hypotheses" (Mills *et al.*, 2010, p. 373). In addition, explorative studies are not predisposed towards the results. Hence, the supportive role of the exploratory case study supports the aim of providing an initial description of a social phenomenon and encouraging for additional research on the subject (Mills *et al.*, 2010). The same argument can be applied to the scope of the thesis, as it seeks to describe the impact of the current upsurge in sustainability on the Supply Chain of Original Beans and urges for the continued research on the subject of sustainability in the chocolate industry.

A case study of cacao production in Bolivia taps into the current debate about sustainable food production, which has intensified throughout the last decade. Initiatives towards sustainable and ecological production have also been adapted in Bolivia, both amongst the population but also by law, as will be examined in Chapter 5.1. (Jacobi *et al.*, 2017). Bolivia therefore presents itself as an interesting case with large development potential.

2.1.2. Research Criteria

To summarise, this case study has a high level of replicability, since it includes a broad selection of literature on the sustainable chocolate production in Latin America, as well as thorough description of methodological choices. In wanting to investigate the impact of sustainability in the chocolate industry on a single case, the use of qualitative methods and interviews are a great tool to investigate in-depth, ensuring that all themes and nuances are covered. As the thesis maintains a descriptive research design, few in-depth interviews should prove to be an advantage in terms of validity (Andersen *et al.*, 2012).

In relation to the research question it has been relevant to look specifically at the production site and the vendor, which constitutes the connection between the markets of Bolivia and Denmark. Original Beans are in this paper referred to as the producer of chocolate products, whereas the vendor is Kathrine H. Sørensen, owner of the business 'Søberg Chokolade' and vendor of Original Beans products in Denmark. Hence, relevant actors of Original Beans' Supply Chain are interviewed, whereas elements such as transportation and packaging solutions are not considered due to the scope of the thesis. In this connection, considerations about the role of the researcher should be mentioned. When using qualitative interviews, awareness of the authors' own position within and influence upon the research process are necessary to consider (Wicker & Connelly, 2014). Using a semi-structured interview guide with open questions enables for the interviewees to provide independent and in-depth descriptions, in turn

strengthening the objectivity of the investigation. Validity relies on a combination of all the methodological choices made in the thesis. By presenting an overview of the initial coding and the end-codes in the display, consistency is ensured. The Display Technique further ensures inclusion of all relevant pieces of text, thereby strengthening the reliability of the analysis. In order for methodology and data to be reviewed critically, transparency is determinant, which the Display Technique enables. Hence, internal validity is secured by being clear of the methodological choices.

However, the single case study limits the possibility of generalising to a broader context. As the Department of Beni is examined through the lenses of Bolivian culture and heritage, and the Danish market likewise is examined using specific traits for the Danish consumers, inference is difficult. Yet, if one were to conduct a similar study using, and analysing a similar market to that of Denmark, similar results cannot be ruled out.

The considerations above all points in a direction of an open conclusion, as it is not possible to infer to the whole chocolate industry based on a single case study. It is possible, however, however, to investigate whether the current upsurge in sustainability affects sustainable chocolate production in the Department of Beni, and to speculate whether sustainable production can prove to be an advantage. The considerations regarding methodology all relate to the objective of answering the research question. The methodology provides the framework for the analysis and the conclusions that will be drawn on the basis thereof. This case study of Bolivia and the chocolate industry should have a high level of replicability, since it includes a broad international research scope of the sustainable chocolate production in Latin America, as well as thorough description of methodological choices.

2.1.3. Scope of the paper

In this section the scope of the paper will be outlined. Several interesting and relevant themes and issues have appeared while examining material on the chocolate industry. However, due to the limited amount of time and space, certain issues are prioritised over others.

An issue worth paying attention to within this context is child slavery. Several reports and documentaries have debated the issue and attempted to inform the consumers, encouraging them to make informed decisions when buying chocolate. In 2001, child slavery was documented within the chocolate industry in the Ivory Coast of Africa, which met heavy critique in the public sphere (Slomkowski, 2005).

Another theme worth mentioning is certifications in the chocolate industry. The literature on certifications is disputed, and continuously discussed today. Certifications were introduced as a possible way to solve the problem with poverty amongst farmers, and to avoid temporarily cheap but environmentally destructive harvest methods such as slash-and-burn techniques (Jacobi *et al.*, 2014). According to Ashoka, a social organisation promoting social entrepreneurship around the world, the problem with certifications is that the “*revenue farmers receive does not cover their cost of production. Farmers, lacking resources to invest in increasing their cocoa yields, are locked in a cycle of poverty*” (Ashoka, 2014). One of the largest problems with the certifications is that they are expensive to obtain. To convert into sustainable production in agreement with certifications is simply too expensive for small-scale cacao farmers. Furthermore, the premiums that the certifications do create usually go to social projects in the local communities, rather than in the pockets of the farmers. For now, no impact of the certifications has been identified in terms of resolving the cycle of poverty (Ashoka, 2014). The presence of certifications and the ambitions thereof is acknowledged in this thesis. However, the debate will to a certain degree be avoided in this thesis, due to limitations of scope.

2.2. Data Collection

The following section accounts for the selection of a qualitative method as a tool to answering the research question. The section also outlines the methodological choices regarding elite interviews, sampling, interview guide and transcription.

A qualitative method will enable the thesis to give a profound insight in a Supply Chain. As the thesis is based on a descriptive research design, the aim of the analysis is to fully explain the phenomenon of the sustainable upsurge and explore how the perceived advantages of sustainable production affect the production of chocolate in the Department of Beni. Quantitative secondary data will also be applied to provide an idea of the current development in the Latin American chocolate industry. It is, however, not the focus of the analysis, why the thesis primarily deals with qualitative methods in terms of research design.

2.2.1. Interviews and Sampling

Elite interviews are used as the primary source of data. The interviews consist of two rounds. The first round of interviews was conducted in the fall of 2018. They were conducted to test

the value and relevance of the topic, and to gain knowledge of the development within the chocolate industry. The initial interviews were conducted Anders P. Saxbøl, anthropologist and conservation cacao leader at Original Beans and with Kathrine H. Sørensen, owner of Søberg Chokolade (Fregerslev, 2019).

These two interviewees are both a part of the same, relatively small, Supply Chain, and share the same idealistic commitment towards environmental and social efforts. Consequently, written consent has been given by the participants to be mentioned in the thesis by name. Furthermore, the interviewees refer to each other by first name in the interviews; hence, the uses of the interviewees' names are also for the sake of transparency and overview.

The thematic analysis draws primarily on the interviews conducted in the spring of 2019. Follow-up interviews were conducted with Anders P. Saxbøl and Kathrine H. Sørensen, due to their relative positions in the Supply Chain of Original Beans. The choice of re-interviewing Anders P. Saxbøl is particularly relevant, as he possesses on-the-ground knowledge about the Department of Beni, which was not a topic at the initial interview.

With elite interviews it can be difficult to gain access to experts within the field (Wicker & Connally, 2014). Interviewees are selected based on the authors' prior knowledge and network in the chocolate industry. Having previously worked with Kathrine H. Sørensen, we benefited from having her network to recruit participants from by using her 'seal of approval', adding credibility to our research, just as Wicker and Connally experienced (Wicker & Connally, 2014). However, the use of the snowballing technique did have its limitations, as it only enabled contact with interviewees sharing the same beliefs and taking the same position towards the promotion of sustainability (Andersen *et al.*, 2012). Both Anders P. Saxbøl and Kathrine H. Sørensen can be considered as sustainable promoters, hence taking a position supporting the transition towards a sustainable chocolate industry. Here we draw on the conceptualisation of 'epistemic communities', i.e. networks of experts with shared beliefs and "*recognised authority about the problem in question*" (Wicker & Connally, 2014, p. 3). This is taken into account in the conclusion.

2.2.2. Semi-structured Elite Interviews

The interviews were conducted as semi-structured individual interviews. The semi-structured approach was selected to provide a structure for the interview, albeit with the possibility for the interviewer to deviate if interesting and unpredicted themes appeared. Prior to the interviews, questions and themes were prepared, ensuring that the interviewer attained extensive answers

on all issues. The semi-structured approach further allowed for the interviewer to elaborate on questions and the interviewee on answers. In addition, additional questions could be asked if necessary, which proved to be relevant when conducting the initial interviews in 2018. Individual interviews are used in order to gain insight to specific information from central actors in different positions in the Supply Chain. In addition, the individual interview provides the opportunity for the interviewee to expand on his or her viewpoints (Andersen *et al.*, 2012). The thesis relies on these elite interviews, since insights from central actors which have direct knowledge on the Supply Chain of Original Beans is necessary for answering the research question, which requires in-depth investigation. Few actors from a small Supply Chain with greater accountability are assessed as the best means to answer the research question. This has been done in order to fully comprehend the significance of sustainable production from the beginning to the end of the Supply Chain, as the effect of the upsurge in sustainability on the production of chocolate in the Department of Beni. In addition, the perception on the Danish market is investigated through the perspective of the vendor, Kathrine H. Sørensen.

The thesis is drawing on the descriptions of Wicker and Connelly, who in their work recognise the complexities associated with interviewing people, which can be considered experts in their fields. Elite interviewees are defined as those who “*command a position of authority or privilege, often having some influence upon decision-making*” and/or are “*experts on the topic in question and therefore more influential and powerful relative to the researcher*” (Wicker & Connelly, 2014, p. 3). In addition, it has been necessary to take account of controversial issues that the interviewees might consider sensitive or as trade secrets, or that they might not want to make statements on issues that goes beyond their knowledge (Wicker & Connelly, 2014).

Research about the case country as well as the companies with which the interviewees Kathrine H. Sørensen and Anders P. Saxbøl are respectively owner and employee have been conducted prior to the interview (Wicker & Connelly, 2014; Braun & Clarke, 2006). In addition, as the interviewees had been interviewed in connection with the thesis before, it has been possible to personalise the questions towards the fields of their specific expertise. Utilising a semi structured interview strategy allows for the interviewees to elaborate on the issues they perceived as most vital for the chocolate industry, and to talk about subjects the authors had not predicted beforehand. For example, the use of flagship animals was mentioned as an effective conservationist branding strategy by Anders P. Saxbøl, which then became an interesting aspect to consider in the analysis. The gathering of research prior to the interviews allowed for the authors to ask precise questions as well as to evaluate the plausibility of the

responses, which were given in the interviews (Andersen *et al.*, 2012). During the interviews in 2018, it was experienced that retaining control over the interview schedule and making sure that the interviewee actually answered what was asked, can be somewhat difficult. As Wicker and Connally emphasises, it can be problematic if the interviewees are passionate, often talking at lengths and rarely answering to the intended order of the questions. Another problem could be long answers to background questions designed for a brief response (Wicker & Connally, 2014). In the interviews it became clear that the interviewees were both passionate about the questions and very careful to answer the questions to full extent, resulting in longer interviews than expected. However, the interviewer was very careful not to interrupt in order to secure inclusion of all relevant aspects. It was expected that probing would be a part of the interviews, i.e. that additional questions and follow up questions was asked. Andersen *et al.*, describe this possibility as one of the strong advantages of qualitative interviews, as it increases the overall validity (Andersen *et al.*, 2012). Hence, it was expected that the use of follow up questions during the interviews would be relevant again, as it was relevant in 2018. Follow up questions were used during both of the interviews.

To create a clear structure of the interview and remain focused on the scope of the thesis, research questions and interview questions were prepared prior to the interviews, thus ensuring that all relevant themes were processed in each interview. An interview guide has been prepared for each of the interviewees, considering each of their positions in the Supply Chain of Original Beans. The interview guides are submitted as Appendix 5 and Appendix 6.

As the interviewees and the interviewer are native Danish speakers, the interviews are conducted in Danish to create a natural and relaxed atmosphere. As the purpose with the interviews have been to procure precise information in accordance with the inductive research design, only relevant passages of the interviews will be translated to English and submitted in the thesis, whereas all of the interviews will be transcribed into Danish.

2.2.3. Transcription and coding of the interviews

Both the interviews with respectively Anders P. Saxbøl and Kathrine H. Sørensen have both been recorded and transcribed. In regards to coding the interviews, the transcribed texts will be sorted with specific themes, using the Display Technique. Using the inductive approach, the analysis of the interviews will be structured through ‘open coding’. Here, codes are generated on the basis of the actual material, not with pre-established themes, as is the case with coding based on a deductive approach. In addition, end-code lists are applied. These are illustrated in

the final display, which entails a specific record of the themes of which the text is coded on the basis of, as well as a precise definition of these themes. In turn, the end-code list combines the themes that are generated by open coding, with themes that are generated on the basis of theory. The number of themes is then reduced at the end-code list, combining labels beneath the more abstract and theoretical grounded categories (Andersen *et al.*, 2012; Braun & Clarke, 2006). In the preliminary coding, 24 codes were generated to cover all of the different themes. For the end-code list, 6 codes were generated, namely The Focus on Sustainability, Producer and Production Country, Cacao, Competition, The Business of Cacao and finally Not Emphasised in the Paper.

The display technique helps structuring the analysis by providing an overview, aiding with answering the research question. The purpose of the display is to highlight that the results of the analysis are reliable based on the data. Dahler-Larsen recommends following three rules when making displays, namely authenticity, inclusion and transparency (Dahler-Larsen in Andersen *et al.*, 2012). The strongest displays are almost self-explanatory, which clearly displays the logic of the investigation and the most important results in a simple overview. Again, following the inductive approach, the display has been constructed late in the empirical process (Andersen *et al.*, 2012; Braun & Clarke, 2006). This has been done in order for the thesis to investigate in-depth as the research question requires, as well as remaining open towards the results of the analysis.

The thematic analysis is based on the interviews with Kathrine H. Sørensen and Anders P. Saxbøl, and the following coding organising their statements. An overview of the end-codes is displayed in Table 1.

Table 1: Overview of end-codes based on interviews w. Kathrine H. Sørensen and Anders P. Saxbøl

The Focus on Sustainability	Producer and Production Country	Cacao	Competition	The Business of Cacao	Not emphasised in the paper
Upsurge in sustainability	Original Beans	High-quality 'niche' chocolate	The (lack of) impact from the larger companies	Supply Chain	Certifications
Consumer awareness	Bolivia	Future of cacao		Environmental marketing	Child labour
Climate changes	Beni	Underestimated craftsmanship		Politics and economy	
Climate change efforts	Sustainable living			Profit	
	Rainforest			Increased competition	
	Choice of product origin			Flagship animals	
	Local communities			Social marketing	

2.3. Review of empirical sources

This section provides an overview of the literature used in the thesis, the use of primary and secondary sources, and comments on the sources, which have primarily been used.

Many of the sources used in the thesis have been published recently, which ensures a current angle on the debate of sustainability and development within the chocolate industry. However, the aim has been to find relevant material, both sources from the early 90s as well as sources from 2019 are included. In addition, since the debate about sustainability is present across the world, the thesis uses English, Danish and Spanish sources.

The analysis will rely on both primary and secondary sources. The primary sources consist of data provided by Original Beans, which can be considered first-hand knowledge, since they are the ones doing the actual project in the Department of Beni. Second, the interviews with Anders P. Saxbøl and Kathrine H. Sørensen can also be considered primary sources, as they are in fact part of the Supply Chain in question.

Secondary sources are used to gain insight on the development in the Chocolate industry, Bolivia and on the Danish market. They include information and statistics on Bolivia and are primarily based on information from academic scholars and NGOs such as Human Rights Watch, the World Bank and different organs of the UN. Specific NGOs working with the chocolate industry have been applied to gather specific information on the industry in Latin America and Bolivia specifically. For example, Fountain and Huetz-Adams' work for the Cocoa Barometer provides insight in the global development on chocolate prices, both in relation to farm gate prices and actual sales prices (Fountain & Huetz-Adams, 2018). In relation to the description of the Danish Millennials, a report from the Danish NGO, Danish Agriculture & Food Council, has been used. This source has proven to be particularly relevant, as it specifically describes what can be expected of the Danish Millennials' buying behaviour over the next few years (Danish Agriculture & Food Council, 2017).

3. Theoretical Framework

Within this section the theoretical framework is outlined. First, CSR is presented, examining the emergence of CSR, the application of CSR in practise and the main critiques of the theory. Second, the theory of Doughnut Economics is outlined, reviewing Raworth's Seven Principles for a Future Circular Economy, including whether it is possible for humanity to enter the Safe and Just Space and the existing criticism of the theory. Lastly, a clarification of sustainability as a concept will follow, discussing the varied use of the concept and whether it has been 'watered down', as some would claim.

Where CSR can be viewed through more traditional lenses with economic growth being the facilitator of environmental, ethical and social action, Doughnut Economics seeks alternatives to the idea of economic growth as a facilitator of development. As CSR is a widely used concept and has been present in the literature for several decades, a variety of scholars have added to the theory. Included here are scholars such as Haisler and Holbech, Carroll, Lombardi *et al.*,

and Lerro *et al.* Being a new concept, Doughnut Economics is for now a relatively unchallenged theory, why the thesis primarily relies on the works of Raworth, and reviews published by scholars as well as the general public media.

3.1. Corporate Social Responsibility

CSR is a theory aimed at explaining the social, ethical and environmental responsibility companies may have in regard to its stakeholders. Today, society expects more from businesses, stakeholders might expect the companies to give back to the society they operate in. This type of responsibility can be viewed as a social contract between the consumer and company (Jackson & Apostolakou, 2010; Christiansen, 2008).

CSR increased in corporate governance and academic debates in the 1990s. However, CSR is not a new phenomenon as the theory has been debated since the 1950s, and today the interpretation of CSR is much broader than earlier (Steiner & Steiner, 2003; Carroll, 2015). In the 1950s, CSR was mainly concerned with society in the shape of philanthropic activities such as support for education. As the global economy blossomed, so did the perception of CSR as an expected activity by the stakeholders of the businesses. Meanwhile, implementing goodwill activities, which did not generate immediate profit, met greater resistance within the private sector (Carroll, 2015).

Today, according to the UN driven labour organisation ILO, the debate surrounding CSR is driven by a number of factors, including efforts by businesses to deliver positive results for the communities in which they operate; secondly, governments alone have not been able to solve persistent social problems. Furthermore, many different actors are involved in the CSR debate, revealing different motivations for engaging in the debate (ILO, 2005; Hopkins, 2016). First, there are those who wish to use the strength of the businesses to impact on social and environmental issues. Second, some wish to use those strengths for issues they consider particularly important. Third, there are those who wish to limit or control the power of large corporations. Fourth, there are those who prefer governments to provide social and environmental impact rather than private businesses (ILO, 2005). As all of these parties engage in the CSR debate, it is not surprising that confusion exists on which concepts applies to which activities. Some businesses prefer the concept ‘Corporate Responsibility’, whereas others prefer ‘Corporate Citizenship’ or ‘Corporate Governance’ (ILO, 2005; Carroll, 2015). The thesis applies the description of CSR by the EUC, which is the following: “*Corporate Social Responsibility is a concept whereby companies integrate social and environmental concerns in*

their business operations and in their interactions with their stakeholders on a voluntary basis” (Haisler & Holbech, 2008, p. 13) This description of CSR is applied, as it is frequently used in academic literature and is therefore perceived as acknowledged across different actors within the field of CSR (Yildiz & Ozerim in Turker *et al.*, 2015; Lombardi *et al.*, 2015; Lerro *et al.*, 2019). As the scope of CSR has broadened, covering themes such as stakeholder management, business ethics, corporate citizenship and sustainability, the possibility of misconception and inflated expectations for companies to adopt a CSR strategy increase. ILO argues that it is necessary to consider “what the role of enterprises in society is, what is legitimate to expect from them and what is not” (ILO, 2005, p. 1; Carroll, 2015). It is further argued that these misconceptions can be removed through dialogue, and by establishing a balance between the stakeholders and the role of businesses in society (ILO, 2005).

ILO describes CSR as a way to add value to a business by responding to the expectations of the stakeholders, maintaining and attracting employees, while at the same time enhancing their reputational brand. In this perspective, CSR is “*closely linked to competitive advantage*” (ILO, 2005, p. 1). A successful CSR strategy is determined by strong knowledge of the company’s stakeholders, which are for example customers, clients, the media or NGOs (Haisler & Holbech, 2008). The stakeholders often expect the company to match their own social profiles. It is important to note that CSR both has a national and an international aspect. Therefore, in accordance with its stakeholders, a company must act on several levels. Keeping up with the different stakeholders is a smart move in terms of reputation and can likely result in a corporate benefit for the company. If the stakeholders have a certain perception of the company and the company does not live up to this expectation, the stakeholder might lose their trust in the firm, which can ultimately result in reduced consumer loyalty to the specific product and to the brand more generally (Lombardi *et al.*, 2015). Lombardi *et al.* further emphasises the importance of the stakeholders by highlighting that the companies engage in CSR activities to meet the expectations of their stakeholders and maintain their support (Lombardi *et al.*, 2015). Meanwhile, it is important to recognise how stakeholders have different stakes, not all stakeholders necessarily need to be included in every activity, as their representativeness and interests should be considered beforehand (ILO, 2005).

Many companies have adapted CSR as a green marketing strategy to promote their contribution to sustainability and ethical conduct towards their stakeholders. Furthermore, scholars argue

that no company today can be successful without a CSR strategy. Lerro *et al.* further argue that the value of a brand is comprised of the synthesis of attention to economic and social commitment as well as environment (Haisler & Holbech, 2008; Lerro *et al.*, 2019). Further, the importance of CSR is evident in the display of public reports on social, environmental and economic progress produced by 95% of the 250 Global fortune Companies and many other companies (Mahoney *et al.*, 2013; Carroll, 2015).

Within the literature, several papers highlight the voluntariness of CSR, both as strength and a weakness (Kadyan, 2016; Jackson & Apostolakou, 2010; ILO, 2005). As ILO emphasises, CSR is no substitute for laws and regulations securing social and environmental standards imposed by the state, nor should it be. Meanwhile examples are occurring of states implementing CSR as part of their legislation can be found, for example in both Denmark (Danish Business Authority, 2013; Hopkins, 2016). In Denmark legislation was approved in 2012, “*extending the CSR reporting requirement, making it compulsory for companies in future to explicitly report on their policies to respect human rights and reduce their negative impact on the climate*” (Danish Business Authority, 2013, p. 3).

The same development is seen in international NGOs who encourage CSR related activities. The UN even integrated CSR with their initiative Global Compact, emphasising how the power of collective action can shape business activities in order to “*catalyze actions in support of broader UN goals*” (CSRWire, 2019). The initiative encourages businesses to adopt sustainable and socially responsible policies and reporting on their progress. The adoption of CSR in the UN Global Compact springs from a growing prevalence of the phenomenon; CSR is now also the interest of international organisations and even governments, assisting private businesses in the management of environmental and social activities. Furthermore, the increased focus on CSR witnesses the importance of involving private businesses in development issues (Kadyan, 2016). As a review of the MDGs reports in 2012, “*many targets, for example to do with employment, the environment and the delivery of key services, could not be achieved without the private sector*” (Hopkins, 2016, p. 3). Based on these experiences, the SDGs were developed in corporation with policy experts, national consultations of citizen’s priorities, and consultation with the private sector, which was managed by UN Global compact (Hopkins, 2016).

The numerous variations of CSR show the many different ways in which to distinguish between the different activities of a company. For example, Lombardi *et al.*, distinguishes between four dimensions of CSR; Environmental, Social, Human Rights and Ethical, whereas Carroll

distinguishes between the Social, Economic and Environmental Dimension (Lombardi *et al.*, 2015; Carroll, 2015) Considering the scope of the paper, focus will be aimed towards the Social and Economic and Environmental Dimensions of CSR. There exists no hierarchy between the dimensions, which are co-dependent within the same approach. However, the dimension of Human Rights that Lombardi *et al.* describe will be merged with the Social Dimension of Carroll. As the scope of the paper focuses on the Supply Chain between producer country and site of sale in Denmark, the dimension of Lombardi *et al.* Ethics will not be considered in this thesis. The dimension involves issues such as consumer trust, whereas the focus on consumers in the thesis is only considered in order to establish a demand on the Danish market.

The Environmental Dimension refers to the strategies towards improving the environment. The need for attention on the environment is emphasised as a part of the successful CSR strategy, which for example include the promotion of sustainability (Haisler & Holbech, 2008). The Social Dimension considers the impact of the company on society, assuming that the given company is fully integrated in the community. An example could be helping local communities in developing countries. Furthermore, the dimension refers to the safeguarding of human rights, specifically with focus on issues such as workers' rights, fair wages and employees' safety (Lombardi *et al.*, 2015). The Economic Dimension refers to the aspect of profit in terms of CSR related activities. It can be difficult to separate from other CSR related activities, as most activities also require economic activity. However, the importance of economic profit as an incentive for CSR activities is stressed in the academic literature and articulated by for example, Jensen, who argues that "*social welfare is maximized when all firms in an economy maximize total firm value*" (Jensen, 2002, p. 239). In addition, Lerro *et al.* argue that through the use of a CSR strategy, the company will be able to improve its competitive and economic results whether it is in the short or long-term, as the provided goods are of greater value for the conscious consumers "*who are increasingly sensitive to ethical and social values*" (Lerro *et al.*, 2019, p. 3). As conscious consumers expect socially and environmentally responsible products, and are convinced of their value, they in turn reward the proper conduct with a willingness to pay a higher price for the given product. Furthermore, scholars argue that the use of CSR strengthen businesses' relationship with their customers in terms of brand loyalty. When implemented correctly, the business is rewarded in terms of "*reputation and trustworthiness*" (Lombardi *et al.*, 2015, p. 7; Lerro *et al.*, 2019). In addition, CSR provides the possibility of product diversification, and hence attraction (Lombardi *et al.*, 2015; Christiansen, 2008). Conscious consumers are among the consumer groups, which could be expected to be attracted towards these more expensive products, which will be elaborated on in Chapter 3.1.2. Another

positive effect of CSR is the increased well-being of the employees, which in turn has a positive effect on productivity and the quality of the produced work through maintaining qualified labour.

3.1.1. Corporate Social Responsibility in Relation to a Supply Chain

A Supply Chain can be outlined as an institutional framework that identifies how local, national, and international conditions and policies shape the globalisation process at each stage in the chain (Squicciarini & Swinnen, 2016). Scholars such as Carroll argue that the acceptance and implementation of CSR in an increased number of businesses is a likely sign that CSR is here to stay. Increasing awareness on societal and environmental issues is apparent across the global Supply Chain, both among stakeholders, ethically sensitive consumers, NGOs and with the employees of the businesses (Carroll, 2015). Supporting this claim, Lerro *et al.* highlight how important it is to “[...] strengthen the relation between all actors involved in the Supply Chain” through the sharing of common values (Lerro *et al.*, 2019, p. 2). These include the companies, suppliers and consumers, which all ought to do their part, in order to ensure socially responsible practices. The report by ILO further emphasises how the CSR debate has become focused on larger businesses and their potential impact on developing countries (ILO, 2005). Specifically, it is argued that companies should adopt more sustainable production processes, respect of the environment and the people involved in the production (Lerro *et al.*, 2019). In the food industry, businesses have obtained a bad reputation of “(i) impacting negatively the environment and depleting natural resources and biodiversity; (ii) affecting society and communities in which they operate as well as people’s health and life; (iii) applying unfair business practices, exerting a considerable bargaining power on the actors involved in the Supply Chain”, according to Lerro *et al.* (Lerro *et al.*, 2016). Even businesses such as Ferrero, who have previously met heavy criticism for their use of the environmentally destructive palm oil in their chocolate production, are paying attention to their Supply Chain. Specifically, the CEO of Ferrero Germany, Carlo Vassallo states: “We are working along the whole value chain and aiming to ensure sustainability in every aspect” (Bhattacharya, 2016, p. 48) Ferrero’s interview provides an example of the increased importance of, and focus on, sustainable action. A general issue in the supply chain debate is that businesses are encouraged to demand certain standards of other companies, a task ILO argues should be the responsibility of the State: “The failure of the State to introduce appropriate regulations and effectively enforce them cannot be remedied by asking enterprises to substitute for it” (ILO, 2005, p. 3). In addition, it should be

considered that the global supplier is sometimes bigger than the buyer, which is then not in a position where it can impose standards on the supplier (ILO, 2005).

When looking at the consumer side, ILO urges consumers to reward the responsible companies by purchasing their products over others (ILO, 2005). Lerro *et al.* further this argument by reporting how trust is necessary for consumers' willingness to support CSR initiatives, and argues that businesses should increase transparency (Lerro *et al.*, 2019).

3.1.2. Stakeholders, Buying Behaviour and the Danish Millennials

According to general stakeholder theory, communication should address different stakeholders and apply forms and channels of communication that match the individual needs of stakeholder groups. The consumer is a key stakeholder for food manufacturing companies, while other central stakeholders are employees, suppliers, retailers, the community, and NGOs. As mentioned, there are several elements to keep in mind when commenting on a business' choice to implement their CSR strategy as a part of their marketing strategy. As this thesis uses the case of a specific Supply Chain between the producer country Bolivia and ultimately the sale of Originals Beans products in Denmark, the focus is held on consumers of sustainable products in Denmark. Several reports account of an existing market for these kinds of products, and it can be expected that the demand will rise as the Millennial generation reaches its' full economic potential in about five years with an expected increase in demand (Lerro *et al.*, 2019; Russel, 2016; Danish Agriculture & Food Council, 2017). The Danish organisation Danish Agriculture & Food Council has attempted to categorise the Danish Millennials. Three issues are of importance for the Millennials, which distinguishes them from previous generations; first, focus on consumption of meat, second, a shift from focus on organics to sustainability and third, considering the fact that what may be healthy for oneself, is not necessarily benefitting the Earth (Danish Agriculture & Food Council, 2017).

Millennials can be defined as the people born between 1982 and 1999. In 2017, the targeted group amounts to 1/5 of the population in Denmark. Besides the large size of the group, Millennials are also important due to the potential purchasing power in the near future. Danish Agriculture & Food Council defines Millennials as worrying about climate, environment, international politics, terror, global crises such as the refugee crisis and how to secure enough food for the population of the Earth (Danish Agriculture & Food Council, 2017). In essence, Millennials lead a life where they attempt to live in harmony with their own conscience in terms

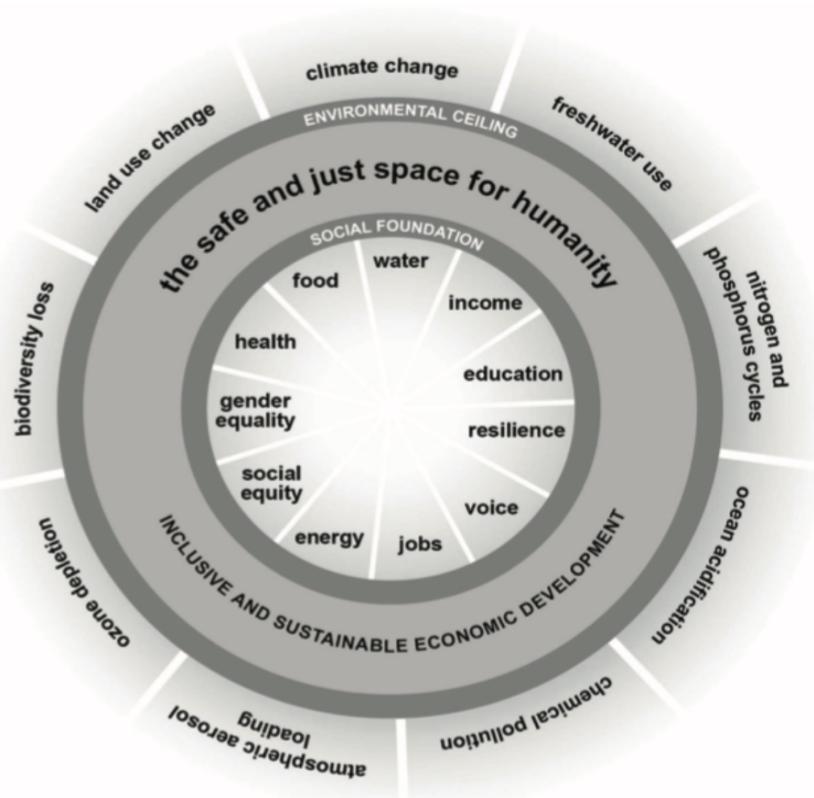
of consumption and the derived effects on the environment, while everyday life and the economy of the individual must remain reasonable (Danish Agriculture & Food Council, 2017). To summarise, in relation to investigating a case such as Original Beans' project in the Department of Beni, which is a relatively new project, a future perspective is interesting to examine. As the Millennials, as a consumer group, is expected to 'rise to its full potential' in 5 years, and the demand on sustainable chocolate is also expected to increase in the same period, a convergence between the demand of the consumer group and supply of sustainable products such as chocolate are particularly interesting to investigate.

3.2. Doughnut Economics

Within this section, the theory of Doughnut Economics founded by Kate Raworth will be outlined. Raworth challenges mainstream economics with the idea of a circular economy, which she presents as an alternative to the existing linear economic development based on GDP growth. Instead, focus should be guided towards meeting the needs of humankind within the limit of resources that the planet holds (Raworth, 2018a). According to Raworth, mainstream theories have not been able to explain or adapt to the present crisis of the climate and rising inequality. The rising inequality is apparent in the enormous difference between the richest 1%, who owns more than the remaining 99% combined (The Washington Post, 2011). In regard to climate, the tendency is disturbingly similar; with rising temperatures and the numerous consequences thereof, 40% of the available cultivated land on Earth is exhausted, and finally there are the prospects of scarcity of water (Rockström, 2013; Raworth, 2018a).

The apparent dichotomy between mainstream economics theory and actual economic development is problematic if the climate crisis and concomitant crises such as famines, deforestation, floods and droughts are to be averted. One point that is repeated frequently is the fact that we are trying to explain current phenomenon with theories originating from the 20th century, which are therefore failing (Raworth, 2018a). In order to address this dichotomy, Raworth suggests building the economy on the long-term goals of humanity and then develop the economic principles that will enable us to achieve these goals. Raworth illustrates this in a so-called doughnut model (Raworth, 2018a).

Figure 1: The Doughnut of Social and Planetary Boundaries



Source: Raworth, 2017a, p. 218.

The Doughnut consists of two concentric circles. Within the inner circle, 'The Social Foundation', lies basic human needs such as hunger and illiteracy, whereas elements resulting in severe exhaustion of the planet are placed outside of the outer circle, under an 'Environmental Ceiling'. The space between the two circles constitutes a sphere where the demands of humankind can be met, within the limit of resources that this planet currently holds (Raworth, 2018a). The Social Foundation define basic necessities, which no one should go without. The 12 basic demands include; enough food, access to water, minimum income, access to education, resilience, decent housing, voice, decent jobs, access to energy, social equity, gender equality, and finally access to healthcare. These basic necessities are also included in the SDG-goals of 2030, which for the first time have attempted to establish an end-date to reach these ideals (UN, 2015; Raworth, 2018a).

The Environmental Ceiling is based on the nine limit values of what the planet can endure, meanwhile providing humanity with a stable environment. The nine limit values are based on the works of ecosystem experts such as Rockström *et al.*, and include; climatic changes, use of freshwater, the produced amount of phosphorus and nitrogen, ocean acidification, chemical

pollution, atmospheric aerosol loading, ozone depletion, loss of biodiversity and finally change of land use (Rockström *et al.*, 2009).

The nine limit values and the 12 basic demands are unavoidably mutually dependent connections. There exist both negative and positive feedback mechanisms in the system, which respectively affects the humankind's placement in the Doughnut in different manners. For example, deforestation in Latin America, the clearing of rainforest in some of the most biodiverse areas of the world will in turn affect biodiversity, weaken freshwater supply in the local areas and eventually enforce climatic changes (Godar *et al.*, 2014).

As each item in the Doughnut is affected by the mutually dependent connections, it is necessary to treat them as part of a complex socio-environmental system, which in turn should be considered as a greater entity. Despite outstanding progress in terms of human development within the last 70 years, humankind is exceeding the threshold of both the environmental ceiling and the social foundation (Raworth, 2018a). The greatest challenge is therefore to bring all of humanity into the Safe and Just Space (Raworth, 2018a). Luckily, some progress has already been made in this area. Large businesses around the world have also begun using the theory of Doughnut Economics to plan a sustainable and socially just future for their environments. On such example is the Bullitt Centre in Seattle and Nestlé's dairy plant in Jalisco, Mexico. Both of these companies work with mission-zero goals, respectively zero-energy and zero-water missions, utilising the construction of their buildings to harness and recycle the necessary energy (Raworth, 2018b).

3.2.1. Seven Principles for a Future Economy

The seven principles account for the ideas and diagrams that compose the core of Doughnut Economics. As Raworth writes, the seven principles do not contain any specific political suggestions or institutional solutions. Instead they are merely meant to challenge our existing belief system, and to equip future economists with ideas to create an economy able to embrace all of humanity within the Safe and Just Space (Raworth, 2018a). Principle 4 will only be explained briefly, as it is not within the scope of thesis.

