



**Clean Clothes<sup>®</sup>**

International Meeting ★ Barcelona 2001



**CLEAN CLOTHES CAMPAIGN  
INTERNATIONAL MEETING 2001**

Report written by Nina Ascoly and Ineke Zeldenrust, based on reporting done by a variety of people during the conference. Design by Annelies Vlasblom Printing by Primavera

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Thank you all!

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## Introduction

The Clean Clothes Campaign has been in existence for 10 years. During that time, the campaign has grown and the context in which it operates has changed. Many more individuals and organizations are now involved in the campaign, which has spread from the Netherlands to many European countries. Our network of partners and contacts around the world has mushroomed. For example, approximately 200 organizations participate in our international online mailing list and 2,500 receive our English language newsletter. Our website receives 600 hits per week. CCC activities include not only demonstrations and rallies that call attention to labor rights violations in the garment industry, but also research and documentation of working conditions in various countries; educational initiatives; an urgent appeals system; the development of and participation in monitoring and verification projects; international seminars, and local level workshops. We are engaged in an ongoing dialogue with our colleagues around the world to develop new ideas and better strategies to achieve our goal of improving working conditions in the global garment industry.

## Questionnaire:

- If you had to explain to someone what the CCC was about what would you say?
- In which respects is the campaign useful for your work and/or your organization?
- What aspects of the campaign do you think are not useful?
- What do you think are the strengths of the campaign?
- What are the weaknesses?
- What do you think the campaign has accomplished?
- What do you think it should have accomplished but didn't?

*The CCC has a strict focus on improving global working conditions in the garment and sportswear (including shoes) industry. Back in the early nineties when public attention for global labor issues was minimal (at least in the consumer countries) we chose this strategy because having an example product would allow us to inform and educate people and to cooperate with a wide variety of organizations unused to working in alliances.*

- Do you think this focus should be maintained? if so, why?
- If not, how should it be expanded: issuewise (for example, add environmental issues) or productwise (for example, add other sectors of industry)

For all these reasons the campaign decided that it was high time for an evaluation of our aims and activities, their impact, and the way in which the campaign functions and is organized

The campaign also felt that any evaluation process should be coupled with a joint redefinition of CCC strategy for the coming years. What should be the main aims and activities of the Clean Clothes Campaign? How should it be organized?

We saw this evaluation process as crucial: making an effort to contemplate our past would produce insights that would better inform and facilitate our efforts to formulate strategies in the future. In June 2000 the CCC agreed to develop a questionnaire that would be used to compile evaluation perspectives and strategy ideas, not only from organizations within the campaigns, but to seek information on how others perceive the campaign, its work, and its structure. Gathering information in this manner was seen as a preparatory step toward a meeting of the CCC network in Barcelona.

The questionnaire was circulated to all the CCCs in August. In September it was sent out on the CCC's international mailing list and posted on our website with an invitation for all those interested to submit a response. E-mails, faxes, and letters were sent out to the groups and people who have worked with the campaign in the past, encouraging them to participate in the evaluation process. The questionnaire was circulated a second time on our international mailing list. Individual groups were contacted with specific follow-up questions. In some cases, where possible, people were interviewed in order to get their input. And finally, the questionnaire appeared in the November 2000 edition of the CCC newsletter, with a call for responses. Information from the questionnaire was used to write two discussion papers: an evaluation paper and a paper on CCC strategy. Both papers were intended to allow for the sharing of feedback received from all those who participated in the process (nine of the CCCs; 20 individuals/organizations from Asia, Eastern Europe, and Central America; and 10 from North America and Europe) and to generate more feedback and provoke new ideas, specifically at the Barcelona gathering.

## THE BARCELONA MEETING

The CCC is a network organization, and the Barcelona conference was organized to bring together the partners that make up that network. A guest list was developed jointly by the CCCs and partners were asked for suggestions.



In the end, 85 people participated in the Barcelona conference from 35 different countries. The international secretariat brought a team of six, while each of the other European CCCs was represented by approximately four people. Representatives also came from European countries that have only recently started to organize campaigns (Portugal, Bulgaria, and Romania). Other participants came from related campaigns and organizations (NGOs and trade unions), from all around the world.

Three teams were set up to organize the conference: a program team, a logistical team, and a reporting team. The program was drawn up with the support of the program team, which was also responsible for making the necessary changes to the program during the conference and ensuring that things that came up during the proceedings were followed up on during subsequent sessions. They also received comments during the conference and provided guidance for the workshops.

The CCC thanks the members of these teams and all of the participants in the meeting. All were very active during the five-day program, doing written and oral reporting, moderating workshops, assisting in translating, giving one another feedback, participating in extra sessions (yes, we even had those) and working very hard to make the conference a success. Luckily there was also time to go out, get to know each other better, march in the streets of Barcelona on March 8 (International Women's Day), drink beer, picnic in the beautiful park and have a lot of fun which made us return home not just with a sense of direction and new ideas, but also with renewed energy and optimism. For those of you who could not be there: we're sorry you missed it, and we hope that this report provides you with a sense of what we have been up to. Please join us the next time! For those of

The four areas of activities of the CCC at present are:

1. Raising public awareness
2. Solidarity work
3. Pressuring companies
4. Legal initiatives

- How would you rate the strategies we've pursued in these four areas?
- What suggestions do you have for new strategies and/or priorities?
- Which area of activity do you primarily associate with the CCC?
- Should all four areas remain, or should changes be made? If so, to which?
- If all four should remain, where should the priorities lie?

*The present organizational structure of the CCC is as follows: in nine European countries coalitions of NGOs and trade unions together form the national level CCC. They operate autonomously, but work together where possible under the umbrella of the European CCC. Each campaign has its own secretariat, European coordination is organized via the international secretariat (based in Amsterdam) and three times per year European-level meetings are organized.*

*The international network consists of trade unions, NGOs, and networks or similar campaigns in producer and consumer countries. There is no formal organization or structure, sometimes links are maintained via active organizations in the campaign and sometimes via the international secretariat. Very different types of cooperation exist: in joint campaigns on certain companies, in research programs, in monitoring and verification projects, via organizing seminars and meetings, through campaigns on urgent appeals, etc.*

- Do you recognize this description?
- How do you/does your organization participate in the campaign? For example, participating in some of the actions, information exchange, directly involvement in the



campaigns or in certain projects, involvement in strategy development and decision making, etc.

- Are you satisfied with that or would you have preferred to participate differently?
- Do you think the CCC should remain structured as a European campaign organization backed by an international network or should this change?
- If so, what kind of changes should be made?
- What would your ideal structure for a global campaign on workers rights in this sector of industry (or in general) look like?

you who were at the Barcelona meeting: we've tried (at your request) to report quite extensively on all of the many workshops, so that you can share in what was done in all the workshops, not just those in which you participated, and therefore have a complete understanding of the proceedings.

## STRUCTURE OF THE REPORT

The report is divided into five sections: evaluation, strategic concerns, future trends, regional perspectives, and an agenda for action.

The **evaluation section** includes the (now revised) conclusions from the paper written before the conference, which were discussed in workshops, where additions were formulated. In another round of workshops participants talked about what strategies in the past have proven successful and why. This provided many interesting examples and thoughts to keep in mind when developing new plans and ideas. All participants then agreed to the final version of the conclusions, thereby providing "closure" to our analysis of the past and a common ground from which to move into the future.

In the section on **strategic concerns** a closer look is taken at the CCC's four main areas of work and what concerns people have when considering how to pursue these in the future. In this section **expansion** issues are also dealt with. Again, this includes information gathered both before and during the conference.



At the conference quite some time was spent in discussing what the major developments were in our field of work: what are we facing, what are the major **future trends** we have to deal with. Different workshops looked at the **actors** (companies, governments, workers, consumers and trade unions & NGOs) as well as at the **issues** that were raised as major strategic concerns: gender, homework/informalization, environment. Reports on all this and the summary developed at the conference appear in this section.

