Just Clothes?
Discursive Political Consumerism and Political Participation

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The Market as an Arena for Postconventional Political Action

Market-based political activism is a good subject matter for studying postconventional political action. It represents a different arena than the common one (government as the focus of citizen attention) used to define the study of political participation. It concerns activities that focus on problems not restricted to particular nation-states, thereby challenging the focus on the nation-state in political science. It calls our attention to forms of participation whose primary goal is not attempts at influencing government (or other targets) but rather informing oneself and informing others, thus calling into question one of the basic tenets of political participation research (as explained in the final section).

Five scientific reasons explain the choice of the marketplace to study political participation. First, studies of actual citizen involvement report increasing levels of boycotts in many states and “buycotting” or labeling schemes have mushroomed since the 1990s (Norris, 2002, 198, Goul Andersen & Tobiasen, 2003, Petersson et al., 1998, 55, Cashore et al., 2003, Jordan et al., 2003, Friedman, 1999). We should, therefore, study what it is that citizens find attractive in the marketplace as an arena of politics, what they are doing there, and why they are attracted to it. Second, contemporary market-based political activism is a reaction to economic globalization, thus reflecting a form of political participation that concerns issues outside particular nation-states, the traditional focus of political participation studies. How do involved citizens organize themselves outside the nation-state container? Third, the marketplace has not been colonized by large established political homes (political parties, interest organizations, etc.). It is rather unregulated by institutional participative norms and rules and governmental regulation. Market-based political activism can be conducted without government permits, labor union instigation, and corporate permission. Do we find forms of political participation here that differ greatly from those common in the traditional arenas? Fourth, market-based political involvement does not call for significant changes in daily routines. Citizens do not need to join member-based associations, set off time to go to meetings, and engage in activities different than those of everyday life. All they really need to do is consider shopping decisions at their neighborhood markets. People can act politically in their private lives by combining public and private involvement in one single

1 Attempts in the past have been made to restrict the use of boycotts by labor unions and, it seems that new attempts are being made to deflate the present boycott enthusiasm. Also, labeling schemes are presently under attack by their opponents. They have become a battlefield for conflict of interest politics nationally, regionally, and globally.

2 Of course, decisions to shop in a different way can affect daily routines in that the search for substitute goods may require citizens to patronize different stores, look more carefully at “the politics behind products,” and give more consideration to costs of consumer goods.
market-based action. The threshold for participation is, therefore, rather easy to cross physically and psychologically (see Micheletti, 2003 b for a longer discussion). Are people otherwise not found in routine political participation attracted to this low-threshold private/public form of participation? Finally, market-based political activism is highly reliant on individual voice, with talk serving several functions. It is also highly reliant on information communication technology. Communicative supporters build their activism and communities through talk in all fashions and forms.

**Purpose and Outline of the Paper**

The research project that frames this paper addresses the questions raised in the introductory section. This paper reports preliminary findings on the use of the market as an arena for politics by (what I call) the Just Clothes movement, a coalition of globally-oriented advocacy campaigns struggling for sustainable living for workers in the global garment trade. The movement is interesting because it shows many of the characteristics of postconventional political action. The next section defines political consumerism and discusses its three basic forms in terms of political participation. Thereafter I present in summary form the origins, general goals, actors and institutions, strategies and methods of the Just Clothes movement. The long Appendix 1 for this paper offers substantiation for the characterizations systematized in this section. Then I turn to the Nike Corporation, an important Just Clothes focus, which explains why it also is the subject of an on-going research project together with other colleagues. The paper continues with a section about discursive political consumerist campaigns that target Nike Corporation; Appendix 2 belongs to this section. The end of the paper discusses how discursive political consumerism enriches our understanding of political participation.

**Political Consumerism and Postconventional Political Action**

When people use the market as an arena for politics they act as political consumers. The formal definition of political consumerism has followed the path of political participation literature by stressing influence and choice of alternatives (“voting”) as its main goal and information-seeking, information-relaying, and knowledge management as precursors of participation (see final section for a fuller discussion). It has formally been defined as the

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3 Together with research assistants at McGill University, Dietlind Stolle and I are analyzing emails sent to Jonah Peretti after his email exchange with the Nike Corporation over the name he wanted to have put on a pair of shoes (see Peretti with Micheletti, 2003) and conducting a websurvey of the people who emailed messages to him.
choice among producers and products with the goal of changing institutional or market practices that one finds ethically or politically objectionable. According to this definition, choice refers to monetary exchanges that are informed by attitudes and values regarding issues of justice, fairness, or non-economic issues that concern personal and family well-being and ethical or political assessment of favorable and unfavorable business and government practice (Micheletti, Follesdal & Stolle, 2003, xiv-xv). Political consumers act individually or organize collectively in coordinated or spontaneous actions. Their concern with the “politics of products”—environmental effects, shaded costs for workers and consumers, and human rights impacts—reflects an understanding of material products as embedded in a complex political, social, and normative context (Micheletti 2003 a, 11-15).

Political consumerism has three basic forms: negative, positive, and discursive. Negative and positive political consumerism implies making choices among producers and products and are, therefore, attempts at influencing corporate actors directly. Excepting that they target the market and not government, they represent the traditional view of political participation (influence attempts) on the continuum of contentious to non-contentious politics. Discursive political consumerism politicizes the market by giving preeminence to the importance of communication, opinion formation, and framing—not monetary exchanges. The three forms are theoretical distinctions, and it is quite possible for an individual political consumer or political consumerist group/campaign to include all three forms in its repertoire of political action.

Consumer boycotts, the negative form, are an old form of contentious political action that can be dated back at least to the American War on Independence. Boycotts encourage people to disengage with corporate actors by refusing to buy their products. The goal of boycotts is to force change in corporate policy and behavior by mobilizing against a product or producer. As such, they are contentious in nature. By using boycotts, people attempt to influence the corporate world. At times, people have boycotted corporate products to express dissatisfaction with state policy, as illustrated by the 1995 boycott of the export-sensitive French market (primarily wines and cheeses). In these cases, boycotters target corporate actors as a way of putting pressure on national governments to change their policy. Marginalized groups have often used boycotts in this fashion to further their cause (see Friedman, 1999 for examples). Boycotts have also been important for the labor movement in the United States. Although survey research shows a large increase in boycott use (and citizen
consideration of its use), many political consumerist activists voice concern about its mobilizing potential and effectiveness.4

Positive political consumerism (also called “buycotts”) is citizen use of labeling schemes to guide their consumer choices. Instead of saying “no” to consumer choice, people say “yes” to designated products. Positive political consumerism began to mushroom as a form of political expression in the 1990s along with rising awareness about environmental destruction and negative development in third world countries. Examples of positive political consumerist institutions are eco-labels, fair trade labels, organic food labels, and stewardship certification. Compared with boycotts, labeling schemes represent non-contentious politics because they require a good working relationship among corporate actors, non-governmental organizations, the academic community, and even government. Eco-labels, for example, can only come about if industry and environmental associations are willing to cooperate with each other and stop viewing each other as political enemies (see Micheletti, 2003 a, ch. 3-4).

The newest and less-researched form is discursive political consumerism. Unlike the other two forms, it does not involve decisions about monetary transactions. Its main goal is neither depriving corporate actors of payment for a good (boycotts) nor rewarding certain corporate actors for good behavior, policies, and products by purchasing their projects (buycotts). Rather, discursive political consumerism is the expression of opinions about corporate policy and practice in communicative efforts directed at business, the public at large, and various political institutions. The discursive setting for these claims may be local, national, regional, global, or a combination of them. Political consumerist discursive action can be contentious, as illustrated by culture jamming (see later section for a definition), or represent a cooperative strategy and attempt to engage in dialog with business and the general public about corporate policy and practice. Examples of non-contentious political consumerism are debates and negotiations with business on the need to develop business ethics and codes of conduct.

4 According to Just Clothes activists, the boycott is in demise because of the shift to “contracting-out,” the conservative court climate in the U.S., and the declining importance of “main street” department stores. For activists, “contracting-out” initially made companies more vulnerable but they “soon cobbled together the ‘Code of Conduct for suppliers’ dodge,” which was supported by “a compliant commercial media.” U.S. activists also fear that the retail industry is ready to take them to court to challenge their right to pass out information to pressure companies. While retailers may not win this battle, activists fear that their persistence and willingness to take the case to the Supreme Court will be a costly endeavor. Thus, retailers have anticipative power over them. Finally, changing consumer practices, including online shopping and shopping in shopping malls (which in several countries are private property and not covered by political rights), makes it difficult for activists to inform consumers and mobilize for their cause. See Ballinger, 2004. Another reason is cross-ownership, which makes it more difficult to pinpoint corporations for boycotts, though it is still possible to target specific products. This is the strategy now employed by the groups calling for a boycott of Nestlé for its manufacturing of infant formula. They focus on Nescafé. See IBFAN.
Politicization of Making and Buying Just Clothes

Politicization of the garment industry has two different roots: the third world movement and trade unions. For the third world movement, the cause was solidarity across borders. Trade was an important issue, and the movement wanted to develop trade that promoted Third World industry and actors. The alternative trade movement began in the 1950s with Third world stores (now called world shops) selling goods produced in developing countries. For unions and particularly more for North American over European ones, the issue was loss of employment opportunities when the textile and shoe manufacturing industry began in the 1960s and 1970s to shut down its plants in the highly industrialized nations and move them to other countries. Today many western multinational garment corporations no longer own their means of production. Instead they subcontract with factories abroad. The apparel industry has outsourced more of its production overseas than any other manufacturing branch.

A number of problems with and in offshore clothing and shoe factories, changes in the corporate world, and concerns about further plant closure in the West are the focus of a wide variety of actors and institutions active in the social justice movement generally and Just Clothes movement specifically (see Appendix 1 for a listing). The North American “no sweat” movement also targets domestic sweatshops, a concern also raised in the early 1900s in the United States (Sklar, 1998), and its European counterpart is concerned about the situation of home workers in certain parts of Europe (that is, women who sew at home under unregulated working conditions for a piece rate).5

So why clothes? Clothing became politics in Europe in the late 1980s. In 1989 a lockout in a clothing factory in the Philippines attracted the attention of several groups active in the Dutch and British solidarity movements. They learned that women, working in the large clothing chain C & A’s subcontracted factory located in a free trade zone, began to picket the factory because it fired them for demanding that their employers pay them a legal minimum wage. This problem was new and startling for Western solidarity activists who had not previously considered the politics of clothes, the plight of women workers in developing countries, and that western consumers and producers could be held responsible for bad

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5 Parts of the Just Clothes movement in North America have succeeded in linking the more protectionist concerns of domestic workers with Third World solidarity. The Maine Clean Clothes Campaign took care in framing the issue to show that both U.S. and Third World workers were in the same boat (“at the mercy of the same corporations”) and claim that: “By linking solidarity and self-interest, people discover that they can, indeed help shape a world that reflects their basic values of fairness and common decency” (Claeson, no date, 1, 3). Elsewhere (Micheletti, 2003 a, ch. 1) I discuss the different motivations for political consumerism in terms of the concept of other-oriented or public virtue political consumerism and self-oriented private virtue political consumerism.
conditions in foreign factories. Their reaction was a public demonstration. At about the same time in the U.K., the non-governmental organization Traidcraft started a clothing campaign and demanded that the public ask retailers “how clean their clothes are.” The Clean Clothes Campaign (CCC) states retrospectively that activity focusing on the Philippines “struck a nerve” with the public and civil society: “...[C]ampaigning for ‘Clean Clothes’ provided a concrete way of taking up the political demands of women’s and labour organizations in the south at the time: change the behaviour and the policies of TNC’s [transnational corporations] and governments in the North, since they are responsible for the way people in the south live and work” (Ascoly & Zeldenrust, 1999, 2). This general event expressing solidarity with the Third World is the root of the Clean Clothes Campaign (CCC), established in 1990 in the Netherlands and shortly afterwards in other European countries.

In North America, the watermark for political activism was the mid-1990s, and its main root is loss of domestic employment opportunities in the garment industry (that began in the 1960s). Unions mobilized people to protest the closing down of domestic garment industry plants, and new civil society (PR-oriented and spin-doctor internet-based advocacy groups) convinced the American media to report on unsafe, unhealthy, and unfair labor practices in factories making shoes and clothes for brand-name companies (Fung, O’Rourke & Sabel, 2001, Klein 2000). Two important producers bombarded by no-sweat public relations in these years were Phil Knight, Nike CEO, and Kathie Lee Gifford, a well-known American talk show host celebrity with her own brand name clothes (see Bullert, 2000). The spin doctoring of the PR-oriented internet-based advocacy groups successfully struck a nerve with the American people. Just like in Europe, old and new civil society started to couple up to mobilize and demand Just Clothes: “Religious groups disrupted shareholder meetings with anti-sweatshop resolutions. Campus groups staged sit-ins in their administrative offices demanding an end to the selling of ‘sweatshop products’ in their campus stores,” “soccer moms joined their high school daughters in noisy demonstrations outside retail stores” (Benjamin, 2001, ix), and union activists and researchers learned how to work the media and mobilize consumers. All this created public opinion and attracted government’s attention.

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6 This involved a public burning of clothes in front of C & A’s main Amsterdam store, skirmishes with the police, C & A denying any responsibility (but also publishing information on its buying practices made available in its stores), press attention, research revealing new cases of C & A overseas practice, an ensuing series of actions fueled by a variety of different groups working together in coordinated fashion, and a national day of protest against C & A’s practices.