The 1st principle simply consists of a suggestion; set of new measure for progress. For more than 70 years, GDP has been the foundation of economic politics. According to Raworth, GDP has been used to justify inequality combined with an astonishing amount of recklessness in terms of how we treat our natural resources. Instead of chasing a GDP increase, we should be

figuring out how everyone can thrive in balance. The challenge lies in creating economies, local as well as global, that will enable the movement of humankind into the Doughnut's Safe and Just Space for Humanity. Raworth however, is not the first economist to question GDP as a measure for success. Donella Meadows, amongst others, expressed heavy criticism of GDP as a measure for progress in 1972 with the report 'Limits to Growth', whereas Kuznets, the creator of GDP as a measuring unit, warned against the very idea of measuring economic growth based on GDP from the very beginning (Meadows *et al.*, 1972; Raworth, 2018a). In the Limits to Growth report, "*[..] suggested that the increasing industrialisation, depletion of resources and population growth demanded by the economic growth model of development was reaching the limit of the Earth's carrying capacity*" (Fregerslev *et al.*, 2017, p. 28). Nussbaum and Sen later suggested a shift to a more human-centred approach in which, measures such as well-being, using a human capacity index for measure was used (Nussbaum & Sen, 1993).

The 2nd principle breaks with the neoliberal perception of the economic circuit. The mainstream economic circuit describes the efficiency of the market, the incompetence of the state, the centring of the household and the tragedy of the commonwealth. Instead, Raworth suggests a new illustration, which captures society and nature, and draws its energy from the sun. A more positive approach, some would argue, with focus on the powers of the market, partnership of the state, the unifying role of the household, and the creativity of the commonwealth (Raworth, 2018a).

The 3rd principle breaks with the firm belief in homo economicus in which the rational image of a man is one who is selfish, isolated, calculating, a creature of habit and ruler of nature. According to Raworth, this portrait has sadly shaped our behaviour in the 21st century. But human nature is composed of much more than aforementioned. We are social, mutually dependent on each other, not calculating but rather estimating, willing to adapt, and lastly dependent of the natural resources. By allowing space for human differences, the possibilities of entering the Safe and Just Space for Humanity are increased (Raworth, 2018a).

The 4th principle breaks with the mechanical equilibrium between demand and supply. Instead, economy should be viewed as a dynamic force with numerous feedback mechanisms. In doing so, insight is gained to the state of the market, the self-reinforcing nature of economic inequality and the tipping point of climatic changes (Raworth, 2018a).

The 5th principle breaks with the assumptions behind the Kuznets Curve; inequality does not have to be higher (worse) before it can decrease (get better), and economic growth will not eventually even out inequality. The practice of ‘grow first, clean up later’ is characteristic for the economic policies of today, and continues to be an inspiration when policies that increase inequality are adopted. Instead, Raworth argues that inequality is not a necessary step for progress, but rather a political choice, pushing more people out of the Doughnut (Raworth, 2018a). As it turns out, inequality is not to be understood as a necessary evil, it is merely a flaw in the design. To revisit the work of Kuznets, who’s curve paved way for this practice in the 20th century, he himself warned that the curve was based on 95% speculation and 5% empirical gathering (Dasgupta *et al.*, 2002). Raworth predicts that 21st century economists will realise that there exist numerous ways to shape economy in a direction where the created value is redistributed rather than revenue. The redistribution could in practice be investment in land rights, businesses, technology as well as the authority to disburse money (Raworth, 2018a).

The 6th principle emphasises renewable energy. According to Raworth and Dasgupta *et al.*, mainstream economics portrait clean energy as a luxury good that only the prosperous countries can afford (Dasgupta *et al.*, 2002; Raworth, 2018a). This attitude was further supported by the environmental version of the Kuznets Curve, which illustrated how pollution would have to increase before economic growth eventually would enable pollution to decrease. Raworth challenges this position and suggests that environmental pollution is simply the result of an industry, which is based on environmental degradation. According to Raworth, instead of a linear development, circular economic theories are necessary, so that humankind can once again be a part of the cyclical processes of Earth (Raworth, 2018a). According to Raworth, industrial production has begun to transition from environmentally destructive to sustainable. It is sustainable through the use of renewable energy, thus eliminating the use of toxic chemicals and eliminating waste in its recycling design (Raworth, 2018a).

The 7th principle encourages agnostic growth. Mainstream economics consider long-term growth a necessity, even though no natural resource is infinite. Raworth argues that humankind is addicted to the idea of economic growth; this line of thought encourages our economies’ need to grow, regardless of whether they create welfare or not. Instead, society should be taught independence from (Raworth, 2018a). Basically, the discussion on economic growth can be divided into two perspectives; one which believes that economic growth is necessary, and

therefore must be a possibility; and another which believes that economic growth is no longer possible, and that it cannot be considered a necessity. The ones taking the ‘grow first, clean up later’ perspective, argue that a new wave of sustainable technology and robotics will enable another period of economic growth. However, Raworth argues that economic and sustainable growth requires an absolute decoupling of carbon emissions from economic growth, which not even the developed countries have been able to perform. Those who believe economic growth is no longer a possibility, do not rule out the possibility of absolute decoupling, but acknowledge that it is time to convert into green energy without growth. If there are limits to greenhouse gas emissions, there might also be limits to growth. Still Raworth argues that our goal should be to promote the wellbeing of us all, regardless whether GDP is rising, falling or constant (Raworth, 2018a).

To summarise, CSR is characterised as a very comprehensive theory, which has developed in several directions over time. Within the thesis, CSR is viewed as a potential marketing strategy, which stresses the importance of economic profit as the main motivation for businesses’ actions. Furthermore, the theory is used to structure the analysis by introducing the framework of a Social, Economic and Environmental Dimension.

Doughnut Economics has been included within the thesis in order to strengthen a debate around development, furthering the argument that success should not be measured by economic profit. Both the theories work on a macro level, accounting for the dynamics between state, businesses and NGOs.

3.3. Conceptualisation

In this section, the authors’ considerations regarding conceptualisation of concepts such as sustainability, sustainable chocolate production and the distinction between cocoa and cacao will be outlined.

3.3.1. Clarification of Sustainability

The focus on sustainable production is not something new in the academic literature, although one could argue that sustainability has gained much attention in the media over the last few years (Christiansen, 2008; Haisler & Holbech, 2008; Russel, 2016; Andersen, 2017; Skovlund, 2018). However, the connotation and use of sustainability can vary a lot. Hence, the authors have been extremely aware of how the sources have dealt with the subject of sustainability. The

term sustainability is used in various, and perhaps too many, connections today. Therefore, it is important to describe the limitations of the term sustainability in regard to the thesis. According to Rasmussen and Erichsen, the vagueness of sustainability creates confusion both among in the public and within research (Rasmussen & Erichsen, 2012). A survey performed among the Danish consumers commissioned Pack Markedet stated: “*While we eagerly sort waste and recycle our clothes, more than six out of ten Danes states that they don't actually know what is really sustainable or not*” (Pack Markedet, 2018). The reason for this could be lacking information in regard to sustainability, but it could also be a sign of a diluted and misused concept. Furthermore, various labels and certifications exist which claim to be sustainable; however, so many are available that the result is a jungle for the consumer to navigate in. On the customer side it creates a possibility for the consumer to create their own approach on sustainability, for example by choosing products, which are easily implemented in their everyday life. Nevertheless, some scholars still argue that the concept of sustainability should be considered as watered down (Baker, 1997). At the same time, we face the risk of companies being able to enter this sustainability upsurge and adapt it into their business strategy, without having to make more than symbolic changes.

This thesis applies the definition of Sustainable Development made in the Brundtland Report, stating that Sustainable Development “*meets the need of the current generations without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs*” (UN, 1987). The Brundtland report emphasises how Sustainable Development would account for the needs of future generations, recognising the limits on growth, and at the same time acknowledging that Sustainable Development should aim at economic growth. In addition, sustainability was framed as a long-term economic necessity to secure enough resources of raw materials for the future generations (Fregerslev *et al.*, 2017; Gudynas, 2011). The concept of sustainability thereby emphasises the importance of unifying the social, economic, and environmental considerations (Carroll, 2015).

3.3.2. Sustainable Chocolate Production

Within the chocolate industry, three market segments can be identified; first, high-volume low-value bulk chocolate; second mainstream quality chocolate; and last, high-quality ‘niche’ chocolate, including single origin, fine flavour, Fairtrade, sustainability certified, and organic

(Squicciarini & Swinnen, 2016). It is important to note that the industry being investigated in this thesis is the specialised chocolate industry and not the conventional chocolate industry. In the thesis, organic chocolate production will be considered within the category of sustainable chocolate, as even sustainable chocolates, which are not certified organic, can be organic by default as argued by Anders P. Saxbøl, conservationist at Original Beans (Appendix 3). Organic by default entails that nothing has been done in terms of production to transition into organic production, even though the product meets the criteria for organic production. The reason why these farmers are not certified can often be explained with economic reasons as small-scale farmers often cannot afford fertilizer or the expensive certification required to label the cacao as organic (Appendix 3; Ashoka, 2014).

3.3.3. Distinguishing between cocoa and cacao in the literature

One puzzling finding throughout the literature for the thesis, is how the word cacao and cocoa is being used. Essentially, the connotations of the words are different. Cacao refers to the raw form, for example the cacao bean. Cocoa refers to the processed and grinded product, often associated with the beverage hot cocoa (Squicciarini & Swinnen, 2016). However, these two words are used interchangeably in much of the literature on the subject. This thesis uses cacao simply because it refers to the raw product, but still used sources that writes cocoa, as for example ‘The Economies of Chocolate’, written by Mara P. Squicciarini and Johan Swinnen in 2016.

4. The Current Development in the Chocolate Industry in Latin America

In this section, the distinction between conventional cacao and wild cacao will be reviewed, as well as the framework for Sustainable Development in the chocolate industry. Furthermore, the general direction of the Supply Chain within the chocolate industry will be mapped out.

The chocolate industry has been an evolving market since the late nineteenth century, and during this time the product has changed over time. The raw form, cacao, is the product which is processed and made into other more finished products such as cocoa powder or chocolate bars. The cacao fruit tree produces cacao pods, which are cracked open to release the cacao

beans (McClees, 2017). The processing from cacao to paste is mostly manual and the use of technology in this process remains low (Harb & Antezana, 2010).

4.4 billion tonnes of cacao are produced every year, and the demand is expected to increase with the rising middle classes in countries such as China, India and Brazil (CBC, 2017; The World Bank, 2014; Ashoka, 2014). Most cacao is of African origin, but Latin America still grows significant quantities. In 2017, Latin America accounted for 18% of the world production of cacao (Development Bank of Latin America, 2019). Cacao is cultivated in most Latin American countries, whereas Brazil, Peru, Ecuador and the Dominican Republic produce the largest amounts. 90% of the world's cacao is grown by small-scale farmers, who then sell the raw cacao beans on the stock exchange where it is bought by chocolate manufacturers (UTZ, 2019; Ashoka, 2014). Of the reasons small-scale cultivation is so frequent in the cacao industry is that the cacao tree is a delicate sort, which is fragile towards droughts, floods, extreme humidity and easily catches diseases. Hence, the tree is not suitable for large-scale operations. Therefore, the cacao is cultivated on smaller farms to avoid the spread of diseases in the trees (FAO, 2018).

To give an example of some of the larger companies in the conventional chocolate industry, corporations such as Nestlé, Hershey, Mars, Callebaut, Mondeléz and Lindt are among the top 10 in the world (Walker, 2016). The cacao prices are set in the same way as the stock market; the price is affected by "*the relationship between demand, stocks, and current and future supply*" (Fountain & Huetz-Adams, 2018, p. 7). The price per ton was 2000 US\$ in February 2018. The price the farmers receive, referred to as the Farm Gate Price, is also affected by price fluctuations on the international market (Fountain & Huetz-Adams, 2018).

4.1. Conventional Cacao vs. Wild Cacao

Wild cacao is categorised as non-domesticated and occurs naturally in the rainforests without the intervention of humans. Relative to conventional cacao, there exist very small amounts of wild cacao today, and it is mostly placed in Latin America (Harb & Antezana, 2010).

Most of the finer cacao and native sorts of cacao derives from South America, which has the most genetic diversity as well as complex flavour profiles (Ashoka, 2014; Harb & Antezana, 2010). In this thesis, the focus will be on the Beniano bean; a wild cacao sort which is only found in the Department of Beni in Bolivia. It resides in the rainforest and is considered to be very rare and of high-quality (Original Beans, 2019a).

Conversely, conventional cacao can be categorised as hybrid sorts, which are domesticated and introduced to the Bolivian environment. The hybrid sorts are often manipulated in such a way that it can better accommodate to the climate at hand. As it is a more resilient sort, it is often cheaper to cultivate, and can actually be cultivated at larger plantations, opposed to the wild cacao sorts. In the cases where the cacao is cultivated on larger farms, the native cacao sorts are replaced with a “*high-yield, low-quality hybrid that can be grown in open fields with the help of industrial chemicals*” (Slomkowski, 2005, p. 33). Conventional cacao is also easier to grow and more accessible, it is more common and occurs in larger volumes of production compared to wild cacao (Harb & Antezana, 2019). The succeeding impacts on the surrounding environment of the conventional cacao plantations are, increased erosion and runoff, deforestation and finally reduction in wildlife habitat (Slomkowski, 2005). Furthermore, the conventional cacao is often of a lesser quality, which entails a lower sales price. Specifically, in Bolivia, the conventional cacao is often sold domestically, whereas the wild cacao sorts are primarily sold abroad (Harb & Antezana, 2010).

4.2. The Framework for Sustainable Production: Introduction of Agroforestry

Even though the cacao trade is a 100 billion-dollar industry, most small-scale farmers live for less than two dollars a day and poverty amongst the farmers is consequently widespread. Meanwhile, as demand rises for chocolate, the native cacao sorts are being replaced with high-yield hybrids that are far more destructive for the surrounding environment (Slomkowski, 2005).

Luckily, several sources report of a rising of a new wave of chocolate makers with ethics and environment in mind (Ashoka, 2014; Slomkowski, 2005). Among others, companies such as the Dutch Original Beans and the Bolivian El Ceibo can be mentioned as companies, which are following along the lines of this new ethical and environmentally concerned businesses (FAO, 2018). These businesses are orientated towards direct and transparent relationships, allowing for a higher price to the small-scale farmers. As Ashoka argues, by “[...] removing the middlemen and shortening the value chain, both farmers and buyers increase their value and quality, ultimately bringing large-scale social impact to farming communities and driving systemic change in this tasty but troubled industry” (Ashoka, 2014, n.p.). In turn, incentives are created for the farmers to continue the cultivation of the delicate crop. At the same time, reforestation is encouraged protecting the jungle. In addition, land, which was previously at

risk of slash and burn farming, is now protected through cacao-based agroforestry. Agroforestry is the technical term used to describe the microclimate created when other timbers and crops are planted in a plantation (Ashoka, 2014; The World Bank, 2014). In the case of cacao farming, the trees and other crops in the nearby area provide shadow to the cacao trees and “[..] *mitigating the abrupt climate changes that have been occurring in recent years*” (The World Bank, 2014).

In addition, the combination of traditional farming practices and modern technology allows the community to promote their traditional customs, while participating in a modern market (Ashoka, 2014). At the same time, organisation of farmers is encouraged in order to keep developing the sustainable production in an efficient and coordinated manner, both in terms of knowledge and tools. According to Harb & Antezana, the process of intensification and expansion is recommended to be coordinated and administered by a private company. A private company could contribute with the necessary technology and tools and could initiate the process of achieving organic certification and to engage in both the domestic and international market (Harb & Antezana, 2010).

4.3. The Supply Chain in the Chocolate Industry

In this section, the Supply Chain in addition to the Supply Chain from producer to vendor will be outlined. The main reason for including this framework in the thesis is to outline the importance of each link within the Supply Chain, and to emphasise how the production of cacao adds value to each of these links.

The global cacao Supply Chain has a pronounced South-to-North orientation. Where cacao cultivation is managed by small-scale farmers in Africa and Latin America, at the other end of the Supply Chain, chocolate manufacturing is highly concentrated amongst a relatively small number of large multinational firms. The intermediate processing stage of cocoa grinding is even more highly concentrated amongst larger trading companies (Squicciarini & Swinnen, 2016). In addition, the structure of how value is added along a production system is then added to each link.

The Supply Chain starts with the small-scale farm, which sells the cacao beans to the grinding companies. The processing industry has a common interest in maintaining a growing and continuous flow of inexpensive cacao beans from the producer countries. Large manufacturers of cacao-based products have therefore been involved in the production of cacao beans on world scale since cacao became an exported product. The grinding companies are often not

located in the production country of the cacao bean. As is apparent in the figure below, the Netherlands is one of the largest cacao grinders in the world, despite not having any cacao trees (Squicciarini & Swinnen, 2016).

Figure 2: Estimated cacao grinding of major countries from 2013

Rank	Country	Grindings (1,000 tonnes)	Bean Production (1,000 tonnes)	Processed Cocoa Exports (% of grindings)
1	Netherlands	530	0	112
2	Ivory Coast	460	1,445	72
3	United States	412	0	22
4	Germany	400	0	43
5	Malaysia	293	7	86
6	Indonesia	255	420	77
7	Brazil	241	185	23
8	Ghana	225	835	68

Source: Squicciarini & Swinnen, 2016, p. 7.

When the cacao bean has been grinded it is then sold to producers. Due to increasing economies of scale and concentration in the processing industry, multinational grinders now tend to source their cacao beans via subsidiaries in producing countries or process directly in these countries. It has been observed that chocolate manufacturers, whose higher degree of brand sensitivity is driving them to ensure defensive brand management, enforcing greater control throughout the entire chain (Squicciarini & Swinnen, 2016).

Most of the cacao produced in Latin America is exported for consumption in other markets, but sizeable markets are developing domestically, particularly in Brazil, Colombia and Mexico. However, what amounts to 752.000 tonnes of raw cacao was produced in Latin America in 2017-2018, while 522.000 tonnes of chocolate were consumed in the same period in the region (Fountain & Huetz-Adams, 2018). This might indicate, that the raw cacao is exported, meanwhile the finished products are imported as there are very few chocolate manufacturers in for example Bolivia (Harb & Antezana, 2010).

5. Introduction to Bolivia

This section introduces the case country Bolivia. First, the political context will be outlined. Second, the economic context will be presented, which is done to provide a full understanding the current situation in the case country. Next, the case for Bolivia as a producer of cacao is

described with a focus on the Department of Beni. Furthermore, Original Beans, will be introduced.

5.1. Political Context

Bolivia became independent in 1809 and is a constitutionally unitary state, divided into nine departments; Pando, La Paz, Beni, Oruro, Cochabamba, Santa Cruz, Potosí, Chuquisaca and Tarija (Wikipedia, 2019a). With a population at 11,1 million, 53% is estimated to be living in poverty, of which 26% is estimated to be living in extreme poverty. 3,5 million of the population are rural. Around half of the population identifies itself as indigenous (UNDP, 2018; Sustainablebolivia, 2019). A majority of the rural population is chronically poor, as is the case for several Latin American countries such as Ecuador, Peru, Honduras and Guatemala. In a report from Castellanos & Rahut, it is reported that 73,5% of the rural population in Bolivia were living below the poverty line in 2004 and 2005. Hence, there is a convergence between people living in rural areas and the share of poor in the population (Castellanos & Rahut, 2012). Many live in dispersed villages with poor market access and weak infrastructure, including access to schools and sanitation. Their livelihoods are primarily based on agriculture. As of 2009, Bolivia officially changed its name to Plurinational State of Bolivia. It is constitutionally a multicultural and plurinational state, recognising the 36 indigenous groups, which are currently residing in Bolivia. Seen from a historical perspective, it would seem that the government is attempting to create a new, positive relation between the indigenous groups and the state (Canessa, 2014). However, for the sake of clarity the country will be referred to as Bolivia in this thesis.

In the UNDP report of 2018, Bolivia scores 0,69 in the Human Development Index, placing the country as a medium developed country, although in continued improvement (UNDP, 2016). GNI per capita is at 3.130 US\$ as of 2017, placing the citizens below the average of other Latin American countries (The World Bank, 2019; Sustainablebolivia, 2019). The Bolivian economy, however, has experienced economic growth since the beginning of the 2000s, following the commodity boom and following increased demand on raw materials. The same period was characterised by heterogeneous economic policies, and the election of left turned governments, referred to as the Pink Tide. In Bolivia, the Pink Tide leads to the election of Evo Morales in 2005, the first indigenous president to ever be elected (Grugel & Riggiozzi, 2012).

Since the election of Evo Morales in 2005, he has been re-elected two times, with his current term due to end in 2019 (Sustainablebolivia, 2019). A referendum was just rejected by the

voters in February, denying Evo Morales to run for a fourth term here in 2019 (Human Rights Watch, 2019). During his presidency, Bolivia has experienced an annual growth rate of more than 5%, where some of the economic growth could be ascribed the convergence with the commodity boom and the Pink Tide (Grugel & Riggiorozzi, 2012). Public expenditure has risen from 8 billion to 21 billion in the period of 2005-2013, specifically with focus on social programs. Recent studies indicate that 44% of the population perceive Bolivia to be developing in a positive direction, taking the lead among the Latin American countries in the report (Latinobarómetro, 2018).

5.1.1. Conservations efforts and the introduction of Buen Vivir

Conservationist efforts have been present since 1987, where the Beni Biosphere Reserve was established, preserving an area of 135.000 hectare. During the presidency of Evo Morales, a number of laws have been implemented, initiating the steps towards the promotion of organic and sustainable production. In 2006, Law 3525 and 3545 was implemented, respectively promoting ecological production and agricultural reforms. In 2010 and 2012, the Rights of Mother Earth was passed in the constitution trough Law 071 and 300, acknowledging Mother Earth as an individual with the same rights as humans (Estado Plurinacional de Bolivia & FAO, 2012). The legal framework aimed towards promotion of “*integrated management, sustainable use, and the protection of forest areas, while strengthening the sustainability of local intra- and intercultural communities*” (Jacobi *et al.*, 2017). Furthermore, the indigenous notion of Buen Vivir [live well] and its principles has been integrated into the country’s development plan (Gudynas, 2011). The emergence of Buen Vivir can be viewed as an attempt to strengthen cultural identities. It was been implemented in the new constitution of Bolivia in 2009, article 8. This entails that the promotion of Buen Vivir is now a state responsibility (Canessa, 2014; Gudynas, 2011).

Buen Vivir represents an alternative to western development theories and their dualism between human and nature, by emphasising the connection to the Earth in an appreciative and honouring manner, a stronger focus on indigenous traditions, and also stressing that the focus should be on the good life in a broad sense. In Bolivia, Buen Vivir refers to the Aymara concept of *suma qamaña* and to the Guaraní ideas ofñandereko [harmonious living], teko kavi [the good life], ivi maraei [the land without evil] and qhapaj ñan [the path to a noble life], emphasising in particular the protection of Pachamama [Mother Earth](Gudynas, 2011).

Buen Vivir can be described as a way of life with a focus on the interconnectedness of economics with the political, sociocultural and environmental spheres, as well as on the necessities, capacities, and potentials of human beings. Rather than linear, top-down development, the approach furthers a systemic focus, instead of an object-based focus. It is concerned with deepening democracy, citizenship and equity through bottom-up development. Buen Vivir includes the classical ideas of quality of life but is tied to the idea that well-being is only possible within a community (Gudynas, 2011). Quality of life refers to the possibility of satisfying the basic needs of the individual (Nussbaum & Sen, 2012). Democracy, participation, respect for ethnic differences and protection of biodiversity and natural resources are key factors for the framework of Buen Vivir (Walsh, 2010).

In the thesis, Buen Vivir will be acknowledged as a specific character trait of Bolivian culture and heritage, honouring different indigeneities and the notion of living in harmony with the Earth. In addition, the harmonious traits with those of Doughnut Economics will be emphasised in the analysis, providing additional arguments for the implementation of sustainable production methods in the Department of Beni of Bolivia.

5.2. Economic Context

Bolivia is one of the most biodiverse countries in the world, with the Amazon River running through the rainforests (Sustainablebolivia, 2019). As most Latin American countries, Bolivia has a long and gloomy history of extractivist activities, where the natural resources of the country were harnessed, and the profits directed abroad (Acosta, 2013). The soil is abundant in silver, lithium, tin, natural gas and oil, which are also one of their greatest sources of export (Sustainablebolivia, 2019). The primary export of Bolivia continues to revolve around the extraction of raw materials, with natural gas and minerals being the largest source of revenue. The primary buyers of these raw materials that Bolivia exports are Brazil with 40%, the United States with 18%, Argentina with 7% and Peru with 5% (Sustainablebolivia, 2019).

In a report from FAO and the Plurinational state of Bolivia, it is stated that the country presents low levels of transformation of the primary products, the resources are harnessed in Bolivia, but processed abroad, so to speak. As a result, the country is left with less economic resources than neighbouring countries in Latin America, placing Bolivia as one of the poorest countries in Latin America. Since Bolivia is extracting primary resources and not processing them, the country is rather dependent on price changes. To avoid this dependency, the government has established an ‘Agenda Presidencial’ for 2025 with five overall targets; to eradicate extreme

poverty; grant access for basic services for everyone; industrialisation; as well as to be sovereign in terms of agriculture and technology (Estado Plurinacional de Bolivia & FAO, 2012; Castellanos & Rahut, 2012).

5.3. Bolivia as a Chocolate Producer

The cacao trees in Bolivia have naturally been growing in the rainforests of the region since the 15th century. The wild cacao sorts are situated at the bridges of the Amazonian rivers, which include the Departments of Pando, Beni and parts of the Departments of Santa Cruz, La Paz and Cochabamba. Bolivia is one of the last remaining countries in which wild cacao can be found. The wild cacao of Bolivia is primarily cultivated in the Department of Beni, accounting for 67% of the total production, whereas the Department of La Paz is the second largest producer at the moment (Harb & Antezana, 2010).

According to the report from the Conservation Strategy Fund, the Departments of Santa Cruz and Cochabamba has the same geographical and biophysical traits, which make cacao cultivation both an economic and environmentally beneficial opportunity for farmers at several locations in Bolivia, cf. Appendix 1 (Harb & Antezana, 2010). In rough numbers, 74% of the chocolate produced in Bolivia at the moment are hybrids, whereas the remaining 26% is comprised of wild and native cacao sorts (Harb & Antezana, 2010). In the period between 1984-2017, the production of chocolate has more than doubled in Bolivia, from 2,268 tons in 1984 to 5,518 tons in 2017. However, these figures do not distinguish between conventional and wild cacao cultivation (INE, 2017).

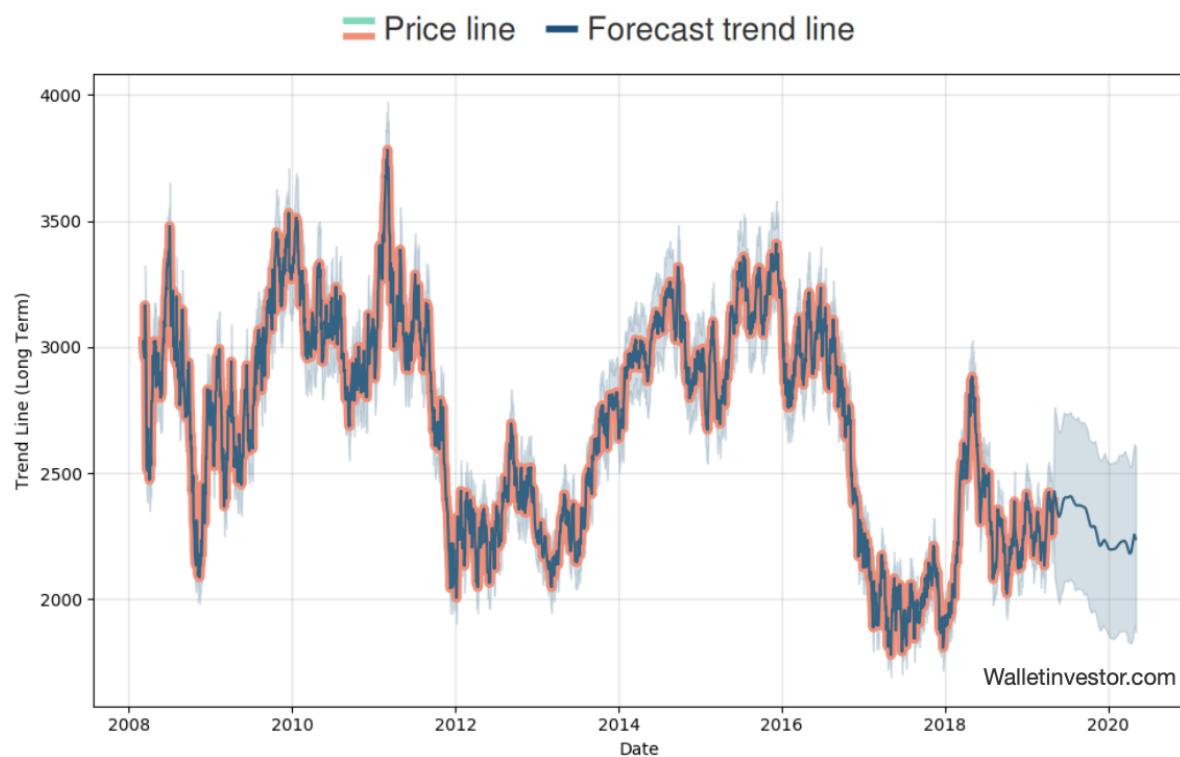
In 1999 a report from FAO and the Bolivian Department of Alternative Development identified a domestic demand for chocolate, which the existing farmers could not meet: “*It noted as well that organic cacao is increasing in demand on the international market*” (FAO et al., 2005, p. 26). The same pattern can be identified in a report by the Conservation Strategy Fund 10 years later, both domestically and internationally, but now specifically in niche markets when regarding wild cacao (Harb & Antezana, 2010).

The Bolivian wild cacao sorts are renowned for their quality. Studies show that native cacao from Bolivia “*could be comparable with some of the highest quality beans in the world, with real possibilities of access to specific markets niches and exceptional prices*” (Harb & Antezana, 2010, p. 13). The same report stated that cacao cultivation appeared to be a profitable alternative for producers in the conventional agricultural sector, allowing for a diversification of income sources and at the same time conservation of the rainforests of Bolivia. This

opportunity presents itself as a viable alternative, especially for the indigenous communities, where it would be a major contribution to quality of life for the local families, which are mostly living of subsistence farming¹ (Harb & Antezana, 2010). Following the ‘Agenda Presidencial’ of 2025, the transition to sustainable cacao production could prove to be a viable alternative, especially in terms of eradicating poverty in rural areas as well as to be superior in terms of agriculture (Estado Plurinacional de Bolivia & FAO, 2012).

In the report from the Conservation Strategy Fund, Harb and Antezana states that the price of cacao has fluctuated since 2011, albeit with a decreasing trend, forecasting further decreases up to 2020 for the cacao industry in general. The contradictory development between the billion-dollar chocolate industry and what the cacao farmers are paid has been highlighted as one of the main obstacles in terms of transitioning to sustainable production by organisations such as the Cocoa Barometer and the Conservation strategy Fond (Harb & Antezana, 2010; Fountain & Huetz-Adams, 2018).

Figure 3: Prediction of cacao prices up to 2020



Source: WalletInvestor, 2019.

¹The activity of growing just enough food to live on, but not enough to sell (Macmillan Dictionary, 2019). <https://www.macmillandictionary.com/thesaurus-category/british/general-words-for-farming-and-types-of-farming>

5.3.1. The Department of Beni

The Beniano bean, which Original Beans uses for their production, grows naturally in rainforests of the Department (Original Beans, 2019a). The Department of Beni is the second largest department in Bolivia and is characterised by having a high poverty level. Furthermore, the Department of Beni is divided into eight provinces, which are further subdivided into municipalities and 48 cantons. The Department of Beni is categorised as a rural area with a small population, compared to other Departments in Bolivia. In addition, the population is predominantly indigenous (Wikipedia, 2019b).

Bolivia possesses the gift of a tropic climate and has the possibility to produce some of the best chocolate in the world. Following the argument of globalisation; that each nation should specialise itself in what it does best, Bolivia faces few other options in terms of converting itself into sustainable chocolate production. In this regard, Beni has a major reserve of natural resources and among these is cacao. Cacao was among the top 10 exports from the Department of Beni in 2017. The value of the export amounts to 5% of the total of exports from the Department, cf. Appendix 2 (IBCE, 2018). Therefore, it is especially relevant and interesting to investigate as an emerging market, and for being a part of the Supply Chain within Original Beans.

5.4. Brief on Original Beans

Initiatives towards sustainable production already exist in Bolivia. One such example is the case of Original Beans, which consider themselves to be part of the high-quality ‘niche’ chocolate industry, i.e. by distinguishing themselves from the conventional chocolate industry through emphasis on quality and development projects for every product. As child labour is a massive issue in the industry, but not within the scope of the thesis, it has been important to look into a Supply Chain which excluded child labour. Original Beans has a zero tolerance towards poor working conditions, including child labour in accordance with ILOs definition. Hence, child labour is defined as “*work that deprives children of their childhood, their potential and their dignity, and that is harmful to physical and mental development*” (ILO, n.d., p. 1). In addition, “*Children’s or adolescents’ participation in work that does not affect their health and personal development or interfere with their schooling, is generally regarded as being something positive*” (ILO, n.d., p. 1). Therefore, Original Beans zero tolerance policy towards child labour excludes child labour, which affects “their health and personal development”, and prevents them from attending school. It is formally monitored that child labour is not taking

place, on “*each personal visit of [their] team members*” in all of their production sites (Original Beans, 2019b). Original Beans production sites are scattered across the tropics, ranging from the Solomon Islands to India, Paraguay, Bolivia, Colombia, Ecuador, Tanzania and Congo (P. Saxbøl, 2018a). Original Beans are currently running an agroforestry project in the Department of Beni in Bolivia, where most of the Bolivian chocolate production resides, both conventional and sustainable. In 2010, the Beni Wild project was established. Here, the Beniano bean is cultivated and harvested in close corporation with the indigenous Movima and Arawak villages, within the boundaries of the rainforest, protecting the natural environment and empowering the local communities through education and development projects. The Movimas and Arawaks have customary ownership of 66.000 hectares of land, which is more or less preserved forest and grassland. In return, by cultivating the area, land rights are secured for the indigenous small-scale cacao farmers (Original Beans, 2018c). As of 2018, 60 families have been supported with a sustainable income through the agroforestry project. The result is the Beni Wild Chocolate Bar, of which this thesis’ focus remains (Original Beans, 2019a).

6. Analysis: The Case for Sustainable Chocolate Production

Within this section the analysis will be outlined. First, the Social Dimension will be presented. Within this dimension, the increased attention on working conditions of indigenous small-scale cacao farmers and securing the future of sustainable chocolate production will be analysed. Secondly, within the Economic Dimension it will be analysed and discussed how chocolate should be considered a luxury good, and how the branding potential in that relation could enable Bolivia's potential for production of high-quality ‘niche’ chocolate. Lastly, the Environmental Dimension will be outlined. Within this dimension, the location of the Department of Beni is a particularly interesting case to examine in relation to the introduction of sustainable chocolate production, given the geographical vulnerability in the lowlands. In relation to the display, the five end-codes will be considered beneath every dimension, whereas only relevant points will be discussed.