During these sessions participants shared knowledge of the past, jointly discussed the major concerns to be dealt with in the different areas of work including the risks and inherent dangers of certain strategies, and considered the relevant external factors that have an impact on our work. Armed with all this participants still felt it was too soon to tackle the ambitious goal of the conference: develop an agenda for action. So first participants met in **regional groups**. Each region was asked to take another good look at the different trends relevant to improving working conditions in the garment industry and talk about what this means in terms of priorities, for their own organizations **and** for the international CCC network.

This provided the clarity we needed on our different perspectives, but also showed that on many points our interests are similar enough to allow for a common agenda. The entire last day was devoted to developing this **agenda for action**, which can be found in the last section of the report.

We have tried to be accurate in documenting the content of all these sessions, and also to try to capture a bit of the "flavor" of what was said. If we missed anything we welcome (as always) your comments and reactions.

The participant list and the evaluation discussion paper written prior to the conference are also included, as appendices, at the end of the report.

**Members of the program team were:** Frieda de Koninck (Flemish-speaking Belgian CCC), Carole Crabbe (French-speaking Belgian CCC), Ingeborg Wick (German CCC), Lynda Janz (Maquila Solidarity Net, Canada), Alice Kwan (Hong Kong Christian Industrial Committee), Kelly Dent (TIE-Asia), Maggie Burns (UK, also chair of the plenaries) Homero Fuentes (COVERCO, Guatemala), Ineke Zeldenrust (CCC International Secretariat), and Esther de Haan (CCC International Secretariat).



In addition to the program team there was a **reporting team**, responsible for compiling the information from the working groups and the plenaries and getting it back to the participants and of course to the program team. Members of the reporting team were: Linda Shaw (WWW, UK CCC), Christa de Bruin (CCC International Secretariat) and Vivian Schipper (CCC International Secretariat). Nina Ascoly and Ineke Zeldenrust wrote the final conference report.



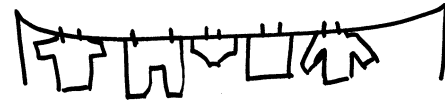
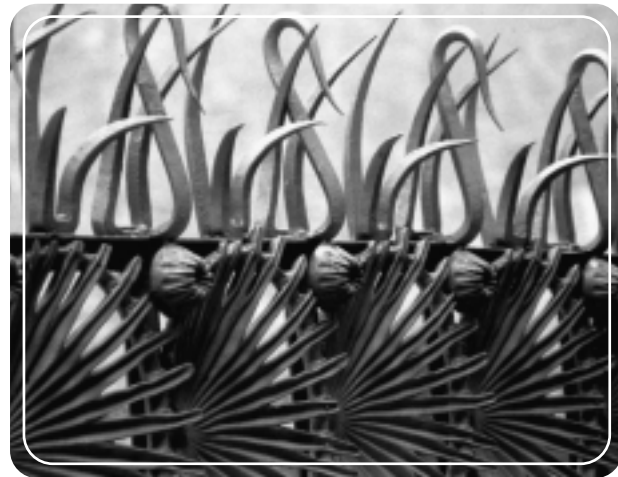
Most importantly, there was the **logistics team**, made up of Nina Gonzales (Spanish CCC), Eduard Cantos (Spanish CCC), Anne van Schaik (CCC International Secretariat), and many other Spanish colleagues.

# CONFERENCE PROGRAM

## DAY 1 ★ WEDNESDAY MARCH 7

Evaluate our activities and actions, get to know each other better. Morning arrival of participants, organize exhibitions

- 12.00 General introduction of the conference, and of the people (*plenary*)
  - 1.15 Lunch
  - 2.45 Short introduction of the program, and explanation of the next session (*plenary*)
  - 3.15 First round of evaluation: main activities, developments and concerns of your own organization (timelines) (*working groups*)
  - 4.30 Break
  - 5.00 Second round of evaluation: what kind of actions and activities have proved effective, and why? (*working groups*)
  - 7.00 Report back to group (*plenary*)
  - 8.00 Dinner
- Evening Informal program designed to get to know each other better



## DAY 2 ★ THURSDAY MARCH 8

**Draw conclusions to finalize the evaluation, determine what we will be facing in future, celebrate International Women's Day**

- 9.00 International Women's Day celebration (*plenary*)
- 10.00 Presentation last draft evaluation paper (*plenary*)
- 10.30 Break
- 11.00 Discuss the conclusions and formulate additions to the evaluation paper (*working groups, one for each conclusion from the paper*)
- 1.15 Lunch
- 2.30 Presentation draft strategy paper (*plenary*)
- 3.00 First round of strategy discussion: what developments are we facing? What demands do different actors (workers, governments, companies and consumers) make of us? Which trends can we see emerging? Working groups to focus on the critical issues: gender, environment, homeworking, NGO-trade union cooperation and on the different actors.
- 4.45 Break
- 5.15 Reporting back (*plenary*)
- 7.00 Join March 8<sup>th</sup> demonstration Barcelona city
- 9.00 Dinner plus women's groups performance alternative center, Barcelona city



## DAY 3 ★ FRIDAY MARCH 9

**Establish priorities for the international network, develop concrete ideas for appropriate structures**

- morning Free
- 1.15 Lunch
- 2.30 Regional points of view on the where and when we need the international network (and where we can work locally or regionally) (*plenary, with a panel composed of one person per region*)
- 3.45 Break
- 4.00 Second round of strategy discussion: What activities could be undertaken in the different regions regarding the trends outlined on day 2 and what should be the priorities for the international network? (*working groups per region*)
- 5.30 Break
- 6.00 Report back (*plenary*)
- 7.15 Finish working groups
- 7.30 Dinner in the city center or meet with Spanish groups ESADE