7 Initiative, to develop minimal standards in garment factories in the U.S. and abroad and lawyer-researcher-activist, Jeff Ballinger, received an enviable amount of money from U.S. A.I.D. to survey labor standards in offshore factories.
By the late 1990s, the word sweatshop had not only re-entered the English language and been exported to other languages. It also named a number of North American civil society-based watchdog campaigns (for examples see the appendix 1). The existence of sweatshops domestically and in offshore factories startled many consumers who had previously not given the situation a thought or who had believed that multinationals functioned much the same way abroad as at home. The word “sweatshop” is now a rallying cry for claims for workers’ rights and working conditions that are put by old civil society organizations (trade unions, the consumers’ movement, and international help associations) as well as the new (transnational and internet-based) civil society ones (like Clean Clothes Campaign and Global Exchange) that developed in the 1990s. “Sweatshop” is the common mobilizing frame that unites a diversified variety of established and newly-formed groups (see Snow et al., 1986 on frame alignment). Also, sweatshop concerns have given new life to old civil society, whose methods and missions were out-of-touch with younger generations (Levi, 2003, Ascoli & Zendenrust, 1999), and they focused attention on the work done by the International Labor Organization which, until “sweatshop” hit the public discourse, had difficulty in mobilizing on its issues. Sweatshop even made the Doonesbury comic strips in 1997 and the Tonight Show in 1998.

The Just Clothes movement is spurned by concern over human costs of global trade and both facilitated and crafted by information communication technology (cf. Bullert, 2000, Blood, 2000). It dovetails with the corporate responsibility movement that started up in the 1970s and socially responsible investing with new roots from the Vietnam War protests in the 1960s. It represents the shift to postmodern or post-material values in Western societies, which in this case concerns the well-being of unknown people abroad. Just Clothes is part of the ethical or fair trade international regime whose goal is equal partnership between the North and South on the basis of sustainable development. A series of everyday consumer goods (basic food products, clothing, sports and computer equipment, raw materials from mines, and so on) is the working material for this regime (see Micheletti, 2003 a, ch. 3, Krier 2001). The fair trade regime in turn is part of the international human rights and workers regimes. Rhetoric from both regimes is present in the Just Clothes movement.

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8 A common dictionary definition of sweatshop is a shop (that is, workplace) employing workers at low wages, for long hours, and under poor conditions. The word “sweat” is used to denote that work is sweated out of people.

9 The comic strip can be viewed at http://www.geocities.com/Athens/Acropolis/5232/comicmay97.htm Jay Leno joked on his show: “It’s so hot out I’m sweating like a 10 year old Malaysian kid in a Nike Factory.” Michael Moore has also been involved in the sweatshop limelight, see his website “Mike & Nike” http://www.dogeatdogfilms.com/mikenike.html
Appendix 1 presents the multitude of groups included in the Just Clothes movement. Both physical and virtual groups are represented in the listing as are foundations, policy institutes, interest organizations, social movement organizations, other kinds of non-profits, and commercial institutions. Several of them, and particularly the established one from old civil society, have a broader agenda than political consumerism. For them, political consumerism is one strategy to reach their goals and improve society. Many of the newer groups focus generally on the market as an arena for politics and have Just Clothes as one of their focuses. Still others concentrate solely on unsatisfactory conditions in the garment industry. Please note the robust and creative names used by the groups focusing entirely on the global garment industry. Some of them are Behind The Label, Ethical Threads, Gapsucks, Sweat Gear, and Community Aid Abroad’s “Just Stop It” campaign, which plays with a famous Nike marketing slogan (see next section).

Just Clothes’ focus is the global garment industry. By concentrating on personal apparel, it wants to improve global social justice (an umbrella term now being used to imply respect of human and workers rights, decent working conditions, job security, a living wage, empowerment, and sustainable development). The movement claims that the global garment industry has created several injustices which either have their roots in Western consumer-oriented culture based on our desire for inexpensive, quality, individualized mass fashion or general conditions in developing countries, whose low standards of economic and political life give western multinational corporations opportunities to manufacture good-quality clothes for the western consumer market very inexpensively (Smith 1999, Howard, 1999, Fung, O’Rourke & Sabel, 2001). All groups call on consumers to take notice by informing themselves and pressuring corporations in a variety of ways, including boycotts, consumer guide use, buycotts, letter-writing and postcard sending, demonstrations and public spectacles, and shareholder activism.

Although all Just Clothes groups agree that multinational corporations must share the responsibility for rectifying problems caused by globalization of the global garment industry, they differ in how adamantly they frame their beliefs and in the methods that they use in problem-solving. Many of the groups that have been created solely as Just Clothes ones and that follow discursive and/or negative political consumerist strategies tend to be more contentious and aggressive in their claims. Examples include Adbusters, Boycott Nike, Just

10 Co-op America, Catholic Institute for International Relations, Oxfam, and UNITE.
11 Fairtrade Foundation, Adbusters, and CorpWatch.
12 Behind the Label, Ethical Treads, Sweat Gear, Press for Change, and NikeWatch.
do It! Boycott Nike!, and Gapsucks (see Appendix 1). Some groups have had confrontations with the police. Good examples of negative political consumerist groups are old civil society’s Co-Op America and, of course, new civil society’s specific groups created as boycott organizations, Boycott Nike, Just Do It Boycott Nike!, and National Mobilization Against Sweatshops. Appendix 1 also lists groups that take an official stand against negative political consumerism and ask their supporters not to boycott. Because they use consumer power to work together with industry in developing positive political consumerism, they find officially supporting boycotts contentious. Two new civil society organizations that do not wish to appear contentious are the European Clean Clothes Campaign and Labour Behind the Label. Finally, some groups focus mainly on discursive political consumerism. They tend to be new civil society groups, with Adbusters as the most illustrative and contentious one. It is a culture jamming effort discussed more fully in the next section. Three examples of the diversified nature of discursive political consumerist groups are two rather new groups Global Exchange (a master of media and Internet spin doctoring), CorpWatch (an online resource center and whistleblower), and National Labor Committee for Worker and Human Rights (an old civil society association dedicated to empowerment through education).

Just Clothes groups vary in other ways as well. There are groups whose main purpose is networking and coalition-building, advocacy, education, and information-providing, and sale of Just Clothes products to show that alternative labor practices are possible. For some groups (e.g., International Committee for Trade Union Rights, Christian Aid, and National Labor Committee for Workers Rights) political consumerism is a minor focus. Instead, they work for stronger international governmental regulation or stronger

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13 This has occurred with United Students Against Sweatshops in its early years of organizing and a Gapsucks protest action in San Francisco.
14 This should not be interpreted as meaning that they do not consider boycotts an important means of involvement. In some cases, they unofficially support boycotts and are listed on boycott sites, as is the case for the Clean Clothes Campaign. Others state that they are against boycotts unless the workers themselves request them, as illustrated by the new civil society group Canadian Maquila Solidarity Network and the old civil society group Christian Aid Abroad.
15 An organizational member of the Swedish Clean Clothes Campaign, the syndicalist union SAC, was forced to leave the CCC because it continued to call for boycotts and contentiously criticize sweatshop conditions in the Swedish garment industry even after these corporations were involved in talks about improvements and a code of conduct with the CCC. See SAC 1999, 3.
16 Examples are National Interfaith Committee for Worker Justice and Child Labor Coalition.
17 Examples are Students Organizing for Labor and Economics and Community Aid Abroad’s Nike Effort “Just Stop It”.
18 Examples are Ethical Threads and No Sweat Apparel.
domestic governmental regulation. They put their faith in governmental policy making (“hard law”) rather than citizen and consumer power in the marketplace.19

**So Why Target Nike?**

The Nike Corporation is not the only global garment company with questionable labor practices. However, claims against it have been a unifying force in the global Just Clothes movement. Just Clothes justifies its choice of Nike on several websites and in books and newspaper interviews. Six reasons for choosing Nike can be found in this material. First, Nikes’ logotype had image power. Its name recognition in consumer society ensures that critical voices will be attention- getters. Second, Nike boasted publicly about its progress in labor practices in the Third World. Thus, not only can Nike be held accountable for its ambitions, it provides a good rhetorical target for criticism.20 Third, Nike also represented a typical process in the global garment industry—outsourcing in overseas countries with poor labor conditions—that the Just Clothes movement wants to change. As stated by a human rights activist quoted on the Clean Clothes Campaign’s website: “Nike is not the worst company on the planet. Reebok and others use the same workers and contractors in the same countries. Nike is, however, the largest such company and has set the precedent for apparel giants ‘race to the bottom.’ If Nike reforms, they will trumpet the change and other manufacturers will have to follow” (CCC, 1998, 1). Medea Benjamin (2001, ix-x), Global Exchange’s founding director concurs:

> “Nike became the poster child for this new-age company where the product itself was somewhat incidental. Nike owned no factories at home or overseas but purchased millions of pairs of shoes from Asian factories. So disinterested was CEO Philip Knight in these overseas factories and workers that he never even bothered to visit the countries…where Nike was setting up shop. Nike did, however, put billions of dollars into selling a lifestyle, a brand name, a logo. The swoosh became ubiquitous. And Philip Knight, worth over $ 5 billion by the 1990s, was the epitome of the savvy businessman who knew how to steer his company through the shoals of the global marketplace”

Global Exchange’s Nike Campaign page “Why pick on Nike, if other shoe companies are just as bad?” contributes three final reasons (Global Exchange, 2003). More Nike workers and local labor groups than others have filed complaints with the AFL-CIO in

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19 For information on the different points of view on the role of government, consumes, and unions see Fung, O’Rourke and Sabel, 2001.

20 Corporations that listen political consumerist concerns are often monitored more carefully than other ones that do not pay heed to them. The Clean Clothes Campaign argues that Nike is a good target for just this reason: “…Nike not only refers to its position as a market leader, but also sees itself as leading the industry in labour practices initiatives. They take their leading position very seriously. On their website, Nike says they are the first one to implement independent monitoring and the only one to pay minimum wage in Indonesia.” (CCC, 1998, 1). For an interesting discussion on the demands put on corporations with an ethical profile see Kennedy, 2003.
Indonesia; unlike other companies it can afford the cost of improvements without increasing its retail prices, and as the largest shoe company in the world, changes it makes will have industry-wide effects. These reasons are interesting. They show that Nike factory workers are calling on Western consumers for help,\(^{21}\) that consumers can use the marketplace as an arena for politics without suffering economically (an important point about political equality raised critically against all forms of political participation other than voting rights) (see Dalton, Scarrow & Cain, 2004), and that if Nike “falls” so will the entire global garment industry. Nike’s high market profile and its proclivity to contract sports, political, and other celebrities keeps it on the public scene and, therefore, the Just Clothes movement can use discursive actions to free ride in Nike’s general limelight.\(^ {22}\)

Timelines and track records of Nike’s corporate practices are available on several Just Clothes websites.\(^ {23}\) They begin in the 1960s with Nike CEO Philip Knight’s decision to close Blue Ribbon Sports\(^ {24}\) U.S. plants and outsource production to Japanese producers, continue in the 1970s when the Nike brand was launched and early Nike’s decisions to terminate its Taiwanese and South Korean contracts and to move to Indonesia, the People’s Republic of China and Vietnam after workers organized for better wages, jumps to the late 1980s and highlights media reports on poor working conditions, and ends in the 1990s when Nike’s sweatshop woes really began to hit the media fan.\(^ {25}\) The anti-Nike campaign started up in 1992 when Jeff Ballinger (then head of the AFL-CIO’s Jakarta office, later founder of Press for Change) returned to the U.S. and began to create public opinion on working conditions in Nike’s factories. Media and civil society groups picked up on the information that he had collected and distributed publicly. The information also struck the nerve of students (Featherstone & USAS, 2002, 9). Media and civil society groups reported on the refusal of Indonesian contracted factories to pay legal minimum wages and harassment of

\(^{21}\) This is similar to the boomerang effect found in research on transnational advocacy networks (Keck & Sikkink, 1998). The important difference is that theories on transnational advocacy networks view the state as the target for advocacy activism. They do not consider multinational or transnational corporations as main targets. Thus, as with many theories in political science, this kind of political participation is also state-directed.

\(^{22}\) According to business scholars, corporations that are very dependent on publicity are vulnerable to counterpublicity. For an interesting discussion see Knight & Greenberg, 2002.


\(^{24}\) Blue Ribbon Sports is the forerunner to Nike.

workers for their unionizing activities. Nike first employed a blame avoiding strategy: its Vice President for Asia stated that Nike “did not ‘know the first thing about manufacturing. We are marketers and designers’”; its general manager in Jakarta argued that working conditions were out of Nike’s “‘scope to investigate’” (as quoted in Locke, no date, 11). 1996 was a low year for Nike. Life magazine published an article on child labor in Pakistan (including a poignant picture of a boy) and a disappointed Nike employee leaked a critical audit that Nike commissioned of contract-factories in Vietnam to the media. This report was leaked after Andrew Young (former US Ambassador to the UN and person with high credibility in American society) toured Nike factories and issued a favorable report. These incidences and others in 1997 called into question Nike’s honesty and commitment to global social justice, and they spurred on the activists, among them the limelighted muckraker Michael Moore. 