6.1. The Social Dimension

As identified, consumers are focusing more and more on the importance of sustainability (Danish Agriculture & Food Council, 2017). The organisation Ashoka argues that consumers have begun to demand more environmentally and ethically conscious chocolate: “*chocolate makers still have trouble finding cocoa with the right quality, social impact, and consistent supply to satisfy their customers*” (Ashoka, 2014). The Cocoa Barometer identifies the same tendency in the market but refers to it as consumer awareness (Fountain & Huetz-Adams, 2018). As Anders P. Saxbøl, points out “[...]there is so much focus on sustainability that is has become somewhat of a jungle. Everyone is declaring it on the packaging, everyone is super active on social media, which makes it difficult for the consumer. What are the businesses doing, how dedicated are they and how much are they actually investing in sustainability” (Appendix 3, p. 1). This statement indicates that there is much confusion in regard to the connotation of the word sustainability, which consequently indicates that much clearer information is needed on the subject. The same point has been emphasised in Chapter 3.3.1., where it is argued that sustainability as a concept has become diluted, and even that the concept of sustainability should be considered as watered down (Baker, 1997). In this connection, the geographical distance between consumers and production sites could play a role in regard to the knowledge of the consumers, creating a mental and physical distance. Roos *et al.* attribute this to increased globalisation and competition on the market. Consequently, “[...] production has been removed from direct consumer control,[...] prolonged the food chain and made it less transparent” (Roos *et al.*, 2007). This is a challenge that both distributor and producer acknowledge as Anders P. Saxbøl notes; “[...]unless they themselves have worked with development work in one way or another or worked in the tropics in the countries where we are working [...]” (Appendix 4, p. 14). However, consumer concern over the livelihoods of cacao farmers and their communities has long been stimulated by civil society campaigns and advocacy, leading to the expansion of initiatives such as Fairtrade in Europe and North America (Squicciarini & Swinnen, 2016). Not many consumers have been in the jungle where the sustainable cacao is grown, which naturally creates a lesser understanding of the production. Even though it can be difficult for the conscious consumers to fully comprehend the entire picture, it can be concluded that there is a demand for more sustainable products and more knowledge of it (Baker, 1997; Lerro *et al.*, 2009; Russel, 2016; Rasmussen & Erichsen, 2012). However, as the Cocoa Barometer argues, public awareness on the issues is a potential driving force towards higher “*standards and certification in the chocolate industry*” (Fountain &

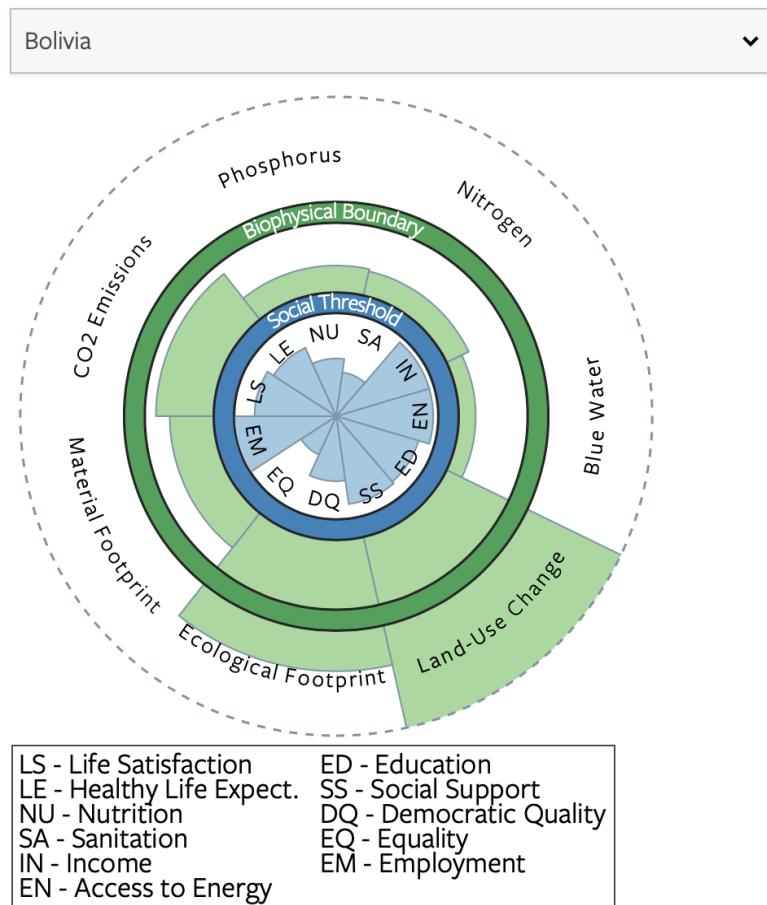
Huetz-Adams, 2018, p. 37). In one report from the American based research database Nielsen; it is argued that across the categories of ‘Environmental claims’, ‘Absence of artificial ingredients’ and ‘Fairtrade’, consumers prefer chocolate products, which are branded with environmental claims. The report stated that chocolate products constituted only 0.2% of the market, there has been increased demand on these products equalling to a dollar growth on 22% in 2018. Meanwhile, these sustainable chocolate products are being sold five times faster “*than the overall market – 15% unit sales growth compared with 3%*” (Nielsen, 2018, p. 1). This increased demand can be explained by increased awareness over cacao farmers and their communities whose livelihoods have been frequently highlighted by civil society campaigns and advocacy and have led to expansion of initiatives such as Fairtrade in Europe and North America (Squicciarini & Swinnen, 2016). Furthermore, in recent years NGOs have focused heavily on the social conditions for the producers and producer country. An example could be FAOs and UNODCs involvement in Bolivia, where they in cooperation with the Bolivian government initiated an agroforestry pilot project cultivating cacao in Cochabamba (FAO *et al.*, 2005). The Jatun Sach’as project ran for 10 years in an attempt to creative incentive for cultivation of other crops than coca in remote areas, with the introduction of cacao sorts instead. The results of that project indicated positive change in the area in regard to conservation efforts and improved income. However, the project revealed that the coca cultivation was merely moved out of the zones in question (FAO *et al.*, 2005). The Jatun Sach’a project did not only benefit the indigenous small-scale cacao farmers, but also other industries such as coffee, rubber, tropical flower producers and beekeepers in the case of Bolivia. It contributed with 3550 new jobs both directly and indirectly through other industries, benefitting from the crops of the forest trees, leguminous plants and agricultural crops (FAO *et al.*, 2005). Based on the knowledge gathered from empirical data and the interviews, this thesis argues that the recent upsurge in sustainability has brought both demands for improved working conditions, but has also enabled improved conditions now, especially in the high-quality ‘niche’ chocolate industry in Bolivia. Secondly, in order for the high-quality ‘niche’ chocolate industry to prosper, working conditions, salaries and sustenance of local production sites must continue to be attractive, in order to maintain the small-scale cacao farmers. These points will now be discussed below.

Increased attention on working conditions of the indigenous small-scale cacao farmers

Looking at the working conditions of the indigenous small-scale cacao farmers and the potential impact on the surrounding communities, Raworth's 3rd principle is relevant to outline within the Social Dimension. The 3rd principle breaks with mainstream economics' firm belief in homo economicus; a rational man, which is selfish, isolated and ruler of nature (Raworth 2018a). Instead, Raworth suggests that we are social and mutual dependent on each other, emphasising the importance of the civil society. Both Doughnut Economic and the Bolivian concept Buen Vivir stresses the importance of living well and in accordance with nature, which follows along the line of the Social Dimension. In addition, this strong emphasis on acknowledging that all people have individual origin and are part of local communities is closely linked with that of Buen Vivir. In the case of Original Beans, the company follows the same framework at every site where they work. They work with indigenous groups, empowering them to make a profit in accordance with the individual culture and heritage of the areas, meanwhile protecting the environment. The company only works in biodiversity hotspots, where, often indigenous, farmers live in close surrounding with the rainforest. In addition, they only source fine original cacao sorts, with an eye to preserve them. Agroforestry systems are introduced, thereby preserving a whole unique forest system, and improving living conditions of the local population, both through education and higher income. Often, the indigenous tribes have traditional philosophies and lifestyles based on organic and "*forest-friendly*" farming (P. Saxbøl, 2018a, p. 2). As Anders P. Saxbøl notes, in the Department of Beni there is a tradition of "*harvesting and cultivating cacao in the area, so it is not something that is imposed from abroad*" (Appendix 4, p. 15). Another example is in Sierra de Santa Marta of Colombia, where the "*La Lengüeta project*" supports the local Arhuaco tribe through the establishment of agroforestry systems with cultivation of cacao as main source of income. Here, indigenous farmers are trained in fermentation, organic farming and disease control –and tactics. A demonstration farm has also been established, where 150 children now attend school. Training courses are also provided for the teachers (P. Saxbøl, 2018a).

In addition, the Social Foundation of Doughnut Economics is relevant to consider in relation with the Social Dimension. Bolivia's position in the Doughnut will allow for a closer look at the indicators of the Social Foundation that contribute for humanity to enter the Safe and Just Space.

Figure 4: Bolivia's position in the Doughnut



Source: Data from the University of Leeds, 2019.

Following the structure of the Doughnut outlined by Raworth, The Social Foundation consists of eleven elements, where the ones relevant to consider in this case is; Income, Education, Jobs, Nutrition, Life Satisfaction and Employment (Raworth, 2018b). As is visible in the figure above, Bolivia does not reach the Social Foundation on any of the indicators except employment, with a current unemployment rate at 3.3% (ILO, 2019). As argued in Chapter 5, the rural population are among the poorest of the Bolivian people. With subsistence farming as a common occupation, income is insecure (Harb & Antezana, 2010). Access to education is somewhat hindered, both due to a high degree of child labour and bad infrastructure (UNICEF, 2017; Human Rights Watch, 2019; Zoomers, 2006). Specifically, in the Department of Beni 56.4% of the population had unmet basic needs in 2019, according to the World Bank. These basic needs are defined as access to adequate housing, services and education (World Bank, 2017b).

Looking into possible solutions for Bolivia to reach the Social Foundation of the Doughnut, the indicators mentioned above will be reviewed in relation to the works of sustainable chocolate companies, using Original Beans and the pilot project in Jatun Sach'a as examples. Zero tolerance policies, towards poor working conditions can be linked with access to Education as a possible solution to the problem. With the introduction of agroforestry systems and sustainable chocolate production, Income would be improved through secure and stable salaries, both in terms of higher prices rewarded for cultivation of wild cacao sorts, but also due to the indirect production from the crops of the forest trees, leguminous plants and agricultural crops (FAO *et al.*, 2005; Appendix 4). Educational levels among the indigenous small-scale cacao farmers could also be improved, as a part of sustainable production methods is education and sharing of technology, allowing for continued and sustainable production (Cocoa Barometer, 2018). As is apparent in the figure above, the employment rate is the only element to reach the Social Foundation, with a rate of 97.3 in 2019 (University of Leeds, 2019). However, working conditions could be improved for the indigenous small-scale cacao farmers. As sustainable production does not include the use of fertilisers or illicit child labour, a sustainable and healthier working environment is secured; both in terms of responsible labour conditions, but also in regard to the continued viability of the rainforest by avoiding harvest methods such as slash and burn techniques (Ashoka, 2014; The World Bank, 2014). Following the varied production of agroforestry systems, nutritional security is also relevant to consider. From the pilot project in Jatun Sach'a with agroforestry systems, FAO *et al.* reports how quality of life is improved for the indigenous small-scale farmers involved, among others in term of nutritional security (FAO *et al.*, 2005).

Hence, all of the mentioned indicators could potentially be improved through the introduction of sustainable chocolate production, and the possibilities of entering the Safe and Just Space for Humanity are increased (Raworth, 2018a). In relation to the cacao production in the Department of Beni, Original Beans are ensuring that some of these measures are met. For example, sustainable jobs are created through better working conditions for cacao farmers (Appendix 4; Original Beans, 2019b). Besides securing a proper income from paying a higher price for the cacao, the production is an important element. Therefore, Original Beans have in cooperation with the farmers been working on a more optimised and effective production, following the non-exploiting cultivation method of agroforestry (Appendix 4; Original Beans, 2019b). Through this cooperation between the producer; the cacao farmers and the buyer Original Beans, an educational partnership has been formed (Original Beans, 2019b). This is exemplified in both the Department of Beni in Bolivia, but also in the case of Sierra de Santa

Marta of Colombia, as mentioned in the chapter above. In both cases, small-scale cacao farmers are empowered through education and higher salaries. They are provided with training in agroforestry and organic farming, where the higher salaries in turn allows for the small-scale cacao farmers to send their kids to school (Original Beans, 2019b).

The considerations mentioned above can be related with Raworth's 1st principle of Doughnut Economics. The 1st principle argues for a new set of measures for progress, rather than relying on GDP. The challenge lies in creating economies, local as well as global, that will enable the movement of humankind into the Doughnut's Safe and Just Space for Humanity. This can be achieved by moving the focus of businesses from solely focusing on increasing profits to implementing softer values such as life satisfaction, nutritional security and education. The authors argue that sustainable production would appear to be able to secure Quality of Life for the indigenous small-scale cacao farmers, which has been suggested as another measure for progress (Meadows *et al.*, 1972; Nussbaum & Sen, 2012). Original Beans zero tolerance policy towards poor working conditions can also be linked with the Social Foundation of Doughnut Economics, allowing for all humans to exist within the Safe and Just Space of the Doughnut. Instead of development at the expense of others, everyone should be allowed to take part in the development. Some of the first steps towards the Safe and Just Space could be to introduce fair wages and equality. Meanwhile, such policies are included in the Social Dimension of CSR, in turn increasing good reputation and meeting the expectations of the stakeholders. The entrance of the Social Foundation shares similar values with that of Buen Vivir, arguing that humans ought to acknowledge the interconnectedness of economics with the political, sociocultural and environmental spheres, as well as on the necessities, capacities, and potentials of human beings (Walsh, 2010). Buen Vivir furthers a systemic rather than objective focus, avoiding granting the economic sphere independent significance but rather considering the interplay with the political, social and environmental spheres (Walsh, 2010). As has been evident in the opinion of the interviewees which are a part of Original Beans' Supply Chain, the economic sphere cannot be ignored, and is so to speak a necessary evil in order for the wheels to go around but should not be considered as an independent phenomenon (Appendix 4). Rather, economic profit creates space and incentive for businesses to continue sustainable acts, hopefully with the possibility of creating spillover effects from the greater corporations to the rest of the industry.

Securing the future of sustainable chocolate production

Seen from a CSR perspective, improved working conditions secure satisfied employees and a higher quality of the finished product in return (Lerro *et al.*, 2019). The cacao farmers that are being referred to in this case are the indigenous small-scale farmers working within the high-quality ‘niche’ chocolate industry. They mainly work within jungle areas, and have previously been dependent on subsistence farming (Harb & Antezana, 2010; Castellanos & Rahut, 2012; Appendix 4). With the case of Original Beans, branding themselves as frontrunners within the sustainable chocolate industry, it is vital that their entire Supply Chain is sustainable in order to maintain consumer trust (Lombardi *et al.*, 2015). This is secured through two elements; first, a sustainable approach towards production and sustainable conditions for the cacao farmers (Original Beans, 2019b). Naturally, there will not exist any cacao farmers if there are no cacao trees and jungle to cultivate. Secondly, having a transparent, Supply Chain in order to maintain a strong marketing strategy (Lerro *et al.*, 2019; Lombardi *et al.*, 2015). Furthermore, it is through their Supply Chain that a company, in this case Original Beans, can show social responsibility towards local farmers, and the producer country by ensuring proper working conditions, paying fair wages and creating a sustainable workplace for future generations. The Beni Wild project has introduced a sustainable approach towards production, sustainable working conditions and a transparent Supply Chain in cooperation with the indigenous small-scale cacao farmers of the Movima and Arawak villages. Among others, the sustainable and conservationist conditions of production are secured through their Fairwild certification, which is a legally registered trademark. It guarantees that all ingredients gathered for the chocolate are “*sustainably sourced [...] meaning that the benefits are felt by all those involved, right down to the local communities harvesting the wild plants*” (Original Beans, 2019b).

As Anders P. Saxbøl outlines it “*[...] first of all it has been important to protect the landscape, this has been done through rainforest certificates, this has been done through agreements with the farmers regard retaining the primary rainforest which is within their territory, we do that through planting trees [...] we help them adapt to the climate changes by for example establish and design an diverse agroforestry [...]*” (Appendix 4, p. 2). By creating a sustainable production, the possibilities for securing food and income in the rainforest area for themselves and their families are increased. This strategy of marketing can be seen as a response to the rising demand of sustainable products.

Responsibility towards society is an element represented in both the theory of CSR and Doughnut Economics. CSR furthers how the businesses’ responsibility towards society can be outlined through CSR strategies. The Doughnut Economics represents a new approach to a

global system, an approach where responsibility has a great emphasis. Doughnut Economics argues for a less extractive actions against the natural resources, but also argues for a stronger focus on social equality. The notion of Buen Vivir is closely linked to ideas of Doughnut Economics in regard to social responsibility, with a great focus on responsibility towards society. In the interview Kathrine H. Sørensen states that she, as a business owner, absolutely has a responsibility towards society besides generating profit. “*I really hope that the mission, activism and responsibility weigh more than business acumen [...] so it isn't just a great story to strengthen a brand. [...] it might be a great ruse for some as a part of a branding strategy, but I hope it isn't - at least for the most part*” (Appendix 4, p. 21). But then again, she notes, profit is a necessity in order for the wheels to go around. Meanwhile, from her perspective, things cannot continue as they have done until now. “*The resources of the world are under a great pressure, so we have to change our mindset in how we want to run the world and our businesses*” (Appendix 4, p. 25). Here, the 7th principle of Doughnut Economics is relevant to discuss, encouraging agnostic growth (Raworth, 2018b). Albeit challenging the idea of long-term growth might seem somewhat drastic, is clear that the resources of the world are under a great pressure. As Raworth argues, no natural resource is infinite, and if there are limits to greenhouse gas emissions, there might also be limits to growth (Raworth, 2017b). With an increasing population, perhaps it is time to consider whether growth as a measure for success is the way to proceed. However, as was evident in the interviews, to fully abandon the idea of economic profit and implementing the idea of redistribution and circular economy would either be a very protracted journey, or simply too different from our existing system to be implemented completely. For a start, optimised and efficient production could seem like a realistic path toward sustainable transition, creating incentives for businesses in terms of profit and satisfied employees.

6.2. The Economic Dimension

This Economic Dimension stresses the importance of economic profit as an incentive for CSR activities. In addition, it emphasises how companies will be able to improve their competitive and economic results, as the provided goods are of greater value for conscious consumers (Jensen, 2002; Lerro *et al.*, 2019). From the empirical data gathered for the thesis, it can be argued that the recent upsurge in sustainability represents the emergence of a new market and access to a new group of consumers, i.e. the conscious consumers as defined in Chapter 3.1.2. Anders P. Saxbøl, emphasises how the greater attention to sustainability and transparent Supply

Chains in the high-quality ‘niche’ chocolate industry in turn is beginning to ensure higher prices for the farmers, which are cultivating fine cacao for businesses such as Original Beans. Meanwhile, Bolivia holds great potential for the production of fine cacao sorts, with its natural prevalence of wild cacao. To summarise, what will be discussed within the Economic Dimension is whether chocolate should be treated as a luxury good, and second that Bolivia holds great potential for production of high-quality ‘niche’ chocolate.

Chocolate should be considered a luxury good

In this section it will be argued that both the indigenous small-scale cacao farmers and chocolate producers would benefit, if chocolate was considered a luxury good, rather than a cheap snack. If cacao was considered a luxury good, and treated as such under sustainable conditions for production, the authors argue that, first, higher prices would entail better condition for the farming communities, second, incentive for businesses to engage in sustainable production, last, and finally attract the group of conscious consumers, thereby allowing access to a new market. The three arguments will be discussed below.

As has been established in Chapter 6.1., the price of cacao is crucial for the living conditions of the cacao farmers. In addition, the production of cacao must measure with other forms of food production and continue to remain attractive, in order for the cacao farmers to profit (UTZ, 2019; FAO *et al.*, 2005). To refer back to the NGO Ashoka, a common problem in the conventional industry is that the “*revenue farmers receive does not cover their cost of production. Farmers, lacking resources to invest in increasing their cocoa yields, are locked in a cycle of poverty*” (Ashoka, 2014). The underlying reasons behind the current deforestation are poverty cycles and lack of infrastructure, according to a report by Fountain & Huetz-Adams for the Cocoa Barometer (Fountain & Huetz-Adams, 2018).

The introduction of agroforestry systems would allow for a more resource efficient and optimised production, securing the resources for the farmers for many years to come. Meanwhile, consistent salaries would ensure that the cultivation of cacao remains attractive. Agroforestry systems are often introduced as means to preserve forestal areas in remote sites. In these areas, the local population often lives of subsistence farming, and in the case of Bolivia, 73% of the rural population is also chronically poor (Castellanos & Rahut, 2012). As the pilot project with Jatun Sach'a confirms, agroforestry can, if correctly focused, contribute “[...] to the improvement of the quality of life for rural populations” (FAO *et al.*, 2005, p. 5). In addition, agroforestry systems would not only benefit the indigenous small-scale cacao farmers, but also

other industries such as coffee, rubber, tropical flower producers and beekeepers in the case of Bolivia. In the case of the Jatun Sach'a project, 3550 new jobs were created both directly and indirectly through other industries, benefitting from the crops of the forest trees, leguminous plants and agricultural crops (FAO *et al.*, 2005). With regard to Original Beans, Anders P. Saxbøl explains how higher salaries and longer contracts for the cacao farmers in the end result in a higher price on their chocolate products. The higher salaries are part of a package called 'Fair Plus', exceeding the salaries mandated by the Fairtrade certificate by two times (Original Beans, 2019c; Appendix 4). On top of that, the application of agroforestry systems includes cultivation of finer long-term three sorts and other short-term crops, which respectively secure income when the farmers retire and income if it is a bad harvest year for cacao. "*And this is especially important when we are working with farmers with very little land and few resources*" (Appendix 4, p. 6). Securing the well-being of the employees through higher income and secure labour can be related to the Economic Dimension of CSR, whereby the increased well-being of the employees, in turn has a positive effect on productivity and the quality of the produced work, as well as maintaining qualified labour (Lombardi *et al.*, 2015; Lerro *et al.*, 2019).

Considering chocolate as a luxury good, in turn allowing for better conditions for the cacao farmers would provide sustainable chocolate with additional branding value and potential incentive for businesses to engage in sustainable production. In the interview with Kathrine H. Sørensen, she argues that consumers have yet to discover how rich a product chocolate actually is, and argues that the presentation of chocolate as a luxury good is missing. She states that chocolate, both in flavour and craftsmanship, should be considered at the same level as wine and coffee. Furthermore, she argues that since cacao is not considered luxury, the customers cannot understand the large price difference in comparison with conventional chocolate (Appendix 4). Kathrine H. Sørensen refers to one of her sustainable chocolate suppliers, Mikkel Friis-Holm², by stating that he; "*refers to chocolate as the most ridiculously cheap kind of gourmet there is, right? And it makes sense, considering how little we pay for the taste experiences chocolate provides*" (Appendix 4, p. 11). Treating chocolate as a luxurious product with a development project as a background story might strengthen product diversification and competitive advantages, in turn being rewarded by the conscious consumers. It could also be viewed as an argument for transitioning to sustainable chocolate production, as product

² Friis Holm chocolate is a Danish based company which has been awarded with multiple awards in the last couple of years. It is a sustainable chocolate company with focus on microecology, single origin native cacaos and direct trade (Friis-Holm, 2018).

diversification and higher prices for the product is a mean to increase economic profit and competitive advantages (Lombardi *et al.*, 2015; Lerro *et al.*, 2019).

In addition, the transition to sustainable chocolate production could potentially include more optimised and efficient production, including avoiding erosion and drainage of the soil, thereby allowing for continued production on the same piece of land for several decades (Jacobi, 2017). In the interview, Anders P. Saxbøl also emphasises optimised and efficient production as a path toward sustainability. Production can actually be made more sustainable “[...]for the individual farmer, allowing them to produce more on the same piece of land in a more sustainable manner, avoiding erosion of the Earth and drainage of nutrition” (Appendix 4, p. 2). Optimised and efficient production appeals to profiteering of the businesses, which in turn should maximise social welfare, specifically by job and income creation and avoiding drought, erosion and drainage of nutrition in this case (Jensen, 2002). Furthermore, scholars argue that the use of CSR strengthen business's relationship with their customers in terms of brand loyalty. When implemented correctly, the business is rewarded in terms of “reputation and trustworthiness” (Lombardi *et al.*, 2015, p. 7; Lerro *et al.*, 2019). In relation to the 5th principle of Doughnut Economics, the introduction of sustainable programs with the greater corporations in the chocolate industry would seem like a step in the right direction, albeit they still need to produce fast and in great quantities, seeking for the cheapest possible means of production. The 5th principle suggests shaping economy in a direction where the created value is redistributed rather than revenue. The value in question could be land rights, businesses and technology (Raworth, 2018a). The Cocoa Barometer attributes the current development in the conventional industry “to corporate disinterest in the environmental effects of the supply of cheap cocoa, and to an almost completely absent government enforcement of environmentally protected areas” (Fountain & Huetz-Adams, 2018, p. 3; Appendix 4. In addition, it is argued that indigenous populations constitute a cheap form of labour as rural workers, as they are often not part of a union (Gigler, n.d.). When indigenous people constitute most of the labour force in areas such as the Department of Beni, all of the mechanisms described above contribute with keeping the indigenous small-scale cacao farmers locked in the cycle of poverty (Ashoka, 2014). Sustainable production could, in terms of shared technology and securing land rights for the indigenous groups in Bolivia, be an alternative to the ‘growth first, clean up later’ approach, which is characteristic for most production taking place in developing countries (UNCTAD, 2012, Wangel, 2012). As Raworth argues, inequality does not have to be higher (worse) before it can decrease (get better), and economic growth will not eventually even out inequality (Raworth, 2018a).

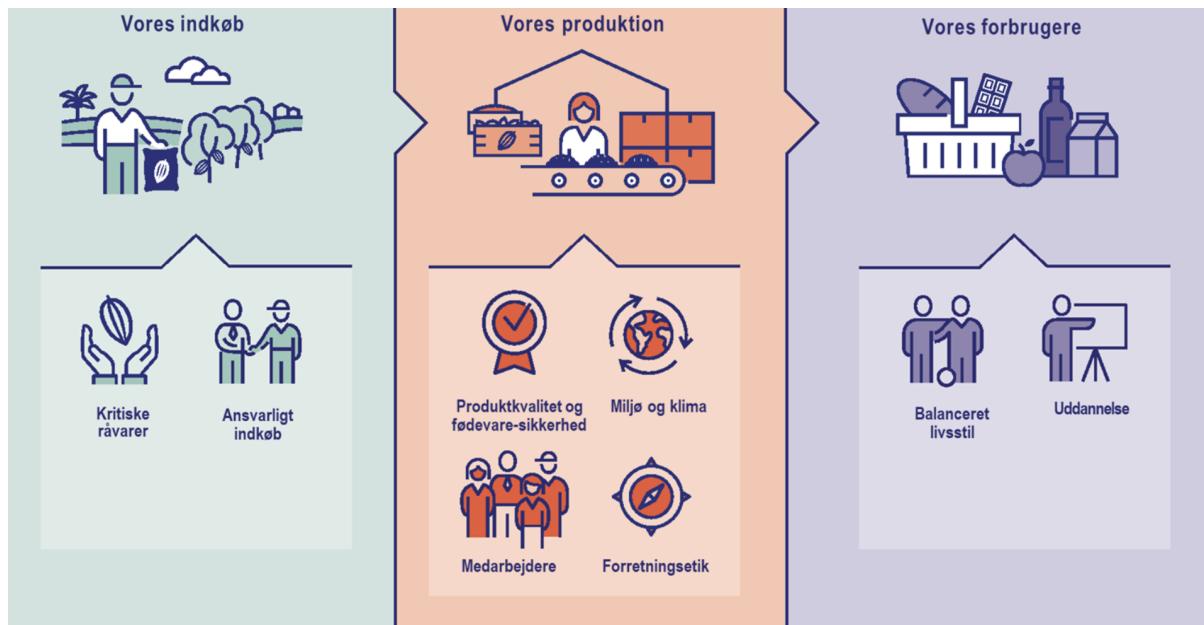
As established in the two sections above, considering chocolate as a luxury good could both improve conditions for the indigenous small-scale cacao farmers, as well as potential incentive for businesses to engage in sustainable production. In addition, the authors argue that the branding value of sustainable chocolate could attract conscious consumers, thereby allowing access to an emerging market of Millennials, cf. Chapter 3.1.2.

Access to the market of conscious consumers could be another attractive incentive for sustainable transition for the chocolate industry. As is argued by several sources, chocolate is one of those products where conscious consumers are beginning to realise the potential unethical and environmentally damaging impact of purchasing the cheapest product on the market (Katsos, 2018; Houlihan & Harvey, 2018). One report from the American based research database Nielsen in 2018 even claims that regardless of product category, businesses with legit sustainability claims perform better (nielsen.com, 2018). In the interview, Anders P. Saxbøl notes how the increased attention towards sustainability in the chocolate industry matters in terms of sale, as “[...] *there is a certain expectation from society [..]*” (Appendix 4, p. 1). This could be interpreted as a way to attract conscious consumers, which in turn reward the companies by a willingness to pay a higher price for the given product (Lerro *et al.*, 2019). In addition, Anders P. Saxbøl argues how it is almost not an option not to engage in environmental and social activities, especially within industries where the public pays attention to the Sustainable Development (Appendix 4). This could be the case in the chocolate industry, considering the scandals surrounding child labour in the beginning of the 2000s (Slomkowski, 2005). As several sources argue, the problem has not yet been solved, as problems with deforestation and child labour is still considered as the greatest issues within the industry (Katsos, 2018; Fountain & Huetz-Adams, 2018; Bhattacharya, 2018).

Several businesses within the chocolate industry have actually responded to this recent upsurge in sustainability and have attempted to become more transparent. On their websites, overviews of Supply Chains can be found, along with ‘Sustainable Act’ programs. Most large corporations within the chocolate industry have a ‘Sustainable Act’ program available on their website, describing their efforts towards issues such as sustainability, fair wages and securing the well-being of the local communities where they work (Nestlé, 2019; Mars Danmark, 2019; Hershey, 2019; Callebaut, 2019). With reference to ILO, businesses efforts to engage in the communities in which they operate are seemingly of great importance (ILO, 2005). Mars Chocolate for example has a full approach to sustainability, both in their Supply Chain but also just in their own production. For instance, Mars’ ‘Sustainable in a Generation’ plan has the stated ambition that everyone in their extended Supply Chain should earn a sufficient income for a decent living

(Mars Denmark, 2019). The Danish chocolate company Toms even has a figure available on their website, illustrating their Supply Chain. The figure is shown below.

Figure 5: Responsible Production with Toms



Source: Toms, 2019.

To summarise, it would seem that businesses within the chocolate industry has begun to realise the potential for sustainable chocolate production and the concomitant access to the group of conscious consumers. This development could appear as a step in a climate positive direction, creating incentive for more business to convert into sustainable chocolate production. With the recent upsurge in sustainability, many businesses claim to be sustainable in some degree, whereas it might be difficult for the consumers to evaluate between the different options on the market. *“What does the businesses actually do, how are they dedicated, and how much do they actually invest in sustainability?”* (Appendix 4). As sustainable chocolate production represents access to the group of conscious consumers, it might be tempting to brand products as sustainable without putting in the great effort sustainable transition requires. Here, consumer scepticism arises once again; when asked about the perception of sustainable chocolate, Kathrine H. Sørensen answers that there *“[...] are many questions regarding where the money goes [...] and whether it is believable that the higher price actually goes to what it’s intended for”* (Appendix 4, p. 22). Anders P. Saxbøl mentioned another interesting point with regard to engaging in social and environmental activities; whereas one incentive might be to gain access

to a new group of customers, another might be to protect the brand and reputation of the business, in order to maintain existing clients (Appendix 4).

Bolivia's great potential for production of high-quality 'niche' chocolate

A country's need for specialisation is crucial in order to create and sustain competitiveness in an era of increased globalisation and, thus, increased exposure to international competition. As defined, the high-quality 'niche' chocolate industry is tremendously dependent on the sustenance of the environment. In the case of the Department of Beni, the natural rainforest is vulnerable towards climate changes, however, a prosperous market of wild cacao is present. The argument of this section is that Bolivia needs to specialise within the high-quality 'niche' chocolate production even more in order for the industry to fully become a success.

With an increasing worldwide demand on soy, especially from China, it is little surprising the production of soy has been supported by the Bolivian government (WWF, 2019). Especially when considering that soy takes the first place among the top 10 export goods of Bolivia (IBCE, 2018). Soy production shares the same characteristics as palm oil production, which involves cultivation of monocultures that in turn damage the biodiversity in the area, and a frequent use of slash and burn methods causing deforestation and displacement of indigenous groups (Bossen & Pedersen, 2018). As argued before, initiatives towards sustainable and organic cultivation are present with the Bolivian government, but it would seem that other, less sustainable, industries benefit more in terms of government support (FAO *et al.*, 2005; Ashoka, 2014; Estado Plurinacional de Bolivia & FAO, 2012; Jacobi *et al.*, 2017).

As argued by Raworth, GDP has been used to justify inequality combined with an astonishing amount of recklessness in terms of how we treat our natural resources (Raworth, 2018b). Drawing on several reports by Rockström *et al.*, it is concluded that the amount of pressure we apply on the resources of the Earth are reaching a threshold. Instead of chasing a GDP increase, we should be figuring out how everyone can thrive in balance (Raworth, 2018b). Doughnut Economics can be related to the idea of balance with the Bolivian concept of Buen Vivir, emphasising the importance of living in harmony with nature. Human well-being as a measure for success is suggested as an alternative to economic growth, which should be ensured through cohabitation with nature both in terms of responsible production and reciprocation (Gudynas, 2011). Hence, by acknowledging the dualism of man and nature, and particularly that there is a limit to the resources of the Earth, humanity could be moving one step closer towards the Safe and Just Space of the Doughnut.

Raworth's 2nd principle emphasises the importance of circular and reciprocal economy. The principle can be related to the advantages of transitioning to a sustainable production. Raworth's 2nd principle suggests a new take on the forces of the market, which captures society and nature, and draws its energy from the sun (Raworth, 2018a). Relying on green energy, ensuring social conditions for the cacao farmers and sustaining the local environment would seem as a realistic way to apply the 2nd principle, as is the case with the works of businesses such as Original Beans in the Department of Beni. Unfortunately, cultivating the livestock and soy industry seems to be the main focus of the Bolivian government, according to Anders P. Saxbøl. He reported how relatively few actors exists in the chocolate industry in Bolivia. In this connection, he has never encountered any presence of local or national authorities or had meetings with government representatives. "*The question might be what the government focus on, right? Here in Beni [...] it] would appear that the government has put a stake on the soy and livestock industry [...]*" (Appendix 4, p. 14).

Wild cacao cultivation could be a profitable sustainable industry to engage in, especially considering few competitors within the boundaries of Bolivia. However, the possibility of Bolivia becoming a major producer of wild sustainable chocolate is dependent on several things. The environmental surroundings are important, specifically; the conditions for producing cacao need to be optimal. In this case, the cacao beans are wildly grown within the rainforest of the Department of Beni. This means that the conditions of production are present as long as the rainforest is not cut down. The importance of maintaining a diverse and healthy rainforest is therefore crucial, as Bolivia could profit from a emphasised focus on sustainable grown cacao. As has been highlighted before, the map submitted in Appendix 1 illustrates the potential sites for wild cacao production in Bolivia, and further shows how the full potential of cacao cultivation has yet to show (Harb & Antezana, 2010). Furthermore, as Maskell argues, the economic prosperity of a country is associated with their ability to generate or attract economic activities, which are able to increase income by performing well on the market (Maskell, 1998). Hence, having a competitive specialisation in wild cacao might increase economic wealth for the Bolivian population and strengthen the competitive advantage compared to other Latin American chocolate producers. A successful example of a cacao considered as a luxury good is the Beni Wild chocolate bar from Original Beans. Kathrine H. Sørensen further portraits how the special circumstances surrounding the chocolate; the rarity, the geography near the rainforest and the required corporation with the local community, is something consumers respond to: "*When they hear the amazing story behind, people ask why*

it doesn't cost more" (Appendix 4, p. 30). To harvest the Beniano bean, one hour with plane and 4 hours with canoe each way is required in order to reach the site where the bean has its natural prevalence. The comprehensive collection of the Beniano bean is due to its location. The location of the Amazonian rivers and the rainforest of the Department of Beni requires for it to be hand-picked, which is done by indigenous collectors in boats (Original Beans, 2018b). In return, the Beniano bean is an original wild, rare, unique and expensive cacao sort, which in turn provides the cacao farmers with high sales prices (Appendix 4).

In relation to the production site of Original Beans in the Department of Beni, the relative level of poverty compared to their neighbouring countries are somewhat higher (Estado Plurinacional de Bolivia & FAO, 2012; Castellanos & Rahut, 2012). Furthermore, lack of developed infrastructure makes the production less attractive, since cacao has to be moved around for processing and grinding, as explained in Chapter 4.3 (Squicciarini & Swinnen, 2016). According to Anders, Bolivia has yet to experience the boom in the high-quality 'niche' chocolate industry, as the other chocolate producing Latin American countries has had. "*There is a boom in the chocolate industry at the moment, mainly in Peru [...], Ecuador, Colombia and Mexico [...] which increases the market prices*" (Appendix 4, p. 14). He further notes that relatively few actors are present in Bolivia, and that there is very little competition on this market as of yet. Considering the increased demand on sustainable chocolate together with the Bolivian government initiatives towards creating incentive for sustainable cultivation, investment in the requested infrastructural improvements could seem like a necessary step, in order to attract cacao producers to Bolivia (FAO *et al.*, 2005; Ashoka, 2014; Estado Plurinacional de Bolivia & FAO, 2012). The potential for fine cacao cultivation exists and could prove to be a profitable market to engage in (Estado Plurinacional de Bolivia & FAO, 2012; Harb & Antezana, 2010; Appendix 4). In addition, FAO *et al.*, in relation to the experiences drawn from the Jatun Sach'a project argues that the introduction of sustainable cacao cultivation contributes "[...] to the improvement of the quality of life for rural populations. This translates to an increase in nutritional security and competitive production options" (FAO *et al.*, 2005, p. 5). Besides creating competitive advantages, nutritional security is an important term to consider in this connection, with reference to the indirect production of the agroforestry systems.