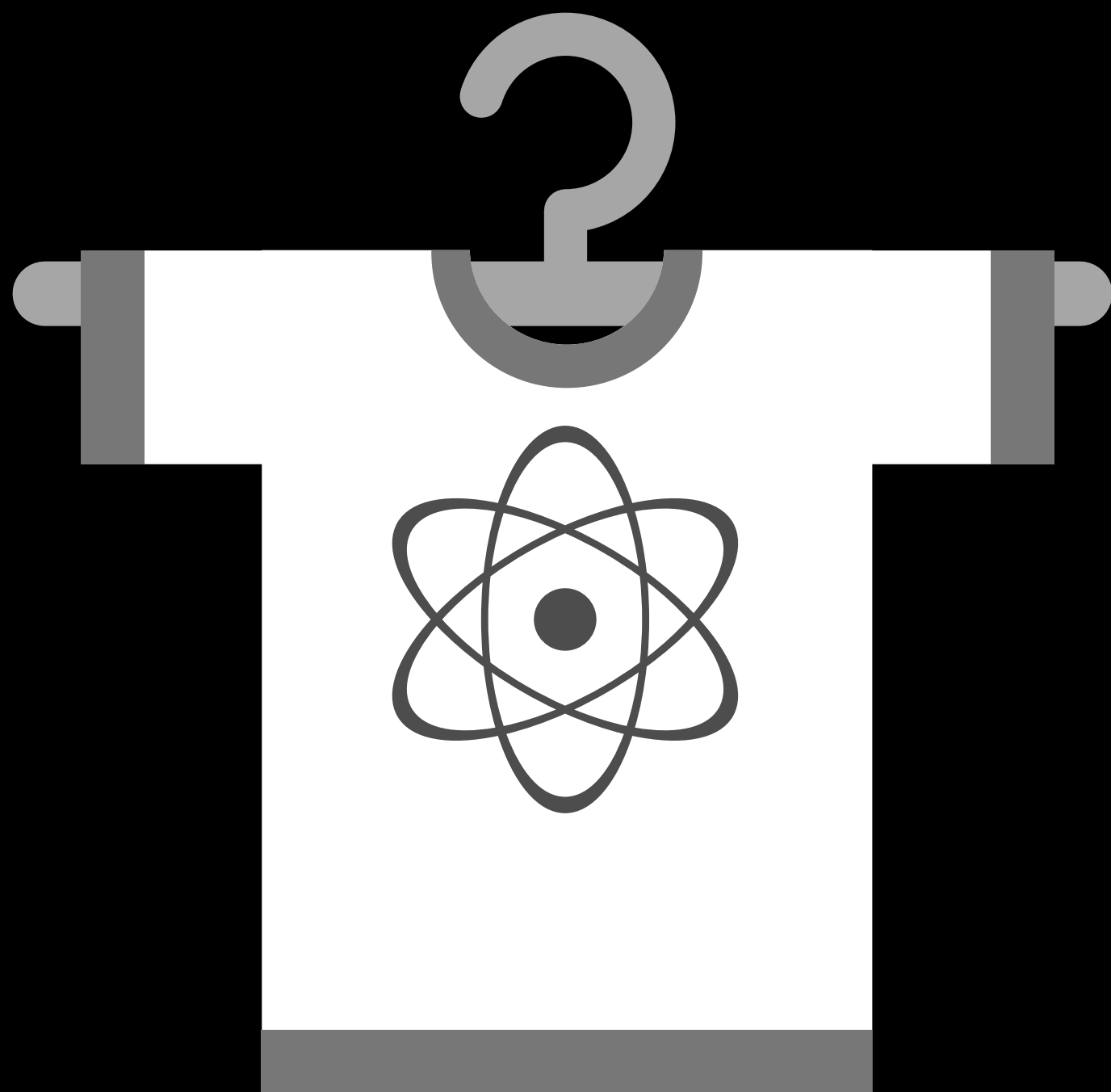
## DAY 4 ★ SATURDAY MARCH 10

**Concrete strategic planning, draw up an agenda to 2004**

- 9.00 Synthesis of day three (*plenary*)
- 9.30 Third round of strategy discussion: develop concrete proposals for activities, campaigns, research, actions etc. with respect to the different trends (taking into account the regional perspectives of day 3) (*working groups per trend*)
- 11.00 Break
- 11.30 First report back and discussion (*plenary*)
- 1.15 Lunch
- 2.30 Panel reacts to agenda proposals from the perspective of the critical issues (*plenary*)
- 3.00 Fourth round of strategy discussion: operationalization of ideas, draw up a concrete agenda until 2005 (attention to division of labor and communication structures) (*same working groups*)
- 4.30 Break
- 5.00 Presentation of the agendas (*plenary*)
- 6.30 Conclusion and closure of the work program! (*plenary*)
- 7.00 Dinner and Party Barcelona City

## DAY 5 ★ SUNDAY MARCH 11

**picnic in the park, visit Barcelona, spend time together, and say goodbye!**



# Part I Evaluation of CCC Activities

The evaluation was conducted in two major sessions: the first one identifying what participants believed had been successful strategies; the second one discussing and finalizing the evaluation paper that was written in preparation to the conference.

## CCC SUCCESSES

Participants, working in small groups focused on specific areas of CCC activity, discussed which strategies they had found to be successful in their work. They discussed what concrete results had been achieved, and in what way the CCC's international network had been useful. In evaluating these past actions some conclusions were drawn as to what elements must be in place to better ensure that action does yield success.

Though we all see the need of determining where we are successful (see also comments made by several people in the evaluation paper), in practice acknowledging success turned out to be very difficult for many participants. Therefore many groups spent time defining success, talking about the conditions under which strategies can be successful, and in discussing the general framework within which certain strategies can be labeled successful.

### SUCCESSES WITH AWARENESS RAISING

Among awareness-raising initiatives that targeted workers and the general public two specific successes were discussed: The Benetton campaign

launched by the Belgium CCC and the Dutch CCC's urgent appeals system.

*Belgium:* Instead of giving the 35,000 signatures (gathered to protest bad working conditions) to Benetton management directly, the Belgian CCC went to Benetton stores and delivered the signatures from critical consumers to the personnel at Benetton shops. Most of the shop staff responded positively and with interest, some were angry, but all reported back to the Benetton head office, which invited the Belgian CCC to come and have a talk.

*The Netherlands:* Three times a year an urgent appeal booklet is distributed to 300 letter writers (who often take the letters to their churches or to other meetings, to raise awareness amongst their friends). Every time a different brand or retailer is targeted in the booklet. In three of the cases taken up by the urgent appeal letter writing system, the workers organizations reported that this solidarity work helped their struggle.

**Successful initiatives that targeted young people** (one-time actions) were awareness-raising actions held at music festivals, sporting events, the

Some who met to evaluate awareness-raising activities had trouble coming up with examples of successful actions. Instead, they discussed what they saw as the elements of successful actions, as well as important issues in relation to awareness raising. The following are their observations:

- The CCC needs to raise awareness on new or neglected issues, for example the environmental aspects of garment production
- There is still a need for clear information on companies
- Awareness raising needs to be linked to workers demands — sometimes there can be a conflict between the tools we use in awareness raising and the experiences of workers
- Awareness raising is just a starting point for our work, it is not enough — there should be continuity (ex. training of trainers, links to immediate follow-up activities), personal commitment, and ways to bring awareness into practice (i.e. integrate use of new knowledge in every-day life)
- We should organize debates with companies and consumers, this would demonstrate that companies are led by “real” people
- We need to create news for the media, noting that there is a difference between facts and news (ex. ongoing exploitation isn’t “news”)
- Companies are also target groups for awareness-raising campaigns
- Creativity is necessary for successful awareness-raising campaigns
- When developing an awareness-raising initiative thought needs to go into determining if the target group is a new one or has some experience with the issue and needs to be brought to a “second level” of awareness

Beware of Mickey campaign, and the (Australian) Fair Schoolwear Campaign.

Ongoing campaigns that were used to **successfully raise awareness at the community level** were the French report card campaign and the Hong Kong speakers tour and photo display.

*France:* A “report card” that grades how the companies are doing in terms of social responsibility was developed. As a result, the brands that got really low grades adopted codes of conduct.

*Hong Kong:* To raise awareness about a fire at a Chinese factory producing for Chicco Toys, a speaking tour from China to Chicco’s head office in Italy was organized. At stops on the way information and photos of the victims were shared with local groups. Two years later a follow-up video of the victims was made and distributed. Unfortunately, Chicco has not met the demands of the protesters.

To **raise awareness at schools and universities** the Austrian CCC successfully used interactive workshops (involving role play) about the different stages of production. Workshop facilitators were from the South, trained by the Austrian campaign.

### SUCCESSSES WITH PRESSURING COMPANIES:

The following items were cited as tools that were used to successfully pressure companies to improve working conditions:

- ★ **Hard-hitting research**
- ★ **Multiple-pressure point strategy combined with an incremental approach:** Multiple pressure points can be used to put pressure on companies. For example, pressure should come from different regions (Europe, Asia, North America, Central America, etc.). This way, the retailers feel pressure from different corners of the world, making it more likely that they will change something. But it is important that the pressure also has a local element; a local NGO has to support the action. Southern organizing is the most important element for success; otherwise, you may victimize the workers.

Successful company pressure is a very controlled action. The specific situation has to be considered: the degree of organization of workers, presence of NGOs, etc. When pressuring companies, four parties should be involved: retailers, manufacturers, the CCC, and local NGOs. An action plan should be developed. The important question to consider should be what kind of information will be

given to the companies? And what are the possible consequences?

- ★ **Model code as a tool for pressuring companies:** Take for example, the experience in France with retailer Auchan: first, they agreed with the code and independent monitoring. But now they do not want the local organization and trade unions to be involved in the monitoring. To increase pressure, the French CCC will make a report card, like they did before, but now Auchan will get some negative points.
- ★ **Targeting the company’s big buyers and their image:** For example, targeting universities in the U.S. has been a successful strategy for pressuring Nike, because universities represent a huge sportswear market.
- ★ **Communication and joint decision and action between Southern/local NGOs and Northern NGOs:** We have started to work as a real network, that makes us more successful (this is linked to the use of a multiple-pressure point strategy).
- ★ **Educating workers about their rights:** Educate workers and they can ask for their rights. Workers pressure factory management. The CCC should pressure retailers, but the workers can also put pressure on the manufacturers, if they know what rights they have. Workers rights training can be one of the things the CCC demands from companies.