All eyes were on Nike, and the Just Clothes movement found an easy target for its social justice activist agenda. A series of different strategies have been pursued. Nike has been successfully sued for its offshore labor practices and false advertising, boycotted, bombarded with consumer messages, honed (see next section), criticized at shareholder meetings, and forced to answer critical questions when meeting the press. Activists have pressured the U.S. government to enact laws to regulate American-based multinational garment industry corporations. Nike’s attempts to develop an image of corporate social responsibility and later its attempts to develop and improve its corporate practices have been watchdogged and the focus of numerous field and academic investigative evaluations. In particular, Nike’s corporate image—the swoosh logotype and slogan “Just do it”— became

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26 Much of the focus on Nike is North American in origin, as evidenced by the American media’s attention to Nike corporate abuses. CBS aired a program in 1993 and harsh criticism appeared in such important publications as The New Republic, Rolling Stone, The New York Times, Foreign Affairs, and The Economist (for more information on media reporting see Locke, no date). The BBC has made several programs as well.
27 For interesting articles on blame avoidance see Javeline, 2003.
28 See his not-well-kept website http://www.dogeatdogfilms.com/mikenike.html which offers information on an interview he conducted with Philip Knight.
29 The best-known court case is Marc Kasky v. Nike, Inc., et al. that was heard and settled in Nike’s disfavor. It concerns the status of commercial speech. For brief information on the case see the ReclaimDemocracy, no date. The BBC has made several programs as well.
30 Just Clothes groups have purchased stock in the Nike Corporation to give them access to shareholder meetings. See for instance Industry Week, 2001 and Worldwide Faith News, 2002.
31 For instance, Philip Knight’s special presentation at the National Press Club in May 1998.
32 In-the-field, expert, or activist investigations of Nike include Community Aid Abroad’s Sweatng for Nike (1996), Global Exchange’s Still Waiting for Nike to Do It (2001), and Press for Change’s Behind the Swoosh (1997). An example of an Academic report is Elliot J. Schrage’s Promoting International Worker Rights Through Private Voluntary Initiatives: Public Relations or Public Policy? (Iowa City, Iowa: University of Iowa Center for Human rights, 2004). See also bibliography for journal articles, reports, and books on the garment industry authored by academics.
Just Talking About and With Nike about Clothes

Discursive political consumerism concerns signs and signifying practices (i.e., a semiotic view of language) to communicate information and values on politics in the marketplace (on semiotics see Ryder, 2004). The Nike Corporation has been the focus of multitude of discursive political consumerist attention. Some of it has been very contentious by wanting to break corporate power and change the fundamentals of consumer society. These activists confront and accuse corporations without expecting a direct reply. Other forms of discursive political consumerism of a middle range character confront corporations with Just Clothes concerns but seek direct contact with them to dialogue the issues. A final group is non-contentious and involves constructive negotiations between Just Clothes groups and the Nike Corporation. This section illustrates and discusses each group of discursive political consumerism. At much as possible with the material presently available, it also discusses why Just Clothes groups have chosen discursive political consumerist methods to further their cause. A more thorough study of the motivations and choices made by these groups as well as their assessments of their effectiveness is the next step in this research project.

Culture jamming is the most flamboyant and contentious of political consumerist discursive activities. This is the case because its activists have an anti-corporate ideology, stressing the distrustful nature of corporations and capitalism and their aims at manipulating consumers (Lasn, 1999). Culture jamming “represents a more radical rethinking of the

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33 They are prey because they are very strong identity symbols. Advertisement experts consider the slogan, coined incidentally in 1988, the “most famous and easily recognized [one] in advertising history” to be about Nike’s own renaissance: “‘Just do it’ succeeded in that it convinced Americans that wearing Nikes for every part of your life was smart…and hip… (CFAR, 1999), and the swoosh (first drawn in 1971 and used by Nike’s predecessor) (NikeBiz, no date) to be synonymous with the lifestyle Nike wants to promote (COB, no date). But even before they became part of the political consumerist discourse, the logo and slogan appeared on business pages, in advertising courses, and in book titles as a way of summarizing Philip Knight’s successful leadership and Nike’s ability to lift itself after an economic slump in the 1970s and 1980. Nike had other successfully forceful slogans—“If You Let Me Play” that promoted the personal and social benefits of women’s participation in sports, “It’s My Turn” that featured inspiring and aspiring young Asian athletes as endorsers, and the Nike-sponsored project “Play Zones” to upgrade adopted playgrounds. These endeavors positioned Nike as a corporation engaged in its community and completed “the linkages among the product, the brand, sport as an activity and value, and societal benefit” (Knight & Greenberg, 2002, 549, 547-49).

assumptions that drive the capitalist global system” (Carty, 2002, 140). As stated by its foremost spokesperson and founder of the magazine Adbusters:

We call ourselves culture jammers. We’re a loose global network of media activists who see ourselves as the advance shock troop of the most significant social movement of the next twenty years. Our aim is to topple existing power structures and forge major adjustments to the way we live in the twenty-first century. We believe culture jamming will become to our era what civil rights was to the ‘60s, what feminism was to the ‘70s, what environmental activism was to the ‘80s. It will alter the way we live and think. It will change the way information flows, the way institutions wield power, the way TV stations are run, the way the food, fashion, automobile, sports, music and culture industries set their agendas. Above all, it will change the way we interact with the mass media and the way in which meaning is produced in our society (Lasn, 1999, xi).

Culture jamming defines itself as an international grassroots effort that uses the logic of commercial images to critique corporate hegemony and rampant consumerism (Adbusters, 2004). Culture jamming aims at co-opting, hacking, mocking, and re-contextualizing corporate messages to discuss the problematic nature of consumer society and to encourage consumers to rethink their consumption practices.

Culture jamming is discursive political consumerist warfare. Culture jammers fight what they consider to be corporate hegemonic power by creating and publishing ad parodies. They wage war on expensively-crafted logotypes and marketing slogans and, thus, threaten corporate images in a discursive boomerang effect that throws the carefully-crafted messages in reinterpreted fashion back into corporate faces. Reacting at these stunts by laughing is an important purpose of the reinterpretation process, with humor and laughter as an important step in hegemony-breaking processes. As shown in Appendix 2, many culture jamming parodies focus on the Nike Corporation, with “the swoosh” as a favorite target of attack. Clean Clothes Campaign includes culture jamming postcards of Nike in its repertoire of activities, which can be electronically sent to anyone and anywhere (including corporations) (see CCC, no date), and many other Just Clothes groups use visual culture jams of famous logotypes on their websites to signal clearly that they are social justice activists.

Not all culture jamming is organized by Adbusters and Just Clothes groups. Not all culture jamming is visual reinterpretation of logotype meaning. A now-famous verbal one created by an individual sympathetic with the Just Clothes cause is the Nike Email Exchange between Jonah Peretti and the Nike customer online service. Peretti ordered a pair of Nike shoes and took up Nike’s offer to customize them with a personalized name. He chose the

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35 Two important sources of inspiration are the Canadian media scholar Marshall McLuhan (“World War III will be a guerilla information war…”)(as quoted in Lasn, 1999, 1) and the Italian cultural critic Umberto Eco who coined the phrase “semiotic guerilla warfare” which allows individuals to “trace a tactic of decoding where the message as expression form does not change but the addressee rediscovers his freedom of decoding” (Eco, 1999, 150).
name “sweatshop” and Nike’s decision not to accept it prompted him to write back: “Your web site advertises that the NIKE iD program is ‘about freedom to choose and freedom to express who you are.’ I share Nike's love of freedom and personal expression. ….My personal iD was offered as a small token of appreciation for the sweatshop workers poised to help me realize my vision. I hope that you will value my freedom of expression and reconsider your decision to reject my order.” Peretti sent the email exchange to a few friends who forwarded it to others. An estimated 11-12 million people globally received it over a period of a few months (Peretti with Micheletti, 2003, 131). It has been posted on and still is available through numerous Just Clothes websites, including the Clean Clothes Campaign, Global Exchange, CorpWatch, and Campaign for Labor Rights.

Other examples of contentious discursive political consumerism used by the Just Clothes movement are demonstrations (many of which have taken place outside Niketown (Nike’s own retail stores) and sweatshop or alternative fashion shows. Alternative fashion shows can even be seen as a form of adbusting or culture jamming, with the most successful ones at first appearing to be sponsored by the brand names themselves (Lindefors, Interview, 2004). Both alternative fashion shows and demonstrations often include testimonials from garment workers from Third World countries that sew the brand names. They create a public spectacle and are eagerly picked up by the media. Some demonstrations can be likened to street theater, a common method used by social movements. An example is the “Smash the Swoosh” demonstration staged by students at Ohio State who “gleefully destroy[ed] a papier mâché Nike logo like a piñata” (Featherstone & USAS, 2002, 30, see 39). A poignant example of a Niketown demonstration occurred in March 2001 at Oxford Circus. Protestors “stormed” Niketown and from the store’s second floor dropped a long green banner stating “Nike Sucks Life Out of Mexico” and depicting the Nike swoosh dripping blood. Leaflets were also dropped (and quickly picked up by employees). An activist interviewed afterwards explained the action this way: “For months we’ve asked for dialogue with the owners and they’ve failed to respond to [our] calls....” (Indymedia, 2001).

Sweatshop fashion shows are attention-getting and educational events and, like demonstrations and culture jamming, show the importance of publicity in our media-centered world. An understanding of this led the Maquila Solidarity Network to create a website to

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36 An interesting one that did not target Nike was held in San Francisco on October 20, 1999. Demonstrators took off their clothes to demonstrate outside of the Old Navy store on Market Street to protest what they claimed were sweatshop conditions in factoring sewing clothes for The Gap in Saipan. The protestors came from Gapsucks. See http://www.gapsucks.org/gwa/history/nude/
help Just Clothes activists design their own sweatshop fashion show.\footnote{It sees sweatshop fashion shows as an “easy, fun and creative educational tool to inform ourselves and people in our communities about the sweatshop abuses hidden behind the labels of the major brands.” (MSN, 2000).} An earlier site suggested that “a particularly interesting ensemble is the head-to-toe Nike outfit that includes runners, hat, sweatshirt, sweatpants, socks and Nike Bauer Skates” and information that “Nike doesn’t sell shoes, it sells attitude! Nike spend $ 975 million (US) on world-wide marketing in 1996…A recent study by local NGOs exposed the following conditions in Nike contract factories in southern China…In 1998 Nike will close its Bauer skate plant in Cambridge, Ontario…” (MSN, 1998).

Some Just Clothes groups focus on middle-range discursive tactics in the form of opinion formation and consciousness-raising among consumers and citizens as well as debates between social justice activists and corporate representatives. Just Clothes groups tour cities or concentrate on their own locality and hold talks, set up posters, show slides and videos, and allow Western consumers the opportunity to meet a Third World garment worker personally. Several groups encouraged people to ask them to come to their community. Educating for Justice which runs the Living Wage Project has even produced a film entitled “Sweat” which follows two young Americans who travel to Indonesia to learn about Nike factory conditions. Its purpose is to “show that with the right mix of faith, conviction, and dedication, ordinary people can change the world” (Educating for Justice, 2003). Just Clothes groups also have developed Q & A pages on their websites. Several of them include, as mentioned earlier, information on why Nike is targeted. They also include evaluations of corporate self-proclaimed progress in the social justice field and the role of governments (including the EU and WTO) in social justice work (e.g., CCC, 2001, 2002). As shown in Appendix 1, many groups are purely discursive, implying that information to consumers and opinion formation among consumers are given high priority. According to the Clean Clothes Campaign, the “consumer angel,” as they call it, “worked far beyond our original expectations—this holds true for all the countries that the campaign has spread to” (Ascoley & Zeldenrust, no date, 6).

Just Clothes groups also seek dialog and meetings with Nike as well as other corporate actors to discuss sweatshop issues. Meetings as well as written exchanges of facts have, for instance, taken place between NikeWatch and Nike and letters and emails have been exchanged between several Just Clothes groups and representatives of the Nike Corporation. In September 1999, 45 organizations from 15 countries delivered an open letter to Nike at its Annual Shareholders’ Meeting. Nike replied to this letter in October 1999 and a response
from Just Clothes groups was sent in March 2000 (NikeWatch, 1999, 2000, no date, Connor, no date). In certain cases, organized activists have attempted to engage Nike in discussions by showing up at annual shareholders meetings in various countries (Just Do It! Boycott Nike, 1999). Just Clothes groups also encourage individual consumers to seek personal dialog with Nike and retailers who stock Nike products. This is a favorite strategy of the Swedish Clean Clothes Campaign (Lindefors, Interview, 2004). CCC offers online help with ideas about questions to raise and even sample letters that can be modified and sent to corporations of personal choice (CCC, 2003).

The general purpose of talk and dialogue is to open up discursive space within corporations for change. This involves formulating or characterizing the problem and opening up the interpretative frames of corporate actors to new ideas (see Micheletti, 2003 a, Appendix for more information on the effectiveness of political consumerism). This idea is stated simply and clearly by Columbia University’s director of business services, “If you don’t try and bring a conversation to the table, you’re never going to improve anything” (Honey Fishman as quoted in Klagge, 2003). For CCC, “‘the code-debate’ became our vehicle for getting the issue of labour rights and TNC responsibility into the public arena….If it’s one tool out of a toolbox, whose value is dependent on the other tools in that box….Increasingly, we see the use of codes as a way to enter into a political debate, forcing companies to talk about the notion of a living wage and of job security…” (Ascoly & Zeldenrust, 1999, 5). Just Clothes activists have asked Nike and other corporations about their codes of conduct. For Nike, many of the requests for information exchanges are repetitious, and it began to find it impossible to maintain dialogue with the multitude of Just Clothes groups and activists requesting responses (Connor, no date). Mass emails and other so-called “e-warfare” fit this category of middle-range discursive political consumerism (cf. Blood, 2000, 163).

The final form is negotiations between Just Clothes groups and corporate actors. It is the least colorful and media-attractive of the varieties of discursive political consumerism discussed in this paper. It is also the least contentious in character and reflects a strategy based on constructive dialogue among consumers, Just Clothes groups, and corporate actors. Some of the more contentious groups consider it a “cop out.” Unlike the middle-range form, negotiations involve a low-keyed, talking relationship between Just Clothes activists and corporate representatives whose purpose is partnership-making, joint understanding of problems, and formulation of agreements and written standards. Unlike culture jamming and public spectacle creation, negotiations imply give-and-take on both sides. They also
frequently imply talk behind closed doors. Anti-corporate ideology and across-the-board distrust of multinational corporations plays no role in these negotiations.

Although this strategy is considered as slow-moving and unspectacular (SOMO, 2001), CCC branches in different European countries have focused on it because of its effectiveness (Lindefors, Interview, 2004). The CCC involves Western and Southern NGOs, unions, and corporations in pilot projects to talk out differences and formulate multi-stakeholder policy. These kinds of negotiations have produced results. The Dutch CCC group created the Fair Wear Foundation together with representatives of unions, NGOs, retailers, and producers. After talking together in negotiations over a few years, the effort successfully resulted in a positive political consumerist endeavor, the Fair Wear Foundation Code of Labour Practices (see Fair Wear Foundation, no date).