In order for Bolivia to profit from having a successful sustainable production of cacao, customers are necessary. In this case, the sustainable cacao produced in the Department of Beni

is among other countries such as Denmark. Marketing of sustainable products can, in accordance with the Economic Dimension of CSR, be a way for the business to improve its competitive and economic results, as the provided goods are of greater value for those conscious consumers, thereby providing a possibility of product diversification, and hence attraction (Lombardi *et al.*, 2015; Christiansen, 2008; Lerro *et al.*, 2019). Another strong argument for choosing a sustainable production is that it responds to a consumer demand, and allows for product diversification, essentially creating a more competitive business on the international market (Lerro *et al.*, 2019; Maskell, 1998). In the interview, Kathrine H. Sørensen argues that Original Bean's products cannot be successful without the story behind. While comparing Original Beans chocolate bars with for example Lindt chocolates, which are available on shelves in the Danish supermarkets (Appendix 4; Andresen, 2017). The story she is referring to is their transparent Supply Chain, and the fact that Original Beans throughout their entire Supply Chain is making sustainable decisions. For example, in their production they strive to create a drawdown of carbon, rather than emitting it. Another example is their direct trade policy, whereby the intermediaries are avoided, and the indigenous small-scale farmers can be rewarded with higher salaries. A third example is their plastic free policies, which entails that they only use biodegradable products for their packaging options (Original Beans, 2019b; Original Beans, 2019d).

6.3. The Environmental Dimension

The section will be based on the Environmental Dimension of CSR, which refers to corporate strategies towards improving the environment, and includes sustainable action (Haisler & Holbech, 2008). In relation to the research provided by sources involved in the chocolate industry and theoretical sources focusing on climate changes, all point towards one conclusion; change is necessary. The purpose with the thesis has been to take this international debate and apply it on a single Supply Chain, investigating how the production of a specific product in Bolivia is conducted in an appreciative manner within the limits of the Earth. In addition, these initiatives constitute part of a marketing strategy applied in a totally different context of a developed country, namely Denmark.

To summarise, what will be discussed within the Environmental Dimension is how the climate change efforts within the high-quality 'niche' chocolate industry in Bolivia manifest itself. The existence and use of Buen Vivir in legislation and marketing will be taken into account. Furthermore, Doughnut Economics will provide with a global aspect of the efforts made in

regard to sustainable production. In this section, the main points based on the end-codes described in Chapter 2.2.3., Focus on Sustainability, Producer and Production Country and Cacao will be joined in one, whereas the latter two Competition and the Business of Cacao will be joined in one as well.

The effects of climate change on chocolate production

In relation to the end-codes, Focus on Sustainability, Producer and Production Country and Cacao, two main points can be emphasised: First, the existence of climate changes are affecting the current mode of production in the chocolate industry. Second, climate change efforts are necessary now, in order to counteract climate changes. In this thesis, climate change efforts are defined as initiatives towards lowering the emission of greenhouse gasses, such as sustainable production within any given industry.

Having determined that climate change efforts are urgent, it is now time to look at the Doughnut model again. Kate Raworth argues for a whole new perception and expectation to the international system in regard to the environment. In Raworth's Doughnut model, the Environmental Ceiling revolves around the idea of severe exhaustion of the planet, such as climate changes and loss of biodiversity (Raworth 2018a). In regard to climate changes, drawing on the reports from Rockström *et al.* and the works of Raworth, the limits of emission has already been reached for several of the developed countries, exceeding the environmental ceiling of the Doughnut.

Figure 6: Country Comparison



Source: Data from the University of Leeds, 2019.

The figure above shows the biophysical and social threshold of Bolivia and Denmark, in accordance with the Doughnut. Ideally, a country should be within the biophysical threshold and ‘fill out’ the social threshold in order for humanity to reach the Safe and Just Space. In the figure above, major differences are visible between Bolivia and Denmark. In relation to the biophysical threshold, none of the countries has reached the limit of Blue Water, where both countries have reached the biophysical boundary of Ecological Footprint and Land-Use Change. In addition, Denmark has exceeded the biophysical threshold of the remaining indicators. From this figure, it would appear that Denmark has caused most damage to the environment. However, climate change is not only attributed to the country that damages the environment the most. It can be argued that climate changes are the overall consequences of exceeding the Environmental Ceiling, and as both Kathrine H. Sørensen and Anders P. Saxbøl argue in their interviews, it is a very visible and measurable value (Appendix 4). The fact that climate changes are taking place everywhere, is yet another strong argument for global solutions to global challenges (Raworth, 2018b). It is important to note that climate changes are caused by many different elements and that the following spillover effects responds with even more impact. As argued before, much land is being converted into agricultural purposes, for example for soy production or livestock (WWF, 2019; Bossen & Pedersen, 2018). Often

the converted land used to be forest or rainforest. Deforestation is therefore a serious consequence of change of land use. Following the change of land use, loss of biodiversity may occur. Consequently, the loss of biodiversity can be a result of reduced living spaces, or lack of environment permitting their living conditions. These living spaces might be affected by phosphorus and nitrogen, chemical pollution that essentially will be crucial for the biodiversity (Rockström *et al.*, 2009).

Meanwhile, climate changes are actively affecting the production of chocolate today. As a cacao specialist, Anders P. Saxbøl reports how Original Beans are experiencing climate changes on every production site, with heavy flooding and severe drought in the tropics where they work. “*We experience it in Peru right now; last year in Mexico there was a severe drought; and of course, there is drought in large parts of Africa; in Indonesia there's drought [...]*” (Appendix 4, p. 24). These conditions create a more insecure cacao production, which makes the livelihood of the cacao farmers more difficult (Appendix 4; Slomkowski, 2005, Ashoka, 2014). As mentioned, the cacao tree is delicate towards changes in the climate, which is why these climate changes might influence the continued production of chocolate. This entails that the production sites might be moved to other geographical areas with attractive climates to cultivate the cacao, as the current sites are being drained of nutrition and exposed to drought and floods (Appendix 4; FAO, 2018; Ashoka, 2014; The World Bank, 2014). In relation to preservation of the finer cacao sorts, the genetic diversity is becoming narrow, and as a consequence the risk of diseases and damages caused by rodents increases. Meanwhile, there is a risk of losing some of the finer cacao sorts (Fountain & Huetz-Adams, 2018; Appendix 4). In the Department of Beni, the Beniano Bean resides within the tropical rainforest, whereas conventional cacao is often grown in plantations in a more controlled environment. Securing the surrounding environment of the rainforest is not an option, which is why Original Beans’ Supply Chain is more exposed towards climate changes (Andresen, 2017). In the Department of Beni, heavy flooding is occurring, followed by more severe drought and floods than seen previously (Sedeh, 2014). Specifically, within the chocolate industry in Bolivia, Anders P. Saxbøl argued that climate changes accounted for the heavy flooding and severe droughts in the Department of Beni, in turn influencing the production of chocolate and income of the indigenous small-scale cacao farmers (Appendix 4). Although floods and droughts are not a new phenomenon in Bolivia with the changes in season, the effects of climate changes are “*expected to increase further the intensity and frequency of extreme weather events in the poorest country of South America*” according to an article by V. Sedeh. In both 2011, 2013 and 2014, heavy floods caused casualties and displacement of families, particularly in the

Department of Beni. In 2014, the economic loss revolving loss of crops and killed livestock as a result of the flooding reached an astonishing 270 million dollars (Sedeh, 2014). As this is the only place in the world where the Beniano bean is cultivated, climate changes could have severe consequences for the continued supply of the wild cacao sort. As both the Cocoa Barometer and the Conservation Strategy Fund argues, wild cacao sorts of Bolivia could prove to be a profitable alternative to conventional agriculture, allowing for a diversification of income sources and at the same time conservation of the rainforests of Bolivia (Harb & Antezana, 2010; Fountain & Huetz-Adams, 2018).

In regard to the climate change efforts, some of the various initiatives within the high-quality ‘niche’ chocolate industry will be described within this section. Many of these climate change efforts are a result of the perceived upsurge in sustainability, which the thesis argues has become larger within the last decade.

The activities of Original Beans on their production sites is interesting to examine, since their activities can be regarded as concrete climate change efforts. The business sustains the rainforests at the sites by issuing rainforest certificates, thereby entering agreements with the local cacao farmers to preserve primary forest within their territory, instead of cutting it down for agricultural purposes. In relation to securing the future of chocolate, it has been argued by Anders P. Saxbøl that production should be optimised, efficient and made more sustainable, allowing for the indigenous small-scale farmers to produce more on the same piece of land, thereby avoiding deforestation. By securing the production sites and avoiding provoking droughts and floods through deforestation, the land is preserved for the cacao farmers to cultivate for several decades. Hence, one of the issues of being a cacao farmer would be solved, what remains are higher salaries and improved labour conditions. As both Kathrine H. Sørensen and Anders P. Saxbøl highlight in their interviews, the marketing and emphasis on sustainable chocolate will also help secure more jobs for sustainable cacao farmers (Appendix 4). Rather than linear, top-down development, Doughnut Economics furthers a circular focus emphasising bottom-up development (Raworth, 2018a). This is crucial for sustainable production in the cases that have been examined for this thesis. The businesses provide the tools and knowledge for sustainable production, while enabling the local cacao farmers to produce on their own terms with respect for ethnic differences (Ashoka, 2014; Original Beans, 2019b; Harb & Antezana, 2010; FAO, 2018; Jacobi *et al.*, 2015). As protection of biodiversity and natural resources are key factors for the framework of Doughnut Economics, the continued use of agroforestry systems in sustainable production would seem like the successful approach to

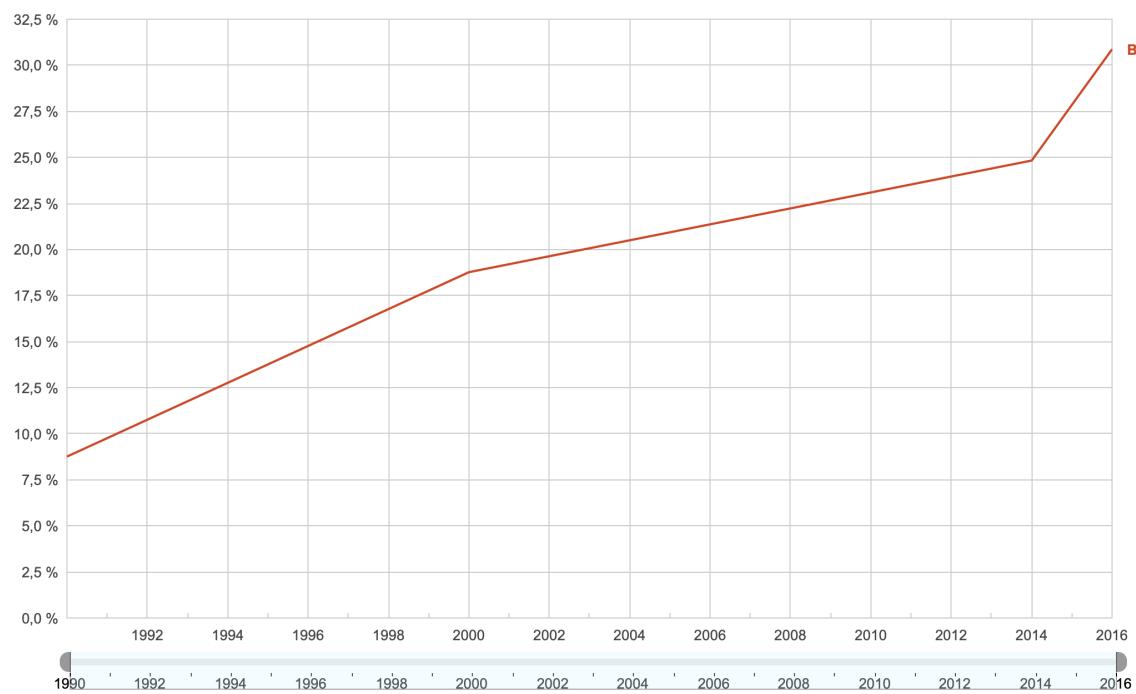
secure the resources of Bolivia (Raworth, 2018a; Jacobi *et al.*, 2014; Harb & Antezana; Jacobi *et al.*, 2017).

A common solution to the environmentally degrading conventional production is the introduction of agroforestry systems as buffer zones to protect the rainforests of the world. The introduction of agroforestry systems “*helps the rural family to maintain the fertility of their soil*” (FAO *et al.*, 2005, p. 21). The systems serve as carbon sinks and biodiversity pools, and are believed to have positive impact on the current climate changes (Jacobi *et al.*, 2014). Specifically, agroforestry allows for the farmers to diversify their production by “*growing new crops in a sustainable and self-renovating process*”, without having to turn to the cultivation of illicit crops such as coca (FAO *et al.*, 2005, p. 21). Several organisations in Bolivia have been running pilot projects with agroforestry initiatives, such as Ecotop, Yungas de Vandiola and Jatun Sach’á, as well as some small-scale farmer groups such as el Ceibo (Jacobi *et al.*, 2017). The results of the Jatun Sach’á project indicated a positive change in the area in regard to conservation efforts and improved income (FAO *et al.*, 2005).

In the Department of Beni, the Movimas and Arawaks have “*customary ownership*” of 66.000 hectares of land, which is more or less preserved forest and grassland (Appendix 4, p. 28). Original Beans teach the Movimas and Arawaks how to create a sustainable income by harvesting the Beniano beans; “[...] *without cutting down any trees, without doing anything unnecessary to the forest, other than preserving it like it stands today*” (Appendix 4, p. 4). In return, by cultivating the area, land rights are secured for the indigenous small-scale cacao farmers.

In the graph below, the development in percentage of protected areas in Bolivia is illustrated. The graph shows a positive development, where more land is being protected from agricultural purposes, also emphasising how the political conservationist efforts between 1990-2016 may have actually had an effect, in terms of saving land.

Figure 7: Amount of protected areas (in percentage of total area)



Source: The World Bank, 2018.

The same argument applies for coca production, whereby land would be secured from illicit cultivation as FAO argues with the Jatun Sach'a project (Jacobi *et al.*, 2017; Appendix 4; Fountain & Huetz-Adams; FAO *et al.*, 2005). The rural population living in extreme poverty could be provided with an incentive to move beyond subsistence farming through the cultivation of wild cacao in agroforestry systems. Taken into account that the framework of Law 300, Rights of Mother Earth, “*aims at promoting the integrated management, sustainable use, and the protection of forest areas, while strengthening the sustainability of local intra- and intercultural communities' livelihoods*”, sustainable cacao production could perhaps prove to be the answer (Jacobi *et al.*, 2017, p. 372). The legal framework of law 300 can be directly related to that of Buen Vivir, particularly in relation to respect for ethnic differences and protection of biodiversity and natural resources. This engagement in the environment can be closely compared with the notion of living in connection with the Earth, through Buen Vivir. The Bolivian concept of Buen Vivir outlines the rights of mother Earth in contrast to a more extractivist layout of the economy (Gudynas, 2011). By acknowledging the interconnectedness between the different spheres of the social, environmental and economic dimension, as well as on the necessities, capacities, and potentials of human beings, the well-being of the rural groups in Bolivia can be established. These factors are also emphasised by Raworth as means for enabling all of humankind to enter the Safe and Just space for humanity (Walsh, 2010; Raworth,

2018b). Meanwhile, the necessary changes of production that will allow for humanity to enter the Safe and Just Foundation are occurring. As Raworth argues in relation to the 6th principle, several businesses have begun to transition from environmentally destructive to sustainable, which has been confirmed by several international sources such as the UN Global Compact (UN, 2019a; CDP, 2018; The Climate Group, 2019). According to Raworth, industrial production has begun to transition from environmentally destructive to sustainable. It is sustainable through the use of renewable energy, thus eliminating the use of toxic chemicals and eliminating waste in its recycling design (Raworth, 2018a). Global initiatives are also present within the chocolate industry. Of recent initiatives, the World Cocoa Foundation mentions the Cocoa and Forest Initiative “*to end deforestation and restore forest areas*” as well as preventing illicit cocoa production in national parks (World Cocoa Foundation, 2019). The initiative is a joint collaboration between larger production countries, respectively the Ivory Coast, Ghana and Colombia, and the largest cacao producers in the industry. At the moment, most focus is directed towards West Africa, more specifically the Ivory Coast and Ghana. As mentioned, these areas are some of the largest production sites for cacao, where deforestation has been documented and is being considered a large issue within the chocolate industry (Slomkowski, 2005; Appendix 4). In the interview with Anders, he argues how there is increased focus on deforestation and reforestation in the industry, with the greater chocolate companies “*rolling out sustainability programs*” and entering zero deforestation agreements (World Cocoa Foundation, 2019; Appendix 4, p. 1). As argued in Chapter 6.1., most large corporations within the chocolate industry have a ‘Sustainable Act’ program available on their website, describing their efforts towards issues such as sustainability, fair wages and securing the well-being of the local communities where they work (Nestlé, 2019; Mars Danmark, 2019; Hershey, 2019; Callebaut, 2019; Original Beans, 2019b; FAO, 2018; Bhattacharya, 2016). Furthermore, Anders P. Saxbøl notes how sustainability is top of the agenda on every conference in the chocolate industry, indicating that the increased focus on sustainability exists both in the high-quality ‘niche’ chocolate industry and the conventional industry. The World Cocoa Foundation further describes how these agreements have been possible due to the increased focus on the industry in relation with COP23, resulting in a specific action plan to end cacao-related deforestation in 2019 (World Cocoa Foundation, 2019).

Sustainable action: Moving in the right direction

Following the international upsurge in sustainability, many different initiatives have been taken in order to preserve and rebuild a strong environment. Through the interviews, it has become clear that several parts of the Supply Chain of Original Beans argue for more action by the large players within the chocolate industry. These large sustainability programs introduced by the larger corporations may entail a bit of scepticism regarding the intentions behind the sustainable initiatives; the question remains whether sustainable initiatives are created for the sake of improving the environment or as a marketing strategy to enter an emerging market? However, as is both furthered throughout the thesis and as Anders P. Saxbøl argues, all approaches towards a more sustainable production is a win, and that the examples of greenwashing hopefully concern very few businesses. The time and energy spent on appearing to be green could perhaps have been used on becoming sustainable instead. Besides, it can be argued that the presences of scandals surrounding the attempts at greenwashing or ‘green marketing’ with larger corporations have created an inherent distrust towards sustainable initiatives and whether they are legit (Berrone, 2016). As stakeholder theory suggests, if a company does not live up to the expectations of the stakeholders, this might reduce trust in the firm and consumer loyalty both as regard the brand and the single product (Lombardi *et al.*, 2015).

To summarise, what can be drawn out as a main point from the end-codes of Competition and The Business of Cacao is that sustainable action is welcome, regardless if the motivation behind is social, economic or environmental. Every attempt towards a better treatment of the Earth will add to the global solution in securing the resources of the Earth. The section will be separated into two sections; the first one will regard the expectations towards the greater corporations within the chocolate industry. The second section will evaluate on sustainable action and whether it serves as a marketing strategy, considering that sustainable action is urgent.

Considering the whole entity of the chocolate industry, where the high-quality ‘niche’ chocolate industry constitutes a very small share, large parts of production are concentrated with a few influential corporations, such as Nestlé, Lindt, Mondeléz, Hershey, Ferrero and Mars (Walker, 2016). In 2013, the four largest corporations Nestlé, Mondeléz, Mars and Ferrero accounted for a combined share of 41% of the confectionary sales (Oozes *et al.*, 2016). In the interview, Kathrine H. Sørensen argues that the greater corporations in the industry will have to be frontrunners on sustainability, in order to make an impact; “*When you are sitting on 85%, or so, of global production, action must derive from them*” (Appendix 4, p. 9). As is also emphasised in an article on Medium, it is the large chocolate producers that has the greatest

impact on the development in the chocolate industry. It is therefore crucial that the largest chocolate companies join the sustainable movement, since they can move a large part of the production in a sustainable direction. Of course consumers can boycott and punish corporations which are known to be associated with unethical or environmentally damaging behaviour, but as Katsos argues, there “*is almost no way to distinguish one from another once the cocoa gets to the wholesalers within the Ivory Coast as they are after all selling hundreds of millions of tons of cocoa a year*” (Katsos, 2018).

Following the argument of businesses having a green profile as a marketing strategy, both the smaller and larger chocolate companies should benefit from having a strong CSR profile. As argued, it is difficult to rate which initiatives are better than others, and for what reason they are doing it. However, from a traditional take on business actions in regard to CSR, there must be a gain one way or another (Lombardi *et al.*, 2015). The impact of businesses’ mode of production would seem to have been recognised by large international organisations such as the UN, ILO and the EU, as argued in the theory chapter. CSR and sustainability is branded as a tool for maintaining stakeholders and improve credibility of the businesses brands, encouraging the power of collective action by adopting sustainable and socially responsible policies and reporting on their progress (CSRWire, 2019). CSR is now also the interest of international organisations and even governments, assisting private businesses in the management of environmental and social activities (Kadyan, 2016).

From the considerations above, it would seem that the impact of the greater corporations in the industry is necessary to consider, if sustainable transition is the end-goal. So how do we get there? In order for businesses to convert to sustainable production, there must be a group of consumers prepared to buy the sustainable product. As established in the report from Danish Agriculture & Food Council, the Danish Millennials could prove to be the target group in question. As argued in Chapter 3.1.2, the Danish Millennials have an established demand for sustainable products, through their strong CSR profile (Danish Agriculture & Food Council, 2017). An efficient tool for attracting conscious consumers would seem to be the use of flagship animals or flagship species. Wright *et al.* argues that the use of flagship animals is an efficient way to reach the conscious consumers about conservation issues and influence behaviour in a competitive world filled with information (Wright *et al.*, 2015). A flagship animal or species represents a tool commonly used by conservationists to target a specific audience. The use of flagship animals is most effective if “*their perceived attributes resonate with their target audience and if this group is aware of their existence*” (Wright *et al.*, 2015, p. 44). Both

Kathrine H. Sørensen and Anders P. Saxbøl describes in the interviews how the flagship animals adds personal value and ethos; “ [...] it becomes more than just nature, which isn’t tangible in the same way [...] the customers] keep returning to those gorillas and elephants, right?” (Appendix 4, p. 31). In the Case of Original Beans in Bolivia, Anders P. Saxbøl argues that their main focus is cultivating the wild cacao sorts in a sustainable manner. In order for them to keep on working within the high-quality ‘niche’ chocolate industry, they need customers. With Original Beans, every chocolate bar has a flagship animal, which is present in the area the bean is cultivated in. For example, the Beni Wild Chocolate bar has the Macau parrot as a poster boy, as pictured on the front-page of the thesis (Appendix 4; Original Beans, 2019). By focusing on a single animal, out of many in the areas, it would seem that consumers have something concrete and relatively simple to relate to, relative to reforestation and development efforts in the local areas.

It has been argued that environmental marketing can be portrayed as a marketing strategy rather than initiatives towards sustainable transition, sometimes referred to as greenwashing. An example could be when companies display sustainable initiatives in for example press releases, without actually having integrated sustainability in their production (Edwards, 2018; GetSmarter, 2018; King, 2013). A recent and well-known example of this is the ‘Clean Diesel’ scandal with Volkswagen, using software to embellish the amount of emission to make their cars to seem more environmentally friendly (GetSmarter, 2018). It is important to emphasise, as it has been furthered throughout the thesis, that any initiatives towards sustainable transition are viewed as positive, and that the examples of greenwashing hopefully concern very few businesses. Either way, sustainability matters, as a research report from The Conference Board confirms. The report argues how and why corporations should prioritise sustainable action, if not to counteract climate changes then to maintain loyal stakeholders, also argued by the authors in Chapter 3.1.2. (Tonello & Conference Board, 2011).

The authors argue that every sustainable action matter, what is further supported by the recent figures released by Original Beans. Albeit the company is relatively small compared to other corporations in the chocolate industry, attempting to become a regenerative business will in turn have a positive climate impact. Every year Original Beans release a Chocolate Footprint, perceived as a part of their marketing strategy, illustrating what the business has “given back” to the Earth (Original Beans, 2019c).

Figure 8: Original Beans Foodprint 2018



Source: Original Beans, 2018a, p. 1.

The figures are developed in cooperation with PricewaterhouseCoopers and CarbonRoots. According to their 2018 Footprint, the cacao farmers working with Original Beans has received double price of the raw cacao prices that the Fairtrade certificate ensures. Six rare varieties of fine cacao sorts have been preserved, and eight biodiversity hotspots have been protected, among others by establishing agroforestry belts between the wild rainforest and the lands used for farming by local communities (Original Beans, 2019b). Full annual income has been secured for 173 small-scale cacao farmers and their families. The livelihoods of 5062 farming families have been improved through agroforestry cultivation and 1.5 million trees have been

planted through their reforestation program. In addition, the business has a drawdown of 8055 tonnes of carbon (Original Beans, 2019c). The reason for highlighting these figures indicating sustainable action, is merely to confirm how every sustainable action matters. The same argument would be present when the UN for example urges individuals to “*be a part of the solution*” (UN, 2019b). Anders P. Saxbøl describes how there have been companies within the chocolate industry with focus on sustainability long before the current upsurge in sustainability began (Appendix 4). It is important to emphasise this point, as the existence of sustainable chocolate producers before the upsurge would indicate conservationist behaviour as incitement, not profit increase through marketing as critics would argue.

To summarise, what can be drawn from the analysis are the following points, in relation to the three dimensions of CSR. First in relation to the Social Dimension, the upsurge in sustainability has brought on increased attention on the working conditions of the indigenous small-scale cacao farmers. It can be argued that the working conditions of the indigenous small-scale cacao farmers working in the sustainable chocolate industry are better, relative to those working in the conventional chocolate industry in Bolivia. In relation to securing a continued production of chocolate in the future, producers will have to ensure that cacao cultivation becomes an attractive industry, thereby avoiding the cycle of poverty present within the conventional industry today (Ashoka, 2014). Second, in relation to the Economic Dimension, it can be argued that it would be beneficial for both the indigenous small-scale cacao farmers and the producers, if chocolate was considered as a luxury good. Looking specifically at the Bolivian high-quality ‘niche’ chocolate production, price increases would secure correspondingly higher income for the indigenous small-scale cacao farmers, meanwhile the branding as a luxury good both entails price increase of the products as well as access to the emerging market of conscious consumers (Danish Agriculture & Food Council, 2017). Third, in relation to the Environmental Dimension, the current climate changes are affecting the high-quality ‘niche’ chocolate production of Bolivia, which has been evident through the interviews with Anders P. Saxbøl, anthropologist and cacao specialist with Original Beans. In addition, it is argued that sustainable action is welcome, regardless if the motivation behind is social, economic or environmental, as every act counts in terms of allowing for humanity to enter the Safe and Just Foundation (Raworth, 2018b).

7. Discussion: Contemplating the Development in the Chocolate Industry

Within this section, thoughts on the current development in the chocolate industry will be outlined. The aim of this thesis has been to investigate and answer the research question: *How does the current upsurge of sustainability affect the sustainable production of chocolate in the Department of Beni?* In order to answer the research question, distinction between local and global perspectives are necessary. In a Bolivian perspective, the country's potential as a sustainable chocolate producer has been established. This is evident with the prevalence of native wild cacao sorts, which are both rare and rich in terms of branding possibilities as well as flavour and aroma. Incitement for sustainable production is seemingly encouraged in Bolivia at the moment, through the legal framework surrounding the laws of Mother Earth. However, Original Beans did not experience any encouragement from any authorities towards sustainable chocolate production, in relation to their project in the Department of Beni. If businesses within the high-quality 'niche' chocolate industry are able to establish sustainable chocolate production in Bolivia and secure the presence of this industry in the future, improved working conditions for the indigenous small-scale cacao farmers could be the end result. Examining the case of Original Beans in the Department of Beni, it can be argued that improved working conditions are present for the indigenous small-scale farmers, which are already working within the sustainable chocolate industry of Bolivia. Even though the same would seem to be the case with the indigenous small-scale cacao farmers in the Jatun Sach'a project, the thesis cannot infer to the sustainable chocolate industry as a whole. If businesses were to establish a larger sustainable chocolate production in the Department of Beni, potential employment possibilities and improved working conditions could be expected as a result, relying on the examined cases within Bolivia. Specifically, in the Department of Beni, a region, which is predominantly rural, and dependant on agriculture, it can be argued that the cultivation of a prospective crop such as sustainable cacao would secure both employment and income for future generations.

In a global perspective, supported by the applied empirical sources for the thesis, the authors argue that the climate challenges at hand requires global solutions. As climate changes know no national boundaries, a joint sustainable act is necessary. The increased demand on sustainable chocolate products will be able to contribute to a greener transition through the introduction of sustainable production methods and Supply Chains. An example could be by implementing environmentally friendly agroforestry systems instead of environmentally damaging monoculture plantations, which are utilised in the conventional industry. Throughout

the analysis, it has been established that markets across national boundaries are mutually dependent on another. By following the Supply Chain of the Dutch company Original Beans, it is evident that changes in Danish demand towards purchasing more sustainable products will eventually affect the production site in the Department of Beni in a positive manner.

However, the question the thesis stands on now is; ‘It is possible for us all to live within the doughnut?’, which will be discussed within the next two sections.

First, the overall point from the interviews would seem to be that the chocolate industry shows potential for sustainable production, and to a certain degree gradually introduce circular economy. Yet, when discussing the matter of a circular economy and redistribution of wealth in accordance with Doughnut Economics with Kathrine H. Sørensen, she remains sceptical. On a more general level, she does not believe Doughnut Economics is realistic to introduce, and argues that even if it was, it would take too long in proportion to how acute the world needs to change. When contemplating whether it is possible for us all to live within the Safe and Just space of the Doughnut, a point, which is important to emphasise, is consumer awareness. Ultimately, the consumers hold the (purchasing) power, and the power to persuade the mode of production in one or the other direction, as is also emphasised by Anders P. Saxbøl in the interviews. What the consumer can do specifically in regard to the industry of chocolate is to pay a little more for the ethical and sustainable product, in order to redistribute economy. The report from Danish Agriculture & Food Council states how the Danish Millennials are showing concern for issues such as labour conditions and sustainability, illustrating a tendency which might be able to nudge the producers in a sustainable direction (Danish Agriculture & Food Council, 2017).

Second, the different point of origin that the utilised theories hold has been evident throughout the process of writing the thesis. CSR and Doughnut Economics provide different views on how the upsurge of sustainability can be regarded. In this thesis, CSR represents a view into the business world, in this case the high-quality ‘niche’ chocolate industry. As concluded, there has been a major focus on sustainability throughout the last decade, which essentially means that consumers expect companies to adapt into a greener profile. Throughout the Supply Chain, CSR can help shine light on several aspects. From the view of the cacao farmers and the producer Original Beans, CSR can be used as a marketing strategy and also a form of storytelling. As identified, in order for the cacao farmers to find the job profitable and attractive, the craftsmanship of it needs to be conveyed for the consumer and convince them of the project

and even more to pay the necessary price to keep the projects running. As stated previously in both the interviews and through empirical data, CSR is very common among all company sizes within the chocolate industry. However, there can be a large difference as to what extent the companies are actually being sustainable. As argued, this potentially makes it difficult for the consumers to fully understand which companies are being sustainable and to what degree. Evidently, having a strong green profile will attract conscious consumers, which would likely lead to a financial profit, but how does this profit fit in with the thoughts of Doughnut Economics?

What if the need for economic profit, as both Anders P. Saxbøl and Kathrine H. Sørensen identify in the interviews, was no longer the measurement for success? As it has been corroborated through the thesis, economic profit plays a major role within the chocolate industry, as could be argued is the case for most industries. It would seem that actors within the high-quality ‘niche’ chocolate industry may be more willing to move more towards the direction of Doughnut Economics, with a stronger focus on a circular economy. Specifically in Bolivia, the development in the agricultural sector points in several directions. Despite initiatives encouraging sustainable agriculture, as well as having incorporated Buen Vivir in the Bolivian legislation, extractivist behaviour and encouragement of environmentally degrading production is still taking place, an example is the mentioned soy production and the harmful consequences thereof, regarding deforestation and loss of biodiversity (Fregerslev *et al.*, 2017; Jacobi *et al.*, 2017).

To summarise, based on the information assembled for this thesis and analysis of the interviews, it would seem that super sustainable initiatives are present, but few, within a very large, billion-dollar industry. Even though several of the greater corporations within the industry have initiated sustainable programs, transition to sustainable production has yet to show. In addition, it would seem that even if sustainable transition in the chocolate industry was a possibility, it is not something that could be introduced overnight. As highlighted in the interviews, the greater corporations still need to produce fast, cheap and in great quantities to respond to the demand from the consumers. Sustainable production is happening within the high-quality ‘niche’ chocolate industry, but in order for changes to happen, the greater corporations will need to take the initiative and become frontrunners on sustainability, to create the necessary spillover effects to the rest of the industry.

8. Conclusion

Recognising that the resources of our planet are not unlimited, it can be expected that the methods of production in combination with the effects of climate change will eventually impact on conventional chocolate production. In terms of securing continued quantities of chocolate, this thesis finds that sustainable production appears to be a potential solution. In addition, it is argued that sustainable chocolate is a somewhat underestimated product compared to for example coffee and wine, which shares some of the same aroma and qualities. Considering the size and potential of this billion-dollar industry with new market possibilities in Asia and Latin America, the chocolate industry has been an interesting field to investigate when evaluating on sustainable transition and the future shape of the economy, in accordance with Doughnut Economics. Doughnut Economics has provided a future perspective as well as an alternative approach to development, contrary to mainstream economics. In addition, the encouragement of sustainable production and circular economy is consistent with the notion of Buen Vivir. Looking specifically at Bolivia, the introduction of Buen Vivir as a legislative framework has made it a particularly interesting case study, showing potential for sustainable transition. Utilising Buen Vivir as legal framework and acknowledging the rights of the Earth would also appear as sustainable initiatives by the Bolivian government.

With a point of departure in CSR, following the structure of the Social, Economic and Environmental Dimensions for the analysis, the following research question has been answered: *How does the current upsurge of sustainability affect the sustainable production of chocolate in the Department of Beni?*

The current upsurge in sustainability has introduced positive development for the high-quality ‘niche’ chocolate industry in Bolivia, both in terms of improving working conditions with the indigenous small-scale cacao farmers, as well as creating sustainable cultivation methods for a fragile crop in the Department of Beni. Meanwhile the branding opportunities following the production of sustainable chocolate could prove to be a great advantage for Bolivian chocolate producers in an international context. Among others, the emergence of conscious consumers and the presence of a native wild cacao sort can be mentioned as great competitive advantages in the high-quality ‘niche’ chocolate industry.

The combination of empirical data and elite interviews has enabled the thesis with the possibility of an in-depth and thorough investigation compared with actual data of the current development in the case country. By interviewing the actors of the Supply Chain related to Original Beans, access is granted to a very small sample within a very large industry. Despite

the size of the company, their mission and sustainable impact places them as frontrunners within the sustainable chocolate companies, which is why they can be regarded as representatives within their field. As argued, though Bolivia represents a narrow case selection, the argument of sustainable chocolate production can be projected on to any other sustainable food production. It is concluded that the current upsurge in sustainability has affected sustainable chocolate production in the Department of Beni and suggested that sustainable production can prove to be an advantage in terms of avoiding environmentally damaging production methods.

Based on the findings from the process of writing the thesis, it can be concluded that global challenges such as the future of cacao, require global solutions, in accordance with Raworth. Even though Bolivia is within the environmental boundaries of the Doughnut, they still experience the impacts of climate change. International attempts at resolving climate changes or to implement fixed guidelines for development has proven to be problematic - rather than imposing a linear development, it must be considered that businesses and countries develop in different rates and stages of sustainability. Meanwhile, all initiatives toward conservationist efforts should be praised welcome, in accordance with the ideas of cyclical development and bottom-up approach of both Doughnut Economics. Regardless, all sustainable initiatives notwithstanding the intention, ought to be regarded as positive development.