### SOME COMMENTS ON PRESSURING COMPANIES:

- ★ If you pressure companies without a good strategy you may cause even worse working conditions (ex. in India, even more child labor).
- ★ The risk of pressuring companies (retailers) about violations at factories supplying for them is that their reaction can be that they cut their orders to those factories.
- ★ The company’s perspective should be addressed. Showing the company that the consumers do care is a real threat for them. The money issue is important; companies must feel there is something at stake. We should learn more about company strategies, and their reasons for moving or not moving. (C&A and M&S ended contracts, but that can also be caused by the loss of market share — they look for reasons to cut contracts.) Why do companies do what we want them to do? What strategic decisions do they take (moving

Some of the other awareness-raising actions mentioned during the working groups:

- *Austria:* Theatre performances and parties hosted in homes were used to raise awareness among adults.
- *Australia:* Nike was taken to court and media and public attention was attached to this fact by doing an action (postcards, launching a website, banners over a freeway, action outside shops) every week up until the court case took place (and Nike was fined).
- People who attended fashion shows were targeted for awareness raising: activists distributed anti-sweatshop leaflets in unexpected places. Politicians and the general public were also targeted with an action that had “superwoman” climbing the parliament building.
- *Indonesia:* To demand fair working conditions at an Indonesia factory making goods for The Gap, the union organized a street action (including street theater) in front of the parliament building. As a result, the union gained access to the workers at The Gap factory.
- *The Netherlands:* Young people were targeted during a rally where DJs played house music and soccer fans were targeted during the various actions that took place during the Euro 2000 soccer championship.



Instead of highlighting specific successes, one working group came up with a list of recommended strategies for pressuring companies (in some cases reiterating the successful strategies that the other group pinpointed):

1. Train workers and raise awareness among workers of their rights.
2. Make use of local legislation, foreign laws, and international regulations. Try to improve regulations.
3. Involve different sectors of civil society (academics, environmental organizations, and women's organizations) in the campaigns (at the local level and the global level).
4. Strengthen solidarity between NGOs in the North and in the South. A global campaign in different countries should be developed. In the process, international organizations should also be involved.
5. Better coordination for the global campaigns, mutual respect for setting agendas and strategies is important among NGOs in the North and in the South. Workers' demands should come first.
6. Use the media to pressure companies and in lobbying for policy changes.
7. Be flexible and be imaginative. Imagine all possibilities for pressuring companies.
8. Consider timing — some times are more critical to certain companies. Take these opportunities for campaigns.
9. Campaigning against and negotiating with TNCs should be done simultaneously.

out of a country, etc)? In Indonesia there are examples of companies that have improved conditions, others have closed (M&S). So, there are positive effects and negative effects.

- ★ International solidarity campaigns can pressure companies, but at the same time organizing work for NGOs, trade unions, and workers also needs to be done.
- ★ Another course to pursue is the legal road: Pushing the procurement policies of public institutions, taking companies to court.
- ★ Another strategy is to divide the companies, so that the consumers have a choice. Bad ones vs. good ones. Utilize the competition between brands. In order to divide companies into good and bad, rating systems and benchmarking of companies should be discussed further. Rating companies should be on the basis of: code content, monitoring, and the degree of independence of the verification.

### SUCCESSSES WITH SOLIDARITY WORK:

**Urgent appeals, media work** and **worker speaking tours** were seen as successful strategies. But though they can be effective, they can also backfire.

One of the discussion groups broke down this category of activity into two types of actions: **direct actions** (ex. urgent appeals, pressuring companies, raising awareness, etc.) with direct and indirect effects; and **capacity actions** at the worker's level. The challenge is to figure out where these two fit together, into a global dialogue.

Evidence of the success of solidarity work is:

- ★ the fact that factories take our actions into account
- ★ that the debate on workers rights has evolved
- ★ our ability to gather information and do research (the volume of information we have on factories and working conditions)
- ★ the raised awareness of consumers

### ISSUES TO TAKE UP IN RELATION TO URGENT APPEALS WORK:

- ★ The key question is does the CCC's urgent appeals work have a **positive effect on workers struggles** in production countries?

One example from Thailand was shared, of a situation in which workers were paid half of their salary; CCC coverage of this helped persuade the company to stop this practice. But this is a short-term effect.

- ★ The **long-term strategies and sustainability** of campaigns are important. Time should be taken to connect with and include workers. Local partners must be strong enough to continue the struggle.

- ★ Deepen the network to include **more grassroots organizations** to involve workers. Get workers involved in solidarity work — these are activities to be done together, not unilaterally. While cases are being pursued information provision needs to be reliable. Strong counterparts on the ground are needed. NGOs can have a bridging or contact function. The CCC provides a platform for that.

- ★ Urgent appeals run the risk of **negative impact** (companies cutting and running). Cutting orders is always a problem. The hope is that the media attention of urgent appeals cases will cause companies to react. If the effect is that after media attention companies shut down or retailers go elsewhere, workers are worse off. Urgent appeals should be incorporated into pro-active, longer-term strategies, that sustain positive effects. Other factors are needed to prevent companies from running. How much influence does the "brand" have in producing factories?

- ★ As a strategy cases are good tools to campaign around and get issues into **the media**. One effect is that companies know they are being watched. In Australia the media helped to pressure companies to sign a code of conduct. The media in Europe want "drama" (stereotype of child labor / forced labor for example).

- ★ What makes a case a success story? What increases successes? Consider:
  - Strength of relationship between subcontractor and brand name
  - Clarity of leverage points
  - Appeals come from NGOs/unions in a crisis situation (also beware of limited information, and the need to put energy into addressing the larger context)
  - Character of the company (whether they react or not)
  - Prominence of a brand

Issues to take up in relation to solidarity work:

- difficulties to organize and identify problems at the local level
- need to increase capacity of unions and other organizations, North and South
- more follow up needed for urgent appeals and other campaigns
- secondhand garment trade
- more information transfer to the South, education work to be done at the worker's level including sharing basic information about the campaign
- solidarity work with the informal sector
- consumer lobby in the South
- stronger social clauses in trade agreements
- link more to basic organizing

## SUCCESSSES WITH LEGAL INITIATIVES:

Participants in this working group shared information on legislation and court cases in their countries. They highlighted several ingredients for pursuing successful legal action:

- ★ using **public pressure**;
- ★ providing **concrete tools** for politicians; and
- ★ using existing **networks of experts** (ex. lawyers).

Though this is a relatively new area of activity for the CCC, participants agreed that there had been one successful cooperative initiative: the passage of the **European Parliament resolution** concerning “EU Standards for European Enterprises Operating in Developing Countries: Towards a European Code of Conduct” and the subsequent hearing organized under the auspices of the European Parliament, where testimony of an Indonesian NGO was heard and adidas was requested to react.

and unions in the South. They can also be useful if they are seen as a tool to empower workers and are implemented in countries where there is democratic space for independent people’s organizations to participate in the process. But **codes can also involve risks**, for example, that company-monitoring usually only goes as far as the first supplier and does not monitor the whole chain and that it is often workers and not companies who pay the cost of the professionalization of monitoring and verification processes by the corporate sector. Finally, our involvement in developing monitoring systems should be based on a perspective of moving out of this work and towards supporting the empowerment process of workers and playing the role of watchdog over companies.



## RESULTS OF THE CCC EVALUATION PROCESS

The results of the CCC’s process of getting feedback to evaluate the campaign’s activities were written up in a discussion paper (see appendix 1). These conclusions were widely circulated before being presented at the Barcelona meeting, where they were discussed further. Some slight adjustments to those conclusions were made to reflect new input from the Barcelona participants. The final conclusions appear below.