Negotiating with and talking with industry often leads to progress, and talk can solve problems. An example is the role played by the Fair Labor Association (FLA), a multi-stakeholder coalition of companies (including Nike, universities and NGOs) in a labor dispute in a Nike factory in a free trade zone in Sri Lanka. Just Clothes groups sent out an electronic urgent appeal asking people to send complaints to Nike, the local union filed a third party complaint with the FLA, and Nike along with a second corporation requested FLA intervention. The FLA was able to settle the dispute (FLA, 2003, 2004, Lindefors, Interview, 2004).

A negotiating strategy is not always considered as desirable, and involvement in such groups as the FLA is not approved by all Just Clothes groups that focus on discursive political consumerism. Differences on this method divide the groups on an ideological social justice continuum (Isaac, 100) reminiscent of the “fundis/realos” dimension in the environmental movement. North American student groups and other civil society associations view the FLA as “Nike-backed,” and a “corporate whitewash” because it is “controlled by apparel companies…” (Featherstone & USAS, 2002, 13-4).38 Their criticism of give-and-take partnerships with corporations led them to create the Worker Rights Consortium (WRC). The CCC views the FLA differently, and the FLA disagrees that it is a “sweatwash” operation: “…[I]t is only through collaboration and exchange that these initiatives can continue to improve workplace conditions globally (quoted from the FLA website, see bibliography).

38 Although not concerning Nike, it can be mentioned here that negotiation also brought down the Swedish CCC’s attempt to develop an independent monitoring organ (DressCode) together with Swedish corporations (H & M, Kapp.Ahl, Lindex, and Indiska). The Swedish unions involved in the attempt decided not to back it because they disagreed that independent with the strategy employed by the project leader. A point of contention was the role of collective bargaining versus independent monitoring. For an interesting report see Wingborg, 2003. This point is also addressed in Fung, O’Rourke & Sabel, 2001.
Talking Heads and the Changing Face of Political Participation

The Just Clothes movement uses different strategies of persuasion involving a greater or lesser degree of contentious politics. The most well-known strategy is conscious choice (“voting”) in the marketplace. This strategy involves either negative choice (boycotts) or positive choice (“boycotts”). Political consumerism does not necessarily entail monetary transaction or its denial. Many political consumerist groups make politics in the marketplace by using a variety of discursive strategies whose purpose can range from consumer consciousness-raising on corporate injustices and the politics of products to opening up corporate doors and corporate minds to new and different interpretations of their policies and practices. Advocacy and agitation characterize discursive political consumerism.

Advocacy has become an important term for social justice activism, irregardless of whether this activism is conducted by civil society groups or individuals working alone. Advocacy is claim-placing or active support and urging, especially as acts of pleading or arguing for something (see Hyperdictionary, 2000-2003). Agitation is subpolitical discursive action. That is, it is used by groups when they encounter resistance from established political actors and in established political forums for the claims that they make about social and political change (see Cagle, no date, who refers to Bowers & Ochs). Agitation is a discursive mean of persuasion that differs from those methods usually used by political actors in conventional forms of participation and in traditional arenas for politics. For this reason, advocacy and agitation are important strategies for the Just Clothes movement.

Discursive political consumerism also reflects changes in the political opportunity structure of the marketplace. Important changes in this regard are problems with the use of negative political consumerism (see footnote four, p. 5), the development of transnational corporations operating without a proper international governmental regulatory framework, and the transformation of manufacturing corporations into “new age companies” (Benjamin, 2001: viif). New age companies put more effort and resources into marketing their logotypes than into their production apparatuses. If citizens and consumers want to influence them, they must develop strategies and tactics that target the prized resources of corporate image, logotypes, and marketing slogans. “Promotionalism” (Knight & Greenberg, 2002), and “corporate writing” (Boje, 2001) are other terms that emphasize the transformation of industrial society companies, which manufactured goods with the help of labor (the prized resources), to postmodern ones, which use their images as the primary reason for consumers to buy goods from them. The mission of promotionalism is corporate image-making and the
association of corporate brand names with positive social values (Knight & Greenberg, 2002:545). It is crucial for buyer-driven commodity chains like those represented by the global garment industry. It helps corporations translate their public presence into economic success, continuity and good corporate identity (Knight & Greenberg, 2002). Corporate writing also promotes the image of business and helps it handle criticism and crisis. Writing is semiotically and interactively defined as a multitude and interconnection of media and includes corporate architecture, mission statements, annual reports and web sites as well as the assessments of corporate policy and practice made by popular culture, academia, and social movements (cf. Boje, 2001).

New age companies sell “good vibes,” a lifestyle, and a set of values and symbols to identity with. Nike has shown successes in associating its products with a sportive lifestyle, hip culture, and even the importance of consumer choice and individualism as well-illustrated by Nike’s use of the word freedom in the example of public discursive political consumerism discussed in the above section. These postmodern corporations are more careful about their corporate identities than their corporate physical infrastructures (factories, workforce, etc.), which they in decreasing degrees own and employ personally (Locke, 2003). Thus, avoiding blame and dispersing responsibility taking to other actors and institutions has been easy for them. However, as more time, effort, and resources are spent on image creation and maintenance than on the production process per se, postmodern corporations become highly dependent on publicity and, therefore, vulnerable to publicity attacks about blame and responsibility avoidance. Just Clothes activists have used this vulnerability to develop new strategies and tactics to confront the new age companies in the global garment industry on their own turf. Though discursive political consumerism, they have found ways of targeting these companies that do not own factories in the country where they have their headquarters or in any other country and, instead, contract out production to overseas factories not necessarily imbued with the values and symbols that are used to communicate the brand name in consumer society. Discursive strategies and tactics that “jam” corporate messages, reveal the costs hidden behind the brand labels, make politics out of products, and force clothing corporations to debate and negotiate social justice issues are important in this regard.

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Political consumerism illustrates well postconventional forms of political participation. It uses the marketplace more than the traditional political setting as its arena for
political actions, and it reflects other shifts in our understanding of political participation, as illustrated by its orientation toward the global market, focus on postmaterial values, and encouragements and opportunities for individualized forms of political participation. These characteristics stand in stark contrast to the conventional views in political science that have established the parameters of political participation.

Silence, size, and distance are three words that pretty much sum up social science findings on citizen political participation in the first five or so decades of the 1900s. People believed what authorities told them and were taught by their parents and in schools to be seen and not heard. (Petersson, Westholm & Blomberg, 1989, ch. 6, 10). They joined large membership organizations and parties who spoke for them in arenas distanced or detached from their everyday lives. And they followed the premise of representative democracy and collective action: that numbers (i.e., size) matters (cf. Micheletti, 2003 a, 24-34, Sörbom, 2002, 103-113, Bowman & Willis, 2003, 50). Of course, rebel-rousing citizens wanting to be heard—not just seen (i.e., counted) — were present, and they voiced their opinions loudly and at times emotionally outside the realm of routine political participation. Social science’s standard way of analyzing them was—and perhaps in many ways still is—to put them into the category of contentious politics, unconventional political participation, incivility, and deviant political behavior (e.g., Opp, 1985, Janda, 2000, Sapiro, 1999). To translate a good Swedish phrase, these disruptive citizens were not seen as being politically housebroken, that is socialized properly according to the game rules of political play. They violated the tenets of instrumental rationality (cf. Verba, 2001, Dryzek, 1990. ch. 1) and civility of deliberative democracy (Sanders, 1997, Young 2000, Howden Hoechst, 2002). These noisy citizens were generally viewed as unproductive for influencing representative democracy, and their actions were only justifiable in exceptional circumstances (cf. Habermas, 1986, Rawls, 1971 on civil disobedience).

Disaffection in democracies—lower voter turn-out, flight from established political homes, government untrustworthiness— and such important changes as the visible entrance of women and other marginalized groups into politics, value change in society, the opening up of new arenas for politics, globalization, and the technological revolution have forced political scientists to critically ponder the golden rule of size, silence, and distance in political participation. Our research philosophy is changing. We are now beginning to argue that noise, nearness, and networks are essential for political participation. Communication and emotional talk play a more central role in our research; we have opened up our concept of politics to include the marketplace and other subpolitical arenas for politics, and networks of various
kinds have been spotlighted as essential for community-building (Micheletti, 2003 a, Micheletti, Follesdal & Stolle, 2003, Saprio 2000, Putnam, 2000, Holzer & Sørensen, 2001).

But long before us, political activists enriched their repertoire of participation by combining contentious and noncontentious, membership and nonmembership-based, and representative, participatory, and discursive forms of political engagement. In doing so, they collapsed the boundaries between conventional and nonconventional politics (see Tarrow, 2000 for an interesting discussion), the liberal, participative, and deliberative democratic bases of political participation (see Teorell, 2001 for these distinctions), and in their attempt to bridge the public/private divide they forced political scientists to consider the everyday arena and life politics as forms of political participation (Bang & Sørensen, 1999, Beck, Giddens & Lash, 1994, Pateman, 1989, Micheletti, 2003 a).

One way to characterize our emerging new research philosophy is by referring to a term used in the computer game world. Citizens “mod” (that is, adapt) their political participation to fit their immediate and contextual needs and wants. The words provided in vast and fragmented theoretical and empirical literature important for exploring “modding” political participation (or individualized collective action, see Micheletti, 2003, 24-34) are advocacy, community, direct involvement, performance, and talk. Citizens create their own network communities physically and virtually and use them to advocate claims, activities which signal to political scientists a felt citizen need to “mod” traditional political identities and mold new ones to suit their issues. Involvement usually comes in a DIY (do-it-yourself) fashion: people want to decide for themselves what matters they want to work with and how they want to do so. Gone are the days when established political homes told them which issues were important and how and when to act on them. Self-articulation and advocacy democracy have come into being (Dalton, Scarrow & Cain, 2004).

The metaphors capturing modded and DIY involvement are literally constructivist. Activist networks encourage people to build their own involvement and tailor-make their advocacy claims by offering them toolkits, starter kits, activist packages, and downloadable resources (see Stolle & Micheletti, forthcoming for a few examples from political consumerism). Social scientists study the role of voice (conversations, debate, inquiries, humor and jokes, giving and hearing lectures, and seminars, anxiety, public and private anger, 39 “Modder” is an interesting term that comes from the computer games community. Players converted (modified, modded) pre-existing games to suit their proclivities. The author of the book, Triumph of the Mod, claims that many of the best game companies rely on modders “to show them the way creatively and to ensure their own survival in a savagely competitive market” (as quoted in Bowman & Willis, 2003, 19). Another nice term derived from Internet is “klogging” meaning people taking weblogs and using them as a tool for knowledge management (Bowman & Willis, 2003, 36).
emotions, story-telling, cognitive framing, performance, and so on) in a variety of ways (for starters see Sapiro, 2002, Howden Hoechst, 2002, Dryzek, 1999, Aminzade et al., 2001, Snow et al., 1986). The focus on voice not only shows the importance of learning, education, and contextualized/“modded” enlightened understanding for citizen political involvement. It also acknowledges that talk and knowledge construction is a form of collective action: “The focus on reasoned calculation and the efficient use of resources in structured settings has given way to the role of narration and performance, to framing and expressivity … (Eyerman, No date, 3, see also 1-2).

A discursive constructivist turn is now an important part of our new research philosophy on political participation. We now take “talk-building” seriously. This kind of political participation comes from four different theoretical families that are in one way or another related to the classical theory, which assumes that all citizen efforts in the political field are aimed at influencing government by allowing themselves to be represented by others (see Teorell, 2001, for an interesting discussion). It is an offspring of participatory democratic theory whose proponents argue that the direct and immediate involvement of individuals in decision-making (a non-delegated, hands-on form of influence) empowers individuals and is good for politics. For them, politics can and should be self-government and take place outside the big-sized arena of representative government. Workplaces and welfare service units are also political arenas (Pateman, 1970, Petersson et al., 1998, Teorell 2001). It is also a child of deliberative democracy which celebrates the role of communication, ideational elements and interpretative orientations (frame alignments), and opinion formation in politics. This means that communicative exchange in the form of the seeking and relaying of knowledge on political issues is a form of political participation or action and not a precursor to it (see Sapiro, 2002, 2). Finally, it finds its heritage in social movement scholarship and even political philosophy whose theorists now encourage us to look at how emotional displays, cognitive framing, narration, and discourse lead to mobilization (Goodwin, Jasper & Polletta 2001, Eyerman, No date, Young, 2000). As ECPR meets in Uppsala, scholars gather in Bristol at a conference on “Politics and Emotions” whose purpose is to probe how emotions can “galvanize citizens into a political movement which fights injustice” and to challenge “rationalist models of the human subject which split off head from heart and body” (CCT, 2004).
Bibliography


Appendix 1: Just Clothes Movement Groups, including their political consumerist strategies. Groups concentrating mainly on Nike are presented in capital letters in boldface print.

The information is presented in preliminary fashion.

The snowball method has been used to collect information this appendix. Names of groups have been collected through Internet searches, information from individual websites and with the help of Global Exchange’s Sweatshop links and the CCCE’s Nike, Anti-Sweatshop Campaign Network Sites. Many of the websites were accessed over a period of 4 years. Some of the groups are no longer in existence. The appendix does not include sites that have corporate social responsibility as their main theme. This means that institutions as Amnesty International Business, the UN’s Global Compact, and EC’s Social Agenda are not included in the listing. It does not include personal webpages, individual academics with expertise in the field, or European country-specific groups affiliated with pan-European ones.

It includes all groups with a Just Clothes focus, though many of the groups have other focuses as well.