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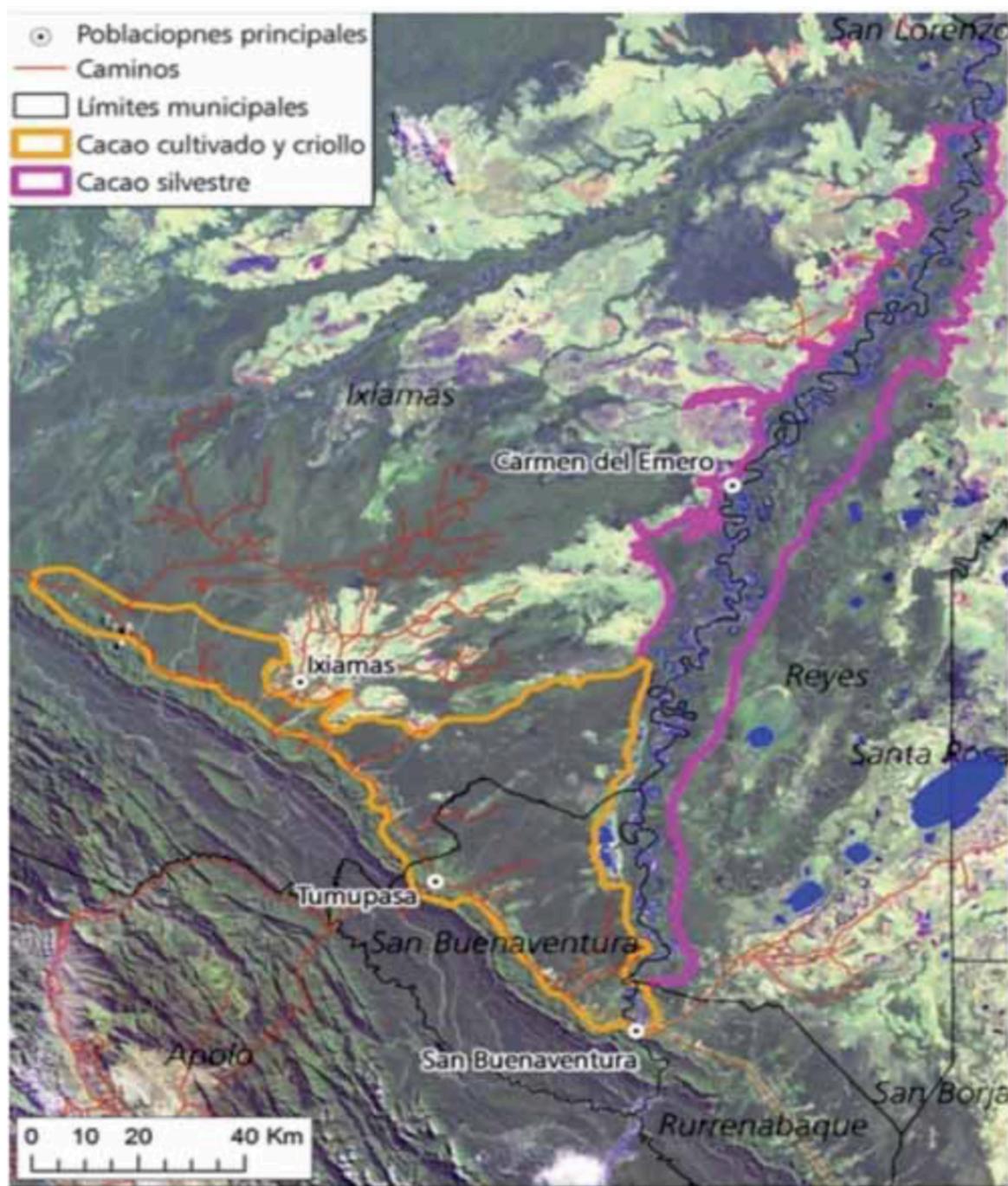
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10. Appendix

Appendix 1: Overview of Potential Cultivation Sites for Wild and Conventional Cacao



Source: Harb & Antezana, p. 18.

Appendix 2: Extern commerce, numbers of Bolivian extern commerce 2017.

Principales 10 productos exportados ⁽¹⁾ al mundo Gestión 2017 (Datos preliminares) (En kilos brutos y dólares estadounidenses)	Nandina	Producto	Volumen	Valor	% s/Valor
	7108120000	Formas de oro en bruto	7.966	255.130.083	62,05
	0801220000	Nueces del Brasil sin cáscara, frescos o secos	12.621.044	151.529.049	36,85
	4409299000	Maderas distintas de las de coníferas	1.451.760	1.548.153	0,38
	2616901000	Mineral de oro y sus concentrados	458	1.006.059	0,24
	4401310000	"Pellets" de madera	450.949	603.442	0,15
	4407299000	Madera aserrada o desbastada longitudinalmente de maderas tropicales	188.379	219.012	0,05
	1801001900	Cacao en grano entero crudo	25.602	212.500	0,05
	4409291000	Tablillas y frisos para parqués, sin ensamblar	160.741	171.093	0,04
	4407290090	Maderas aserradas	123.614	165.296	0,04
	1207999910	Semillas de chía	40.120	111.492	0,03
		Resto de productos	574.457	489.906	0,12
	Total Exportado (19 productos)		15.645.090	411.186.087	100,00

Source: IBCE, 2018, p. 14.



Appendix 3: Interview w. Anders P. Saxbøl

Conducted 3/12-2018

Transcribed by Anne Sofie Fregerslev 14/12-2018

Signature-explanation

[] = interposed words from the transcriber, to make the connection clear to the reader
Highlighted with red= Questions the interviewee is not able to answer/not relevant to ask the particular interviewee/not relevant for the purpose of the project

00:08, Interviewer

- Hvad er bæredygtighed for dig, kan du prøve at definere bæredygtighed?

00:16, Interviewee

- Jeg opdeler i social, miljømæssig og økonomisk bæredygtighed. Det handler om, i det er her tilfælde, at vi skal hjælpe småbønder, med at skabe et bedre liv – de er trods alt nogle af de fattigste mennesker på denne jord. Samtidigt skal vi bevare naturen. Det kan så gøres på mange forskellige måder – man kan hjælpe med at producere mere på samme stykke land, eller ved at betale dem en højere pris for deres arbejde, eller ved at give dem adgang til nye ressourcer og markedsmuligheder. Samtidigt skal vi hjælpe dem med at bevare naturen – specifikt hos Original Beans handler det om at skoven ikke skal fældes, at vi skal genskove, og så vidt muligt, og så meget man nu engang kan, i harmoni med naturen.
- Et godt eksempel på det, er fx et projekt vi har kørt i Mexico, hvor indbyggerne bor lige ved bæltet til regnskoven – det ligger de selvfølgelig pres på, fordi de selvfølgelig bruger nogle af ressourcerne. Det vi så har gjort er at etablere fine kakaosorter i et bælte omkring regnskoven, og etableret mangfoldigt skovlandbrug, hvor kakaosorten gror sammen med 40 andre afgrøder. Så fx gror der forskellige frugter, krydderier og hårde træsorter. På den måde kan bønderne få indkomst ud af frugterne, krydderierne, kakaoen, og senere i deres liv de hårde træsorter som en slags pension, da der ikke findes et pensionssystem i Mexico. De kan også følde noget af træet kontinuerligt, til at lave mad over bål, da de stadig gør det. Det ville de ellers have fået fra regnskoven – så det er et meget godt eksempel på, hvordan vi hjælper småbønder.
- Samtidigt betaler vi dem en meget højere pris for deres kakao, end den lokale markedspris.
- Målsætninger i sådan et projekt ville selvfølgelig være at undgå afskovning, genskove græsningsarealer der tidligere har været anvendt til dyr, og derved skabe en bufferzone lige på grænsen til det her beskyttede skovområde.
- Jeg synes det er vigtigt at man indtænker både den sociale komponent, naturbevarelse og så selvfølgelig det økonomiske, som er integreret i de to nævnte komponenter. Og klima selvfølgelig – men regnskovsfældning og genskovning bliver helt af sig selv relateret til klima.

5:05, Interviewer

- Opfatter du økologi som en del af at være bæredygtig, harmonerer de to ting?

5:19, Interviewee

- Hvis vi først kigger teoretisk, så ja, helt sikkert. Økologisk praksis er langt mere bæredygtigt end konventionelt landbrug, pga. mindre forbrug af kemikalier som gødning, pesticider osv. I praksis, når vi snakker om småbønder, særligt i Latinamerika indenfor kakaoproduktionen, er det egentlig ikke en så stor andel, der investerer i gødning og pesticider, i hvert fald ikke i de områder hvor vi arbejder. Det er noget andet, hvis der kommer nogle af de store som Nestlé eller Mars ind over, for så giver de småbønderne incitament til at investere i de her kemikalier.

6:25, Interviewer

- Så du siger er, at mange af de her småbønder er faktisk økologiske første omgang eller hvad?

06:31, Interviewee

- Ja, vi kalder det organic by default. De er økologiske uden at være certificerede, så på den måde er økologi mange steder en praksis i sig selv, og specielt der hvor vi arbejder, fordi vi arbejder med folk som småbønder og indfødte folk, som også har en interesse og god attitude når det

kommer til naturbevarelse i forvejen. Så det er jo også noget vi udvælger efter, når vi skal vinder steder at source vores kakao fra.

- Og økologi batter virkelig her. Hvis en kakaobønne er økologisk, så kan vi sælge 5 gange så meget. For landmændene, hvis man kigger mere på den sociale og økonomiske del, så er prisen for kakaobønnen langt højere, end markedsprisen, 10% oveni. Prisen for økologisk kakao er 10% højere, hvilket i virkeligheden ikke er særlig meget, og heller ikke retfærdiggør hvad det indebærer at omstille til økologisk landbrug.

09:48, Interviewer

- Kan du prøve og definere CSR?

10:06, Interviewee

- CSR er for mig noget, firmaer har påtaget sig. Ofte større firmaer som har påtaget sig en CSR strategi, og ansat nogen til at drive den. Hos Original Beans tænker vi ikke i CSR, og snakker heller ikke CSR. Bæredygtighed er hele fundamentet for vores Firma – det er ikke sådan at vi fx har en CSR-afdeling. For mig handler CSR ofte om kommunikation, hvor man snakker om sine produkter på en bestemt måde, og kan selvfølgelig også lave en masse aktiviteter for at gøre sin produktion mere bæredygtig. Men det er i høj grad relateret til marketing.
- I begyndelsen blev Original Beans etableret med en intention og mission om at producere den mest bæredygtige chokolade. Og skovbevarelsen og forbedring af småbønders levevilkår, og bevarelsen af fine kakaosorter var ligesom integreret i vores DNA fra begyndelsen, så CSR har ligesom været integreret i den måde vi har arbejdet på fra begyndelsen, og er så blevet justeret over tid, men det er egentlig de samme principper vi bruger nu, som vi egentlig har brugt siden 2008.

12:57, Interviewer

- CSR, er det noget i inkluderer i jeres overordnede strategi?
- Nu kan jeg forstå, at CSR som strategi ikke er aktuel hos jer, men bevidstheden og interessen omkring bæredygtighed er der vel stadig, den er ikke blevet mindre på nogen måde?

13:30, Interviewee

- Der er større opmærksomhed omkring bæredygtighed, både indenfor industrien og på markedet. Så for os er det sådan set den samme strategi vi har kørt siden Original Beans blev etableret. Men vi kan mærke på markedet, at der meget større opmærksomhed omkring det i markedet.

14:50, Interviewer

- Kan du mærke forskel på, hvilken betydning CSR har nu, ift. hvordan det var da i startede op; er det noget folk bedre kan relatere til i dag?

14:52, Interviewee

- Jo, helt sikkert, ingen tvivl! Folk kan bedre relatere til det – særligt nu, hvor klimaet er så meget i fokus, med betydningen af regnskovsbeholdningen i den sammenhæng. Ikke fordi folk har været udvidende før, men jeg tror bare diskursen på området har ændret sig lidt. På den måde er der meget større opmærksomhed omkring det, men det betyder ikke, at der er særlig stor viden omkring de eksisterende løsningsforslag. Fx mener jeg ikke, at kunder har specielt god mulighed for at vurdere, om det ene produkt er meget bedre end det andet, det handler meget om kommunikation i det pågældende firma.

18:00, Interviewer

- Vurderer du, at kunder er villige til at betale en højere pris for et bæredygtigt produkt?

18:32, Interviewee

- Ja, men kun en lille smule. Nogen kunder, dvs. kunder med penge på lommen, er interesseret i at betale væsentligt mere for et produkt som har en historie, og som er eksklusivt.

19:02, Interviewer

- Men det vil jo så også være en særlig kundegruppe du så tænker på
19:03, Interviewee

- Ja en meget særlig kundegruppe, med penge på lommen. Jeg tror generelt ikke at kunder er særlig villige til at betale så meget mere for bæredygtighed. De er villige til at betale en smule mere, som det fx er tilfældet for økologi, men ikke så meget mere end det. På den måde er det jo også en spændende udfordring for os, at vi skal holde prisen nede på vores produkter, selvom vi har så mange projekter kørende.

19:56, Interviewer

- Har du et indtryk af efterspørgslen på bæredygtige varer, måske indenfor de sidste 5 år?

20:10, Interviewee

- Det er svært at sige, der er så mange faktorer i spil. Det er også afhængigt af, hvilket marked man gerne vil ind i. Det er svært at sige direkte om den er steget eller faldet. Der er i hvert fald en større opmærksomhed omkring det i kundekræsen, og en større interesse for vores produkter.
- Generelt større opmærksomhed omkring bæredygtige produkter. Samtidigt er der så også langt flere firmaer i dag, som har rettet opmærksomheden mod bæredygtige produkter. Mange af de firmaer har nærmest bare etableret kommunikationsafdelinger, som viser at de også er bæredygtige uden reelt at gøre særlig meget. På den måde er der også opstået meget større konkurrence.
- Langt fra tale til praksis. Mange er blevet rigtig gode til CSR og storytelling, mens deres investering pr. produkt er meget lille. Der er selvfølgelig også en masse firmaer, som gør en masse fantastiske ting

22:30, Interviewer

- Hvordan vurderer du fremtidsudsigterne for bæredygtig produktion?

22:50, Interviewee

- Jeg tror helt sikkert at vi er her for at blive. Bæredygtighed, økologi, mere og mere naturbevarelse. Jeg tror at kunder kommer til at have flere og flere kriterier for de produkter de køber, og det kommer til at blive mere dominerende i markedet. Spørgsmålet er bare, hvor højt minimumskriterierne for, hvad de vil købe bliver, ift. hvad de så vil give for det.

24:47, Interviewer

- Er startomkostningerne højere for en bæredygtig produktion, sammenlignet med at starte en konventionel produktion?

24:49, Interviewee

- De er meget højere. Det kommer igen an på, hvilke kriterier man skal vurdere ud fra. Som sagt er prisen på kakao ikke så meget højere, men koster noget mere arbejde ift. certificeringer osv. For os, betaler vi nærmest det dobbelte for vores kakao end andre virksomheder. Vi har også brugt en masse tid og ressourcer på at udvikle vores indpakning så bæredygtigt som muligt, så det er komposterbart. Og så er der også en udfordring ved udviklingen af vores projekter – vi skal i virkeligheden bygge meget op fra bunden, fordi bæredygtig kakao ikke er noget der er, men er noget man skal skabe gennem udviklingsprojekter.
- Det kommer selvfølgelig an på, hvilket produkt man sælger, men for os har der i hvert fald været nogle meget store startomkostninger.

Er overskuddet på et bæredygtigt produkt højere end ved et konventionelt produkt?

- Jeg ved det ikke, jeg ved ikke så meget om konventionel kakao. Ift. kakaobønnen selv, fastsættes prisen efter de bæredygtige kriterier der bliver sat, og de krav jo så er med til at hæve prisen alt efter omkostningen. Bønnerne er mere værd, fordi økologisk chokolade er mere efterspurgt på verdensmarkedet. Samtidig er der hele den sociale dimension ved udviklingsprojekterne, som også giver bønnen en merværdi.

- Samtidig er der også en sammenhæng mellem kvalitet og råvarer. Prisen bliver højere fordi kvaliteten også følger med.

29:38, Interviewer

- Kan du beskrive jeres kundegrupper; evt. Med skel mellem private og virksomheder?

30:00, Interviewee

- Det er svært for mig i forhold til virksomheder. Det er meget fine Food retail. Vi har været gode til at komme ud på markedet og sælge til finere restauranter og supermarkeder, og skabe samarbejder med partnere, som laver gode produkter ud af vores egne produkter.

31:22, Interviewer

- Ved du egentlig, om de virksomheder som køber hos jer; er de orienteret mod bæredygtighed og/eller kvalitet?

31:30, Interviewee

- Det er vidst meget 50/50. Vi oplever selvfølgelig kunder der køber vores produkter fordi de er bæredygtige, men oplever også at kunder simpelthen køber vores produkter fordi vi kan tilbyde en høj kvalitet. Og så har vi en bred variation af produkter i form af vores produktrangering, som gør os attraktive for restaurationsbranchen – og netop kombinationen af bæredygtighed og kvalitet tænker jeg gør os meget attraktive for en bestemt kundegruppe.
- Hvis det bare er bæredygtighed der er i fokus, vil man selvfølgelig kunne få nogle hippie-typer med på vognen, men der vil ofte følge en forventning med om, at kvaliteten også skal være i orden.
- På den måde bliver omkostningen for råvaren generelt højere, prisen for hele produktet bliver skruet op.

33:00, Interviewer

- Har du indtryk af, om det er de samme forhold der gør sig gældende hos private kunder?

33:35, Interviewee

- Ja, det er nok igen 50/50 – nogle vælger efter kvaliteten, andre efter bæredygtighed. Mange vælger bare kombinationen. Samtidig følger der en forventning om, at graden af eksklusivitet følger med graden af bæredygtighed.

34:12, Interviewer

- Bliver der lagt vægt på, eller efterspurgt certificeringer af kunder? Fx Fairtrade eller Rainforest Alliance for eksempel.

34:25, Interviewee

- Ja, men nu Rainforest Alliance en certificering der primært anvendes til stor/masseproduktion, så den er vi egentlig ikke interesserede i.
- Fairtrade er lidt i problemer, det bliver lidt det samme som økologiske certificeringer, dvs. at prisen ikke dækker omkostningen ved omstilling til bæredygtig produktion. Så de skal nok til at ændre lidt nu, og begyndte faktisk også at skærpe deres krav i sidste måned.
- Vi overvejede på et tidspunkt DirectTrading som certifikat, men folk ved ikke hvad det er, så det var der ikke så meget fidus i.
- Ift. økologisk certificering har vi selv sat nogle små labels på

36:03, Interviewer

- Så du tænker at der er en værdi i certificeringer, hvis det er noget folk kan genkende og relatere til?

36:07, Interviewee

- Ja, hvis det har en værdi for folk. Vi sælger som sagt 5 gange så meget økologisk chokolade ikke?

Appendix 4: Display w. Open Coding

Coding has been performed on the interviews of Anders P. Saxbøl and Kathrine H. Sørensen from 2019.

Signature-explanation:

K: Text from interview w. Kathrine H. Sørensen

A: Text from interview w. Anders P. Saxbøl

Number and name of theme	Relevant text from interviews
1: Upsurge in sustainability	<p>A: [...] ja vi ser en meget stor opmærksomhed i forhold til bæredygtighed .. ehm .. både for forbrugerne selvfolgelig men også i diskursen generelt i samfundet [...] men vi også specielt at, ikke mindst os selv, men også mange andre chokolademagere, specielt inden for speciel chokolade verdenen fokuserer meget på bæredygtighed lige nu, både i forhold til økologisk certificering, i forhold til regnskovsrydning, i forhold til hvor meget gennemsigtige forsyningsskæder, value chain, supply chain .. ehm .. også i forhold til det at sikre at kakaolandmændene får betalt en god pris - det er noget der er meget vigtig i speciel chokoladeverdenen [...]</p> <p>A: [...] og bæredygtighed i forhold til regnskov, igennem regnskovscertifikater og i forhold til plantning af træer, igennem vores one by one program, altså i forhold til etablering af, vi har mange mangfoldige agroforestry systemer, altså i forhold til at betale bønderne, landmændene en god pris [...]</p> <p>A: [...] alle mulige, alle de andre. Som selvfolgelig nu giver en masse, ruller en masse bæredygtighedsprogrammer ud, altså ikke?</p> <p>A: [...] de store spillere som Nestlé osv., de har jo lavet et løfte om at de om mange år gerne vil sikre deres forsyningsskæder ikke forårsager regnskovsfældning ikke. Og der må ikke være noget børnearbejde inden for deres forsyningsskæder [...].</p> <p>A: (interviewer; har du kunnet mærke denne bølge inden for bæredygtighed?) Bestemt</p> <p>A: [...] ligesom de selvfolgelig har en fornemmelse for at det her det er super vigtigt, i forhold til at sælge deres chokolade, fordi der er en vis forventning fra samfundets side ikke?</p> <p>A: [...] der er så meget fokus på bæredygtighed at det bliver lidt en jungle .. ehm .. alle påstår at de er bæredygtige, ikke? alle skriver det på deres indpakning, alle er super aktive på sociale medier, så på den måde bliver det svært at forstå for forbrugerne ikke? hvad gør folk, hvordan er de dedikeret, hvor meget investere de reelt i bæredygtighed [...]</p> <p>A: [...] der vil altid være folk som, selvfolgelig kan man sige at, det har en meget større betydning nu end for ti år siden da vi startede, men der har jo altid været en masse som har været opmærksomme på bæredygtighed ikke? så på den måde er markeds signalerne bare blevet mere forvirrende, synes jeg i hvert fald i forhold til bæredygtighed, som er blevet mere opmærksomme på det ikke? Der er en masse folk der bliver hyret til at kommunikere omkring bæredygtighed, der er en masse CSR, men det er lidt svært at finde ud af hvad er det reelt folk gør, på hvilken skala [...]</p> <p>A: [...] ja, jeg tror der er forskellige løsninger, der ikke mindst optimerer produktionen for landmændene. Selvfølgelig hvis man kan betale høje priser så er det godt, men det er ikke givet, men optimere produktionen,</p>

effektivisere og gøre produktionen mere bæredygtig for den enkelte landmand så de producere mere på samme stykke land på mere bæredygtig vis så jorden ikke eroderer, ikke dræner jorden fuldstændig for næringsstoffer.. Ja og beskyt generelt beskyt landskabet altså undgå regnskov ryddes, så der er en vis form for balance i de globale klimabetingelser, ikke? ehm .. Ja pas på kloden, pas på landskabet og producer lidt mere bæredygtigt.

A: [...] ja altså først og fremmest, er det vigtigt at beskytte landskabet, det gør vi så igennem regnskovscertifikater, det vil sige at vi har lavet en aftale med bønderne om at bevare primær regnskov som hører ind under deres territorium, det gør vi blandt andet gennem at plante træer, hvor igennem vi selvfølgelig også binder carbon, også gør vi det igennem ved og hjælpe bønderne med at tilpasse sig klimaændringer .. ehm .. blandt andet ved at hjælpe dem med at etablere og designe de her meget mangfoldige agroforestry systemer som er hvor man gror ikke kun udvalgte kakao sorter, men også alle mulige andre former for træer for eksempel store værdifulde træer som gror 20 - 30 år som har stor værdi for dem når de engang skal fældes, forskellige slags afgrøder som de kan høste på forskellige tidspunkter over året, og forskellige slags frugttræer, så hvis der for eksempel er tørke eller oversvømmelse så er der nogle træer, som vil give et godt udbytte og nogle andre som ikke vil, alt efter vejrfordelingen - så på den måde er det en buffer for dem, at de har en mega mangfoldig fødevarer og indkomstkilde. Men kan sige, at hvis der kun groede kakao og det var en dårligt år for kakao så vil de ikke tjene meget det år kan man sige, det kan være et rigtig dårligt år for dem, ikke? Og det er i særdeleshed vigtigt, når man arbejder med småbønder som har meget lidt land og meget få ressourcer.

A: Altså den er rigtig positiv lige nu, den er rigtig positiv. Både inden for den store industri og inden for speciel chokoladeindustrien - der er rigtig meget fokus på det, det er også på dagsordenen på alle konferencer, og ikke mindst er der en masse af de store nu som lancerer nogle kæmpe store bæredygtigheds programmer.

K: [...] ja, altså der har været .. altså .. der har været mere fokus på det, men som vi også snakkede om på et tidspunkt kan jeg huske så er det som om at folk de hele tiden har tænkt den her økologi, altså, som det bæredygtige eller, altså det er i hvert fald det folk har spurgt til - er det økologisk? altså, så jeg kan godt blive i tvivl om man i virkeligheden helt har forstået bæredygtighed som et helt begreb, der er jo virkelig mange ting forbundet med bæredygtighed .. øhm .. så det er som, men, folk er blevet mere opmærksomme på at der er noget med noget i forhold til at være lidt ansvarlig, altså der er kommet en lille smule mere fokus på at vælge noget kvalitet frem for kvantitet.

K: [...] men jeg tror, at der er noget lidt som i kalder en bølge [...] jeg kan godt blive i tvivl om hvor langsom eller hurtig den her bølge den er.

K: Altså jeg tror faktisk, jeg tror stadig det er meget nyt, i forhold til chokolade og tænke kvalitet eller bæredygtighed eller økologi eller [...]

K: [...] så gik det jo også op for os at bæredygtigheden jo er et tema, egentlig langt mere end økologien er [...] Men som er sindssygt bæredygtige, i forhold til at man for eksempel laver lange kontrakter så man sikrer vilkårene for dem, som arbejder der - og du ved, på den måde er bæredygtigt, men ikke certificeret økologisk.

K: Uden at det hed noget med økologi i navnet .. øhm .. fordi vi synes det på en eller anden måde blev begrænsende den her certificering, øko mærket

agtig, ikke? Hvor vi jo egentlig gerne ville formidle budskabet om bæredygtighed, om ansvarlighed og en god kakao, en god smag og kvalitet. K: Vores eget mindset har ændret sig sindssygt meget i forhold til, at vi ville ikke kunne gøre det selv, med de her chokolader, som vi ikke mente var i orden.

K: [...] alt hvad [Mikkel] laver er jo tænkt ind i en bæredygtig måde at arbejde på, han laver jo blandt andet lange kontrakter hvor uanset hvordan høsten ligesom er gået, så er de jo sikret i 10 år eller sådan noget, ikke? Og de får den der uddannelse inden for plantagen og sådan noget. Så det er jo i sig selv sindssygt bæredygtigt, ikke?

K: Så jeg synes i virkeligheden at debatten har været sådan en .. den er på en eller anden måde lidt unuanceret, for der er jo nødt til, hvis vi skal tænke en debat så er der nødt til at sidde en forbruger, to forbrugere i panelet, der er også nødt til at sidde to, en fra Toms og en fra Nestlé, så er der nødt til at sidde en Mikkel og en Mark, og en OB repræsentant.

K: Sådan lige lidt groft sat op ikke? Så er der jo nok også nødt til at sidde nogle fra wall Street nærmest altså, og en fra verdensnaturfredningsfonden ikke?

K: Fordi altså der er simpelthen så mange perspektiver i det her men i, hvor det kan ende med at blive en lille smule mudret. Men i sidste ende handler det om, at der er nogle der skal tage ansvar for produktionen. Også er der os forbrugere, der skal tage ansvar for vores indkøb. Så det er et sindssygt svært spørgsmål lige at svare på, synes jeg, fordi det kommer jo an på hvem der er der i den her debat, ikke?

K: Men det er jo ligesom jeg siger med at jeg synes jo netop i bæredygtighed, der ligger jo simpelthen så meget, fordi bæredygtig betyder jo at det ligesom kan stå over en længere periode, eller køre igen eller du ved ikke? Hvor jeg tænker, det er jo ikke, bare fordi vi lader være med at sprøjte i vores plantager, så lever træerne jo ikke længere, kakaotræer lever jo som de lever eller som de jo er, men det er jo noget med netop sørge for at medarbejderne har gode vilkår for at kunne fortsætte eller at jorden bliver varetaget eller dyrket ordentlig eller, altså så man på den måde kan køre full circle på det ikke? [...] Men der mangler, altså vi mangler lidt sådan et, vi mangler viden, men så mangler vi et eller andet certifikat, certificering i forhold til, rent bare sådan bæredygtighed. Eller ansvarlighed, eller sådan noget, du ved?

K: Det kommer ikke til at batte en skid, hvis de etaper herovre [i Danmark] heller kører med, de globale, altså, og i øvrigt heller ikke de danske, men alt virker. Vi kan ikke gøre alt her, men alt er okay og alt er på en eller anden måde vigtigt synes jeg.

K: Men det er jo vores alle sammens ansvar. På samme måde som den natur jo også påvirker vores verden, vores luft vores miljø- jeg anerkender at vi er sindssygt langt fra hinanden, men hvis nu man tænkte naturen er natur uanset, hvor helvede i verden man ligger henne, så tænker jeg allerede at man har et mindset der hedder - man passer på naturen.

A: [...] Der er nogle rigtig gode organisationer som er i området, (singtat) blandt andet, som laver noget rigtig godt arbejde med kakao også i forhold til at bruge kakao, promovere kakao, hjælpe med at promovere kakaoen i agroforestry systemer ikke, så meget mangfoldige skov systemer eller træ systemer, med forskellige slags træer og kunne være mahogni eller alle mulige slags træer som har værdi af forskellig vis.

A: Ved at vise movimaerne, hvordan man kan få en bæredygtig indkomst ved bare at høste kakaoen og egentlig ikke gøre mere ved det end bare at høste, ikke skære nogle træer ned, ikke gøre noget ved skoven som sådan,

	<p>andet end bare at bevare den som den er. Så viser man ligesom at et land er bæredygtigt, hvad skal man sige, preservation and management. Som også er med til at styrke landrettigheder, de får rettigheder som gør at soya og kvægavlere holder sig ude. Samtidig er det jo også vigtigt i det her område, så det er det ene strategi, der er at bevare landet og de vilde kakaoområder som de er, den anden strategi er så at plante land ikke, altså plante flere træer så genskovning med kakao og store træer blandt andet mahogni og en del lokale trætyper også ikke? Som passer til området og som er tilvendt de omstændigheder jord og vand osv. som er i området.. Også plante de her mycket mangfoldige træsystemer både for at skabe en mangfoldig indkomst og madkilde ikke? Både for de her mennesker, men også for at plante træer og binde noget kulstof i de træer og bare give et incitament for at genskove generelt. Og bevare landskaber.</p> <p>A: Jeg tror ikke det har så meget at, der er så mange andre muligheder nu [end at engagere sig i miljømæssige og sociale aktiviteter]. Jeg tror det er essentielt for mange firmaer specielt inden for nogle industrier, hvor der er opmærksomhed på det at rykke i den retning og blive mere bæredygtige på forskellig vis.. Hvordan der skabes profit, er jo meget forskelligt, det handler måske også om at beskytte ens firma, ligeså meget som at skabe en reel profit.</p>
2: Certifications	<p>A: [...] både i forhold til økologisk certificering [...]</p> <p>A: [...] og bæredygtighed i forhold til regnskov, igennem regnskovscertifikater og i forhold til plantning af træer, igennem vores one by one program, altså i forhold til etablering af, vi har mange mangfoldige agroforestry systemer, altså i forhold til at betale bønderne, landmændene en god pris [...]</p> <p>K: [...] fordi der er jo rigtig mange af de chokolader vi har, der ikke er certificeret eller noget som helst. Men som er sindssygt bæredygtige, i forhold til at man for eksempel laver lange kontrakter så man sikrer vilkårene for dem, som arbejder der - og du ved, på den måde er bæredygtigt, men ikke certificeret økologisk. Så vi ændrede jo faktisk altså vores koncept til bare at handle om chokolade.</p> <p>K: Uden at det hed noget med økologi i navnet .. øhm .. fordi vi synes det på en eller anden måde blev begrænsende den her certificering, øko mæret afgigt, ikke? Hvor vi jo egentlig gerne ville formidle budskabet om bæredygtighed, om ansvarlighed og en god kakao, en god smag og kvalitet.</p> <p>K: [...] det var faktisk også lidt sjovt, fordi så lige til den smagning så havde jeg Friis Holms Opayo med, som jo er hans eneste, ej der er lige kommet en til, men økologiske i hvert fald og det fokuserede de nemlig sindssygt meget på.</p> <p>K: [...] hvor jeg så på Beni Wild for eksempel sagde "den er jo en vild kakao, den kan ikke certificeres økologisk, fordi den vokser vildt ude i junglen og du ved det ene og det andet" øhm .. den er formentlig økologisk, der er jo ikke ret mange der render rundt med sprøjtemidler ude i junglen, kan man jo sige, men den må ikke certificeres fordi den ikke er kontrolleret. Men det var som om, det var ikke sådan noget.</p> <p>K: Det bed ikke sådan rigtig på, eller sådan du ved? de blev ved med at snakke meget om certificeringer og labels på en eller anden måde, ikke? Men der er noget med de dyr. Altså som bliver, det bliver følelsesmæssigt på en anden måde, end når det "bare" er naturen, det er ikke håndgribeligt på samme måde.</p> <p>K: Og det er naturligvis uden sprøjtemidler og det ene og det andet så på den måde så er det den største naturlighed at det er sådan det skal være ..</p>

ehm .. Og samtidig så synes han, at vi som forbrugere sådan lidt "jamen for filan, hold nu op med de certificeringer, og hold nu op med" men det er jo måske den kløft, der i virkeligheden er mellem håndværker og forbruger, ikke?

K: Altså os forbrugere vi tænker "nå, jeg har hørt nogle debattere om Fairtrade, jeg har hørt nogen snakke om økomærker, det er nok godt - hvis jeg er en ansvarlig forbruger, så køber jeg det - så køber jeg det med en certificering på" problemet er jo bare at nogle dem med certificeringer på de har brugt alle deres penge på certificeringer frem for den gode kakao så i virkeligheden så får man ikke et særligt produkt langt hen af vejen, måske. Det kan også godt være der er nogen der gør.

K: Fordi altså der er simpelthen så mange perspektiver i det her men i, hvor det kan ende med at blive en lille smule mudret. men i sidste ende handler det om at der er nogle der skal tage ansvar for produktionen, også er der os forbrugere der skal tage ansvar for vores indkøb. så det er et sindssygt svært spørgsmål lige at svare på, synes jeg, fordi det kommer jo an på hvem der er der i den her debat, ikke?

K: ja, der er rigtig mange spørgsmål i forhold til, hvad er det pengene går til? og hvaa.. kan det nu passe at det skal være så dyrt og kan det nu passe at, altså tror du ikke bare der er nogle der sidder og tager pengene? og det giver jeg ikke ret meget for det der, ja og sådan du ved, sådan meget kritiske i virkeligheden - hvor igen så fortæller jeg jo, det her mærke står for det og det her mærke står for det, vi havde på et tidspunkt et hæfte med alle mulige certificeringer nede i butikken, så jeg havde da heldigvis læst lidt op på det - fordi igen, så havde jeg jo ikke gået ret meget op i det faktisk selv, så det var virkelig svært, men jeg kunne høre folk havde brug for at få aflatvet eller bekræftet nogle fordomme om det her, om det var noget hippie pjat og noget fis og noget flippede også altså virkelig sådan, ikke? [...] det er jo også svært for der har jo været snak om at for eksempel Fairtrade certificeringen, ikke har levet op til det, de ligesom har lovet og sådan noget og det .. Så er det jo ikke nemt når det jo ellers er det vi stoler på, når det er certificeringerne, det vi tager som et kvalitetsudtryk, som noget der er værd at betale for, ikke? så er det jo svært når den så lige bliver gennemhullet lidt.

K: Det har været meget øko, øko mærket, det, man har virkelig taget det som et kvalitetsstempel. det her med økologien, men jeg tror også det er det vi forstår som ansvarlighed, altså det er det vi tænker som er det fornuftige og det ansvarlige som forbruger, men det er jo ligesom jeg siger med at jeg synes jo netop i bæredygtighed, der ligger jo simpelthen så meget, fordi bæredygtig betyder jo at det ligesom kan stå over en længere periode, eller køre igen eller du ved ikke? [...] men der mangler, altså vi mangler lidt sådan et, vi mangler viden, men så mangler vi et eller andet certifikat, certificering i forhold til, rent bare sådan bæredygtighed. Eller ansvarlighed, eller sådan noget, du ved?

K: [...] altså jeg synes også det kan være et gedemarked, altså at finde lidt rundt i og jeg kan godt forstå hvis man kan blive lidt "kan man stole på det" altså det forstår jeg godt. Altså fordi der netop også er rigtig mange og det jeg hele tiden tænker det er, men det tror jeg ikke er alle der tænker sådan, men jeg tænker meget sådan, hvad koster det at få dem lavet, hvad koster kontrollerne, hvem sidder ved det skrivebord og kigger, hvem printer det papir ud, og sådan agtig, hvor jeg sådan tænker, det er min skepsis, altså men ja jeg tror godt jeg kan navigere rundt i det, men jeg ved også at der er sindssygt mange, altså.