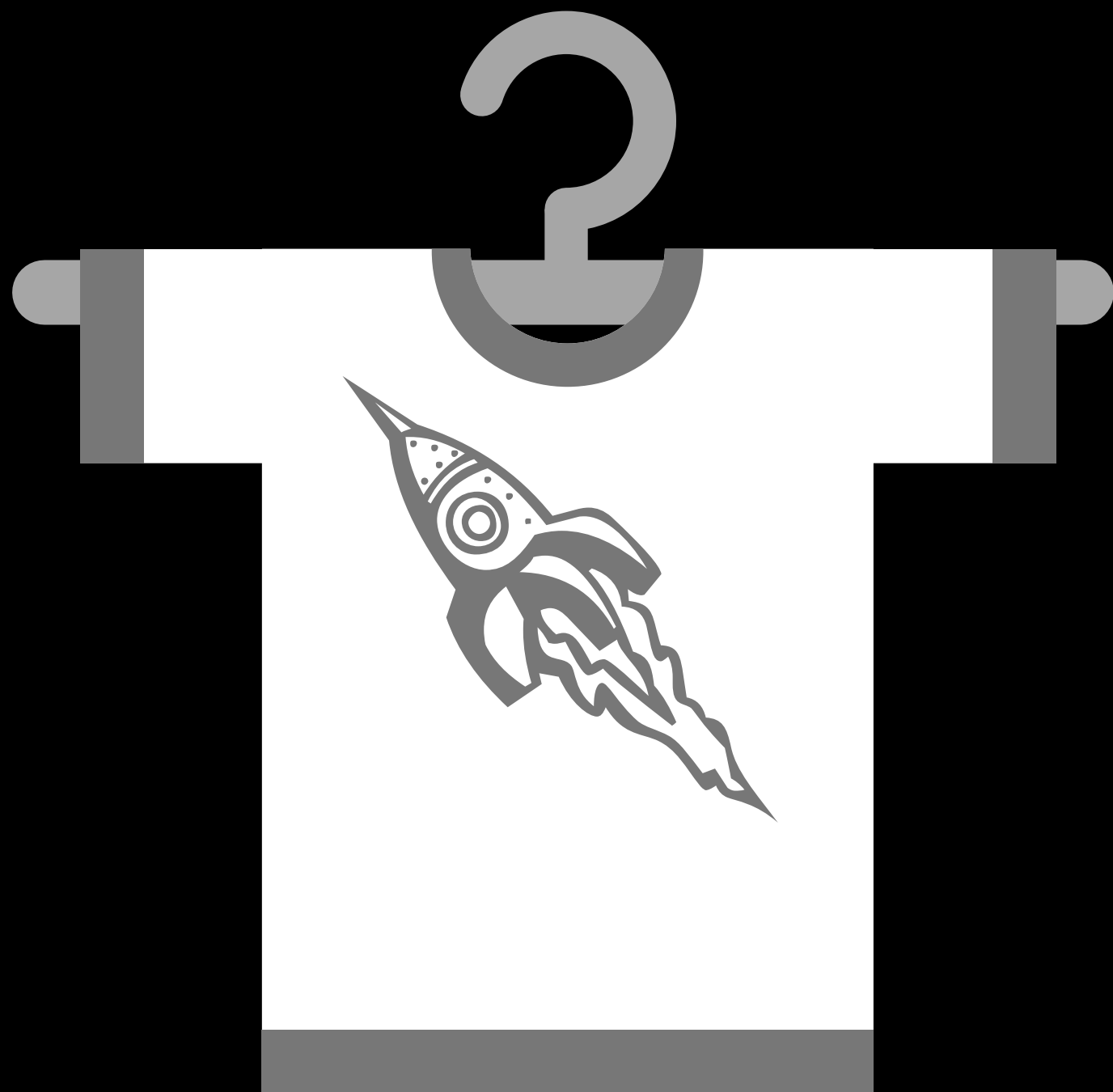
- ★ The campaign’s **main successes** are seen to be **raising awareness** on the issues, **networking**, and **information provision** (though failure to communicate our successes).
- ★ The CCC’s **urgent appeals network** is seen as **one of the campaign’s strengths**, both as a system for distributing information and motivating action. But there is a belief that the **follow through** on cases needs more attention (in terms of strategy, given that companies often “cut and run” when campaigning draws attention to labor rights violations at a particular factory, and in practical terms, i.e. how long do we continue to follow a case). **More strategic thinking** is required and **better communication** throughout the CCC network.

- ★ The CCC is recognized for its **contacts and co-operation with Asian groups** – this is an accomplishment in itself, but points to the need to **strengthen links with other regions** (Africa, Central & Eastern Europe, Central America, North America). There is concern that the issue of **violations of labor rights in developed countries** has not been addressed enough.
- ★ In terms of content, **homeworking** and **gender issues** were seen as **needing more attention**. A gender audit of the CCC could be a first step. More CCC research on the informal sector is also needed. There is interest in **covering environmental concerns and issues of sustainable development** as well. Co-operation with other “product-sector” campaigns (ex. baby milk groups, toys) and/or the environmental movement or anti-globalization movement could be a way to strengthen the campaign.
- ★ There were **mixed messages on codes** all around, as some respondents felt they were not appropriate or even a failure, and others felt they were one of the most important campaigning tools and strategically useful for creating space for debate, publicity and enable pressure. **Codes can be a good tool** if they include: core ILO conventions, a process of monitoring and verification that includes workers, labor NGOs

- ★ **Capacity** (human resources and material resources) **problems** were noted at all levels (the CCC needs to do more, but we don’t currently have the capacity to do so; we ask our partners to do more than they can, etc.) Capacity problems have an impact on other issues (for example capacity to expand communications between North and South — language and communication problems slow down or limit effectiveness/participation in the urgent appeals system and other campaign activities/resources). It is important to **map the resources of the CCC network** to facilitate a better division of labor amongst the network in order to relieve pressure points.
- ★ **Better links** between North & South and South & South — in terms of decision-making process, strategizing, input and awareness raising (should go both ways, ex. on globalization — make connections between those working in Northern and Southern economies). Some Southern groups would like the campaign to do

**more education work** (on codes for example). More attention should be given to **language issues** (translations, use of jargon-free language). **The relationship between trade unions and NGOs**, within and outside of the campaign, deserves more attention. **More trade union representation** is needed in campaigns and also a strengthening of the information network between NGOs and unions in the South. Furthermore, a lack of **dialogue at the national CCC levels** needs to be addressed.

- ★ The interplay between codes (often voluntary mechanisms) and **public regulation** (local labor law, international legal measures, trade negotiations, national legislation affecting national production) at different levels was mentioned as an area needing attention. In some countries, new laws are being discussed concerning TNCs operating abroad. Furthermore, WTO negotiations pose a big danger for the CCC work, for example, in government procurement. The preparation of several court cases has started. These are relatively new areas for the CCC and it was stressed that there was a need for better information sharing.



## Part II Strategic Concerns and Ideas for the Future

Feedback on Clean Clothes Campaign strategies was gathered at the same as evaluation comments, and later discussed at the conference. In this section of the report, feedback from both is used.

### FOCUS OF THE CAMPAIGN

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First of all, we wanted to hear how people felt about the campaign's focus on garments and sportswear. Did people want to maintain this focus?

Most CCCers and other groups in the North felt that we should maintain the focus — it gives us strength and there is still a lot of work to be done in this sector. There was the feeling that while we could stick to this sector, we should consider environmental issues in the context of garment production. Groups in the South favored expanding to cover other product sectors, and taking up environmental issues.

At the Barcelona meeting it was confirmed that across the board there is a strong feeling that the CCC needs to take on environmental concerns in the context of garment and textile production because these issues are linked to the social issues we currently tackle and because this will broaden/strengthen the CCC's base of support. However, given the capacity problems presently noted and the importance of maintaining focus,

**the conclusion is that we will take up this work through cooperation with other (environmentally focused) networks, and not as a central activity of this network.** The work that is done on the promotion of the use of biological (organic) cotton, involving CCC member organizations, is a good example.

On the expansion to other sectors, the feeling at the Barcelona meeting was also that if at all, this should be done in a **controlled manner and via cooperation with other networks and organizations.** In fact, the only sectors that were under discussion were the **toy sector** and the **textile sector.** Strategic linking with the toy sector campaign organizations will not be difficult (they are mainly the same organizations already active in the CCC network). The French CCC is planning a toy campaign to start at the end of 2001. Expansion in the textile sector was an interest both for those wanting to work on environmental issues and for many of the partners, for example those from Africa, India, and Eastern Europe where garment and textile production are often connected.