Sources: Individual websites, globalexchange.org/campaigns/sweatshops/links.html, depts.washington.edu/ccce/polcommcampaigns/nikecampaignssites.html

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group/Date of Origin/Characteristics</th>
<th>Goal Statement/Purpose/Quotation</th>
<th>Political Consumerist Strategy/Examples</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Academic Consortium on International Trade (ACIT)</strong> <a href="http://www.fordschool.umich.edu/rsie/acit/">www.fordschool.umich.edu/rsie/acit/</a> See SASL for a different scholarly view</td>
<td>Concerned about the process of decision-making by academic institutions in the ongoing Anti-Sweatshop campaign to establish Codes of Conduct to be applied to American firms manufacturing apparel with university/college logos in poor countries and about the choice among agencies appointed to monitor the activities of these firms. Concerned that media reports on spectacular events of this movement without including views of scholarly expertise. Ignoring of the fact that multinational corporations commonly pay their workers more on average in comparison to the prevailing market wage for similar workers employed elsewhere in the economy. Concerned that if they are persuaded to pay more that this could lead to shifts in employment that will worsen the collective welfare of the very workers in poor countries who are supposed to be helped. Concerned that the monitoring mechanisms by these groups may prove uneven and ineffective.</td>
<td>Discursive political consumerism Research, statements, calls for scientific deliberation</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>ACLU</strong></td>
<td>Court action to defend political activists arrested to</td>
<td>Discursive political consumerism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong><a href="http://www.aclu.org">http://www.aclu.org</a></strong></td>
<td>distribute Defense of garment workers rights of free speech in court action.</td>
<td>Court action to defend political activists’ discursive political consumerism and right to distribute leaflets and express opinions on sweatshop practices</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Adbusters</strong>&lt;br&gt;<strong>SPOOF AD ABOUT NIKE OCTOBER 2003 ISSUE ON NEW BRAND OF NO SWEAT SHOES</strong>&lt;br&gt;www.abbusters.org</td>
<td>We will uncool their billion-dollar brands with uncommercials on TV, subvertisements in magazines and anti-ads right next to theirs in the urban landscape. We will seize control of the roles and functions that corporations play in our lives and set new agendas in their industries. We will jam the pop-culture marketers and bring their image factory to a sudden, shuddering halt. From the Culture Jammers’ Manifesto in Lash, 1999, 128.</td>
<td><strong>Discursive political consumerism</strong>&lt;br&gt;<strong>Buy Nothing Day</strong>&lt;br&gt;<strong>Culture jamming</strong>&lt;br&gt;<strong>Culture jamming positive political consumerism</strong>&lt;br&gt;Counterbranding by marketing and selling of the sneaker “Black Spotsneak” with the slogans “Rethink the Cool” and “Kicking against the system” (see Appendix 2 for the advertisement)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ALBERTA NIKE CAMPAIGN</strong>&lt;br&gt;www.geocities.com/Athens/Acropolis/5232/</td>
<td>Brands have become cultural belief systems. We continue to pay an ever larger tithe to maintain the sect of consumerism. Today's corporate cult leaders don't spike our kool-aid -- their job is to ensure we're constantly thirsty.</td>
<td><strong>Negative political consumerism</strong>&lt;br&gt;<strong>Discursive political consumerism</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>American Apparel</strong>&lt;br&gt;www.americanapparel.net</td>
<td>Production of garments of highest quality in industry standards of social responsibility in the workplace</td>
<td><strong>Positive political consumerism</strong>&lt;br&gt;Sells sweatshop free clothing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Asia Monitor Resource Center (AMRC) (Hong Kong)</strong>&lt;br&gt;Independent non-governmental organization <a href="http://www.amrc.org.hk/home.htm">www.amrc.org.hk/home.htm</a></td>
<td>Main goal is to support democratic and independent labor movements in Asia. Principles of workers' empowerment and gender consciousness, participatory framework.</td>
<td><strong>Discursive political consumerism</strong>&lt;br&gt;Information gathering and dispursion. Also conventional forms of participation in the form of unionization. &quot;Although consumer-based campaigns brought some positive contributions to the improvement of working conditions in sweatshops in Asia, we believe that the empowerment of workers eventually guarantees sustainability in improving workers’ living conditions.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Asian Network for the Rights of Occupational Accident Victims (ANROAV-Thailand) (1997)</strong>&lt;br&gt;Platform coalition of labor groups in 12 Asian countries <a href="http://www.angkor.com/2bangkok/anroav/">http://www.angkor.com/2bangkok/anroav/</a></td>
<td>The rights of victims and for overall improvement of health and safety in the workplace.</td>
<td><strong>Discursive political consumerism</strong>&lt;br&gt;Information on workplace conditions in the garment industry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Attac</strong>&lt;br&gt;www.attac.info/</td>
<td>Our economic system makes it almost impossible to consume 'ethically'… Free-market capitalism is founded on one value: the</td>
<td><strong>Negative political consumerism</strong>&lt;br&gt;Boycotts</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
maximization of profit. Other values, like human dignity and solidarity, or environmental sustainability, are disregarded as soon as they limit potential profit. To critique consumer activism isn't to say that consumer boycotts are always a bad tactic. In fact, consumer boycotts that target particular corporate offenders give activists a chance to really illuminate the oppressions that capitalism allows and encourages.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Behind The Label</th>
<th>Media exposure of hidden stories of millions of workers around the globe who make our clothes. Human rights for sweatshop workers, collective bargaining power of workers in sweatshops and in communities of consumers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>UNITE’s campaign project, sponsored by alliance of clothing workers, religious leaders, human rights advocates, consumers and students Multimedia news magazine and on-line community <a href="http://www.behindthelabel.org">www.behindthelabel.org</a></td>
<td>Discursive political consumerism Culture jamming Multimedia information on problems, actions and campaign successes Promotion of alternative forms of participation Position papers on responsibility Educating opportunities Positive political consumerism Promotion of SweatFree communities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BOYCOTT NIKE</td>
<td>Despite its progressive image in the U.S., Nike is a very different company in Vietnam and in other Asian countries. “Nike is the biggest sport shoe manufacturer in America. If we can change Nike’s labor practices, other shoe manufacturers will be forced to improve theirs.” As Nike is a consumer oriented company, it will respond to public pressure. “The power of One is the starting point of power for All.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Focus on Vietnam <a href="http://www.saigon.com/nike/index.html">www.saigon.com/nike/index.html</a> CCC does not advocate boycotts but is included as members of the Nike Boycott protest campaign</td>
<td>Negative political consumerism Boycotting Discursive political consumerism Information spreading Contacting corporate actors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Campaign for the Abolition of Sweatshops &amp; Child Labor (CASCL) Coalition of religious, labor, student, human rights, civil rights, women’s and community organizations <a href="http://www.abolishsweatshops.org">www.abolishsweatshops.org</a></td>
<td>Discursive political consumerism Online petition-signing Encouraging other organizations to endorse campaign Information folders Also, conventional pressure group politics (support legislation by writing to elected representatives)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CAMPAIGN FOR LABOR RIGHTS, NIKE CAMPAIGN <a href="http://campaignforlaborrights.org">http://campaignforlaborrights.org</a></td>
<td>Fighting against global sweatshop economy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carnegie Council on Ethics and International</td>
<td>Provide leadership, guidance, education, and a home for</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Organization</td>
<td>Mission</td>
</tr>
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<td>--------------</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Affairs (1914)</td>
<td>Independent, nonpartisan, nonprofit organization dedicated to research and education in the field of ethics and international affairs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catholic Institute for International Relations</td>
<td>Not a main Just Clothes group</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Centro Nuovo Modello di Sviluppo (New Model of Development Centre)’s Dignity in Labour Page</td>
<td>A means of circulating information on the defense of Workers’ Rights</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Child Labor Coalition</td>
<td>National network for information exchange on child labor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christian Aid</td>
<td>Growing power of private business and span of company operations globally leave governments increasingly unequal to the task of regulation. Business itself must take greater responsibility for its impact at home and abroad</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Positive political consumerism
- Best practice solutions
- Discursive political consumerism
- Consumer campaigns
- Information source on child labor in US and globally, photo gallery and media library, pressroom, monthly messages
- Also, conventional pressure group politics (legislative measures)

Discursive political consumerism
- Supplying useful information, circulating information on the campaigns and activities organised by the various groups attempting to modify the conduct of the enterprises, facilitating the organization of public opinion pressure campaigns for effectiveness

Against negative political consumerism
- Officially against boycotting
- Positive political consumerism
- Codes of conduct
- Discursive political consumerism
- Consumer mobilization, consciousness-raising
| **Clean Clothes Campaign**  
International network including trade unions, consumer organizations, researchers, solidarity groups, women’s organizations, church groups, youth movements and worldshops  
Over 200 European NGOs in 12 countries.  
www.cleanclothes.org | Improvement of the working conditions in the garment industry worldwide.  
Above all the Clean Clothes Campaign is a consumer campaign—its strength comes from consumer power. The purchasing power of consumers is being mobilized on the issue of working conditions in the garment industry. | Also, legal means (tightening up legal loopholes, implementing European, international, and national rights, pressure on states to ratify existing conventions on child labor and children’s rights)  
*Against negative political consumerism*  
Because workers are victimized by this strategy. The only exception is when workers themselves ask for support in boycotts.  
*Positive political consumerism*  
Code of conduct, standard-setting, labeling, independent monitoring, development of Clean Clothes Communities  
Cooperation with business  
*Discursive political consumerism*  
Culture jamming, consumer campaigns, education, research, consciousness-raising  
Also, legal means (improving OECD guidelines and national legislation, court suits, Permanent Peoples’ Tribunal on Global Corporations and Human Wrongs) and lobbying the EU and national and local government |
| --- | --- | --- |
| **Committee for Asian Women (CAW-Thailand)**  
Not a main Just Clothes group  
http://caw.jinbo.net | We demand employment, equal labor standards and participation in decision-making for all women workers | Discursive political consumerism  
Information distribution  
Testimonials used by Just Clothes movement |
| **COMMUNITY AID ABROAD “JUST STOP IT”**  
Part of Oxfam, Australia  
www.caa.org.au/campaigns/nike/email.html | When a decision was made in 1995 to focus very limited campaign resources on Nike it was for several reasons. Labor abuses in Nike factories were extensively and reliably documented. Nike was market leader in sportswear industry and one of its worst records, Nike led the push into low wage countries with poor human rights records. As the company with the largest profit margins, it could easily afford to ensure decent pay and conditions. | Discursive political consumerism  
Information on Nikes violations, sending of letters and postcards, Nikewatch campaign email lists, Links to other sites  
*Against negative political consumerism*  
Because Nike workers do not support one. |
| **Consumers’ International (1960)**  
Membership of over 250 organizations in 115 countries  
Not a main Just Clothes group  
www.consumersinternational.org/homepage.asp | Promotion of the ethical behavior of transnational companies. The Consumers International Consumer Charter for Global Business outlines what consumers expect from business in terms of ethics, competition, product standards, marketing, disclosure of information and labeling, and consumer redress. | Discursive political consumerism  
Information collecting in the form of investigations of TNCs’ use of codes of conduct, etc. |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Organization</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Co-op America’s guide to Ending Sweatshops and Promoting Fair Trade</td>
<td>Online guide to ending sweatshops for self-use</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CorpWatch</td>
<td>Online magazine and resource center</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Council on Economic Priorities (CEP)</td>
<td>Accurate and impartial analysis of the social and environmental records of corporations.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Development and Peace (1967)</td>
<td>For international solidarity, supports partners in the Third World in the pursuit of alternatives to unjust social, political and economic structures.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diamond Cut Jeans</td>
<td>Commitment to working together to identify and promote good practice in the implementation of codes of labor practice, including the monitoring and independent verification of the observation of code provisions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EDUCATING FOR JUSTICE – Nike Corporate Accountability Campaign</td>
<td>Educating for Justice is deeply committed to the belief that all people value justice, fairness and the dignity of every human person. We recognize however, that many</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Negative political consumerism**
- Lists of products and corporations to boycott
- Guidelines for boycott organizers

**Positive political consumerism**
- Strategies to promote Fair Trade
- Actions for creating sweatshop-free economy

**Discursive political consumerism**
- Self-education about sweatshop issues
- Strategies for holding corporations accountable
- Resources for more information
- News on initiatives and victories

**Discursive political consumerism**
- Whistle-blowing, opinion formation, claims’ arguments, humor (cartoon strips)
- Activist toolkits