3: Original Beans	<p>A: [...] der er OB selvfølgelig meget unik i med at vi har det her Bean team som består af tre agronomer som, jeg er jo også selv antropolog så, det er noget vi har meget indsigt i og vi arbejder sammen med bønnerne, nærmest hver eneste dag, ikke? Ehm .. Og bæredygtighed i forhold til regnskov, igennem regnskovscertifikater og i forhold til plantning af træer, igennem vores one by one program, altså i forhold til etablering af, vi har mange mangfoldige agroforestry systemer, altså i forhold til at betale bønderne, landmændene en god pris [...]</p> <p>A: [...] i forhold til vores, altså vi har været, jeg har arbejdet med det her siden 2008 .. Ehm. Og bæredygtighed og regnskovs bevaring og betaling af landmændene, fair plus kan vi kalde det, eller hvad skal man sige, langt over Fairtrade priserne, har altid været vigtigt for os, vi har altid været pionerer inden for bæredygtighed. og jeg vil da glædeligt kalde os, i forhold til størrelsen på vores firma, vil jeg glædelig kalde os verdens mest bæredygtige chokolade firma [...]</p> <p>A: [...] men vi gør nogle rigtig unikke ting .. Ehm og er meget konsekvente [...]</p> <p>A: [...] der kan man sige, vores forsyningskæde i fuldstændig gennemsigtig, vi kender de landmænd de arbejder sammen med ikke, også fordi vi arbejder på den skala som vi gør, så for os handler det mere om det næste skridt ikke? Altså sådan har det altid været, der er for eksempel regnskovscertifikater, vi planter aktivt træer i følge vores one bar one tree program, ehm .. og vi laver nogle virkelig unikke projekter også på en mindre skala som ikke lige kan kvantificeres.</p> <p>A: [...] Ehm selvfølgelig er vi glade for at vi på nogle måder har taget lederskab inden for bæredygtighed, inden for speciel chokoladeindustrien, ikke? Ehm. Og det føler jeg stadig at vi gør meget unikke ting [...]</p> <p>A: [...] det er langt højere kvalitet ja, meget højere kvalitetskriterier også i forhold til smag [...]</p> <p>A: [...] vi har valgt at fokusere på et [...] flagship animal [...] for hver chokoladebar ikke? For eksempel Beni har jo den her Macau papegøje, men altså i Beni er der floddelfiner, jaguar, der er tapir, der er dovendyr, der er alle mulige truede dyr ikke? Men ved at fokuserer på et dyr, [...] så gør man det lidt mere personligt - der er et ansigt på, og personligt kan jeg godt lide at udfolde og fortælle den store historie. Som er meget større end bare lige en art ikke, vi snakker om millioner af arter, som vi gerne ser skulle bevares, ved at bevare et skovsystem, som er helt unik. Vi arbejder kun i biodiversity hotspots, det vil sige steder, hvor der en stor mangfoldighed af biodiversitet så vores mål er selvfølgelig at bevare landskaber, hele landskaber, og hvad der er i de landskaber på forskellig vis. Igennem regnskovscertifikater, gennem etablering af sådanne nogle agroforestry bufferzoner, og korridorer mellem regnskovene og systemer hvor dyrene kan bevæge sig igennem og et beskyttet område til et andet.</p> <p>A: [...] ja altså først og fremmest, er det vigtigt at beskytte landskabet. Det gør vi så igennem regnskovscertifikater, det vil sige at vi har lavet en aftale med bønderne om at bevare primær regnskov som hører ind under deres territorium. Det gør vi blandt andet gennem at plante træer, hvor igennem vi selvfølgelig også binder carbon, også gør vi det igennem ved og hjælpe bønderne med at tilpasse sig klimaændringer .. Ehm .. blandt andet ved at hjælpe dem med at etablere og designe de her meget mangfoldige agroforestry systemer, som er hvor man gror, ikke kun udvalgte kakao sorter, men også alle mulige andre former for træer for eksempel store værdifulde træer som gror 20 - 30 år, og som har stor værdi for dem når de engang skal fældes, forskellige slags afgrøder som de kan høste på</p>
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forskellige tidspunkter over året, og forskellige slags frugttræer, så hvis der for eksempel er tørke eller oversvømmelse så er der nogle træer som vil give et godt udbytte og nogle andre som ikke vil, alt efter vejrforholdene - så på den måde er det en buffer for dem, at de har en mega mangfoldig fødevarevar og indkomstkilde. Men kan sige at hvis der kun groede kakao og det var en dårligt år for kakao, så vil de ikke tjene meget det år kan man sige, det kan være et rigtig dårligt år for dem, ikke? og det er i særdeleshed vigtigt når man arbejder med småbønder som har meget lidt land og meget få ressourcer.

A: [...] ja, vi arbejder generelt med indfødte folk ikke? vi sourcer kun fine gamle kakao sorter med den målsætning at bevare dem, ikke?

A: [...] så er det så heldigt at mange af de kakaosorter er bevaret i regnskovsområder ikke? Ehm som ofte er i ejerskab af indfødte grupper ikke? Indfødte folk. Så vi arbejder meget med indfødte folk omkring regnskovs bevaring, fine kakao sorter så der er mange forskellige kriterier som vi bruger til at udvælge vores projekter og vores kilde, kakao kilder, der hvor vi køber vores kakao selvfølgelig skal det være en gammel fin kakao sort som vi medvirker til at bevare, det skal være et biodiversity hotspot hvor vi kan hjælpe med at bevare landskab, biodiversitet, også skal der være nogle småbønder, ofte indfødte folk som vi kan hjælpe med at skabe, som kan få en bedre indkomst.

A: [...] der er fin kakao i hele verden men rigtig kakao stammer fra Sydamerika som det er der den største genetiske mangfoldighed er og de mere komplekse smagsprofiler for kakao, så det er selvfølgelig det vi arbejder med mest ikke? [...]

K: [...] og så fik vi jo de her chokolader fra OB og smagte dem, også gik der op for os, okay der er en verden i chokolade her, som vi ikke kender til, men så som vi kom mere ind i det og den verden, så gik det jo også op for os at bæredygtigheden jo er et tema, egentlig langt mere end økologien er [...]

K: Ja, jamen OB har været med fra start jo, det var ligesom dem der åbnede vores øjne for at der var meget mere til det at lave chokolade og få god chokolade, så det er gennemsigtigt - de er tydelige, de er piv-ansvarlige, de er altså, medmindre jeg er blevet godt og grundigt snydt, ikke? men det tror jeg ikke, jeg tænker det er virkelig reel det her, og det er virkelig, det er kompromisløst på alle parametre, der er jo tit nogen hvor man siger, jamen så er de sindssygt ansvarlige med laver ikke en særlig god chokolade i virkeligheden, men altså hvor man fra OB der må man jo bare sige, der virker det hele, ikke? [...] Så på den, altså jeg kender altså ikke andre producenter der har fingrene i så meget i den her verden. [...] på den måde så, så synes jeg jo virkelig at OB de er frontløbere og altså virkelig beundring værdigt, så derfor, de har været faste, stensikkert i sortiment de sidste fire år, ikke?

K: [...] men lige i forhold til OB så ved jeg jo godt at de holder sig langt fra de områder, det er jo slet ikke, de er jo temmelig klare i spytet om at der ikke må have noget med børnearbejde osv. at gøre, og for eksempel, ikke?

K: Der er simpelthen ikke nok viden på de her emballager. Eller på den hyldeforkant, til at man som forbruger tænker "hvorfor skulle jeg tage den på 60, jeg tager selvfølgelig den på 21". Det forstår jeg stadig godt, nu ved jeg jo at der kan være en indikator for den pris i forhold til hvad man får for pengene, men de ligner hinanden, de her to produkter, så de kan simpelthen ikke komme uden fortællingen mange af de her chokolader. Jeg ved godt OB er sindssyg gode i deres emballage der står vanvittigt meget, ikke? ehm ... Men det vi oplevede i hvert fald, der var noget med den her fortælling,

	<p>som vi kom og gav og i øvrigt, også med vores personer, deler ud og som på en eller anden måde virkede, eller virket rigtig godt.</p> <p>K: Jeg tror, hvis jeg lige tænker mig ind i OB for eksempel så tror jeg, så tror jeg ikke det ville kunne lade sig gøre for dem ikke at være sådan her, altså som jeg har læst og forstået deres fortælling så har det jo helt været fra da Philip har været barn og du ved, der er en tanke omkring træerne og miljø og, som jeg har forstået det så er det den forhistorie frem for chokoladens forhistorie, altså det er det der har været indgangsvinklen til det, altså det var miljøet, ikke? At de så vælger at være 100% jo nærmest kompromisløse omkring deres produktion, det er jo så det jeg læser det næsten som sekundært, altså jeg har tit sådan tænkt, shit det er mange projekter og shit det er virkelig sådan altså overvældende ansvar eller sådan meget, ikke? Ehm og kan det næsten løbe rundt tænker jeg nogle gange, altså det er virkelig vildt alt det hvad de sådan skal give af penge til altså, ehm .. Men jeg tror, men jeg tror altså missionen er først for dem. Altså, ellers så skulle de heller ikke gjort så meget ud af at sende det der aftryk til os, altså hvor vi sådan kan se hvordan det har battet det her, ikke?</p>
4: The (lack of impact) from the 5 greater companies	<p>A: [...] så er der selvfølgelig sideløbende den store industri med alle de store aktører såsom Mars og Nestlé og alle de store faktisk, ikke? Hershey, alle mulige, alle de andre [...] men også i forhold til at hvis de arbejder på de her ting, så sikre de at de er tilstede rundt omkring i verden ikke? Blandt andet med opkøbningsstationer af kakao, osv. .. det er jo ligesom også en del af det at etablere dem så de sikre deres forsyning af kakao i fremtiden, ikke?</p> <p>A: [...] selvfølgelig rykker Mars flere penge på bæredygtighed end vi gør, men det er jo også et langt større firma [...]</p> <p>A: Ja, deres bæredygtighedprogram, ej de har skudt 10 gange så meget i som vores firma er værd, så det er jo sådan noget de kan.</p> <p>A: [...] men også i forhold til at hvis de arbejder på de her ting, så sikre de at de er til stede rundt omkring i verden ikke? bland andet med opkøbningsstationer af kakao, osv. .. det er jo ligesom også en del af det at etablere dem så de sikre deres forsyning af kakao i fremtiden, ikke?</p> <p>A: [...] man kan også sige at de store spillere som Nestlé osv., de har jo lavet et løfte om at de om mange år gerne vil sikre deres forsyningskæder ikke forårsager regnskovsfældning ikke. Og der må ikke være noget børnearbejde inden for deres forsyningskæder [...]</p> <p>A: [...] og ikke mindst er der en masse af de store nu som lancerer nogle kæmpe store bæredygtigheds programmer.</p> <p>A: [...] ja, så alle de store er ligesom gået sammen, ikke? Altså fra den store industri om at, en aftale om at undgå skov skal ryddes inden for deres forsyningskæde så det er sådan zero deforestation aftale, ikke?</p> <p>K: [...] det er jo et sindssygt lille bitte stykke af et kæmpe, altså marked, ikke?. øhm .. så jeg synes jo at alt hvad man kan gøre det er jo, skide vigtigt, men vi må jo også bare erkende, at der er nogle åndsvagt store brands som står for virkelig meget af verdens kakaoproduktion, af chokoladeproduktion, ikke? Øhm .. og jeg mener bare stadig, at de er nødt til at gå forrest. Altså når man sidder med 85% eller hvor meget det nu er af produktionen, så skal det komme derfra [...]</p> <p>K: [...] så man kan jo håbe at det er en masse små ringe i vandet på en eller anden måde, der breder sig, men jeg kan godt, tvivle om vi ved nok om chokolade. Så på den måde, så skal der være nogle frontløbere på det her, øh, og det er jo ikke Jesper og jeg her i Aalborg.</p> <p>K: Så på den måde, så jeg tænker helt sikkert at der er, der skal være nogle globale løsninger, nogen der larmer mere end jeg gør, der skal sige noget</p>

	<p>rigtig højt, og så skal nogle firmaer tage ansvar. [...] ja, der har de måske lidt af deres virksomhed, hvor det lyder som om de er helt vildt ansvarlige, og de prøver at lave nogle tiltag med det, men jeg kan bare godt sådan tænke - argh, i skal stadig producere hurtigt og i skal producere meget [...]</p> <p>K: [...] jeg tror de er nødt til at være frontløbere på det. Også skal de, altså jeg ved godt det er svært, med deres store produktion, de bliver nødt til at kigge på det, nogle af håndværkerne egentlig laver, også skal de få implementere så meget som muligt at det, det handler jo i virkeligheden om at sørge for nogle gode vilkår og at købe sin kakao til en ordentlig pris.</p> <p>Ellers så er det jo, vi kan ikke blive ved jo, så bliver både plantagerne og medarbejderne derude jo rigtig syge og dårlige.</p> <p>K: [...] i virkeligheden ville jeg bare ønske at Mars og Nestlé, de store firmaer, de på en eller anden måde også sagde "kakao er rigtig godt, det skal vi behandle rigtig godt" eller bruge godt, ikke?</p> <p>K: [...] men det kommer ikke til at være den helt store forandring før der er nogle af de store fisk der laver forandringen.</p> <p>A: Mars, Nestlé, Hershey, Callebaut [de store spillere i industrien]</p>
5: Specialised chocolate / fine dining	<p>A: [...] men også mange andre chokolademagere, specielt inden for speciel chokolade verdenen fokuserer meget på bæredygtighed lige nu [...]</p> <p>A: [...] også i forhold til det at sikre at kakaolandmændene får betalt en god pris det er noget der er meget vigtig i speciel chokoladeverdenen [...]</p> <p>A: [...] men man kigger selvfølgelig også på priser, det er svært for specielt de store at gå ind og betale meget højere priser for en middelmådig kakao, vi betaler allerede høje priser, det gør man generelt indenfor speciel chokoladeindustrien ikke? [...]</p> <p>A: [...] så den genetiske mangfoldighed inden for kakao er meget snæver, det er ved at blive meget snævert, det medfører både nogle risici i forhold til skadedyr osv. Men som også gør at de kakaoer, kakao sorter som i virkeligheden smager godt forsvinder, så det er selvfølgelig noget vi kigger på [...]</p> <p>K: [...] jeg tror faktisk ikke rigtig vi har forstået hvor vild kakaoen egentlig er, på samme måde som vi egentlig i mange år har tænkt det om kaffe eller vin, hvor jeg jo mener kakaoen ligger i samme kasse, i virkeligheden i forhold til hvor mange smagsnuancer og aromastoffer [...]</p> <p>K: Altså den chokolade som jeg sælger, det kan ikke stå på de samme hylder.</p> <p>K: Det ville virke skørt for folk, hvorfor det så skulle koste så meget mere, der er vi stadig ikke - at vi forstår det, tror jeg.</p> <p>K: [...] jeg tror de er nødt til at være frontløbere på det. Også skal de, altså jeg ved godt det er svært, med deres store produktion, de bliver nødt til at kigge på det, nogle af håndværkerne egentlig laver, også skal de få implementere så meget som muligt at det, det handler jo i virkeligheden om at sørge for nogle gode vilkår og at købe sin kakao til en ordentlig pris.</p> <p>Ellers så er det jo, vi kan ikke blive ved jo, så bliver både plantagerne og medarbejderne derude jo rigtig syge og dårlige.</p> <p>K: [...] det var jo en helt ny verden i virkeligheden. Fordi der var så mange smage vi ikke kendte også så mange kakaosorter [...]</p> <p>K: Først og fremmest så synes de ligesom at den smager helt fantastisk, og det lægger vi selvfølgelig også meget vægt på, da det er en chokoladesmagning, kan man sige, at balancerne deri er jo mega gode. [...] Øhm men mest af alt så er det stadig smagen de sådan lige umiddelbart vinder på, det må man jo bare sige.</p>

K: [...] men det er jo måske den kløft der i virkeligheden er mellem håndværker og forbruger, ikke?

K: Altså os forbrugere vi tænker "nå, jeg har hørt nogle debattere om Fairtrade, jeg har hørt nogen snakke om økomærker, det er nok godt - hvis jeg er en ansvarlig forbruger, så køber jeg det - så køber jeg det med en certificering på" problemet er jo bare at nogle dem med certificeringer på de har brugt alle deres penge på certificeringer frem for den gode kakao så i virkeligheden så får man ikke et særligt produkt langt hen af vejen, måske. Det kan også godt være der er nogen der gør.

K: Det er ikke sådan at jeg, der er ikke nogen der er kommet og så specifikt har sagt at det skal være en (fous deo), den skal være fra Tanzania, den skal bla bla bla - så på den måde er de slet ikke oplyste på det [...] På den måde har vi da kunnet starte lidt ringe i vandet, men derudover så ved de det ikke rigtigt, der er rigtig mange der sådan siger "jeg anede slet ikke at det kom så mange steder fra eller at det kunne være så forskelligt inden for landet nærmest også, med smagene også sådan noget" [...]

K: [...] og oprindelse, du ved? altså det er i hvert fald de færreste, så på den måde er det også nyt at tænke, men det gør vi jo med vin, jeg ved jo med mig selv af jeg er ret glad for riesling fra (Alsace) fordi der er nogle søde noter som jeg elsker helt vildt, ikke? På samme måde så jeg ved også nu at, nå jamen der er noget med Syd - og mellemamerikansk kakao som passer rigtig godt til mine smagsløg altså ikke? men det er jo de færreste der taget den rejse, endnu, med chokoladen.

K: [...] men der har heller ikke været det samme fokus på at kakaoen jo i virkeligheden egentlig har, så vidt jeg har læst, flere aromastoffer og smagsnuancer til rådighed end druen egentlig har.

K: Hvor det er jo helt åndsvagt, det er jo så dumt, ikke? Mikkel [Friis Holm] kalder det også, altså chokolade for den latterligste billigste form for gourmet overhovedet, ikke? Og det giver jo sindssyg god mening, taget i betragtning af, hvor lidt vi i virkeligheden betaler for vores chokolade, de smagsoplevelser vi så får deraf.

K: Men den har jo faktisk valgt at lukke, fordi det jo nok egentlig også gik op for Jesper og jeg, at meget af det vi synes der var fedt ved chokoladen og kakaoen, det var jo ikke at være købmand i virkeligheden, det var jo, altså fordi for os så blev virksomheden, den er jo lige så meget sådan et gastronomisk kulinarisk smagsoplevelse, oplysnings, altså viden, præcis ligesom at gå til vinsmagning for os, det er jo ligesom at nørde en råvarer .. ehm .. Så det ændrede jo konceptet til kun at være altså smags baseret så, vi synes, vi plejer at kalde det lidt Tupperware på en måde, altså vi kommer ud og fortæller også kan man købe bagefter ikke? Og derudover så kan man jo ikke rigtig købe vores chokolader sådan, andre steder end hos os agtigt, Mikkel (Friis Holm) er lige kommet i Salling, men ellers har det været nogle lidt særlige produkter som på en eller anden måde har krævet at forbrugeren aktivt har, aktivt har lavet det til og har kontaktet os for at købe.

A: Der er et boom i chokoladeindustrien, forholdsvis i Peru, nej faktisk både i Peru og Ecuador og Colombia og i Mexico, virkelig et boom i fin chokolade, som gør at markedspriserne drives opad. Det har vi ikke set i Bolivia endnu, der er meget få chokolademagere og meget få aktører, og der er meget lidt konkurrence ikke? Til gengæld får bønderne noget af det højeste, bliver betalt nogle af de højeste priser for deres kakao ikke? Fordi det er så besværligt for dem at producere det.

A: Og så det åbenlyst - det er jo den mest eksklusive kakao i verden ikke? Det er en, der gror vildt, den er en oprindelig sort og den har en rigtig fin smagsprofil. Det mest problematiske ved kakaoen er at bønnerne,

	<p>kakaobønnerne er meget små, det er problematisk i forhold til, det er ikke alle chokolademagere der har maskineri til at, der kan arbejde så tæt i forhold til at behandle den. Den er også mere usikker fordi produktionen er lidt anderledes efter alt efter, men det er den jo altid afhængig af hvor man er, men hvis man har en godt designet kakao agroforestry mark ikke? Så er udbyttet lidt mere sikkert. I forhold til en vild kakao, den er meget påvirket af vejret også samtidig, hvis det har regnet meget, fordi høstsæsonen ligger i regnsæsonen så det kan være meget svært for dem at komme ud til områderne hvor de skal høste kakaoen .. Så nogle år er det meget svært at komme derud ikke? Rent logistisk.</p>
6: Bolivia	<p>A: [...] og bæredygtighed i forhold til regnskov, igennem regnskovscertifikater og i forhold til plantning af træer, igennem vores one by one program, altså i forhold til etablering af, vi har mange mangfoldige agroforestry systemer, altså i forhold til at betale bønderne, landmændene en god pris [...]</p> <p>A: Ja, blandt andet i Beni nu har der været meget store oversvømmelser det er er altid sådan at der er meget voldsommere tørke også er der voldsommere oversvømmelser så det er simpelthen ude af balance, systemet, ikke?</p> <p>A: For eksempel Beni har jo den her Macau papegøje, men altså i Beni er der floddelfiner, jaguar, der er tapir, der er dovendyr, der er alle mulige truede dyrearter ikke? [...] Som er meget større end bare lige en art ikke, vi snakker om millioner af arter, som vi gerne ser skulle bevares, ved at bevare et skovsystem, som er helt unik. [...] Så vores mål er selvfølgelig at bevare landskaber, hele landskaber, og hvad der er i de landskaber på forskellig vis. Igennem regnskovscertifikater, gennem etablering af sådanne nogle agroforestry bufferzoner, og korridorer mellem regnskovene og systemer, hvor dyrene kan bevæge sig igennem et beskyttet område til et andet.</p> <p>K: [...] hvor jeg så på Beni Wild for eksempel sagde "den er jo en vild kakao, den kan ikke certificeres økologisk, fordi den vokser vildt ude i junglen og du ved det ene og det andet" øhm .. den er formentlig økologisk, der er jo ikke ret mange der render rundt med sprøjtemidler ude i junglen, kan man jo sige, men den må ikke certificeres fordi den ikke er kontrolleret.</p> <p>K: [...] så er jeg sindssygt glad for Beni Wild og Beni området i Bolivia, fordi jeg har også set de billede af nedsavede jungler og det kan jeg næsten ikke holde ud hvor meget diversitet og altså både dyr og miljø der på en eller anden måde har måtte lade livet for, for vores, altså sådan overforbrug på en eller anden måde, og jeg kan godt lide tanken om at det vilde, altså det rigtige, natur, ikke?</p> <p>A: [...] Bolivia er selvfølgelig lidt mere underudviklet, så det er et lidt svære land at arbejde med ikke? Ehm .. et lidt fattigere land end mange af de andre lande hvor vi arbejder, de er væsentligt fattigere end Peru og Ecuador og Colombia ikke? Og Mexico. Ehm .. så det gør det lidt sværere, det er også en vild kakao vi arbejder med der, du ved det er altid meget øde ikke? Der hvor kakaoen gror, så det er langt ude i skoven, altså jeg var selv derude her i starten af sidste måned, det var en time med propelfly ikke? Firmaets propelfly, og så med kano i fire timer op ad floden fra [en by]. Kakao kræver jo en masse infrastruktur ikke? Man skal jo ofte behandle den på stedet, dvs. kan gøre den, tørre den og opbevare den og transportere den, så det er selvfølgelig problematisk, men til gengæld er den sådan unik kakao, fordi den er vild. Netop en bevaret kakao, som oprindeligt stammer fra det område, Beniano kakaoen.</p> <p>A: [...] det er også verdens dyreste kakao, eller en af dem i hvert fald.</p>

	<p>A: [...] selvfølgelig hænger kakaoproduktionen jo også sammen med økonomisk udvikling generelt og der er de jo lidt bagud i forhold til nogle af deres naboer. Hvor man kan sige at for eksempel Peru har haft et enormt opsving i kakaoproduktionen og det er relateret til opsving i økonomien generelt og bedre infrastruktur og forbedret satsning på det ikke? Spørgsmålet er måske også lidt hvad regeringen satser på ikke? I landbrugsudvikling eller deres landbrugs udviklingsprogrammer. Hvad vi ser i Beni lige nu, hvor vi arbejder ikke? Der ser ud til at være en satsning på soya og kvægavl, altså i industrien ikke? Så det er meget højlands tankegang, der ligesom præger den måde regeringen ser på udvikling og det bringer de ligesom med ned i lavlandet, ikke? Ned i Beni provinsen.</p> <p>A: [...] Jeg ved at selvfølgelig i soya industrien og kvæg industrien, der er der mange på landet ikke. Hvis man skal dyrke kvæg, så skal man have flere hektar pr ko ikke, så de vil gerne have meget land. Det skubber de [myndighederne] selvfølgelig på, så der har været en vis opbakning til det fra regeringens side, men hvor meget der reelt, det ved jeg ikke.</p> <p>A: [...] Der er ikke så mange aktører [i Bolivia]. I de fleste lande, i Peru i Colombia osv. Mexico, der er mange markedsaktører der er mange opkøbere, mange chokoladefirmaer, der er meget konkurrence inden for chokoladeindustrien ehm .. Der er et boom i chokoladeindustrien, forholdsvis i Peru, nej faktisk både i Peru og Ecuador og Colombia og i Mexico, virkelig et boom i fin chokolade, som gør at markedspriserne drives opad. Det har vi ikke set i Bolivia endnu, der er meget få chokolademagere og meget få aktører, og der er meget lidt konkurrence ikke? Til gengæld får bønderne noget af det højeste, bliver betalt nogle af de højeste priser for deres kakao ikke? Fordi det er så besværligt for dem at producere det.</p>
7: Beni	<p>A: [...] og bæredygtighed i forhold til regnskov, igennem regnskovscertifikater og i forhold til plantning af træer, igennem vores one by one program, altså i forhold til etablering af, vi har mange mangfoldige agroforestry systemer, altså i forhold til at betale bønderne, landmændene en god pris [...]</p> <p>A: Ja blandt andet i Beni nu har der været meget store oversvømmelser det er er altid sådan at der er meget voldsommere tørke også er der voldsommere oversvømmelser så det er simpelthen ude af balance, systemet, ikke? [...]</p> <p>A: For eksempel Beni har jo den her Macau papegøje, men altså i Beni er der floddelfiner, jaguar, der er tapir, der er dovendyr, der er alle mulige truede dyrearter ikke? [...] Som er meget større end bare lige en art ikke, vi snakker om millioner af arter, som vi gerne ser skulle bevares, ved at bevare et skovsystem, som er helt unik. [...] Så vores mål er selvfølgelig at bevare landskaber, hele landskaber, og hvad der er i de landskaber på forskellig vis. Igennem regnskovscertifikater, gennem etablering af sådanne nogle agroforestry bufferzoner, og korridorer mellem regnskovene og systemer hvor dyrene kan bevæge sig igennem og et beskyttet område til et andet.</p> <p>K: [...] hvor jeg så på Beni Wild for eksempel sagde "den er jo en vild kakao, den kan ikke certificeres økologisk, fordi den vokser vildt ude i junglen og du ved det ene og det andet" øhm .. den er formentlig økologisk, der er jo ikke ret mange der render rundt med sprøjtemidler ude i junglen, kan man jo sige, men den må ikke certificeres fordi den ikke er kontrolleret.</p> <p>K: [...] balancerne deri er jo mega gode, det der er godt og det der er sjovt at snakke om i forhold til Beni det er, altså, det er jo også det der med at det er en lidt mindre kakao sort og den vokser lidt anderledes og det er ikke noget man sådan helt kan styre og det kræver et helt andet samarbejde med det</p>

lokale i området og den, altså den får en mega god fortælling altså, og det kan folk faktisk godt lige når vi erude, når vi er ved at være færdige med den chokolade, så er folk sådan “koster den ikke meget mere så? altså når den nu er så bøvlet at arbejde med på en eller anden måde og det kræver så meget” og altså på den måde så vækker det lidt en interesse at der er noget særligt med den. Øhm men mest af alt så er det stadig smagen de sådan lige umiddelbart vinder på, det må man jo bare sige.

K: [...] sådan jeg har ikke helt styr på at der både er noget med natur og nogle fugle og noget inden for projektet - men der kunne jeg godt have flere ord til at beskrive endnu mere projektet, tror jeg, nogle søde dyre billeder, et eller andet ikke?

K: [...] så er jeg sindssygt glad for Beni Wild og Beni området i Bolivia, fordi jeg har også set de billeder af nedsavede jungler og det kan jeg næsten ikke holde ud hvor meget diversitet og altså både dyr og miljø der på en eller anden måde har måtte lade livet for, for vores, altså sådan overforbrug på en eller anden måde, og jeg kan godt lide tanken om at det vilde, altså det rigtige, natur, ikke?

A: [...] Spørgsmålet er måske også lidt hvad regeringen satser på ikke? I landbrugsudvikling eller deres landbrugs udviklingsprogrammer. Hvad vi ser i Beni lige nu, hvor vi arbejder ikke? Der ser ud til at være en satsning på soya og kvægavl, altså i industrien ikke? Så det er meget højlands tankegang, der ligesom præger den måde regeringen ser på udvikling og det bringer de ligesom med ned i lavlandet, ikke? Ned i Beni provinsen.

A: [...] Der er en tradition for at høste og bruge kakao i området, så det er ikke noget som bare bliver pålagt udefra overhovedet. Om det så er økonomisk rentabelt og det giver mening for dem, det er jo så lige det, det kræver man opbygger en infrastruktur ikke? Der gør, at de får mulighed for at få de gode priser for deres kakao og de får mulighed for at producere kakao af god kvalitet. Det er måske mere det, der mangler, det er nu meget svært i det her område, i forhold til nærmest alle andre områder i verden, fordi der er så øde og fordi kakaoen, fortinsvist i hvert fald i Beni, der skal man se på Beni som noget unikt i forhold til andre områder i Bolivia, fordi det gror langs floden vildt ikke? Det er meget svært at hente det hele hen til et sted hvor det bliver fermenteret, som man gør for at få den ypperste kvalitet. Så på den måde er det en større udfordring end i mange andre lande, når det kommer til kvalitets, eller når man producere kakao af høj kvalitet [...]

A: [...] der er selvfølgelig lidt forskellige faktorer der ligesom motiverer forskellige folk, men med dem vi arbejder sammen med, der er det helt bestemt en kombination, altså den vilde kakao den gror der, men det handler også om hvad er deres andre muligheder ikke? De er meget utsatte for klimaforandringer, lige nu med tørke, længere tørkeperioder også meget voldsommere regnperioder.

A: Lad os sige der kommer oversvømmelse; mange af deres egne afgrøder tolerer selvfølgelig ikke at stå i vand i tre måneder. Det gør den vilde kakao, altså den står i vand i tre måneders tid hvert år, hvor stammen er helt dækket. Så på den måde er det en indkomst for dem. Der er få andre muligheder, yuca, banan, papaya, men de dør hvis der er oversvømmelse, i hvert fald. Så [...] på den måde er kakao en af de få indkomstmuligheder. Nu skal man også tænke på at det stadig er meget jæger, samler samfund. Så de har ikke selv et omfattende landbrugssystem, så det handler også om, det er også en del af vores projekt, ligesom introducere forskellige landbrugssystemer, som virker for dem ikke? Og som virker under de omstændigheder. Bl.a. plante træer som kan tolerere oversvømmelse, også

	<p>selvfølgelig give dem et incitament til de forskellige træsystemer og skovsystemer inklusiv kakaoen på nogle forskellige typer land, alt efter hvor tørt det bliver i løbet af sæsonen. Så det er en af deres få indkomstmuligheder ikke? Kakaoen, hvor der ellers ikke er så mange åbenlyse muligheder fordi de er så presset på grund af klimaforandringer, tørke og oversvømmelser .. Og så det åbenlyst - det er jo den mest eksklusive kakao i verden ikke? Det er en, der gror vildt, den er en oprindelig sort og den har en rigtig fin smagsprofil. Det mest problematiske ved kakaoen er at bønnerne, kakaobønnerne er meget små, det er problematisk i forhold til, det er ikke alle chokolademagere der har maskineri til at, der kan arbejde så tæt i forhold til at behandle den. Den er også mere usikker fordi produktionen er lidt anderledes efter alt efter, men det er den jo altid afhængig af hvor man er, men hvis man har en godt designet agroforestry mark ikke? Så er udbyttet lidt mere sikkert. I forhold til en vild kakao, den er meget påvirket af vejret også samtidig, hvis det har regnet meget, fordi høstsæsonen ligger i regnsæsonen så det kan være meget svært for dem at komme ud til områderne hvor de skal høste kakaoen .. Så nogle år er det meget svært at komme derud ikke? Rent logistisk.</p> <p>A: Lige i Beni arbejder vi sammen med (en ngo) som er hovedorganisationen for movimaerne, og så er der en kvindeorganisation for movimaerne - så i virkeligheden er det dem, som kommer til at bestemme hvad der kommer til at ske, og hele projektet er udviklet i samarbejde med dem, baseret på en masse møder med dem, både i landsbyerne og i hovedorganisationen, hvor vi har snakket med dem om hvad der giver mening.</p>
8: Child Labour	<p>A: [...] som selvfølgelig rykker noget i nogle lande eksempel i Elfenbenskysten og Ghana, som er de største producenter af kakao i verden. Det er ligesom der at alle handlinger de ligger og al fokus ligger langt mindre på andre lande. Men man skal jo starte et sted og det er også der, de største problemer de er både i forhold til afskovning og børnearbejde ikke?</p> <p>A: [...] ikke mindst i forhold til at børnearbejde og regnskovsrydning ikke?</p> <p>A: [...] de store spillere som Nestlé osv., de har jo lavet et løfte om at de om mange år gerne vil sikre deres forsyningsskæder ikke forårsager regnskovsfældning ikke. og der må ikke være noget børnearbejde inden for deres forsyningsskæder [...]</p> <p>K: [...] Afrika er også sådan, det kan jeg også godt blive lidt sådan aktivistisk omkring, fordi jeg netop har set og læst så meget omkring børnearbejde og vilkår for dem derude og sådan noget [...]</p> <p>K: Altså det gør mig i hvert fald bekymret på et tidspunkt i forhold til hvor skidt det stod til i Afrika, jeg ved jo godt at størstedelen af det er jo Vestafrika og sådan, ikke? men det fik mig i hvert fald, jeg har virkelig været i et dilemma i forhold til vælger man bare Afrika fra, altså skal det boykottes det her, og skal man på den måde vise et statement, at det kan vi simpelthen ikke bakke op om .. og samtidig så tænker jeg jo, nå jamen hvis vi slet ikke køber det, så får de heller ikke noget overhovedet og det er måske endnu værre, om at de bare får for lidt - men lige i forhold til OB, så ved jeg jo godt at de holder sig langt fra de områder, det er jo slet ikke, de er jo temmelig klare i spytter om at der ikke må have noget med børnearbejde osv. at gøre, og for eksempel, ikke?</p>
9: Consumer awareness	<p>A: [...] ja vi ser en meget stor opmærksomhed i forhold til bæredygtighed [...] både for forbrugerne selvfølgelig men også i diskursen generelt i</p>

samfundet [...] men vi også specielt at, ikke mindst os selv, men også mange andre chokolademagere, specielt inden for speciel chokolade verdenen fokuserer meget på bæredygtighed lige nu [...]

A: [...] alle mulige, alle de andre. Som selvfølgelig nu giver en masse, ruller en masse bæredygtighedsprogrammer ud, altså ikke?

A: [...] ligesom de selvfølgelig har en fornemmelse for at det her det er super vigtigt, i forhold til at sælge deres chokolade, fordi der er en vis forventning fra samfundets side ikke?

A: [...] der er så meget fokus på bæredygtighed at det bliver lidt en jungle .. ehm .. alle påstår at de er bæredygtige, ikke? alle skriver det på deres indpakning, alle er super aktive på sociale medier, så på den måde bliver det svære at forstå for forbrugerne ikke? hvad gør folk, hvordan er de dedikeret, hvor meget investere de reelt i bæredygtighed [...]

A: [...] der vil altid være folk som, selvfølgelig kan man sige at, det har en meget større betydning nu end for ti år siden da vi startede, men der har jo altid været en masse som har været opmærksomme på bæredygtighed ikke? Så på den måde er markedssignalerne bare blevet mere forvirrende, synes jeg i hvert fald i forhold til bæredygtighed, som er blevet mere opmærksomme på det ikke?

A: [...] folk er altid meget positive og, det er nok svært for dem at forstå hvor vigtigt det i virkeligheden er ikke? medmindre de selv arbejder inden udviklingsarbejde af en art, noget i den stil eller, har boet ude i troperne i de lande hvor vi arbejder så på den måde er det måske lidt svært for dem at forstå, den reelle betydning og den skala af hvad vi prøver og gøre i forhold til bæredygtighed og de reelle problemer ikke, jeg tror ikke folk ved hvor grettede andre folk rundt omkring i verden har det generelt. Men, generelt meget positivt [...]

A: Men ved at fokuserer på et dyr, [...] så gør man det lidt mere personligt - der er et ansigt på [...]

A: Ja, jeg har også et indtryk af at folk gerne vil høre lidt om mennesker ikke måske mere end dyr tit ikke blandt andet vores projekt med at etablere det første kvinde kooperativt nogensinde i Congo ikke? specielt den historie som folk gerne vil høre mere end med nogle elefanter ikke i Tanzania [...]

K: [...] ja, altså der har været .. altså .. der har været mere fokus på det, men som vi også snakkede om på et tidspunkt kan jeg huske så er det som om at folk de hele tiden har tænkt den her økologi, altså, som det bæredygtige eller, altså det er i hvert fald det folk har spurgt til - er det økologisk? Altså, så jeg kan godt blive i tvív om man i virkeligheden helt har forstået bæredygtighed som et helt begreb, der er jo virkelig mange ting forbundet med bæredygtighed .. øhm .. så det er som, men, folk er blevet mere opmærksomme på at der er noget med noget i forhold til at være lidt ansvarlig, altså der er kommet en lille smule mere fokus på at vælge noget kvalitet frem for kvantitet.

K: [...] det er noget i folks bevidsthed som på en eller anden måde har sat sig.

K: [...] jeg tror stadig det er meget nyt, i forhold til chokolade og tænke kvalitet eller bæredygtighed eller økologi eller .. Fordi det har hele tiden bare ligget i vores mindset som noget snoller - altså noget slik vi har hygget os med, øhm. Jeg tror faktisk ikke rigtig vi har forstået, hvor vild kakaoen egentlig er, på samme måde som vi egentlig i mange år har tænkt det om kaffe eller vin. Hvor jeg jo mener kakaoen ligger i samme kasse, i virkeligheden i forhold til hvor mange smagsnuancer og aromastoffer og hvor hård proces eller håndværk, der er forbundet med det. Øh, så så tænker jeg at den burde ligge i fuldstændig samme sted, det er på vej med

chokoladen tror jeg - der har jo været et par dokumentarer tror jeg i forhold til chokolade og baggrunden i industrien.