## AREAS OF ACTIVITY

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Next, we asked people for feedback on the campaign's main areas of activity. Those are:

- 1. Raising public awareness** on the global organization of garment and sportswear production and the violations of labor rights (for example by actions, debates, and publications); and getting consumers to express their concern (for example via postcard actions or writing protest letters).
- 2. Solidarity work** with NGOs and trade unions in garment-producing countries by a wide variety of means: actions, exchanging information, visits and seminars, organizing media campaigns, research, urgent appeals, project development, and providing financial support.
- 3. Pressuring companies** at the top of the production chain to take responsibility for working conditions and for improving them, demanding improvements in actual cases (for example via urgent appeals), and demanding structural solutions (for example by signing the CCC model code of conduct that includes provisions for implementation, monitoring, and independent verification).
- 4. Encouraging local, national, and international governments** and public authorities to play a major role in increasing corporate responsibility and ethical consumerism. This includes exploring legal frameworks for implementing labor standards and pressuring (local) governments to become more responsible consumers.

We asked people (prior to the conference) to evaluate these strategies and discuss them in the context of the campaign's future. Where would our current strategies lead us? Should the CCC continue to pursue all four areas of activity? Should some

strategies be dropped or amended? What new strategies should be adopted in the future?

The evaluation process already highlighted the need to specifically consider *all* CCC strategies in relation to several important issues that the campaign is already committed to working on, such as **gender**, the **informal sector/homeworking**, and cooperation between **NGOs and trade unions**.

### Gender Issues and the CCC

It was decided that in addition to the gender audit (mentioned earlier in the report) it was essential to take gender issues as a starting point for judging each new activity or campaign. It should be made clearer that we are talking about women workers: they have to be named as such and support actions have to be geared more to their needs. The focus on the workplace is important, but linking with the community and the household has to be stronger, as this is also part of the reality of women workers, and the location of rights violations. The obligations of companies should be reconsidered in this light. Meetings to discuss these issues were organized during the conference to take the discussion a step further and ensure that they were taken into account in developing the new strategies.

Generally speaking, people felt that **all four areas of work** of the CCC (raising public awareness, solidarity work, pressuring companies and legal initiatives) **were useful and should be maintained**.

Some **general strategy comments** on the different CCC work areas received prior to the Barcelona meeting:

- ★ People are **cautious about** (but not willing to dismiss) the CCC's strategy of **working with codes** and monitoring/verification projects. The key is to proceed in a way that takes these concerns into consideration, and ensures that we do not end up spending a disproportionate amount of our resources this work (just because corporations are giving codes so much attention).
- ★ Related a bit to the code work, but more specifically to our involvement in several multi-stakeholder initiatives to learn more about monitoring and verification is the question of **reconciling the campaign's two somewhat contradictory roles** — campaigns that target companies vs. organizations that sit down and work with companies (ex. in pilot projects on monitoring and verification).
- ★ Many believe the campaign should put **more effort into lobbying governments and pursuing legal initiatives**.
- ★ People also believe it is important to **discuss** more on how **corporate strategy** has changed and what this means for the development of our strategy. This was done extensively in the 'trends' session, but we should keep this up and devote more time to research and to sharing the results. Related to this, people felt we have to think more on how to better facilitate access to/usability of information and improve content (ex. more on freedom of association and collective bargaining) for both consumers and workers (ex. education initiatives, databases on companies and labor laws).
- ★ Relating to the CCC's **awareness-raising** work the following concerns were specifically raised:

What **new means** can the CCC use to reach consumers and local organizations to engage them in the campaign (for example, someone suggested young consumers be directly linked up with young workers?)? An important issue was whether we could come up with strategies that would appeal specifically to women. We heard at Nike's shareholder meeting in the Netherlands that they were specifically targeting European **women**, so if European women are specifically under attack we need to come up with more opportunities for them to participate in the campaign.

In the responses, we heard good things about the campaign's awareness-raising strategies (for example, postcard actions and presenting eye-witness testimony on working conditions) — but don't we really need to gauge the **impact** of these methods? This is a call to use a thorough evaluation to inform our strategizing.

- ★ Questions of the CCC and the media were raised in some of the responses, and it seems that we need to think about a few things: **What is our media image** — at the various national levels and internationally — and are we satisfied with it? Do we need a more comprehensive media strategy? and at what level should such a strategy be coordinated?
- ★ How can the **CCC action model** (for example the urgent appeals system) be **improved to be more effective**? This is mentioned already in relation to the evaluation comments. Strategizing on this should take into consideration corporate responses (ex. cutting and running in response to case-work that supports unionization at specific factories) and the CCC's own overall policy toward companies. The CCC should evaluate the campaign's system of company working groups — has this been an efficient/effective way of facilitating decision-making and communications regarding the campaign's interactions with companies?

## STRUCTURE OF THE CAMPAIGN

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The last strategic item that we asked people for feedback on was the structure of the campaign. How did people feel about the current structure of the campaign? Is it functioning well, are people satisfied with their roles within this structure, or would another structure facilitate better participation and make it easier to achieve our goals?

**The organizational structure of the CCC at the time of the Barcelona meeting is as follows: in ten European countries coalitions of NGOs and trade unions together form the national level CCCs. They operate autonomously, but work together where possible under the umbrella of the European CCC. The international CCC network of partners consists of trade unions, NGOs, and networks or similar campaigns in producer and consumer countries. There is no formal organization or structure; cooperation is structured via projects. Sometimes links are maintained via active organizations in the campaign and sometimes via the international secretariat.**

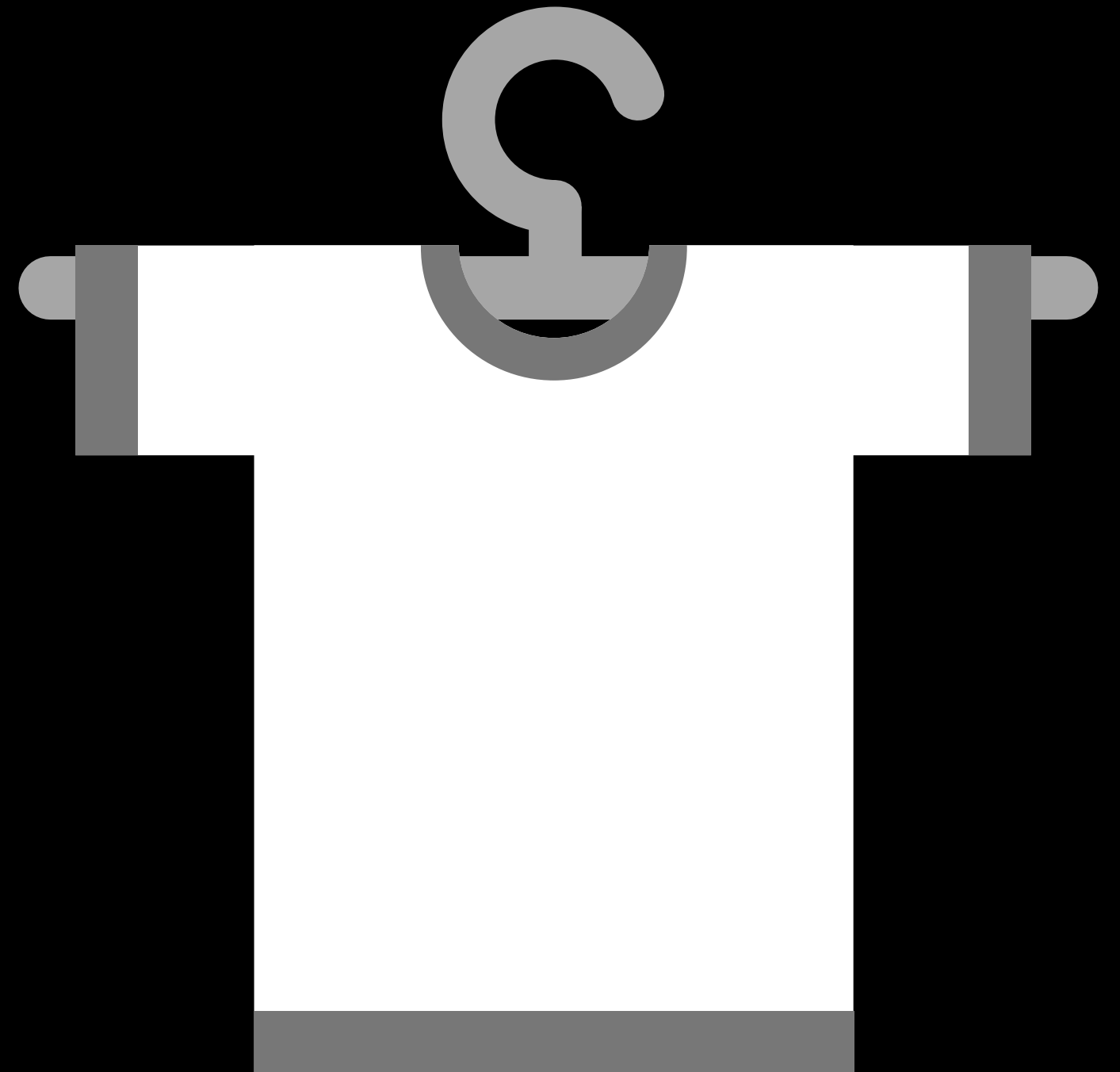
Though **generally people are satisfied with the structure** there is a certain amount of **confusion** on the extent to which partners in non-Western European countries can take up Clean Clothes Campaign work or start their own CCC. Where this happens (ex. Philippines, or now the Bulgarian/Romanian initiative) there is no clarity of their position within the existing CCC decision-