**Discursive political consumerism**
- Information gathering and dispersion
- Corporate report cards

**Discursive political consumerism**
- Consciousness-raising, information dispersion, petition signing

**Positive political consumerism**
- Selling of nosweat jeans

**Discursive political consumerism**
- E-Display: “What does Nike pay its people” including Nike spokesperson Tiger Woods, an
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Experience living with Nike's factory workers on $1.25 a day in an Indonesian village, home to many of Nike's workers. <a href="http://www.nikewages.org">www.nikewages.org</a></th>
<th>people in our global community are unaware of the social injustices that undermine the unity of our human family. Educating for Justice works to rectify this problem.</th>
<th>Indonesian Nike shoe factory workers, and Nike CEO Phil Knight, media reports on Nike, take action now ideas. Education including elements of immersion, analysis, reflection and action. To this end, we have been diligently working on a grassroots, cross-border solidarity campaign as a model for ending social injustice through education, empowerment and action. “Sweat the Film,” <a href="http://www.sweatthefilm.org">www.sweatthefilm.org</a></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ethicalshopper.net <a href="http://www.ethicalshopper.co.uk/ecommerce/control/main">http://www.ethicalshopper.co.uk/ecommerce/control/main</a></td>
<td>Home of high quality and great value fair trade and organic shopping. We aim to give you an ethical alternative to your everyday shopping without compromising on quality or price.</td>
<td>Positive political consumerism Some clothing items for sale</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethical Threads UK clothing manufacturing that meets international conventions on workers rights which are verified by free trade unions <a href="http://www.ethicalthreads.co.uk">www.ethicalthreads.co.uk</a></td>
<td>By buying our products you are helping to stamp out sweatshops, exploitation and child labor in the clothing industry</td>
<td>Positive political consumerism Label ensuring that clothing is sourced from workplaces following international conventions on workers rights verified by free trade unions UK Clothing manufacturing that meets international conventions on workers rights which are verified by free trade unions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethical Trading Initiative (ETI) Alliance of UK companies, NGOs and trade union organizations (1998) <a href="http://www.eti.org.uk">www.eti.org.uk</a></td>
<td>Commitment to working together to identify and promote good practice in the implementation of codes of labor practice, including the monitoring and independent verification of the observation of code provisions</td>
<td>Positive political consumerism ETI Codes of conduct and their monitoring</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>European Fair Trade Association (EFTA) (1990) <a href="http://www.eftafairtrade.org">www.eftafairtrade.org</a></td>
<td>Seeking to stimulate practical co-operation between its members, develop common policies, and offer joining support to producers. “Fair Trade is a trading partnership, based on dialogue, transparency and respect…”</td>
<td>Discursive political consumerism Coordination of different fair trade groups to speak with one voice, advocacy newsletter Positive political consumerism Harmonization and coordination of activities Also, conventional pressure group politics (lobbying of political decision-makers)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>European Association of National Organisation of Textile Retailers <a href="http://www.aedt.org/">www.aedt.org/</a></td>
<td>Via newspapers and television we all have been informed about the circumstances of clothing- and textiles-production in developing countries. We all have seen on television and have read in the newspapers how some NGOs have demonstrated in shopping streets of our cities in front of the windows of textile chains (from speech by AEDT President)</td>
<td>Positive political consumerism Social accountability projects</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Organization/Social Accountability Agenda</td>
<td>Efforts</td>
<td>Non-Profit Organizations, Governmental and Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs), Universities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fair Labor Association (1998)</td>
<td>Growth of the global economy has outstripped the mechanisms for regulating labor rights around the world. Governments should adopt ILO Conventions and incorporate them into national labor laws enforced by labor inspectors. Trade unions and employers should negotiate collective agreements to fix wages and working conditions at sectoral or firm level and workers should have recourse to internal grievance procedures or external labor tribunals. The FLA initiative is designed to compliment international and national efforts to promote respect for labor rights.</td>
<td>Positive political consumerism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fair Trade Center</td>
<td>People should be able to choose consumer goods that guarantee workers’ and human rights. All production and service should follow the UN declaration on human rights, corporations should assume social responsibility and have transparent commodity chains</td>
<td>Discursive political consumerism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fair Wear Foundation (1999)</td>
<td>Promotion of legal and humane labor conditions in the worldwide garment industry, particularly in countries where garments are produced for the Dutch market</td>
<td>Discursive political consumerism</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Fair Trade Center
Set up by Catholic Agency for Overseas Development (CAFOD), Christian Aid, New Consumer, Oxfam, Traidcraft and World Development Movement
www.fairtrade.org.uk

Fair Trade Foundation
Set up by Catholic Agency for Overseas Development (CAFOD), Christian Aid, New Consumer, Oxfam, Traidcraft and World Development Movement
www.fairtrade.org.uk

Fair Wear Foundation (1999)
Cooperative venture between Dutch supplier and retailer associations, trade unions, NGOs, including the Dutch CCC.
www.fairwear.nl
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Organization</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Political Consumerism</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>FLO-International (Fair trade Labelling Organization International) (1997)</td>
<td>Umbrella organization for national fair trade labeling organizations</td>
<td>Positive political consumerism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><a href="http://www.fairtrade.net">www.fairtrade.net</a></td>
<td>Recognition of the role that consumers can play to improve the situation for producers by demanding decent wages, good housing, minimum health and safety standards, right to join trade unions, no child or forced labor, minimum environmental requirements</td>
<td>Introduction of a single international Fairtrade label, monitoring program for product certification and labeling</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fuerza Unida</td>
<td>No sweat sewing co-op started by former levis’ workers</td>
<td>Positive political consumerism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No website</td>
<td>Alternatives to sweatshop clothing</td>
<td>Selling of silk-screen t-shirts, canvas bags, flags</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gapsucks.org</td>
<td>Save the Redwoods. Boycott the Gap *(mid- 1990s)</td>
<td>Negative political consumerism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><a href="http://www.gapsucks.org">http://www.gapsucks.org</a></td>
<td>The Fisher family of the Gap clothing store empire is destroying the last of the ancient redwood forest in our area, and is driving endangered species to extinction. The Save the Redwoods-Boycott the Gap* Campaign was created by northern California forest activists and members of the Greenwood Watershed Association. Its purpose is inform Gap customers about Fisher logging and to convince the Fishers to place all of their damaged redwood forests into a conservation land trust.</td>
<td>Boycott calls, Discursive political consumerism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Garment Industry Development Corporation</td>
<td>Consortium of labor, industry and government for strengthening NY’s apparel industry Not a main Just Clothes group <a href="http://www.gidc.org">www.gidc.org</a></td>
<td>Positive political consumerism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dedicated to strengthening New York's apparel industry and keeping jobs in fashion. Board member from UNITE Link to Sweatshopwatch</td>
<td>Online consumer shopping for fair trade goods, including clothing</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Garment Worker Center</td>
<td>independent, multi-ethnic worker center Collaborative project of Sweatshop Watch, the Asian Pacific American Legal Center, the Coalition for Humane Immigrant Rights of Los Angeles, and the Korean Immigrant Workers Advocates <a href="http://www.garmentworkers.center.org">www.garmentworkers.center.org</a></td>
<td>Discursive political consumerism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Retailer responsibility-taking for sweatshop conditions because they sit at the top of the food chain in the garment industry. Mission is to empower garment workers in the greater Los Angeles area and to work in solidarity with other low-wage immigrant workers and disenfranchised communities in the struggle for social, economic and environmental justice.</td>
<td>Selling campaign T-shirts, protest marches, use of octopus as metaphor to symbolize greed of retailers who violate workers’ rights and whose clothes are produced in sweatshops</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Get Ethical</td>
<td><a href="http://www.getethical.com">www.getethical.com</a></td>
<td>Positive political consumerism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>As long as advertisers push consumerism as a positive, liberating experience it is not easy to opt out but we can make a difference by making conscious decision about how much and what clothing we purchase</td>
<td>Online consumer shopping for fair trade goods, including clothing</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Global Alliance for Workers and Communities</td>
<td>Improvement of workplace experience and future prospects of workers involved in global production and</td>
<td>Discursive political consumerism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Encouraging people to become an informed</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Organization</td>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Type</td>
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<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1999) Partnerships of foundations, global companies (including Nike), and international institutions <a href="http://www.theglobalalliance.com">www.theglobalalliance.com</a></td>
<td>Service supply chains in developing countries, the majority of whom are young adults. GA aims to promote a new approach to corporate social responsibility, one that goes beyond code compliance to enhance workers’ knowledge and skills in critical areas relating to health, workplace issues, personal finance and personal skills while also improving the workplace environment.</td>
<td>Consumer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Global Exchange</strong></td>
<td><strong>“JUST WAITING FOR NIKE TO DO IT” Reinstated campaign</strong> <a href="http://www.globalexchange.org/campaigns/sweatshops/nike/faq.html">http://www.globalexchange.org/campaigns/sweatshops/nike/faq.html</a> <a href="http://www.globalexchange.org">www.globalexchange.org</a></td>
<td>International human rights organization dedicated to promoting environmental, political and social justice. Discursive political consumerism Spin doctoring (one of the main actors in the 1990s), contact hub in just clothes movement, information distribution on its website, reports, consciousness-raising <strong>DOWNLOADABLE REPORT ON NIKE’S PERFORMANCE, E-MECHANISM TO FAX PHILIP KNIGHT, TOOLKIT</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Global Policy Forum (1993)</strong></td>
<td>Non-profit Not a main Just Clothes group <a href="http://www.globalpolicy.org">www.globalpolicy.org</a></td>
<td>Transnational Corporations exert a great deal of power in the globalized world economy. Many corporations are richer and more powerful than the states that seek to regulate them. Through mergers and acquisitions corporations have been growing very rapidly and some of the largest TNCs now have annual profits exceeding the GDPs of many low and medium income countries. This page explores how TNCs dominate the global economy and exert their influence over global policymaking. <strong>Discursive political consumerism</strong> UN Policy monitoring, Education and mobilization for global citizen participation Advocacy on vital issues of international peace and justice.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Globalise Resistance</strong></td>
<td>Associated with Global Exchange <a href="http://www.resist.org.uk">www.resist.org.uk</a></td>
<td>Brings together groups and individuals opposed to global growth of corporate power <strong>Discursive political consumerism</strong> Gap campaign Demonstrations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Global Solidarity</strong></td>
<td>Irish Congress of Trade Unions (UCTU) development education project Not a main Just Clothes group <a href="http://www.ictuglobalsolidarity.org/DesktopDefault.aspx">http://www.ictuglobalsolidarity.org/DesktopDefault.aspx</a></td>
<td>Fostering of a greater understanding within the trade union movement on the island of Ireland about the causes and effects of global poverty and inequality. We want to find more effective ways of taking action. We believe it is essential to deepen global solidarity between trade union members in the Republic of Ireland and Northern Ireland with trade unions in developing countries. The activities of ordinary trade union members are key to building a safer and more just world. <strong>Discursive political consumerism</strong> Corporate ccountability-demanding</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Global Solidarity Dialogue</strong></td>
<td><a href="http://www.antenna.nl/~waterman/dialogue.html">www.antenna.nl/~waterman/dialogue.html</a></td>
<td>Concerned with analysis of, theory about, and strategising around the new radical-democratic global</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

10
| Global Unions | Solidarity movements that are beginning to come together and seek alternatives to capitalist globalisation | Discursive political consumerism  
Promotion of workers’ rights globally | Participate in Play Fair at the Olympics campaign |
| HomeNet (1994) | International network coordinating work with home-based workers in different parts of the world | Millions of workers, most of them women, carry out different forms of paid employment in their homes. But because they work behind closed doors, their work is invisible and rarely recognized. Campaign to make home-based workers visible, recognize their contribution to the economy, help them gain the legal protection extended to other workers. | Discursive political consumerism  
Global dialogue to create greater understanding among all shareholders  
Also, conventional forms of participation like union organizing |
| Hong Kong Christian Industrial Committee (1967) | Provide direct service to workers and their families, to be a watchdog for current government policies, to empower workers to fight for their rights, to promote independent trade union movements, to preach gospel to workers and to develop relevant theologies, to serve as a consultant to the Church for its industrial mission. | Discursive political consumerism  
Reports and testimonials on working conditions in garment industry  
Also, conventional forms of participation like union organizing |
| Human Rights for Workers: The Crusade Against Global Sweatshops | News on labor situation in developing countries, factual updates, arguments, online activism, information on human rights for workers, links | Discursive political consumerism  
News on labor situation in developing countries, factual updates, arguments, online activism, information on human rights for workers, links |
| Human Rights First (formally Lawyers Committee for Human Rights) (1978) | In the last decade the global expansion of the market economy has produced what some call a “world without walls”. In the rush to find cheaper and quicker ways to produce shoes, apparel, and other labor-intensive goods for the global marketplace, multinational corporations are moving much of their manufacturing to countries where basic legal protections for workers are non-existent and union organizing is prohibited or discouraged. Workers | Positive political consumerism  
International standards and monitoring |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Organization</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Type of Consumerism</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>International Committee for Trade Union Rights</td>
<td>Support for trade unionists globally by facilitating discussion and planning activities for education, campaigning and legal action on the theme of international trade union rights</td>
<td>Discursive political consumerism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (1949)</td>
<td>Respect and defense of trade union and workers' rights, eradication of forced and child labor, promotion of equal rights for working women, environment, education programmes for trade unionists all over the world, encouraging the organisation of young workers, missions to investigate the trade union situation in many countries.</td>
<td>Discursive political consumerism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>International Federation for Alternative Trade (1989)</td>
<td>Improvement of living conditions of the poor and oppressed in developing countries, changing unfair structures of international trade</td>
<td>Discursive political consumerism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>International Labor Organization (ILO)</td>
<td>Promotion of social justice and internationally recognized human and labor rights. Formulates international labor standards in the form of Conventions and Recommendations setting minimum standards of basic labour rights: freedom of association, the right to organize, collective bargaining, abolition of forced labour, equality of opportunity and treatment, and other standards regulating conditions across the entire spectrum</td>
<td>Positive political consumerism</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*drive the new international economy, yet millions of them—typically women and children—daily endure substandard working conditions ranging from inadequate wages to inhumane hours to life-threatening hazards in the workplace.*
| **International Labor Rights Fund**  
http://www.laborrights.org/ | Millions of workers around the world still toil under inhumane working conditions. In the new global economy, corporations from developed countries are increasingly moving their production to developing countries, where they can take advantage of cheap labor under sweatshop conditions. Workers must toil extremely long hours in labor intensive jobs with low pay and often unsanitary and unsafe conditions. In many countries there is little or no labor law enforcement, and many workers are prevented from joining organizations to advance their interests.  

**Discursive political consumerism**  
Advocacy  
Sweatshop monitoring program  
Positive political consumerism  
Shop Consciously: Consumer response is one of the most powerful incentives for companies to change their business practices! Check out these sites for more information about responsible shopping, industry reports, and fair trade programs: |
| Just Act: Youth ACTion for Global JUSTice  
(1983)  
National, non-profit organization. Founded by students, founded as Overseas Development Network  
www.justact.org/ | Promotion of youth leadership, action for global justice, and emergence of a powerful and unified global youth movement comprised and led predominantly by young people from the grassroots and most oppressed communities around the world. We believe that in so doing, real democracy can begin to be realized whereby grassroots communities and the working class can practice true self-determination on a collective and global basis.  

**Discursive political consumerism**  
Education for critical consciousness  
Movement-building |
| **JUST DO IT! BOYCOTT NIKE!**  
www.geocities.com | Because brands have become cultural belief systems, we need to target the most popular ones to improve society  

**Negative political consumerism**  
Boycotting Nike products  
Boycott tours with Indonesian Nike workers (testimonials)  
Guides for substitute products  
**Discursive political consumerism**  
Writing letters to Phil Knight  
Nike watch  
Culture jamming of Nike Swoosh and shoe ads. |
| Just Shoppers’ Guide to Sport Shoes  
(1996)  
**Concentration on Nike**  
http://shell.lhug.co.nz/~stu/shopper2.htm | Nike, a major footwear company, refers to itself as a “network firm.” This means it employs 8000 people in management, design, sales, and promotion, and leaves production in the hands of some 75,000 workers hired by independent contractors. Most of the outsourced production takes place in Indonesia, where a pair of Nikes that sells in New Zealand, the US, or Europe for $73 to $135 is produced for about $5.60 by girls and young women paid as little as 15 cents an hour.  