K: [...] jeg tror, der er sådan stadigvæk, at nogle bare synes det er dejligt at spise chokolade.

K: [...] så gik det jo også op for os at bæredygtigheden jo er et tema, egentlig langt mere end økologien er - fordi der er jo riktig mange af de chokolader vi har, der ikke er certificeret eller noget som helst. Men som er sindssygt bæredygtige, i forhold til at man for eksempel laver lange kontrakter så man sikrer vilkårene for dem, som arbejder der - og du ved, på den måde er bæredygtigt, men ikke certificeret økologisk. Så vi ændrede jo faktisk altså vores koncept til bare at handle om chokolade.

K: Uden at det hed noget med økologi i navnet .. øhm .. fordi vi synes det på en eller anden måde blev begrænsende den her certificering, øko mærket afgift, ikke? Hvor vi jo egentlig gerne ville formidle budskabet om bæredygtighed, om ansvarlighed og en god kakao, en god smag og kvalitet.

K: [...] fordi for os så, altså det vi gør, det er jo helt vildt meget i det små, med oplysning, fortælle om og lade dem smage forskellene, men det er jo et sindssygt lille bitte stykke af et kæmpe, altså marked, ikke?

K: det vi gør det er jo, at vi oplyser så meget som overhovedet muligt. øhm, altså nu lavede jeg lige [chokolade] smagning i lørdags ikke? og det er nyt for alle, det er virkelig nyt for dem at der er så meget at fortælle om kakao. Og stadigvæk så kommer folk, når jeg kommer ud til folk, så tror folk stadigvæk at jeg har tankstations-chokolade med, ikke altså? Altså hvilke smage rittersport har du med, afgift? Der er min mission er jo netop at fortælle at der er så meget vi ikke ved [...]

K: [...] så for mig handler det sindssygt meget om oplysning.

K: [...] det kunne for eksempel være projekter med fokus på nogle bestemte dyr [...] og jeg tænkte faktisk lige over det da jeg var ude i lørdags [...] så ville jeg lige sådan prøve at ligge lige meget fokus på alle projekter i forbindelse med de forskellige chokolader jeg nu havde med ude. Og igen må jeg bare konstatere, at det med dyrene det er altså bare, det trækker bare øhm .. gorillaer og elefanter det er mere håndgribeligt på en eller anden måde ehm .. og jeg prøvede endda at lægge rigtig meget vægt på den der, altså når de kom til 82'eren, den nye fra Colombia, der sådan prøver at ligge mega meget vægt på at udvikle den her YouTube film og virkelig smukke billeder fra naturen og virkelig et område vi skal passe godt på og autencitet og virkelig altså på den måde, men de vender tilbage til de gorillaer og de elefanter der hele tiden, ikke? øhm .. ja og det var faktisk også lidt sjovt, fordi så lige til den smagning så havde jeg Friis-Holms Opayo med, som jo er hans eneste, ej der er lige kommet en til, men økologiske i hvert fald og det fokuserede de nemlig sindssygt meget på.

K: Det bed ikke sådan rigtig på, eller sådan du ved? De blev ved med at snakke meget om certificeringer og labels på en eller anden måde, ikke? Men der er noget med de dyr. Altså som bliver, det bliver følelsesmæssigt på en anden måde, end når det "bare" er naturen, det er ikke håndgribeligt på samme måde.

K: [...] da jeg snakkede om gorillaerne da jeg fortalte om området, og sådan noget .. øh .. og det var der lige et par stykker der var optaget af, men det er dyrene der rykker mest.

K: [...] først og fremmest så synes de ligesom at den smager helt fantastisk, og det lægger vi selvfølgelig også meget vægt på da det er en chokoladesmagning kan man sige, at balancerne deri er jo mega gode, det der er godt og det der er sjovt at snakke om i forhold til Beni det er, altså, det er jo også det der med at det er en lidt mindre kakao sort og den vokser

lidt anderledes og det er ikke noget man sådan helt kan styre og det kræver et helt andet samarbejde med det lokale i området og den, altså den får en mega god fortælling altså, og det kan folk faktisk godt lige når vi er ude, når vi er ved at være færdige med den chokolade, så er folk sådan "koster den ikke meget mere så? altså når den nu er så bøvlet at arbejde med på en eller anden måde og det kræver så meget" og altså på den måde så vækker det lidt en interesse at der er noget særligt med den. Øhm men mest af alt så er det stadig smagen de sådan lige umiddelbart vinder på, det må man jo bare sige.
K: Og det er naturligvis uden sprøjtemidler og det ene og det andet så på den måde så er det den største naturlighed at det er sådan det skal være .. ehm .. Og samtidig så synes han, at vi som forbrugere sådan lidt "jamen for filan, hold nu op med de certificeringer, og hold nu op med" men det er jo måske den kløft, der i virkeligheden er mellem håndværker og forbruger, ikke?
K: Altså os forbrugere vi tænker "nå, jeg har hørt nogle debattere om Fairtrade, jeg har hørt nogen snakke om økomærker, det er nok godt - hvis jeg er en ansvarlig forbruger, så køber jeg det - så køber jeg det med en certificering på" problemet er jo bare at nogle dem med certificeringer på de har brugt alle deres penge på certificeringer frem for den gode kakao så i virkeligheden så får man ikke et særligt produkt langt hen af vejen, måske. Det kan også godt være der er nogen der gør.
K: Men det er jo det der er hele konflikten, det er jo det her med at vi skal have noget at forholde os til, som forbruger.
K: Fordi altså der er simpelthen så mange perspektiver i det her men i, hvor det kan ende med at blive en lille smule mudret. Men i sidste ende handler det om, at der er nogle, der skal tage ansvar for produktionen, også er der os forbrugere der skal tage ansvar for vores indkøb. Så det er et sindssygt svært spørgsmål lige at svare på, synes jeg, fordi det kommer jo an på, hvem der er der i den her debat, ikke?
K: [...] vi havde det jo faktisk med ind til bæredygtighedsfestival herinde i Aalborg hvor vi havde en stand på et tidspunkt, og folk var sådan helt, "hvorfor er det bæredygtigt det her chokolade?" nå men det er jo faktisk på grund af det der miljø, de træer og den regnskov, og CO2 regnestykket og bla bla bla - hvor de blev sådan helt, "nå sindssygt" eller sådan ikke? det var sådan virkelig nyt for dem at man kunne tænke sådan om og gøre sådan.
K: [... Kunderne] er kommet, når de har været til smagning, også kan de komme og sige "der var noget med Peru, eller der var noget med gorillaer" og sådan, de husker lidt historierne. Det er ikke sådan at jeg, der er ikke nogen der er kommet og så specifikt har sagt at det skal være en (fous deo), den skal være fra Tanzania, den skal bla bla bla - så på den måde er de slet ikke oplyste på det, men hvis jeg har været ude og holde smagning, så kommer de og spørger til noget af det efterfølgende og på den måde har vi da kunnet starte lidt ringe i vandet, men derudover, så ved de det ikke rigtigt, der er rigtig mange der sådan siger "jeg anede slet ikke at det kom så mange steder fra eller at det kunne være så forskelligt inden for landet nærmest også, med smagene også sådan noget" - så de ved ikke nok, men har de hørt noget så har de været glade for at komme og spørge til noget de har fået til en smagning eller sådan, så der er noget med det her med oplysning stadigvæk tror jeg.
K: [...] og oprindelse, du ved? altså det er i hvert fald de færreste, så på den måde er det også nyt at tænke [...] Men det er jo de færreste der taget den rejse, endnu, med chokoladen.

K: [...] men der har heller ikke været det samme fokus på at kakaoen jo i virkeligheden egentlig har, så vidt jeg har læst, flere aromastoffer og smagsnuancer til rådighed end druen egentlig har.

K: [...] det er et svært forbruger dilemma, altså folk kommer jo ind til mig også siger de sådan "jeg skal have lavet en kurv, jeg har 300 kr. i budget til den her værtindegave" også kan jeg finde tre - fire plader chokolade maks, ikke? fordi her 350 kr. også siger folk "det ser bare ikke ud af ret meget" og man kan sige i en butik der har jeg jo ikke mulighed for at stå og sige, jamen du vælger den fordi, og den fordi, og den produktion og det land bla bla bla, du ved? altså og på den måde er det virkelig en god gave de her tre plader chokolade, eller fire plader chokolade .. ehm .. så folk de ender med at vælge noget billigere for at det skal se ud af noget mere, og det synes jeg jo er skide irriterende, altså jeg ville jo hellere have at man tog de her tre stykker hvor du både fik tre trær og du støttede også nogle gorillaer og nogle frør, og du ved, det ene og det andet?

K: Ja, der er rigtig mange spørgsmål i forhold til, hvad er det pengene går til? Og hvaa.. kan det nu passe at det skal være så dyrt og kan det nu passe at, altså tror du ikke bare der er nogle der sidder og tager pengene?

K: Det har været meget øko, øko mæarket, det, man har virkelig taget det som et kvalitetsstempel. Det her med økologien, men jeg tror også det er det vi forstår som ansvarlighed, altså det er det vi tænker som er det fornuftige og det ansvarlige som forbruger, men det er jo ligesom jeg siger med, at jeg synes jo netop i bæredygtighed, der ligger jo simpelthen så meget, fordi bæredygtig betyder jo at det ligesom kan stå over en længere periode, eller køre igen eller du ved ikke?

K: [...] vi forbrugere handler også med hjertet jo, og rigtig mange af os kan godt lide den gode fortælling, omkring kakaoen [...]

K: Fordi det jeg tænker det er ikke, jeg er jo i berøring med nogle forbrugere som måske næste gang tager et andet valg, så hvis nu dem jeg er i berøring med her i mine smagninger, eller min butik, de så måske ud af ti chokolade indkøb vælger at seks gange OB og fire gange Mars bar, så har vi allerede lavet en markering her i forhold til at der har været lidt lavere salg af Mars. Og det i sig selv er et statement, kan man sige, ikke? Jeg anerkender at det er et virkelig lille statement, men nu hvis der er hele Aalborg der gør det, vi har jo snakket med mange mennesker efterhånden, i selvfærdhedens tegn, men altså, men hvis nu, altså hvis det så på nationalt plan blev sådan, fordi vi har også været nede på Ribe sygehus og snakke med 200 mennesker, hvis nu de gør det samme okay jamen så er det nogle lidt større ringe i vandet, ikke?

K: Ja, fordi man kan sige, står chokoladerne på hylden, OB 60 kr. - Lindt Excellence 21 kr. Der er simpelthen ikke nok viden på de her emballager. Eller på den hyldeforkant, til at man som forbruger tænker "hvorfor skulle jeg tage den på 60, jeg tager selvfølgelig den på 21" det forstår jeg stadig godt, nu ved jeg jo at der kan være en indikator for den pris i forhold til hvad man får for pengene, men de ligner hinanden, de her to produkter, så de kan simpelthen ikke komme uden fortællingen mange af de her chokolader [...]

K: Men den har jo jo faktisk valgt at lukke, fordi det jo nok egentlig også gik op for Jesper og jeg, at meget af det vi synes der var fedt ved chokoladen og kakaoen, det var jo ikke at være købmand i virkeligheden, det var jo, altså fordi for os så blev virksomheden, den er jo lige så meget sådan et gastronomisk kulinarisk smagsoplevelse, oplysnings, altså viden, præcis ligesom at gå til vinスマグning for os, det er jo ligesom at nørde en fåvarer .. ehm .. Så det ændrede jo konceptet til kun at være altså smags baseret så, vi

	<p>synes, vi plejer at kalde det lidt Tupperware på en måde, altså vi kommer ud og fortæller også kan man købe bagefter ikke?</p> <p>K: Hvis nu vi vidste det, at vi ved at junglen den skal passes rigtig godt på, vi kan ikke bare følede lortet fordi der er noget med miljøet og træerne der ligesom hjælper hinanden og altså virkelig sådan. Hvis vi nu tænkte mere over det så samme måde som vi tænkte; fuck, nu kan vi ikke få vores havregryn, fordi der har været solskin en hel sommer, altså så kan jeg godt sådan tænke, er der bare for langt ned til junglen for jer?</p> <p>K: [...] Der er noget afstand, der er noget der på en eller anden måde, det er som om man, tænker not my circus eller sådan du ved ikke?</p> <p>K: Altså, og det glæder jo også vores indkøb altså, at vi, prøv at hør her det er skide svært at være top ansvarlig altid, det er jeg godt med på, men vi skal i hvert fald vide, at vi kan være det, vi skal træffe nogle valg baseret på indsigt og en forståelse. Og der er vi, det tror jeg vi er mange der ikke gør endnu, men det er også som om man tænker "åh jeg kan ikke rigtig forholde mig til det", men hvor jeg jo bare sidder og tænker "okay men er alle de der billeder af aber uden træer i junglen gået din næse forbi, fordi det hele er savet ned dernede" eller "fordi du skal have håndsæbe, altså har du levet under en sten eller", altså, kan du ikke tænke "hvorfor var der så varmt i Danmark sidste år" altså tænkte du bare "åh fedt, lækkert, endelig en god sommer i Danmark" eller har du ikke tænkt over, at vi ikke har haft et reelt snevejr i 15 år. Eller altså, jeg kan ikke, altså hvor jeg sådan, altså verden er jo ikke større end sådan bare lige .. mmh lune vintre, hvor lækkert. Ja. Det er jo ikke meningen altså, så et eller andet burde det måske fortælle os, eller burde vi måske være lidt mere opmærksomme på.</p> <p>A: Det [profit] er nødvendigt, det er klart. Altså der skal jo være en vis opbakning fra forbrugerne i forhold til at skabe profit for firmaerne som gør en forskel, så derfor er det vigtigt der stadig er fokus på profit, det er der forbrugerne har magten.</p>
10: Future of Cacao	<p>A: [...] og bæredygtighed i forhold til regnskov, igennem regnskovscertifikater og i forhold til plantning af træer, igennem vores one by one program, altså i forhold til etablering af, vi har mange mangfoldige agroforestry systemer, altså i forhold til at betale bønderne, landmændene en god pris [...]</p> <p>A: [...] i forhold til regnskovsrydning</p> <p>A: [...] de store spillere som Nestlé osv. de har jo lavet et løfte om at de om mange år gerne vil sikre deres forsyningsskæder ikke forårsager regnskovsfældning ikke. og der må ikke være noget børnearbejde inden for deres forsyningsskæder [...]</p> <p>A: [...] men også i forhold til at hvis de arbejder på de her ting, så sikrer de, at de er til stede rundt omkring i verden ikke? Blandt andet med opkøbningsstationer af kakao, osv. ... Det er jo ligesom også en del af det at etablere dem så de sikrer deres forsyning af kakao i fremtiden, ikke?</p> <p>A: Problemet er ligesom at, det består delvist i at klimaforandringer og delvist i at det ikke altid er så attraktivt at være kakao landmand eller landmand generelt, ikke?</p> <p>A: [...] i forhold til klimaforandringer så ser vi simpelthen at faktisk alle de steder hvor vi sources fra og i store dele af verden, i store dele af troperne er der kraftigere oversvømmelser der er kraftigere tørke og det betyder selvfølgelig i forhold til tørken, ikke mindst at hvis områder som lige nu eller på længere sigt ikke er egnet til at dyrke kakao ehm .. og det område rykker sig sådan, men jeg er på ingen måde bange for at vi løber tør for kakao.</p>

	<p>A: [...] ja, jeg tror der er forskellige løsninger, ikke mindst optimerer produktionen for landmændene selvfolgelig hvis man kan betale høje priser så er det godt, men det er ikke givet, men optimere produktionen, effektivisere og gøre produktionen mere bæredygtig, for den enkelte landmand så de producere mere på samme stykke land på mere bæredygtig vis. Så jorden ikke eroderer, ikke dræner jorden fuldstændig for næringsstoffer, ja og beskyt generelt beskyt landskabet altså undgå regnskov ryddes, så der er en vis form for balance i de globale klimabetingelser, ikke? Ehm .. ja pas på kloden, pas på landskabet og producer lidt mere bæredygtigt.</p> <p>A: [...] så spørgsmålet er hvor mange der overtager de gammels jord, ikke? og dyrker videre på kakao, og det er så igen relateret til de priser som betales, ikke? og landmændenes produktion og det kan betale sig, også i forhold til andre afgrøder eller i forhold til andre slags arbejde, det er noget vi er meget opmærksomme på, der er meget opmærksomhed på inden for industrien [...]</p> <p>K: [...] fordi det har hele tiden bare ligget i vores mindset som noget snoller - altså noget slik vi har hygget os med, øhm, jeg tror faktisk ikke rigtig vi har forstået hvor vild kakaoen egentlig er, på samme måde som vi egentlig i mange år har tænkt det om kaffe eller vin, hvor jeg jo mener kakaoen ligger i samme kasse, i virkeligheden i forhold til hvor mange smagsnuancer og aromastoffer og hvor hård proces eller håndværk, der er forbundet med det. Øh, så så tænker jeg at den burde ligge i fuldstændig samme sted, det er på vej med chokoladen tror jeg - der har jo været et par dokumentarer tror jeg i forhold til chokolade og baggrunden i industrien.</p> <p>K: Så på den måde, så jeg tænker helt sikkert at der er, der skal være nogle globale løsninger, nogen der larmer mere end jeg gør, der skal sige noget rigtig højt, også skal nogle firmaer tage ansvar.</p>
11: Supply Chain	<p>A: [...] i forhold til hvor meget gennemsigtige forsyningskæder, value chain, supply chain [...]</p> <p>A: [...] de store spillere som Nestlé osv., de har jo lavet et løfte om at de om mange år gerne vil sikre deres forsyningskæder ikke forårsager regnskovsfældning ikke. Og der må ikke være noget børnearbejde inden for deres forsyningskæder [...]</p> <p>A: [...] Som er meget større end bare lige en art ikke, vi snakker om millioner af arter, som vi gerne ser skulle bevares, ved at bevare et skovsystem, som er helt unik. vi arbejder kun i biodiversity hotspots, det vil sige steder hvor der en stor mangfoldighed af biodiversitet så vores mål er selvfolgelig at bevare landskaber, hele landskaber, og hvad der er i de landskaber på forskellig vis. igennem regnskovscertifikater, gennem etablering af sådanne nogle agroforestry bufferzoner, og korridorer mellem regnskovene og systemer hvor dyrerne kan bevæge sig igennem og et beskyttet område til et andet [...]</p> <p>K: [...] jeg er jo ret farvet af at have snakket med Mark eller med Mikkel, eller, som jo begge to er sådan lidt, jo Mark er selvfolgelig lidt sådan påvirket af OB fordi det er hans samarbejdspartner kan man sige, men Mikkel han er jo meget, sådan lidt, altså for ham er det både hele vildt åndsvagt, men også klarest logik at selvfolgelig skal vi behandle dem ordentligt, selvfolgelig skal vi uddanne dem til at få, altså, gode livsvilkår, selvfolgelig skal vi hjælpe til i plantagerne, selvfolgelig bla bla bla ... Og samtidig så synes han at det er jo bare sådan det er, at det burde bare være sådan, så for ham er det fuldstændig tåbeligt at der findes et alternativ til det [...] Alt hvad han jo laver er jo tænkt ind i en bæredygtig måde at arbejde på , han laver jo blandt andet lange kontrakter hvor uanset, hvordan høsten</p>

	<p>ligesom er gået så er de jo sikret i 10 år eller sådan noget, ikke? Og de får den der uddannelse inden for plantagen og sådan noget. Så det er jo i sig selv sindssygt bæredygtigt, ikke?</p> <p>K: Fordi altså der er simpelthen så mange perspektiver i det her men i, hvor det kan ende med at blive en lille smule mudret. Men i sidste ende handler det om at der er nogle, der skal tage ansvar for produktionen, også er der os forbrugere der skal tage ansvar for vores indkøb. Så det er et sindssygt svært spørgsmål lige at svare på, synes jeg, fordi det kommer jo an på hvem der er der i den her debat, ikke?</p> <p>K: (Interviewer; Er oprindelsen af det produkt du sælger vigtigt for dig?) Ja!</p> <p>K: (Interviewer; Og hvis vi nu kigger specifikt på værdikæden, er det så noget du har sat dig ind i for de produkter du sælger?) Ja, det er det bestemt.</p> <p>K: [...] så det er gennemsigtigt - de [OB] er tydelige, de er piv ansvarlige. [...] det er vigtigt for mig at der er der er noget menneske og noget refleksion bag de valg der er blevet truffet som producent.</p> <p>K: Men det er jo ligesom jeg siger med at jeg synes jo netop i bæredygtighed, der ligger jo simpelthen så meget, fordi bæredygtig betyder jo at det ligesom kan stå over en længere periode, eller køre igen eller du ved ikke? Hvor jeg tænker, det er jo ikke, bare fordi vi lader være med at sprøjte i vores plantager, så lever træerne jo ikke længere, kakaotræer lever jo som de lever eller som de jo er, men det er jo noget med netop sørge for at medarbejderne har gode vilkår for at kunne fortsætte eller at jorden bliver varetaget eller dyrket ordentlig eller, altså så man på den måde kan køre full circle på det ikke? [...] det er fordi det er virkelig godt, det er virkelig ansvarligt og det er virkelig, du betaler mere for din kakao, det er også bæredygtigt, de kan også klare sig de her mennesker, men han har slet ikke det fokus på den oplysning.</p>
12: Green Marketing	<p>A: [...] ja vi ser en meget stor opmærksomhed i forhold til bæredygtighed [...] både for forbrugerne selvfolgelig, men også i diskursen generelt i samfundet [...] men også specielt at, ikke mindst os selv, men også mange andre chokolademagere, specielt inden for speciel chokolade verdenen fokuserer meget på bæredygtighed lige nu [...]</p> <p>A: [...] og bæredygtighed i forhold til regnskov, igennem regnskovscertifikater og i forhold til plantning af træer, igennem vores one by one program, altså i forhold til etablering af, vi har mange mangfoldige agroforestry systemer, altså i forhold til at betale bønderne, landmændene en god pris [...]</p> <p>A: [...] alle mulige, alle de andre. Som selvfolgelig nu giver en masse, ruller en masse bæredygtighedsprogrammer ud, altså ikke?</p> <p>A: Ligesom de selvfolgelig har en fornemmelse for, at det her det er super vigtigt, i forhold til at sælge deres chokolade, fordi der er en vis forventning fra samfundets side ikke?</p> <p>A: [...] der er så meget fokus på bæredygtighed at det bliver lidt en jungle .. ehm .. alle påstår at de er bæredygtige, ikke? Alle skriver det på deres indpakning, alle er super aktive på sociale medier, så på den måde bliver det sværere at forstå for forbrugerne ikke? Hvad gør folk, hvordan er de dedikeret, hvor meget investere de reelt i bæredygtighed [...]</p> <p>A: [...] der vil altid være folk som, selvfolgelig kan man sige at, det har en meget større betydning nu end for ti år siden da vi startede, men der har jo altid været en masse som har været opmærksomme på bæredygtighed ikke? Så på den måde er marked signalerne bare blevet mere forvirrende, synes jeg i hvert fald i forhold til bæredygtighed, som er blevet mere opmærksomme på det ikke? Der er en masse folk der bliver hyret til at</p>

kommunikere omkring bæredygtighed, der er en masse CSR, men det er lidt svært at finde ud af hvad er det reelt folk gør, på hvilken skala [...] A: [...] der er mange der er gode til at snakke om det synes jeg, ehm .. jeg vil sige, nærmest alle, de fleste deler vores værdisæt i deres diskurs, men hvad de så reelt gør, det synes jeg så er noget andet, ikke? A: [...] jeg synes der er overraskende mange chokoladefirmaer der som siger de er bæredygtige, uden at de reelt gør noget. A: [...] vi vil ses som pionerer inden for bæredygtighed og vi vil gerne ses som nogle der raise the bar sådan at sige, sætter meget høje krav til os selv og dem vi arbejder sammen med, og gør helt nye ting [...] A: [...] vi har valgt at fokusere på et [...] flagship animal [...] for hver chokoladebar ikke? [...] Men ved at fokuserer på et dyr, [...] så gør man det lidt mere personligt - der er et ansigt på, og personligt kan jeg godt lide at udfolde og fortælle den store historie. Som er meget større end bare lige en art ikke, vi snakker om millioner af arter, som vi gerne ser skulle bevares, ved at bevare et skovsystem, som er helt unik. Vi arbejder kun i biodiversity hotspots, det vil sige steder, hvor der en stor mangfoldighed af biodiversitet så vores mål er selvfølgelig at bevare landskaber, hele landskaber, og hvad der er i de landskaber på forskellig vis. Igennem regnskovscertifikater, gennem etablering af sådanne nogle agroforestry bufferzoner, og korridorer mellem regnskovene og systemer hvor dyrene kan bevæge sig igennem og et beskyttet område til et andet. K: [...] fordi der er jo rigtig mange af de chokolader vi har, der ikke er certificeret eller noget som helst. Men som er sindssygt bæredygtige, i forhold til at man for eksempel laver lange kontrakter, så man sikrer vilkårene for dem, som arbejder der - og du ved, på den måde er bæredygtigt, men ikke certificeret økologisk. Så vi ændrede jo faktisk altså vores koncept til bare at handle om chokolade. K: Uden at det hed noget med økologi i navnet .. øhm .. fordi vi synes det på en eller anden måde blev begrænsende den her certificering, øko mærket afgigt, ikke? Hvor vi jo egentlig gerne ville formidle budskabet om bæredygtighed, om ansvarlighed og en god kakao, en god smag og kvalitet. K: [...] ja, der har de måske lidt af deres virksomhed, hvor det lyder som om de er helt vildt ansvarlige, og de prøver at lave nogle tiltag med det, men jeg kan bare godt sådan tænke - argh, i skal stadig producere hurtigt og i skal producere meget [...] K: Og det er naturligvis uden sprøjtemidler og det ene og det andet så på den måde så er det den største naturlighed at det er sådan det skal være .. ehm .. Og samtidig så synes han, at vi som forbrugere sådan lidt "jamen for filan, hold nu op med de certificeringer, og hold nu op med" men det er jo måske den kløft, der i virkeligheden er mellem håndværker og forbruger, ikke? K: Altså os forbrugere vi tænker "nå, jeg har hørt nogle debatter om Fairtrade, jeg har hørt nogen snakke om økomærker, det er nok godt - hvis jeg er en ansvarlig forbruger, så køber jeg det - så køber jeg det med en certificering på" problemet er jo bare at nogle dem med certificeringer på de har brugt alle deres penge på certificeringer frem for den gode kakao så i virkeligheden så får man ikke et særligt produkt langt hen af vejen, måske. Det kan også godt være der er nogen der gør. K: Fordi altså der er simpelthen så mange perspektiver i det her men i, hvor det kan ende med at blive en lille smule mudret. Men i sidste ende handler det om, at der er nogle der skal tage ansvar for produktionen. Også er der os forbrugere, der skal tage ansvar for vores indkøb. Så det er et sindssygt

	<p>svært spørgsmål lige at svare på, synes jeg, fordi det kommer jo an på hvem der er der i den her debat, ikke?</p> <p>K: Ja, der er rigtig mange spørgsmål i forhold til, hvad er det pengene går til? Og hvaa.. kan det nu passe at det skal være så dyrt og kan det nu passe at, altså tror du ikke bare der er nogle, der sidder og tager pengene?</p> <p>K: Det har været meget øko, øko mærket, det, man har virkelig taget det som et kvalitetsstempel. Det her med økologien, men jeg tror også det er det vi forstår som ansvarlighed, altså det er det vi tænker som er det fornuftige og det ansvarlige som forbruger, men det er jo ligesom jeg siger med at jeg synes jo netop i bæredygtighed, der ligger jo simpelthen så meget, fordi bæredygtig betyder jo at det ligesom kan stå over en længere periode, eller køre igen eller du ved ikke?</p> <p>K: (Interviewer; Tror du så som forretningsejer at, eller mener du, at du som forretningsejer har et ansvar overfor samfundet udover at skabe profit?) Det mener jeg da 100% at jeg har [...]</p> <p>K: [...] jeg håber jo virkelig at missionen og aktivismen og ansvaret er kommet forud for købmandskabet [...] så det ikke bare blev en god fortælling, der på en eller anden måde styrket jeres brand.</p> <p>K: [...] det kan godt være, at det er en fed fidus for nogen, altså som en del af en brandingstrategi, jeg håber det ikke, at det ikke er de fleste i hvert fald.</p> <p>K: Man føler sig sådan helt, en del af noget større du ved, ikke? [...] Vi er jo ikke så mange i Danmark der på en eller anden måde, så på den måde så er det jo en del af en særlig OB-gruppe, ikke altså? det er da ret fint synes jeg. Jeg kan godt lide tanke om at det er noget med at løfte i fællesskab.</p> <p>K: [...] det har en rigtig god effekt. Ja så på den måde virker det for mig, det kan godt være, at der var andre der ville sige; nå ja men hvad er kommet forud for det og hvordan er det, hvor meget har det kostet det, og hvor meget bla bla bla .. du ved, ikke? jeg lapper det i mig.</p>
13: Sustainable living	<p>A: [...] også i forhold til det at sikre at kakaolandmændene får betalt en god pris, det er noget der er meget vigtig i speciel chokoladeverdenen, [...]</p> <p>A: [...] og bæredygtighed i forhold til regnskov, igennem regnskovscertifikater og i forhold til plantning af træer, igennem vores one by one program, altså i forhold til etablering af, vi har mange mangfoldige agroforestry systemer, altså i forhold til at betale bønderne, landmændene en god pris [...]</p> <p>A: [...] ligesom de selvfølgelig har en fornemmelse for at det her det er super vigtigt, i forhold til at sælge deres chokolade, fordi der er en vis forventning fra samfundets side ikke?</p> <p>A: [...] altså problemet er ligesom at, består delvist i at klimaforandringer og delvist i at det ikke altid er så attraktivt at være kakao landmand eller landmand generelt, ikke?</p> <p>A: [...] ja, jeg tror der er forskellige løsninger, ikke mindst optimerer produktionen for landmændene selvfølgelig hvis man kan betale høje priser så er det godt, men det er ikke givet, men optimere produktionen, effektivisere og gøre produktionen mere bæredygtig for den enkelte landmand så de producere mere på samme stykke land på mere bæredygtig vis så jorden ikke eroderer, ikke dræner jorden fuldstændig for næringsstoffer, ja og beskyt generelt beskyt landskabet altså undgå regnskov ryddes, så der er en vis form for balance i de globale klimabetingelser, ikke? ehm .. Ja pas på kloden, pas på landskabet og producer lidt mere bæredygtigt.</p> <p>A: [...] jeg synes bare det er vigtigt at redde verden [...]</p>

A: [...] jeg synes ikke nødvendigvis det er så vigtigt at fortælle historien, men bare at gøre noget [...]

K: [...] jeg håber jo virkelig at missionen og aktivismen og ansvaret er kommet forud for købmandskabet [...]

K: [...] det er da en rigtig god tanke, det er rigtig nobelt og ja - realistisk, det kan jeg satme godt blive lidt i tvivl om altså det er fordi, jeg prøver sådan lige at, kan jeg se for mig forandringer hvor det kunne, men jeg tror, det er i hvert fald over lang tid, men om det også er fuldstændig realistisk i forhold til, hvor stor forskel der egentlig er mellem rig og fattig i forskellige lande også, og arbejdsvilkår og jeg kan, jeg tror, jeg kan godt blive nervøs for om den helt kan, om den helt holder vand.

K: Der er rigtig mange mennesker i verden, som køber ind på den præmis for det vi har nu, som er meget blåt og profit og bla bla vækst du ved? Det er simpelthen for hårdt at være i, det er det også for vores verden, så på den måde så taler det der ind i rigtig mange mennesker, men om det får mandat nok?

K: [...] det er netop det jeg mener med at alt virker jo, alt hvad vi siger og gør, og tænker og prøver at lave om. Og altså det skift i mindset det skal provokeres og det skal, så på den måde skal de bare blive ved jo, men sådan fra et helt objektivt synspunkt, så tror jeg at det er en virkelig lang proces eller også så er jeg bange for, at det desværre ikke 100% kan implementeres.

A: [...] Min holdning er selvfølgelig, at vi skal gøre det så bæredygtigt som muligt, det er også derfor jeg arbejder for OB. Når vi nu har denne her fantastiske vilde kakao i Beni, så arbejder vi sammen med en indfødt gruppe som har 66.000 hektarer under deres customary ownership, de ejer det som samfund. De er en indfødt gruppe og det er deres indfødte territorium, mere eller mindre bevaret skov og græsland. Hvor der gror store klumper af vild kakao i skoven. Ved at vise movimaerne, hvordan man kan få en bæredygtig indkomst ved bare at høste kakaoen og egentlig ikke gøre mere ved det end bare at høste, ikke skære nogle træer ned, ikke gøre noget ved skoven som sådan, andet end bare at bevare den som den er. Så viser man ligesom at et land er bæredygtigt, hvad skal man sige, preservation and management. Som også er med til at styrke landrettigheder, de får rettigheder som gør at soya og kvægavlere holder sig ude. Samtidig er det jo også vigtigt i det her område, så det er det ene strategi, der er at bevare landet og de vilde kakaoområder som de er, den anden strategi er så at plante land ikke, altså plante flere træer så genskovning med kakao og store træer blandt andet mahogni og en del lokale trætyper også ikke? Som passer til området og som er tilvendt de omstændigheder jord og vand osv. som er i området.. Også plante de her meget mangfoldige træsystemer både for at skabe en mangfoldig indkomst og madkilde ikke? Både for de her mennesker, men også for at plante træer og binde noget kulstof i de træer og bare give et incitament for at genskove generelt. Og bevare landskaber.

A: [...] lige præcis med kakao synes jeg det [cirkulær økonomi] giver meget god mening. Det er en afgrøde man kan dyrke meget bæredygtigt, men det handler nok også i virkeligheden om at man skal spise mindre chokolade ikke? Spise lidt dyrere chokolade, hvis man gerne vil omfordеле de økonomiske ressourcer - vi gør det jo selv ved OB, vi betaler bønderne en forholdsvis høj pris i forhold til den generelle markedspris. Så på den måde ligger der helt klart en omfordeling, der ligger også en omfordeling i forhold til vi laver en meget stor investering i bæredygtighed, både socialt og miljømæssigt.