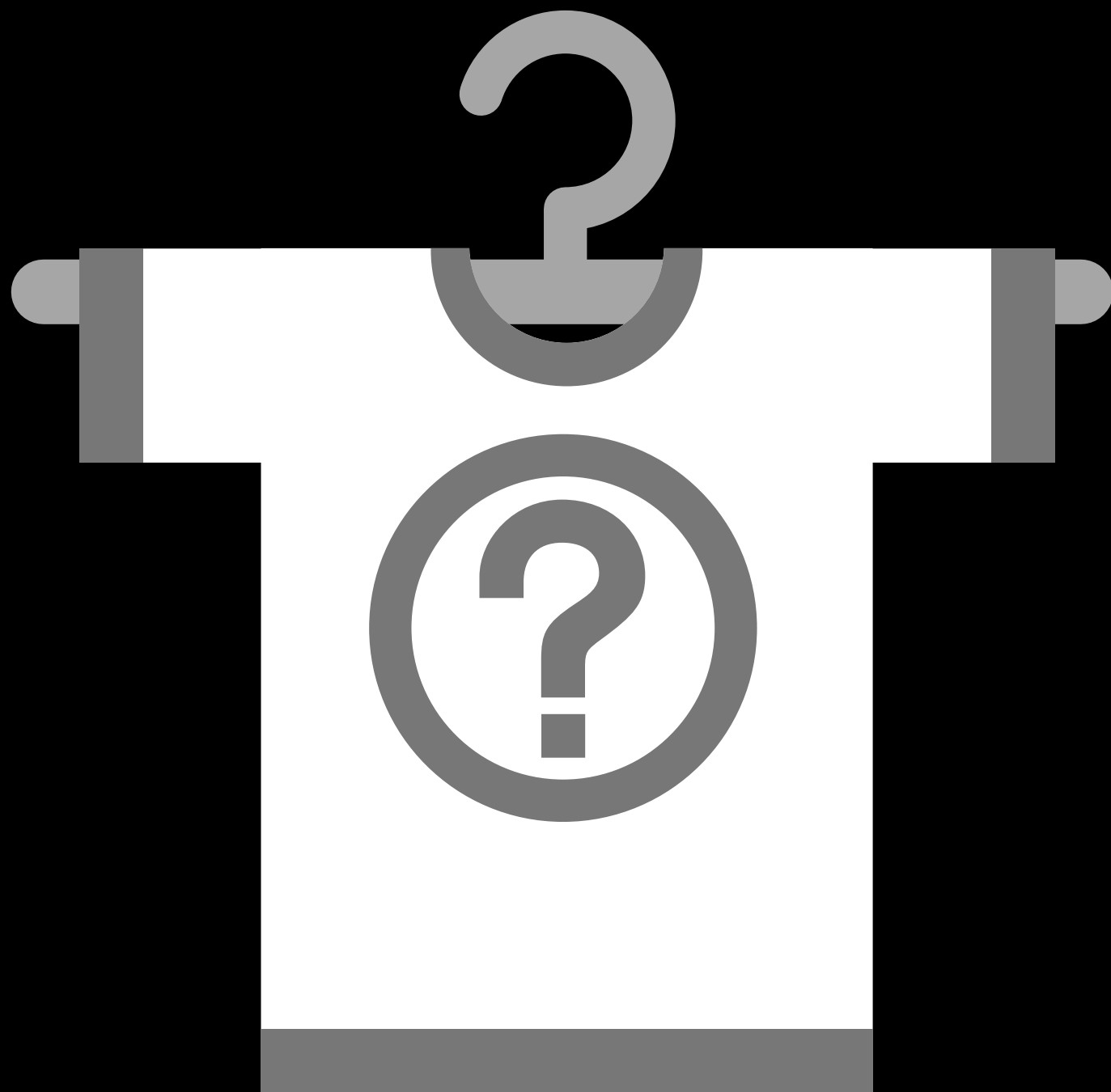
making or communication structures. Organizations who see themselves as partners in a specific CCC project or CCC activity also find it strange to have the campaign referred to as European, thereby excluding them. This has implications on how CCC partners feel in terms of "ownership" and responsibility in relation to the Campaign's themes. Related to this is the interest of Southern (ex. Asian) groups to further the development of the consumer movement in their own regions.

At the Barcelona meeting people made clear their interest in more cooperation among regions, via internationally-coordinated projects and exchange. Some campaigns/actions were prioritized that will be international from the start (Right to Organize Campaign).

Through the regional workshops (see section three) priorities were set for the CCC internationally, but these differ per region. People see the campaign as international, but per activity or project the involvement of the different regions (and accompanying decision-making and communication structures) will have to be defined. There is a marked **hesitancy to overformalize a structure, and rather a desire to let growth occur "naturally," and be led regionally.**

One specific concern that was raised before the conference but **not really addressed: How to reconcile national-level priorities with international priorities?** When does national campaigning become international campaigning, and vice versa? What is the relationship between strategizing at both levels?





## Part III What are we facing?

To develop effective strategies we need to understand what is happening in the world around us: we need to look “outside”.

Participants were asked to join workshops focusing on the perspectives of key actors relevant to CCC work (companies, workers, trade unions/NGOs, and consumers) or on three main themes (gender, environment, and informalization/homework). Each group was asked to consider three questions:

- ★ What developments are we facing, what major concerns do we see, what demands do different actors make of us?
- ★ Can we group these into trends?
- ★ Which are the three most important trends for us to focus on?

Several groups came up with concrete ideas for an agenda in this session; others spent time on analy-

sis of past developments and then discussed what future trends could be expected. The outcome of discussions has been integrated into the relevant sections of the report (either the evaluation or agenda sections). Please keep that in mind if searching for comments made during specific sessions.

Below are the reports of the different groups. After these session were reported back on in plenary, and some debate took place, the program team took the reports and reorganized them into six main trends, which were then presented back to the plenary for approval. These are presented in the box on the next page.

### TRENDS RELATING TO WORKERS

This group made a distinction between positive and negative developments they saw around them.