**Positive political consumerism**  
Information source on campaigns and arguments  
Consumers’ guide |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Labour Behind the Label</th>
<th>Concern about pay and employment rights and health and safety conditions of workers in the international garment industry</th>
<th>Discursive political consumerism</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>UK membership organization bringing together pressure groups, trade unions and individuals in support of garment workers’ efforts to improve their working conditions and wages UK Clean Clothes Campaign <a href="http://www.poptel.org.uk/women-ww/">www.poptel.org.uk/women-ww/</a></td>
<td>Consumer campaigns, promotes solidarity actions, produces and disseminates information materials, organizes speaking tours for garment workers (testimonials), organizes national events, Supports campaigns for ratification of ILO’s new Convention on Homeworking, engages in dialogue with companies</td>
<td>Against negative political consumerism</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td>Basis for developing, maintaining, and implementing this social responsibility is SA8000 standard or any other multistakeholder initiative active in the world today The consumer is aware of what is going on, is well informed and cannot be fooled anymore The consumer is putting pressure on the retailer to source in a more responsible way. Due to grave mistakes in retailing we have finally arrived at a consumer driven market.</td>
<td>Honest consumer information: Instead of reducing competition in the markets to one factor, the low price, retailers should finally tell the customer that they should pay a little bit more - roughly one percent more.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LINK Etc. Network with NGO'S, business, government agencies and international organizations <a href="http://www.linkethicaltrade.com/certification.htm">www.linkethicaltrade.com/certification.htm</a></td>
<td>Positive political consumerism Just clothes labeled garments</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ASSO-CODEX</td>
<td>LINK-label SA 8000-codex label from the Swiss corporation AMANA <a href="http://www.amana-limited.com">www.amana-limited.com</a></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maison Internationaa huis (MINTH) Belgian initiative concerning North-south relations <a href="http://www.annoncerlacouleur.be/fr/minth/minth1.htm">www.annoncerlacouleur.be/fr/minth/minth1.htm</a></td>
<td>Nous sommes une plate-forme de rencontres et de débats où flotte le pavillon de la découverte des cultures du Sud. Le Sud ? Notion bizarre et relative par excellence car, sans rire, il y a toujours un Sud plus au sud. Et d’abord, le Sud est parmi nous. Il suffit par exemple de penser les migrations autrement, de consommer équitable, de se frotter à d’autres cultures pour découvrir que nous ne vivons pas dans des mondes monolithiques.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Maquiladora Health &amp; Safety Support Network Volunteer network of over 400 occupational health and safety professions for technical assistance on workplace hazards in “maquiladora” (foreign-owned assembly) plants along the US-Mexican border</td>
<td>The growth of the maquiladora plants on the US-Mexico border, and increasingly throughout Mexico, is part of the economic globalization process affecting all corners of the world. The issues of workplace and safety in the maquilas is closely linked to the issues of labor practices in the “export processing zones” and “sweatshops” in both developing and developed economies.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>LINK-label</td>
<td>E-network newsletter, readings and resources, information on support and solidarity, newsletter</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Etc.</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| **Maquila Solidarity Network (MSN)**  
Canadian organization, Maquila means sweatshop  
www.maquilasolidarity.org | Quote from a fashion show announcer: “Actually, ‘hot and sexist’ is probably a better description of working conditions for the women sewing Guess products. Hot as in sweatshops, and sexist as in supervisors…”  
*Discursive political consumerism*  
Culture jamming, changing the venue of Christmas shopping, sweatshop fashion shows, disclosure campaigns, student awareness and active involvement, research and report writing  
*Against negative political consumerism*  
“To date, we have decided against using the term ‘boycott’ in our campaigns. In today’s apparel industry, the image of the product being sold is almost as important as the actual sales. Any threat to the image associated with the label is taken very seriously by major retailers.” |  
| **Multinational Resource Center**  
USA, similar to CorpWatch |  
| **National Interfaith Committee for Worker Justice**  
Network of people of faith  
Living wage project, US domestic focus  
www.nicwj.org | Calls upon our religious values in order to education, organize and mobilize the religious community in the US on issues and campaigns to improve wages, benefits and working conditions for workers, esp. low-wage workers  
*Discursive political consumerism*  
Education and organization to improve low worker wages, sign-on-letters, news, links  
Also pressure group politics (congressional action) |  
| **National Labor Committee for Worker & Human Rights**  
Charles Kernaghan is executive director  
www.nlcnet.org | Worker rights are a fundamental human right. Transnational corporations now roam the world to find the cheapest and most vulnerable workers. The people who stitch together our jeans or assemble our walk-mans are mostly young women in China, El Salvador, Indonesia, Mexico and other poor nations working 15 hour days for pennies an hour. As fabulously wealthy corporations and investors energe themselves on the profits, the dehumanization of this new global workforce is emerging as the overwhelming moral crisis of the 21st century. The struggle to create a living wage and human dignity for billions of global workers has become the great new civil rights movement of our time. Worker rights in a global economy are indivisible and inalienable human rights  
*Discursive political consumerism*  
Educational fund to support worker and human rights in Central America, action alerts, letter-writing  
Also, pressure group politics (petition-signing for congressional action)  
Kernaghan’s fact-finding led to the Kahtie Lee media scandal. NYT called him “the labor movement's mouse that roared” and *Women's Wear Daily* observed that “Charles Kernaghan and his anti-sweatshop battle have been shaking up the apparel industry like nothing since the Triangle Shirtwaist Fire.” |  
| **National Mobilization Against Sweatshops (NMASS)**  
Membership organization of working people in NY | One central demand is the right to a 40-hour workweek at a living wage for all. Demand for control over our time, the right to say “no” to hours beyond a 40-hour workweek, the right to have the hours we put in raising  
*Negative political consumerism*  
Boycott calls  
*Discursive political consumerism*  
Information on sweatshop, detailed information on |
| **www.nmass.org** | the next generation of workers in our homes compensated as part of that 40-hour workweek. This means ending the sweatshop system.  
The US today resembles the brutal sweatshop system that existed in the garment industry over a hundred years ago. In a few short years NMASS has forced the scandal of sweatshops to the forefront of national and international consciousness. | individual sweatshop cases, newsletter, campaign t-shirt sales, e-newsletter, videos, theatrical productions, music concerts, poetry slams, art shows, social events. Education with presentations on website and publications as Sweatshop Nation. |
| **NIKE WAGES CAMPAIGN**  
www.nikewages.org  
See Educating for Justice | Belief that all people value justice, fairness and the dignity of every human person. We recognize that many people in our global community are unaware of the social injustices that undermine the unity of our human family. Work to rectify this problem. Nike Corporate Accountability Campaign began with a one-month immersion experience living with Nike's factory workers on $1.25 a day in an Indonesian village, home to many of Nike's workers. Through this campaign, we work to educate the public about the human stories of Nike's factory workers and to educate the workers about their rights and worth in the global marketplace. Through such education, we strive to empower both workers and consumers to take action with the goal of establishing justice in the workplace and peace in our global family | Discursive political consumerism  
See Educating for Justice |
| **NIKE WATCH**  
Oxfam, AUS  
www.caa.org.au/campaigns/nike/ | Persuade Nike and other TNCs to respect workers’ basic rights  
“Ever wondered, as you slipped on your sneakers or pulled on a pair of jogging shorts, what life may be like for the person who made them? Nike promotes sport and healthy living, but the lives of workers who make Nike’s shoes and clothes in Asia and Latin America are anything but healthy. They live in severe poverty and suffer stress and exhaustion from overwork.” | Discursive political consumerism  
Reports and analysis, news updates, dialogue with Nike, campaign action |
| **NIKE WORKERS.ORG**  
No longer in operation  
www.nikeworkers.org | Change of garment industry by competition with sweatshop abusers by manufacturing alternatives and paying union shops and coops a living wage | Positive political consumerism  
Selling of nosweat T-shirts, fashion athletic wear, hoodies, denim jackets, etc. |
<p>| <strong>NIKE WORKERS check</strong> | Commitment to eradicate sweatshops in the U.S., where | Discursive political consumerism |
| <strong>North-South Institute</strong>&lt;br&gt;<strong><a href="http://www.si-ins.ca">www.si-ins.ca</a></strong> | <strong>workers earn less than 70 cents an hour and live in slavery-like conditions</strong>&lt;br&gt;<strong>Situation in Canada and overseas for garment workers clearly points to the need for action to ensure that workers do not bear the burden of global changes in industry.</strong> | <strong>Multimedia information on Nike</strong>&lt;br&gt;<strong>Discursive political consumerism</strong>&lt;br&gt;Accumulation of knowledge and experience needed to weigh and determine future action, conference reports, workshops, testimonials of garment workers, providing services and working directly with workers and organizations in North and South. Also, pressure group politics (lobbying for government-convened taskforce on sweatshop abuses). |
| <strong>No Sweat Shop Labeling Campaign</strong>&lt;br&gt;<strong>Australian focus</strong>&lt;br&gt;<strong><a href="http://www.nosweatshoplabel.com">www.nosweatshoplabel.com</a></strong> | <strong>Elimination of Sweatshop Conditions in Australia</strong>&lt;br&gt;It is estimated that for every factory worker in the clothing and footwear industries receiving Award wages there are 14 working in sweatshops or at home for well below the legal wages. The Homeworkers Code of Practice is an industry solution to the problem of the exploitation of outworkers. | <strong>Positive political consumerism</strong>&lt;br&gt;No Sweat Shop Label and Homeworkers Code of Practice&lt;br&gt;Encourage more retailers to become accredited so ethical consumers have greater choice and homeworkers get fair wages. <strong>Discursive political consumerism</strong>&lt;br&gt;Help let outworkers know about their entitlements Help publicize the No Sweat Shop label |
| <strong>OLYMPIC LIVING WAGE PROJECT</strong>&lt;br&gt;<strong>STARVING FOR THE SWOOSH</strong>&lt;br&gt;(2001) Activist, campaigning organization, fighting sweatshop bosses in solidarity with workers, worldwide | <strong>Solidarity with sweatshop workers and their organizations, help unionize sweatshops in Britain, publicize, expose and help stamp out sweatshop employment.</strong> | <strong>Discursive political consumerism</strong>&lt;br&gt;Solidarity-creating by living as a sweatshop worker, letters from activists, incl. “Nike Letters” by a soccer coach fired for refusing to wear Nike clothing |
| <strong>Oxfam’s campaign “Make Trade Fair”, involved in Fair Play at the Olympics</strong>&lt;br&gt;<strong><a href="http://www.maketradefair.com">www.maketradefair.com</a> , <a href="http://www.oxfam.org">www.oxfam.org</a></strong> | <strong>Giant sportswear brands are violating the rights of millions of workers around the world in order to fill shops with the latest and cheapest sports shoes, clothes and accessories in time for this year's Athens Olympics.</strong> | <strong>Discursive political consumerism</strong>&lt;br&gt;Email Puma&lt;br&gt;Working together, work with the media, influence the influential with email letters, organize events |
| <strong>Peace Through Interamerican Community Action (PICA)</strong>&lt;br&gt;Bangor, Maine-based grassroots organization. Clean clothes campaign, sister city solidarity, youth organization&lt;br&gt;<strong><a href="http://www.pica.ws">www.pica.ws</a></strong> | <strong>Roughly half of all clothes sold in our stores are made in sweatshops. Maine has lost 7,500 garment jobs over the last ten years to sweatshop factories paying less than 10% of Maine wages for the same work. Unwittingly, we all support the global sweatshop industry. It Doesn’t Have To Be This Way. US shoppers buy 25% of the world’s manufactured garments. If just 2% of our country’s consumers bought only from non-sweatshop suppliers, producers would need to change their practices.</strong> | <strong>Positive political consumerism</strong>&lt;br&gt;Ideas for creating sweatshop free communities, Information on the Maine State Anti-sweatshop purchasing law <strong>Discursive political consumerism</strong>&lt;br&gt;Campaign t-shirt sales, campaigning guides and information on fair trade and clean clothes |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Organization</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Link</th>
<th>Strategy</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>People-Centered Development Forum (PCDF)</td>
<td>The human species faces an apparent paradox. We have embraced economic growth as our primary indicator of human progress. Yet as economic output and consumption grow the number of people forced into lives of dehumanizing deprivation increases and the quality of life of all but the wealthiest among us declines. Envisions human society based on justice, inclusiveness, and sustainability. Anti-corporate ideology.</td>
<td><a href="http://www.pcdf.org">www.pcdf.org</a></td>
<td>Discursive political consumerism, Involvement in meetings, building support among like-minded people.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>People’s Global Action (PGA) (1990)</td>
<td>Very clear rejection of capitalism, imperialism and feudalism; all trade agreements, institutions and governments that promote destructive globalization. We reject all forms and systems of domination and discrimination including, but not limited to, patriarchy, racism and religious fundamentalism of all creeds. We embrace the full dignity of all human beings. A confrontational attitude, since we do not think that lobbying can have a major impact in such biased and undemocratic organizations, in which transnational capital is the only real policy-maker. A call to direct action and civil disobedience, support for social movements' struggles, advocating forms of resistance which maximize respect for life and oppressed peoples' rights, as well as the construction of local alternatives to global capitalism. Nike is symbolic of this development. Critical of Global Compact</td>
<td><a href="http://www.nadir.org/nadir/initiativ/agp/en/">www.nadir.org/nadir/initiativ/agp/en/</a></td>
<td>Discursive political consumerism, Education and formation against corporate capitalism, caravans, workshops</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Play Fair at the Olympics Campaign network</td>
<td>Sportswear companies and the International Olympic Committee should take their responsibilities seriously. Just because they are under pressure to meet market demands, that's no excuse for pushing their manufacturers into exploitative business practices. Some companies have labor codes of conduct already, but when push comes to shove, worker still get abused and</td>
<td><a href="http://www.faiolympics.org/en/index.htm">www.faiolympics.org/en/index.htm</a></td>
<td>Discursive political consumerism, Information dispersion through website and Q &amp; A page Email activism because big brand companies will listen to what consumers say. They are driven by consumer demand; your clothes budget is their corporate lifeblood.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Organization/Website</td>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Political Consumerism Type</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Press for Change (1998)</strong></td>
<td>Jeff Ballinger’s non-profit human rights organization.</td>
<td>Against negative political consumerism</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Nike focus previously</strong></td>
<td>Personalized e-newsletter by one of the main activists in the just clothes field including calls of urgent actions (writing politicians, journalists, corporations, protesting, donations), alerts about workers rights violations, information on sweatshops, corporate actions, court cases, research and just clothes activities.</td>
<td>Discursive political consumerism</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Rättvisemärkt</strong></td>
<td>Swedish membership association, fair trade association, “rättvis” means justice.</td>
<td>Positive political consumerism</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Responsible Shopper</strong></td>
<td>Responsible Shopper can help you find out! Discover the good, the bad and the ugly behind the products you buy everyday — from clothing to shoes to toothpaste. Investigate hundreds of companies on a range of issues, including: Sweatshops, Pollution, Ethics, Discrimination and more.</td>
<td>Positive political consumerism</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Resource Center of the Americas</strong></td>
<td>Informs, educates and organizes to promote human rights, democratic participation, economic justice and cross-cultural understanding in the context of globalization in the Americas.</td>
<td>Discursive political consumerism</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>SA 8000</strong></td>
<td>Voluntary multi-sectoral standard for auditing and certifying corporate responsibility.</td>
<td>Positive political consumerism</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Scholars Against Sweatshop Labor (SASL)</strong></td>
<td>USA college-oriented group organized to produce a statement on anti-sweatshop student movement.</td>
<td>Discursive political consumerism</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Support Team International for Textileras (STITCH)</strong></td>
<td>As unionists, leaders, and women, what we have in common is much greater than our differences. We bring women union leaders together from North and Central America to share organizing strategies and build leadership. Focus on Maquilas.</td>
<td>Discursive political consumerism</td>
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</table>
Since the dawning of the Industrial Revolution, many generations of Americans have toiled in sweatshops. Then, as now, their labor has been accompanied by widespread debate over what constitutes a fair wage, reasonable working conditions, and society’s responsibility for meeting those standards. This exhibition places the current debate on sweatshops in the garment industry in a historical context and explores the complex factors that contribute to their existence.