14: Politics and Economy	<p>A: [...] ja, jeg tror der er forskellige løsninger, ikke mindst optimer produktionen for landmændene selvfølgelig hvis man kan betale høje priser så er det godt, men det er ikke givet. Optimer produktionen, effektivisere og gøre produktionen mere bæredygtig for den enkelte landmand, så de producerer mere på samme stykke land, på mere bæredygtig vis, så jorden ikke eroderer, ikke dræner jorden fuldstændig for næringsstoffer. Ja og beskyt generelt beskyt landskabet, altså undgå regnskov ryddes, så der er en vis form for balance i de globale klimabetingelser, ikke? Ehm .. Ja pas på kloden, pas på landskabet og producer lidt mere bæredygtigt.</p> <p>A: Vi ser det samme i Peru, sidste år i Mexico havde vi en meget voldsom tørke som både går ind og påvirker kvaliteten og produktionen, i store dele af Afrika er der selvfølgelig tørke, i Indonesien ser vi tørke osv. [...]</p> <p>A: [...] som selvfølgelig rykker noget i nogle lande eksempel i Elfenbenskysten og Ghana, som er de største producenter af kakao i verden. Det er ligesom der at alle handlinger de ligger, og al fokus ligger langt mindre på andre lande, men man skal jo starte et sted og det er også der de største problemer de er både i forhold til afskovning og børnearbejde ikke?</p> <p>K: [...] man kunne håbe at det røg ind under, du ved, verdensmålene [...]</p> <p>K: Så på den måde, så jeg tænker helt sikkert at der er, der skal være nogle globale løsninger, nogen der larmer mere end jeg gør, der skal sige noget rigtig højt, også skal nogle firmaer tage ansvar.</p> <p>Og så skal vi have den viden jo, som de her håndværkere ligger inde med. Så jeg synes i virkeligheden at debatten har været sådan en .. den er på en eller anden måde lidt unuanceret, for der er jo nødt til, hvis vi skal tænke en debat så er der nødt til at sidde en forbruger, to forbrugere i panelet, der er også nødt til at sidde to, en fra Toms og en fra Nestlé, så er der nødt til at sidde en Mikkel og en Mark, og en OB repræsentant.</p> <p>K: Sådan lige lidt groft sat op ikke? Så er der jo nok også nødt til at sidde nogle fra wall Street nærmest altså, og en fra verdensnaturfredningsfonden ikke?</p> <p>K: Fordi altså der er simpelthen så mange perspektiver i det her men i, hvor det kan ende med at blive en lille smule mudret. men i sidste ende handler det om, at der er nogle der skal tage ansvar for produktionen, også er der os forbrugere der skal tage ansvar for vores indkøb. Så det er et sindssygt svært spørgsmål lige at svare på, synes jeg, fordi det kommer jo an på hvem der er der i den her debat, ikke?</p> <p>K: Og det er rigtig fint skruet sammen på den måde, jeg ved jo godt vi skal tjene penge, jeg ved godt at hjulene jo ligesom skal køre rundt på den bus ikke? Ehm .. Men samtidig så står jeg jo også fra min platform og kigger ud i verden, og tænker, men det kan jo ikke fortsætte sådan her, altså, det vi gør det virker jo tydeligvis ikke, fordi vi køre, det jo totalt under pres, ehm .. Så på den måde så, så tror jeg vi er nødt til at have et lille skift, i vores mindset, altså i forhold til, hvordan vi vil køre vores verden og vores virksomhed.</p> <p>K: [...] jeg håber jo virkelig at missionen og aktivismen og ansvaret er kommet forud for købmandskabet [...]</p> <p>K: Altså der er jo ikke noget umiddelbart der lyder altså, det lyder fint, det er da en rigtig god tanke, det er rigtig nobelt og ja - realistisk, det kan jeg satme godt blive lidt i tvivl om altså det er fordi, jeg prøver sådan lige at, kan jeg se for mig forandringer hvor det kunne, men jeg tror, det er i hvert fald over lang tid, men om det også er fuldstændig realistisk i forhold til hvor stor forskel der egentlig er mellem rig og fattig i forskellige lande også, og arbejdsvilkår og jeg kan, jeg tror, jeg kan godt blive nervøs for om den helt kan, om den helt holder vand.</p>
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	<p>K: Hvis nu man, altså det lyder jo som noget alternativet kunne have fundet på at have skrevet, og hvis man prøver bare at kigge på hvordan det ligesom er gået dem, ja så er der rigtig mange der har brug for at se den forandring. Der er rigtig mange mennesker i verden, som køber ind på den præmis for det vi har nu, som er meget blåt og profit og bla bla bla vækst du ved? Det er simpelthen for hårdt at være i, det er det også for vores verden, så på den måde så taler det der ind i rigtig mange mennesker, men om det får mandat nok?</p> <p>A: [...] Spørgsmålet er måske også lidt hvad regeringen satser på ikke? I landbrugsudvikling eller deres landbrugs udviklingsprogrammer. Hvad vi ser i Beni lige nu, hvor vi arbejder ikke? Der ser ud til at være en satsning på soya og kvægavl, altså i industrien ikke? Så det er meget højlands tankegang, der ligesom præger den måde regeringen ser på udvikling og det bringer de ligesom med ned i lavlandet, ikke? Ned i Beni provinsen.</p> <p>A: [...] Jeg ved at selvfølgelig i soya industrien og kvæg industrien, der er der mange på landet ikke. Hvis man skal dyrke kvæg, så skal man have flere hektar pr ko ikke, så de vil gerne have meget land. Det skubber de [myndighederne] selvfølgelig på, så der har været en vis opbakning til det fra regeringens side, men hvor meget der reelt, det ved jeg ikke.</p> <p>A: [...] Det har vi ikke set i Bolivia endnu, der er meget få chokolademagere og meget få aktører, og der er meget lidt konkurrence ikke? Til gengæld får bønderne noget af det højeste, bliver betalt nogle af de højeste priser for deres kakao ikke? Fordi det er så besværligt for dem at producere det.</p> <p>A: Altså vi arbejder altid igennem indfødte folks organisationer, så formålet er ligesom at styrke dem til at gøre, hvad der giver mening for dem. Så det er ikke sådan at vi bare kommer med et færdigt projekt og lægger ned over dem, det er selvfølgelig en samtale med dem og i sidste ende er det dem, der bestemmer hvad der kommer til at ske, vi kan jo kun give vores råd og de midler, og viden som de har behov for, og gøre hvad der er bedst for dem.</p> <p>A: [...] lige præcis med kakao synes jeg det [cirkulær økonomi] giver meget god mening. Det er en afgrøde man kan dyrke meget bæredygtigt, men det handler nok også i virkeligheden om at man skal spise mindre chokolade ikke? Spise lidt dyrere chokolade, hvis man gerne vil omfordеле de økonomiske ressourcer - vi gør det jo selv ved OB, vi betaler bønderne en forholdsvis høj pris i forhold til den generelle markedspris. Så på den måde ligger der helt klart en omfordeling, der ligger også en omfordeling i forhold til vi laver en meget stor investering i bæredygtighed, både socialt og miljømæssigt.</p>
15: Profit	<p>A: [...] også i forhold til det at sikre at kakaolandmændene får betalt en god pris, det er noget der er meget vigtigt i speciel chokoladeverdenen [...]</p> <p>A: [...] altså problemet er ligesom at, består delvist i at klimaforandringer og delvist i at det ikke altid er så attraktivt at være kakao landmand eller landmand generelt, ikke?</p> <p>K: Fordi altså der er simpelthen så mange perspektiver i det her men i, hvor det kan ende med at blive en lille smule mudret. Men i sidste ende handler det om, at der er nogle der skal tage ansvar for produktionen. Også er der os forbrugere, der skal tage ansvar for vores indkøb. Så det er et sindssygt svært spørgsmål lige at svare på, synes jeg, fordi det kommer jo an på hvem der er der i den her debat, ikke?</p> <p>K: [...] altså det er jo ligesom vi snakkede om det er lidt sjovt hvis min makker jo havde siddet her, fordi han er jo meget sådan købmand ikke? Og derfor også ham der står for alt der har med regnemark at gøre i vores virksomhed, ikke? Og det er rigtig fint skruet sammen på den måde, jeg ved</p>

	<p>jo godt vi skal tjene penge, jeg ved godt at hjulene jo ligesom skal køre rundt på den bus ikke? ehm .. Men samtidig så står jeg jo også fra min platform og kigger ud i verden, og tænker, men det kan jo ikke fortsætte sådan her, altså, det vi gør det virker jo tydeligvis ikke, fordi vi køre, det jo totalt under pres, ehm .. så på den måde så, så tror jeg vi er nødt til at have et lille skift, i vores mindset, altså i forhold til, hvordan vi vil køre vores verden og vores virksomhed.</p> <p>K: Altså der er jo også sket noget for os, kan man sige, fordi vi havde jo en butik, en fysisk butik, og der er det jo rimelig afgørende at vi få tjent nogle penge. [...] Så vi har ikke virksomheden nu for at tjene mange penge, eller tjene penge, den har vi fordi den er hyggelig og fordi den er vigtig også tjener vi lidt, men det er ikke, altså det er ikke sådan en helt vild god forretning.</p> <p>K: [...] jeg tror ikke vi er klar til at slippe det, fordi vi synes stadig der er noget med missionen som bærer den igennem, altså og som vi synes er vigtig.</p> <p>A: jeg tror ikke det har så meget at, der er så mange andre muligheder nu [end at engagere sig i miljømæssige og sociale aktiviteter]. Jeg tror det er essentielt for mange firmaer specielt inden for nogle industrier, hvor der er opmærksomhed på det at rykke i den retning og blive mere bæredygtige på forskellig vis.. Hvordan der skabes profit, er jo meget forskelligt, det handler måske også om at beskytte ens firma, ligeså meget som at skabe en reel profit.</p> <p>A: Det [profit] er nødvendigt, det er klart. Altså der skal jo være en vis opbakning fra forbrugerne i forhold til at skabe profit for firmaerne som gør en forskel, så derfor er det vigtigt der stadig er fokus på profit, det er der forbrugerne har magten.</p>
16: Rainforest	<p>A: [...] i forhold til regnskovsrydning</p> <p>A: [...] og bæredygtighed i forhold til regnskov, igennem regnskovscertifikater og i forhold til plantning af træer, igennem vores one by one program, altså i forhold til etablering af, vi har mange mangfoldige agroforestry systemer, altså i forhold til at betale bønderne, landmændene en god pris [...]</p> <p>A: [...] ikke mindst i forhold til at børnearbejde og regnskovsrydning ikke?</p> <p>A: [...] de store spillere som Nestlé osv. de har jo lavet et løfte om at de om mange år gerne vil sikre deres forsyningsskæder ikke forårsager regnskovsfældning ikke. og der må ikke være noget børnearbejde inden for deres forsyningsskæder [...]</p> <p>K: Hvis nu vi vidste det, at vi ved at junglen den skal passes rigtig godt på, vi kan ikke bare følde lortet fordi der er noget med miljøet og træerne der ligesom hjælper hinanden og altså virkelig sådan. Hvis vi nu tænkte mere over det så samme måde som vi tænkte; fuck, nu kan vi ikke få vores havregryn, fordi der har været solskin en hel sommer, altså så kan jeg godt sådan tænke, er der bare for langt ned til junglen for jer?</p> <p>A: [...] Der er nogle rigtig gode organisationer som er i området, (singtat) blandt andet, som laver noget rigtig godt arbejde med kakao også i forhold til at bruge kakao, promovere kakao, hjælpe med at promovere kakaoen i agroforestry systemer ikke, så meget mangfoldige skovsystemer eller træ systemer, med forskellige slags træer og kunne være mahogni eller alle mulige slags træer som har værdi af forskellig vis.</p>
17: Climate Changes	A: [...] i forhold til regnskovsrydning

A: [...] og bæredygtighed i forhold til regnskov, igennem regnskovscertifikater og i forhold til plantning af træer, igennem vores one by one program, altså i forhold til etablering af, vi har mange mangfoldige agroforestry systemer, altså i forhold til at betale bønderne, landmændene en god pris [...]

A: [...] ligesom de selvfølgelig har en fornemmelse for at det her det er super vigtigt, i forhold til at sælge deres chokolade, fordi der er en vis forventning fra samfundets side ikke?

A: [...] ikke mindst i forhold til at børnearbejde og regnskowsrydning ikke?

A: Problemet er ligesom at, det består delvist i at klimaforandringer og delvist i at det ikke altid er så attraktivt at være kakao landmand eller landmand generelt, ikke?

A: [...] i forhold til klimaforandringer så ser vi simpelthen at faktisk alle de steder hvor vi sources fra og i store dele af verden, i store dele af troperne er der kraftigere oversvømmelser der er kraftigere tørke og det betyder selvfølgelig i forhold til tørken, ikke mindst at hvis områder som lige nu eller på længere sigt ikke er egnet til at dyrke kakao ehm .. og det område rykker sig sådan, men jeg er på ingen måde bange for at vi løber tør for kakao.

A: Ja, blandt andet i Beni nu har der været meget store oversvømmelser det er er altid sådan at der er meget voldsommere tørke også er der voldsommere oversvømmelser så det er simpelthen ude af balance, systemet, ikke?

A: Vi ser det samme i Peru, sidste år i Mexico havde vi en meget voldsom tørke som både går ind og påvirker kvaliteten og produktionen, i store dele af Afrika er der selvfølgelig tørke, i Indonesien ser vi tørke osv. [...]

A: [...] ja, jeg tror der er forskellige løsninger, ikke mindst at optimere produktionen for landmændene. Selvfølgelig hvis man kan betale høje priser så er det godt, men det er ikke givet, men optimere produktionen, effektivisere og gøre produktionen mere bæredygtig for den enkelte landmand så de producere mere på samme stykke land på mere bæredygtig vis så jorden ikke eroderer, ikke dræner jorden fuldstændig for næringsstoffer, ja og beskyt generelt beskyt landskabet altså undgå regnskov ryddes, så der er en vis form for balance i de globale klimabetingelser, ikke? Ehm .. ja pas på kloden, pas på landskabet og producer lidt mere bæredygtigt.

K: [...] man har jo boet under en sten hvis det ikke er gået op for nogen, at vi er lidt presset på miljøet og verden [...]

K: Hvis vi nu forstod andre dele af vores verden og vores natur, og vidste at kakaoen den kan ikke så godt lide de her klimaforandringer, kakaoen den er sindssyg sårbar overfor for meget regnvejr eller for meget solskin på kort tid, altså virkelig de her skifter ikke?

K: Altså, og det glæder jo også vores indkøb altså, at vi, prøv at hør her det er skide svært at være top ansvarlig altid, det er jeg godt med på, men vi skal i hvert fald vide, at vi kan være det, vi skal træffe nogle valg baseret på indsigt og en forståelse. Og der er vi, det tror jeg vi er mange der ikke gør endnu, men det er også som om man tænker "åh jeg kan ikke rigtig forholde mig til det", men hvor jeg jo bare sidder og tænker "okay men er alle de der billede af aber uden træer i junglen gået din næse forbi, fordi det hele er savet ned dernede" eller "fordi du skal have håndsæbe, altså har du levet under en sten eller", altså, kan du ikke tænke "hvorfor var der så varmt i Danmark sidste år" altså tænkte du bare "åh fedt, lækker, endelig en god sommer i Danmark" eller har du ikke tænkt over, at vi ikke har haft et reelt snevejr i 15 år. Eller altså, jeg kan ikke, altså hvor jeg sådan, altså verden er

	<p>jo ikke større end sådan bare lige .. Mmh lune vintre, hvor lækkert. Ja. Det er jo ikke meningen altså, så et eller andet burde det måske fortælle os eller burde vi måske være lidt mere opmærksomme på.</p> <p>A: [...] der er selvfølgelig lidt forskellige faktorer der ligesom motiverer forskellige folk, men med dem vi arbejder sammen med, der er det helt bestemt en kombination, altså den vilde kakao den gror der, men det handler også om hvad er deres andre muligheder ikke? De er meget udsatte for klimaforandringer, lige nu med tørke, længere tørkeperioder også meget voldsommere regnperioder.</p>
18: Product Origin	<p>A: [...] også i forhold til det at sikre at kakaolandmændene får betalt en god pris, det er noget der er meget vigtig i speciel chokoladeverdenen, [...]</p> <p>A: [...] og bæredygtighed i forhold til regnskov, igennem regnskovscertifikater og i forhold til plantning af træer, igennem vores one by one program, altså i forhold til etablering af, vi har mange mangfoldige agroforestry systemer, altså i forhold til at betale bønderne, landmændene en god pris [...]</p> <p>A: [...] som selvfølgelig rykker noget i nogle lande eksempel i Elfenbenskysten og Ghana, som er de største producenter af kakao i verden. Det er ligesom der at alle handlinger de ligger og al fokus ligger langt mindre på andre lande. Men man skal jo starte et sted og det er også der de største problemer de er både i forhold til afskovning og børnearbejde ikke?</p> <p>A: [...] så vi arbejder meget med indfødte folk omkring regnskovs bevaring, fine kakao sorter så der er mange forskellige kriterier som vi bruger til at udvælge vores projekter og vores kilde, kakao kilder, der hvor vi køber vores kakao selvfølgelig skal det være en gammel fin kakao sort som vi medvirker til at bevare, det skal være et biodiversity hotspot hvor vi kan hjælpe med at bevare landskab, biodiversitet, også skal der være nogle småbønder, ofte indfødte folk som vi kan hjælpe med at skabe, som kan få en bedre indkomst.</p> <p>A: [...] men vi arbejder også på Salomon øerne og i Paraguay, Indien, Tanzania, Congo så, vi arbejder lidt rundt omkring i verden.</p> <p>K: (Interviewer; Er oprindelsen af det produkt du sælger vigtigt for dig?) Ja!</p> <p>K: [...] det er vigtigt for mig, og kende historien og kende altså så det har fået og lidt vidt omkring, men det er vigtigt for mig at der er der er noget menneske og noget refleksion bag de valg der er blevet truffet som producent.</p> <p>K: På et tidspunkt så betød det rigtig meget for mig at (Esmeralda) fra Ecuador, den var jeg meget glad for og, fordi altså jeg læste meget om Ecuador og de havde været ramt af jordskælv og der var mange ting og, altså så den fyldte i hvert fald en del for mig på et tidspunkt og synes, der var noget med, der var nogle fattige historier på en eller anden måde, og der var noget menneske der for mig, altså noget menneskeligt som rørte mig meget, ehm .. Så er jeg sindssygt glad for Beni Wild og Beni området i Bolivia, fordi jeg har også set de billeder af nedsavede jungler og det kan jeg næsten ikke holde ud hvor meget diversitet og altså både dyr og miljø der på en eller anden måde har måtte lade livet for, for vores, altså sådan overforbrug på en eller anden måde, og jeg kan godt lide tanken om at det vilde, altså det rigtige, natur, ikke?</p> <p>K: [...] derfor blev jeg også rigtig varm om hjertet da jeg ligesom så den der we are nature film fra Colombia, den synes jeg også var ret fed, og jeg synes det er dejligt de går ind i det OB. Så har jeg også set dokumentaren om Virunga nationalpark [hvor OB jo også arbejder], så der kan jeg heller ikke lige undgå at blive sådan lidt berørt af altså [...]</p>

	<p>K: [...] lidt mere Latinamerika sådan, og jeg vil sige Afrika er også sådan, det kan jeg også godt blive lidt sådan aktivistisk omkring, fordi jeg netop har set og læst så meget omkring børnearbejde og vilkår for dem derude og sådan noget men det har været rigtig meget for mig i hvert fald omkring Syd- og Mellemamerika.</p> <p>K: Altså det gør mig i hvert fald bekymret på et tidspunkt i forhold til hvor skidt det stod til i Afrika, jeg ved jo godt at størstedelen af det er jo Vestafrika og sådan, ikke? Men det fik mig i hvert fald, jeg har virkelig været i et dilemma i forhold til, vælger man bare Afrika fra, altså skal det boykottes det her, og skal man på den måde vise et statement, at det kan vi simpelthen ikke bakke op om .. Og samtidig så tænker jeg jo, nå jamen hvis vi slet ikke køber det, så får de heller ikke noget overhovedet og det er måske endnu værre, om at de bare får for lidt - men lige i forhold til OB så ved jeg jo godt at de holder sig langt fra de områder, det er jo slet ikke, de er jo temmelig klare i spytter om at der ikke må have noget med børnearbejde osv. at gøre, og for eksempel, ikke? så Afrika har været lidt svært synes jeg.</p>
19: Increased Competition	<p>A: [...] der er mange der er gode til at snakke om det [bæredygtighed] synes jeg, ehm .. jeg vil sige, nærmest alle, de fleste deler vores værdisæt i deres diskurs, men hvad de så reelt gør, det synes jeg så er noget andet, ikke?</p> <p>A: [...] der er så meget fokus på bæredygtighed at det bliver lidt en jungle .. ehm .. alle påstår at de er bæredygtige, ikke? alle skriver det på deres indpakning, alle er super aktive på sociale medier, så på den måde bliver det svære at forstå for forbrugerne ikke? hvad gør folk, hvordan er de dedikeret, hvor meget investere de reelt i bæredygtighed [...]</p>
20: Underestimated Craftsmanship	<p>A: [...] også i forhold til det at sikre at kakaolandmændene får betalt en god pris det er noget der er meget vigtig i speciel chokoladeverdenen, [...]</p> <p>A: [...] og bæredygtighed i forhold til regnskov, igennem regnskovscertifikater og i forhold til plantning af træer, igennem vores one by one program, altså i forhold til etablering af, vi har mange mangfoldige agroforestry systemer, altså i forhold til at betale bønderne, landmændene en god pris [...]</p> <p>A: [...] altså problemet er ligesom at, består delvist i at klimaforandringer og delvist i at det ikke altid er så attraktivt at være kakao landmand eller landmand generelt, ikke?</p> <p>A: [...] landmændenes produktion og det kan betale sig, også i forhold til andre afgrøder eller i forhold til andre slags arbejde, det er noget vi er meget opmærksomme på [...]</p> <p>K: [...] jeg tror faktisk ikke rigtig vi har forstået hvor vild kakaoen egentlig er, på samme måde som vi egentlig i mange år har tænkt det om kaffe eller vin, hvor jeg jo mener kakaoen ligger i samme kasse, i virkeligheden i forhold til hvor mange smagsnuancer og aromastoffer og hvor hård proces eller håndværk, der er forbundet med det. Øh, så så tænker jeg at den burde ligge i fuldstændig samme sted, det er på vej med chokoladen tror jeg [...]</p> <p>K: [...] først og fremmest så synes de ligesom at den smager helt fantastisk, og det lægger vi selvfølgelig også meget vægt på da det er en chokoladesmagning kan man sige, at balancerne deri er jo mega gode, det der er godt og det der er sjovt at snakke om i forhold til Beni det er, altså, det er jo også det der med at det er en lidt mindre kakao sort og den vokser lidt anderledes og det er ikke noget man sådan helt kan styre og det kræver et helt andet samarbejde med det lokale i området og den, altså den får en mega god fortælling altså, og det kan folk faktisk godt lige når vi er ude, når vi er ved at være færdige med den chokolade, så er folk sådan "koster den</p>

	<p>ikke meget mere så? altså når den nu er så bøvlet at arbejde med på en eller anden måde og det kræver så meget” og altså på den måde så vækker det lidt en interesse at der er noget særligt med den. Øhm men mest af alt så er det stadig smagen de sådan lige umiddelbart vinder på, det må man jo bare sige.</p> <p>K: Og så skal vi have den viden jo, som de her håndværkere ligger inde med. Så jeg synes i virkeligheden at debatten har været sådan en .. den er på en eller anden måde lidt unuanceret, for der er jo nødt til, hvis vi skal tænke en debat så er der nødt til at sidde en forbruger, to forbrugere i panelet, der er også nødt til at sidde to, en fra Toms og en fra Nestlé, så er der nødt til at sidde en Mikkel og en Mark, og en OB repræsentant.</p> <p>K: Sådan lige lidt groft sat op ikke? Så er der jo nok også nødt til at sidde nogle fra wall Street nærmest altså, og en fra verdensnaturfredningsfonden ikke?</p> <p>K: Og det er vildt svært at tage en som Mikkel [Friis Holm], der jo skriver 4 linjer bag på sin chokolade også står der, hvis du vil vide mere så gå på friisholm.dk, hvor jeg er sådan lidt, altså Mikkel, vi er nødt til at lade dem vide hvorfor det koster næsten 100 kr. din chokolade, ja, og det er fordi det er virkelig godt, det er virkelig ansvarligt og det er virkelig, du betaler mere for din kakao, det er også bæredygtigt, de kan også klare sig de her mennesker, men han har slet ikke det fokus på den oplysning, og det synes jeg bare er skide ærgerligt, ikke altså? hvor han bare sådan, de må bare smage det. Smagen overbeviser..</p>
21: We're not there yet! Climate efforts	<p>K: Men jeg tænker bestemt ikke at vi er i mål.</p> <p>K: De sidder med en masse viden her og Mikkel især, men er piv-ringe til at komme ud med den, fordi han siger ”det kører bare, min chokolade den skal nok” du ved? Men det tror jeg så ikke, det er slet ikke der vi er.</p> <p>K: Altså, der er jo mange etaper i den her forandring, tænker jeg, og jeg tænker jo at vi står her i Aalborg, og prøver at sprede mine små vande i vandet, ringe i vandet, ikke? Så langt så godt. Det kommer ikke til at batte en skid, hvis de etaper herovre heller kører med, de globale, altså, og i øvrigt heller ikke de danske, men alt virker. Vi kan ikke gøre alt her, men alt er okay og alt er på en eller anden måde vigtigt, synes jeg.</p>
22: Flagship animals	<p>A: [...] vi har valgt at fokusere på et symbol dyr eller hvad skal man sige flagship animal hvad hedder det på dansk? Anyways, du forstår hvad jeg mener for hver chokoladebar ikke? For eksempel Beni har jo den her Macau papegøje, men altså i Beni der er floddelfiner, jaguar der er tapir, der er dovendyr, der er alle mulige truede dyrearter ikke? Men ved at fokuserer på et dyr, så skal man selvfølgelig diskutere om papegøjen er den rigtige men, så gør man det lidt mere personligt eller hvad skal man sige, der er et ansigt på, kan man sige og personligt kan jeg godt lide at udfolde og fortælle den store historie.</p> <p>A: [...] så ja, men selvfølgelig den personlige værdi i at en elefant eller hvad ved jeg det er nok vigtigt for folk at det er noget simpelt de kan relatere til [...]</p> <p>A: Ja, jeg har også et indtryk af at folk gerne vil høre lidt om mennesker ikke måske mere end dyr tit ikke?</p> <p>K: [...] Og igen må jeg bare konstatere, at det med dyrene det er altså bare, det trækker bare øhm .. gorillaer og elefanter det er mere håndgræbeligt på en eller anden måde ehm [...] men de vender tilbage til de gorillaer og de elefanter der hele tiden, ikke?</p>

	<p>K: Men der er noget med de dyr. Altså som bliver, det bliver følelsesmæssigt på en anden måde, end når det "bare" er naturen, det er ikke håndgribeligt på samme måde.</p> <p>K: [...] det er dyrene der rykker mest. Det er som om de kan se det lidt for sig - de ser sådan en verdens naturfond reklame rullende inde i hovedet altså, med nogle søde dyr på en eller anden måde og det går lige i hjertet på rigtig mange [...]</p>
23: Local Communities	<p>A: [...] og det er i særdeleshed vigtigt når man arbejder med småbønder som har meget lidt land og meget få ressourcer.</p> <p>A: [...] blandt andet vores projekt med at etablere et første kvinde kooperativt nogensinde i Congo ikke? Specielt den historie som folk gerne vil høre mere end med nogle elefanter ikke i Tanzania [...]</p> <p>K: (Interviewer; Tror du så som forretningsejer at, eller mener du, at du som forretningsejer har et ansvar overfor samfundet udover at skabe profit?) Det mener jeg da 100% at jeg har [...]</p> <p>K: Men den har jo jo faktisk valgt at lukke, fordi det jo nok egentlig også gik op for Jesper og jeg, at meget af det vi synes der var fedt ved chokoladen og kakaoen, det var jo ikke at være købmand i virkeligheden, det var jo, altså fordi for os så blev virksomheden, den er jo lige så meget sådan et gastronomisk kulinarisk smagsoplevelse, oplysnings, altså viden, præcis ligesom at gå til vinスマギング for os, det er jo ligesom at nørde en råvare .. Ehm .. Så det ændrede jo konceptet til kun at være altså smags baseret så, vi synes, vi plejer at kalde det lidt Tupperware på en måde, altså vi kommer ud og fortæller også kan man købe bagefter ikke?</p> <p>A: [...] der er selvfølgelig lidt forskellige faktorer der ligesom motiverer forskellige folk, men med dem vi arbejder sammen med, der er det helt bestemt en kombination, altså den vilde kakao den gror der, men det handler også om hvad er deres andre muligheder ikke? De er meget utsatte for klimaforandringer, lige nu med tørke, længere tørkeperioder også meget voldsommereregnperioder.</p> <p>A: Ved at vise movimaerne [I Beni], hvordan man kan få en bæredygtig indkomst ved bare at høste kakaoen og egentlig ikke gøre mere ved det end bare at høste, ikke skære nogle træer ned, ikke gøre noget ved skoven som sådan, andet end bare at bevare den som den er. Så viser man ligesom at et land er bæredygtigt, hvad skal man sige, preservation and management. Som også er med til at styrke landrettigheder, de får rettigheder som gør at soya og kvægavlere holder sig ude.</p> <p>A: Vi arbejder med indfødte kulturer i hele verden, jeg har også selv en bachelor i antropologi, med fokus på indfødte folk, så det er bestemt noget vi er opmærksomme på. Altså vi arbejder altid igennem indfødte folks organisationer, så formålet er ligesom at styrke dem til at gøre, hvad der giver mening for dem. Så det er ikke sådan at vi bare kommer med et færdigt projekt og lægger ned over dem, det er selvfølgelig en samtale med dem og i sidste ende er det dem, der bestemmer hvad der kommer til at ske, vi kan jo kun give vores råd og de midler, og viden som de har behov for, og gøre hvad der er bedst for dem. Lige i Beni arbejder vi sammen med (en ngo) som er hovedorganisationen for movimaerne, og så er der en kvindeorganisation for movimaerne - så i virkeligheden er det dem, som kommer til at bestemme hvad der kommer til at ske, og hele projektet er udviklet i samarbejde med dem, baseret på en masse møder med dem, både i landsbyerne og i hovedorganisationen, hvor vi har snakket med dem om hvad der giver mening. Så går vi selvfølgelig ind og kigger på forholdene i landsbyerne og markerne, landskabet generelt og vi kigger på, hvad vi synes</p>

	<p>der giver mening som eksperter, og så kommer vi op med, hvad vi synes er nogle gode muligheder. Så snakker vi med dem om det, og så kommer vi op med en handlingsplan for et projekt. Men det er jo dem der kommer til at udføre det i sidste ende, vi kan kun give dem viden og finansielle incitamenter til at gøre det.</p> <p>A: [...] lige præcis med kakao synes jeg det [cirkulær økonomi] giver mycket god mening. Det er en afgrøde man kan dyrke meget bæredygtigt, men det handler nok også i virkeligheden om at man skal spise mindre chokolade ikke? Spise lidt dyrere chokolade, hvis man gerne vil omfordèle de økonomiske ressourcer - vi gør det jo selv ved OB, vi betaler bønderne en forholdsvis høj pris i forhold til den generelle markedspris. Så på den måde ligger der helt klart en omfordeling, der ligger også en omfordeling i forhold til vi laver en meget stor investering i bæredygtighed, både socialt og miljømæssigt.</p>
24: Social Marketing	<p>A:[...] også i forhold til det at sikre at kakaolandmændene får betalt en god pris det er noget der er meget vigtig i speciel chokoladeverdenen [...]</p> <p>A: Ligesom de selvfølgelig har en fornemmelse for at det her er super vigtigt, i forhold til at sælge deres chokolade, fordi der er en vis forventning fra samfundets side ikke? Ikke mindst i forhold til at børnearbejde og regnskovsrydning ikke? og dermed klimaændringer [...]</p> <p>A: [...] jeg synes der er overraskende mange chokoladefirmaer, som siger de er bæredygtige, uden at de reelt gør noget.</p> <p>A: Så på den måde er marked signalerne bare blevet mere forvirrende, synes jeg i hvert fald i forhold til bæredygtighed, som er blevet mere opmærksomme på det ikke? der er en masse folk der bliver hyret til at kommunikerer omkring bæredygtighed, der er en masse CSR, men det er lidt svært at finde ud af hvad er det reelt folk gør, på hvilken skala, ja det er i hvert fald min personlige mening [...]</p> <p>A: [...] delvist i at det ikke altid er så attraktivt at være kakao landmand eller landmand generelt [...]</p> <p>A: [...] Blandt andet vores projekt med at etablere det første kvinde kooperativt nogensinde i Congo ikke? Specielt den historie som folk gerne vil høre mere end med nogle elefanter i Tanzania [...]</p> <p>A: [...] vi vil ses som pionerer inden for bæredygtighed og vi vil gerne ses som nogle der raise the bar sådan at sige, sætter meget høje krav til os selv og dem vi arbejder sammen med, og gør helt nye ting [...]</p> <p>K: (Interviewer; Tror du så som forretningsejer at, eller mener du, at du som forretningsejer har et ansvar overfor samfundet udover at skabe profit?) Det mener jeg da 100% at jeg har [...]</p> <p>K: (Så kan man måske sige at det er, det er mest på lokalt plan i den forstand at, det er face to face, at det ligesom er sådan det her skal udbredes, det handler om at oplyse?) Ja, fordi man kan sige, står chokoladerne på hylden, OB 60 kr. - Lindt Excellence 21 kr. Der er simpelthen ikke nok viden på de her emballager. Eller på den hyldeforkant, til at man som forbruger tænker "hvorfor skulle jeg tage den på 60, jeg tager selvfølgelig den på 21".</p>

Appendix 5: Interview guide for Kathrine H. Sørensen, 2019

Research questions	Interview questions
There is a sustainable upsurge	<p>Do you feel the sustainable wave in the chocolate industry?</p> <p>Would you have sold these products, if there were no sustainable wave?</p>
There are tendencies towards global and shared responsibility as opposed to exclusively focusing on economic profit	<p>Several reports foresee the eradication of the cocoa crop within the next 30 years. Is this a global issue, and does it require global responsibility?</p> <p>How do you perceive your own role in resolving global issues such as climate change?</p>
The perception of sustainable chocolate on the Danish market is positive	<p>Do customers show interest in the individual projects of OB?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Are there specific areas of interest which provides more redundancy than others? For example, projects with focus on a specific animal as opposed to supporting farmers and the local communities • How do customers respond to the branding value of the Beni Wild chocolate?
More sustainable chocolate is being produced and sold	<p>How do you perceive the debate around the sustainable chocolate industry in general?</p> <p>How do you perceive the industry of sustainable chocolate in Denmark?</p>
Demand on sustainable chocolate is rising	<p>Have you experienced increased demand on sustainable chocolate?</p> <p>Have you experienced specific interest in the origin of the chocolates from the customers?</p>
Is demand and awareness on sustainable chocolate rising?	<p>Is the origin of the products you sell important for you?</p> <p>Looking specifically at the value chain</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • how do you perceive OB as a company? <p>Why have you chosen Original Beans as a supplier?</p> <p>Have there been any specific considerations regarding the origin of chocolate; are there any specific countries you select, as opposed to others?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • have you made any choices regarding the sustainable supply chains of the companies in question?
how is the perception of sustainable chocolate on the Danish Market?	<p>Have you experienced customers asking for specific beans; production country; or area in regards to sustainable production?</p>

	<p>Have you experienced that customers would rather buy conventional chocolate due to the difference in price? Have you ever had a customer who was sceptical about the labelling of sustainable products?</p>
Are certificates a jungle to navigate?	<p>Are certificates requested by customers? Do you feel that you are able to navigate between the different certifications?</p>
Corporate social responsibility plays a role for the actions of the business	<p>Academic debate questions whether economic growth should continue to be a measure for success, as opposed to human capability measures for the well-being of the individual.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Do you as a business owner believe that you have a responsibility towards society other than creating profit? • What is your aim of responsibility; are you more concerned with local, national or global issues? • But profit is still necessary in order to fulfil these other activities?
Promotion of sustainable marketing is dependent on profit-generation	If this promotion of sustainable marketing did not generate profit, would businesses still engage in economic and social goodwill activities?
Is doughnut economics realistic?	<p>This theory called Doughnut Economics argues that we should aim for circular and recycle economy, limiting the emission of greenhouse gasses and redistribute wealth in order to create a safe and just environment for every human being.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • what is your take on this theory, do you think it is realistic to implement such ambitions in a market dependent on the extraction of resources?
Can the interviewee relate to the characteristics of Buen Vivir?	How should we treat nature when extracting its resources?
The interviewee may have additional comments	Are there any additional comments you would like to add?

Appendix 6: Interview guide for Anders P. Saxbøl, 2019

Research questions	Interview questions
There is a sustainable upsurge	Do you experience the sustainable wave in the chocolate industry? Does this wave enable your work?
There are tendencies towards global and shared responsibility as opposed to exclusively focusing on profit	Several reports foresee the eradication of the cocoa crop within the next 30 years. Is this a global issue, and does it require global responsibility? How do you perceive your own role in resolving global issues such as climate change?
More sustainable chocolate is being produced and sold	How do you perceive the debate around the sustainable chocolate industry in general? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • do you experience that more businesses sharing your set of values are appearing on the market?
Is demand and awareness on sustainable chocolate rising?	Have you experienced increased demand on sustainable chocolate? How do people respond when you tell them about the origin of the chocolates? Why do you think it is important to convey the origin of the chocolate?
OB are frontrunners in terms of sustainability	Can you expand on the values and beliefs of Original Beans <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • How would you describe your company with a few words; what do you want to be associated with?
Countries selected for project work share specific values	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Are there any specific countries you select, as opposed to others, when looking at new projects? <p>The reason for choosing Bolivia</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • decisive factors • how does Bolivia stand out against other LA countries • Why is Bolivia a “successful” chocolate producer • Has the political scene in Bolivia affected the production of sustainable chocolate • Have you experienced any initiatives encouraging sustainable production on a governmental level? (or public opinion) • in regards to the chocolate production in Bolivia, where does the motivational power come from? internal or external

The Beni-Area shows great potential for cacao production	<p>The reason for choosing Beni</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • decisive factors, what were the issues in the area? <p>What are the perceived effects of your project in the Beni Department (environmental efforts, improved infrastructure, job creation)</p> <p>Have you experienced support from the local communities in the Department?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • what are the farmers concerns; alleviating poverty or support environmental efforts
Perception on the Danish Market	Have you ever experienced difficulties around selling the story of sustainable production? Can people be sceptical around the labelling of it?
Are certificates a jungle to navigate?	<p>Certificates; for who's sake? Marketing possibility or guideline for the consumers?</p> <p>Do you feel that you are able to navigate between the different certifications?</p>
Can the interviewee relate to the characteristics of Buen Vivir?	<p>How should we treat nature when extracting its resources?</p> <p>When OB is educating local farmers, do they consider the individual culture and heritage of the area?</p>
CSR is dependent on profit-generation	If CSR did not generate profit, would businesses still engage in economic and social goodwill activities?
Corporate social responsibility plays a role for the actions of the business	<p>Academic debate questions whether economic growth should continue to be a measure for success, as opposed to human capability measures for the well-being of the individual.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Do you as a part of OB believe that you have a responsibility towards society other than creating profit? • What is your aim of responsibility; are you more concerned with local, national or global issues? • But profit is still necessary in order to fulfil these other activities?
Raworth	<p>This theory called argues that we should aim for circular economy, limiting the emission of greenhouse gasses and redistribute wealth in order to create a safe and just environment for every human being.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • what is your take on this theory, do you think it is realistic to implement such ambitions in a market dependent on the extraction of resources?
The interviewee may have additional comments	Are there any additional comments you would like to add?