### Discursive political consumerism

Exhibition of history of sweatshops in US with examples of current sweatshop practice

Global commodity chain detection game (global production game)

### Positive political consumerism

Coordination of multi-stakeholder initiatives and ethical trade movement on monitoring and verification of codes of conduct, development of European framework

Discursive political consumerism

Exchange of information with other relevant networks and initiatives in just clothes movement

Providing information for labor unions

### Discursive political consumerism

Exchange of information with other relevant networks and initiatives in just clothes movement

Providing information for labor unions

### Positive political consumerism

Implementation of codes of conduct governing trade mark licensing at schools

Links

### Discursive political consumerism

Culture jamming site

Solidarity and support to workers through training, empowerment, publication of reports and funding, consumer campaigns in US

Also pressure group politics (pressures US AID, lobby politicians)

### Discursive political consumerism

Information provider on sweatshops, America’s labor struggle

Time table of now and then

Clothes tree (commodity chain tracking)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Organization</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Activities &amp; Strategies</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Together with Garment Workers Center</td>
<td>Coalition of labor, community, civil rights, immigrant rights, women’s, religious and student organizations and individuals</td>
<td>Checkbook-membership organization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>California and abroad. Workers should earn a living wage in a safe and decent working environment. Those who benefit the most from exploitation of sweatshop workers must be held accountable</td>
<td>Outreach and education, research, case management, translation, actions, media, multimedia information dispersion, flyers to consumers about campaigns against sweatshops, e-newsletter including action alerts, information on sweatshops and just clothes activities, writing journalists and corporations, advertisement billboards (when financed externally), national speaking tours with sweatshop-worker testimonials</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Positive political consumerism</td>
<td>Shopping ideas from the Union Mall. Also, pressure group politics (writing politicians)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>SweatX</td>
<td>Union cut and sew shop</td>
<td>No-sweat clothes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Positive political consumerism</td>
<td>Sells no sweat clothes made in unionized LA factory</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Take Pride in America Coalition</td>
<td>No longer operable</td>
<td>National campaign for stopping sweatshops in Saipan.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Discursive political consumerism</td>
<td>Advocacy Also, contacting politicians, formulation of legislation focusing on the Made in The USA label</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>TCFU Australia</td>
<td><a href="http://www.fairwear.org.au">www.fairwear.org.au</a></td>
<td>Elimination of the exploitation of outworkers in the Australian clothing industry. Recognizing that sweatshops are just as much of an issue at home as abroad, the Fair Wear campaign actively encourages Australians to think critically about where the clothes we wear are produced and under what conditions.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Positive political consumerism</td>
<td>Homeworkers Code of Practice Discursive political consumerism</td>
<td>Contacting companies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thai Labor Campaign</td>
<td>Non-profit, non-governmental organization</td>
<td><a href="http://www.thailabour.org">www.thailabour.org</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Discursive political consumerism</td>
<td>Reports on situation for workers in shoemaking sector Information on code monitoring</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transnationale Organization</td>
<td><a href="http://www.transnationale.org/">www.transnationale.org/</a></td>
<td>The brands are our friends, our references. They fill our imagination; bring self-fulfillment and relief, promise well-being, success and happiness. Beyond the image, what is the reality? Where are the products manufactured? Does this country respect basic human rights? How are they made? Are workers exploited? Are they allowed to defend their rights? Are brands involved in politics?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Discursive political consumerism</td>
<td>Ratings of apparel manufacturers on the basis of social, financial, and environmental concerns</td>
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<tr>
<td>Organization</td>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Political Consumerism Type</td>
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<tr>
<td>Union Label and Service Trades (part of AFL-CIO) (1909) <a href="http://www.unionlabel.org">www.unionlabel.org</a></td>
<td>Promotion of union labels and help to unions to conduct national boycotts endorsed by the AFL-CIO Executive Council. Maintains and publishes the &quot;Don't Buy&quot; list of companies being boycotted and the products and services involved.</td>
<td>Negative political consumerism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Union Mall <a href="http://www.nosweatshop.com">http://www.nosweatshop.com</a></td>
<td>The UNION MALL is designed to make it easy for progressive consumers to help empower workers around the world. We have gathered every retailer we could find that source exclusively from union shops or worker owned cooperatives. We know that the only way to change the global garment industry is to create successful alternatives to the sweatshops.</td>
<td>Positive political consumerism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Union Wear (1992) <a href="http://www.unionwear.com/">http://www.unionwear.com/</a></td>
<td>The union label is a badge of quality, workplace justice, and living wage. Join unions, political campaigns, government agencies, and socially responsible organizations in ensuring that your logo only appears on union and American made and decorated wearables.</td>
<td>Positive political consumerism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unite! Stop Sweatshops Campaign Unite (Union of Needletrades, Industrial and Textile Employees) (1995) AFL-CIO member <a href="http://www.uniteunion.org">www.uniteunion.org</a></td>
<td>Campaign for the Future with four key goals: dramatically increasing resources for organizing, raising standards for members in key industries, standing up for job security and creating a movement for social justice.</td>
<td>Discursive political consumerism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United Students Against Sweatshops (USAS) (1998) U.S. part of international student movement challenging corporate power <a href="http://www.usasnet.org">www.usasnet.org</a></td>
<td>Fighting for sweatshop free labor conditions and workers’ rights. We define “sweatshop” broadly and recognize that it is not limited to the apparel industry, but everywhere among us. We believe that university standards should be brought in line with those of its students who demand that their school’s logo is emblazoned on clothing made in decent working conditions. We have fought for these beliefs by demanding that our universities adopt ethically and legally strong codes of conduct, full public disclosure of company information and truly independent verification systems to ensure that sweatshop conditions are not happening. Ultimately, we are using our power as</td>
<td>Positive political consumerism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Organization / Project</td>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Method</td>
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</table>
| US/Labor Education in the Americas Project                                             | Economic justice and basic rights for workers in Latin America focusing especially on the struggles of workers directly or indirectly employed by US companies. Focus on Phillips-Van Heusen clothing manufacturer                                                                                     | Discursive political consumerism  
Information dispersion  
Letter-writing               |
| Nike Campaign previously                                                                |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             |                        |
| Verite (1995)                                                                            | Ensure that people worldwide work under safe, fair and legal conditions                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   | Positive political consumerism  
Social audit monitoring and remediation programs  
Discursive political consumerism  
Information-gathering and dispersion, testimonials |
| Vietnam Labor Watch Report on Nike Labor Practices in Vietnam                           | VLW believes that Nike can only enforce its code of conducts for its factories through the use of monetary fine and independent monitoring. Nike needs to adopt a policy of zero-tolerance for corporal punishment and physical abuse of its workers just as it has a policy of zero tolerance for poor quality shoes. Nike can only improve the working conditions by working with the Vietnam General Confederation of Labor and the labor union representatives at the factories. Nike also needs to consult with other shoe manufacturers in Vietnam who have managed to produce high quality shoes for other US shoe companies while providing higher wages and offering much better working environment than Nike factories in Vietnam. | Discursive political consumerism  
Reports and testimonials               |
| Witness for Peace                                                                       | Peace, justice and sustainable economies in the Americas by changing US policies and corporate practices                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     | Discursive political consumerism               |
| Women in Informal Employment Globalizing and Organizing (WIEGO)                         | Research agenda and policy analysis focusing on the working poor, especially women, in the informal economy. The garments sub-sector is an important because millions of informal sectors are involved worldwide and very significant changes in labor patterns are occurring as a result of increasing globalization. Value chain of commodity analysis | Discursive political consumerism  
Information-gathering and providing               |
<p>| Women Working Worldwide                                                                  | Supports rights of women workers in an increasingly globalized economy in which women are used as a source of cheap and flexible labor.                                                                                                                                                                                                     | Networking with women workers organizations, building direct solidarity, exchanging information, producing educational resources, organizing international meetings, representing demands of               |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Organization</th>
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<th>Positive political consumerism</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Workers Rights Consortium (WRC) Network, non-profit organization created by college and university students and administrators and labor rights experts. Members are over 90 colleges and universities. <a href="http://www.workersrights.org">www.workersrights.org</a></td>
<td>Assistance in enforcement of manufacturing codes of conduct adopted by colleges and universities. Alternative to Fair Labor Association’s brand certification program.</td>
<td>Whistle-blowing on violations, factory investigations in response to worker and 3rd party complaints, and pro-active investigations.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>World Development Movement Fast growing group of organizations including aid agencies, environment and human rights campaigns, fairtrade organizations, faith and consumer groups. <a href="http://www.tradejusticemovement.org.uk">www.tradejusticemovement.org.uk</a></td>
<td>Stop forcing poor countries to open their markets, champion their right to manage their own economies, regulate big business and their investments to ensure people and the environment come before profits, stop rich countries promoting the interests of big business through trade interventions that harm the poor and the environment, ensure trade policy is made in a fair, transparent and democratic way.</td>
<td>Discursive political consumerism Letter-writing Contacting Just Clothes groups, links provided</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Worldwide Responsible Apparel Production Non-profit <a href="http://www.wrapapparel.org">www.wrapapparel.org</a></td>
<td>Dedicated to the certification of lawful, humane, and ethical manufacturing globally Apparel producers face growing pressure from retailers, governments, consumers, shareholders, the media and others to be held accountable for their global production practices</td>
<td>Certification and monitoring</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix 2: Examples of Culture Jamming Focusing on the Nike Corporation

www.seppo.net/nike.html
Kumppani-magazine 4/97, ©Seppo Leinonen

www.subvertise.org, Consumerism and Fashion – Nike – just do it


http://www.geocities.com/Athens/Acropolis/5232/
SLAVERY

NIKE IF THE SHOE FITS!!!

http://www.geocities.com/Athens/Acropolis/5232/
From the Clean Clothes Postcard collection at http://www.cleanclothes.org/postcard/index.html

Adbuster’s Nike spoof ad.

http://www.adbusters.org/spoofads/fashion/nike.ad.jpg

Nike. Just Do It!

^Don’t

A campaign poster designed by New York Public Interest Research Group (NYPIRG), New York State's largest student-directed research and advocacy organization focused primarily on environmental protection, consumer rights, government reform and social justice issues.

http://66.102.11.104/search?q=cache:_ODQ1K7quW8J:www.nypirg.org/sweatshops/nikeposter.pdf+nypirg+sweatshops+nikeposter&hl=sv&ie=UTF-8
Rethink the cool

Phil Knight had a dream. He'd sell shoes. He'd sell dreams. He'd get rich. He'd use sweatshops if he had to. Then along came a new shoe. Plain. Simple. Cheap. Fair. Designed for only thing:

kicking Phil's ass.
the unwooshed

buy it - preorders@blackspotsneaker.org
sell it - wholesale@blackspotsneaker.org
invest in it - investors@blackspotsneaker.org

www.blackspotsneaker.org
SYNOPSIS:
"Through the impassioned journey of a soccer coach — hell bent on finding the truth about Nike's overseas operations — SWEAT explores the lived reality of Indonesian factory workers and shares a perspective on globalization and sweatshops that has yet to be seen by mainstream America."

LATEST NEWS...
SWEAT Named firstPix 2002 Grant Winner
nextPix, a film and media production company based in New York City, announced SWEAT as the winner of its firstPix grant program for 2002."