**Positive points:**

- ★ increasing solidarity network (international link to local level solutions)
- ★ growing workers solidarity
- ★ resistance to globalization
- ★ compromises from multinationals
- ★ womens' participation in solidarity work
- ★ discussion of a redefinition of work

**Negative points:**

- ★ informalization of work

- ★ cutting and running
- ★ migrant workers: interregional and from South to North
- ★ unemployment
- ★ violation of basic human rights (also we are sometimes reduced to bargaining for basic rights)
- ★ union membership is declining throughout the world (under attack, but also unions are having a difficult time adjusting to the feminization of work)
- ★ workers not involved in the creation of codes of conduct, linked to this: monitoring groups can be removed from the labor situation, also there is an increase in pseudo-independent monitoring

# SUMMARY OF MAIN TRENDS

## 1. Garment companies

- ★ constant relocation to countries with lower wages and lower levels of labor organizing
- ★ multi (trans)nationalization of production companies (suppliers themselves becoming TNCs)
- ★ informalization - increase in homework

*(This is facilitated by deregulation (IFIs, WTO, regional trade blocs)*

## 2. Increase in legislation but mainly for PR purposes

- ★ possible countertrend: court cases, attention for ILO conventions

## 3. Growing civil society movement (counter movements) opposing neo-liberal globalization

- ★ possibilities for involving people in “multiple identities”: consumer, worker, citizen
- ★ offers perspectives for building new or stronger alliances (environmental movement, student/youth movement)

## 4. Monitoring and verification of codes

- ★ Growth of company-dominated code systems (commercial private auditing systems), without direct involvement of workers or consumers (citizens)
- ★ growing participation of NGOs and trade unions in the development of monitoring and verification projects and in “pilots” (also relating to “large buyers”: universities, communities/public authorities)

## 5. Possibilities for supporting worker organizing (into unions, including new forms of organizing)

- ★ though facing increasing flexibilization and repression
- ★ worker education programs
- ★ networking
- ★ right to organize campaigns

## 6. Continuing scope for (consumer) campaigns focusing on major brands

- ★ urgent appeals
- ★ (inter)national action on concrete violations of labor standard
- ★ different types of awareness raising in “the North”
- ★ increased attention for sustainable production and consumption, “responsible business”

- ★ job insecurity (linked to cutting and running, ex. in the context of the Indonesian labor market where there is increased trade union activity companies get scared and leave)
- ★ automation of jobs

**In conclusion, the group chose four major trends or developments that are of crucial importance for workers:**

1. exchange of information through networking and solidarity, both by grassroots groups and civil society
2. resistance to globalization
3. loss of job security/informalization of labor
4. growing repression of those who fight for labor and human rights, and of migrant workers.

## TRENDS RELATING TO COMPANIES

The group came up with three major trends, and listed the “subtrends” that are part of them.

### 1. Development of self-regulatory systems of company-dominated monitoring and other company activities that may fool consumers and make it difficult for us to push for CCC demands

- ★ Growth of company-controlled monitoring systems
- ★ Growth of commercial social auditors: some will leave this area of work (ex. PWC), others stay and put their reputations at stake
- ★ NGOs and academic community increasingly involved in monitoring
- ★ These systems are being presented as “alternatives” to unions – what role in monitoring is left for the workers? Academics and NGOs replacing the role of workers/unions?
- ★ These systems are moving fast while we are still only experimenting and don’t have a “product” (monitoring) to sell to the consumer
- ★ Companies set up their own NGOs or NGO-conglomerates (ex. BSR, Ethos, Empresa, Semefi)
- ★ They copy our language and make it hard to distinguish their rhetoric from our arguments
- ★ Growth of “altruistic” activities by companies (ex. development projects) and more detailed reporting by the corporations themselves, partially admitting problems (i.e. reporting quality is indeed partially better than it was)

**Summary:** All this company-led/dominated “activism” has reached a state of density, where it has become difficult to reveal the realities of their activities. It has also become increasingly difficult to distinguish their efforts from genuine CCC efforts – and as a result, it has become more difficult to communicate these issues to the consumers

### 2. Mergers/consolidation among companies is changing the nature of the industry and the subcontracting chain

- ★ Suppliers themselves are becoming MNCs
- ★ Suppliers are coming together to pressure MNC-retailers
- ★ Retailers merge or at least pool their buying-process (even without formal mergers)
- ★ Setting up their own buying offices: middlemen are diminishing: the subcontracting chain is getting shorter

### 3. Flexibilization of workers due to less stable contracting relations, which is caused by the increased turnover of certain garments. Just-in-time production is increasing especially with fashion items.

- ★ Brings more seasonality for the individual subcontractors
- ★ Brings about more frequent changes to different suppliers/contractors
- ★ Shifts production to be regionally nearer to the market: ex. Eastern Europe vs. Asia for

Western Europe; immigrant communities in L.A. and N.Y. for the U.S. market, instead of Central America

- ★ Overall these developments are working towards less stable relationships with sub-contractors
- ★ Overall workers are under more pressure
- ★ More and more work on a piece-rate system (a kind of informalization within formal work-relations)
- ★ More home-based workers than workers in factories – informal work relations

## TRENDS RELATING TO TRADE UNIONS/NGOS

This group spent a lot of time discussing relations between trade unions and NGOs, before discussing the developments facing them. The relationship between trade unions and NGOs is complex, and the Barcelona meeting provided a chance for trade unionists and NGOs to sit together and talk about this, not just with those from their own country or region whom they might know and work with, but also internationally. This exchange was seen as especially positive. At the same time, it became clear once again that the two groups operate from a different context and that this needs to be taken seriously if the campaign wants to keep the cooperation going.

Several major trends were listed:

- ★ Capital mobility to countries where workers are unorganized, most vulnerable, and labor is cheapest
- ★ Decreased labor regulation, increased labor market flexibility pushed by international financial institutions (IFIs), the World Trade Organization (WTO) and the splitting up of the world into trading blocs, the supremacy of the market leading to the erosion of the nation-state.
- ★ Counter trends: people against negative neo-liberal agenda

- ★ Subcontracting is becoming more important as compared to production in own factories (e.g. Thailand)
- ★ Issue of low wages could be seen as an issue to keep workers readily at hand, knowing that they will be prepared to accept an enormous amount of stress when short-term orders for fashion items are coming in. In other words maybe wages are low, but not because of cost arguments, but because they ensure that workers stay “flexible”

- ★ Cooperation needs to be improved between trade unions and NGOs
- ★ Tension exists between trade unions and NGOs, this needs to be resolved through a common agenda
- ★ The North-South divide is often reflected in the failure of cooperation between trade unions and NGOs
- ★ The right of workers to form unions is central. Workers need to organize, unions need to defend their rights and improve conditions for social transformation



## TRENDS RELATING TO PUBLIC AUTHORITIES (GOVERNMENTS)

This group came up with two major trends that are important for future CCC work:

- ★ **Free trade agreements between countries or within the WTO:** basically, they mean more freedom and less responsibility for companies, which interferes with the CCC’s central aim. More specifically **they interfere with CCC work**, such as with the development of a social label or with socially-responsible government procurement policies, since the trend is that governments will be allowed to distinguish between

products made with or without good labor conditions when buying products such as uniforms.

- ★ Because of public outrage at globalization national governments are examining possibilities for **legislation to control TNCs** when operating abroad. Though positive in principle, in reality they generally come up with very weak rules (“**PR legislation**”). A strategic question is what the CCC should do about this, should we discuss this with the government or should we stay outside such negotiation rooms and offer a critique after the fact?

## TRENDS RELATING TO CONSUMERS

This group looked at consumers from the point of the awareness raising activities of the CCC. First they discussed the most **important tactics** that have been used, and what trends they saw there.

- ★ **Price breakdown/analysis:** This is the basic consumer question. By comparing the labor costs to the end price the CCC has managed to get attention. The campaign will need to know more in detail what the real costs are, if consumers will have to pay more for genuine improvement, or if the companies make enough. With the verification projects we have new information to communicate.
- ★ **Image:** The effect of the “scandal” is decreasing, people see it is a simplification. The CCC needs to have the image of a constructive and sustainable campaign with activities in many fields; with impact in the South and the East. In that context it is important to stress the responsibility of each consumer. Up to now, the decision of what sort of image to project has been a local level decision, but maybe we should create

one (European) image? This links in with media attention, which comes and goes, and which is largely beyond the control of the CCC. Are better partnerships/more long-term involvement possible with the media?

Then a closer look was taken at **what kind of consumers** we are talking about and how they relate to the CCC.

- ★ The CCC has to deal with groups of **informed** and **experienced consumers**. We should define new roles and responsibilities in the CCC for them, perhaps also create separate structures. Consumers should be informed about developments. Contact with the campaigners should be maintained and strengthened.
- ★ An action orientation is important but in a long-term context the CCC should think about **ranking companies** and offering **buying advice**: positive alternatives; acknowledging some TNCs with good practice (risk: publicity for the companies is not our job, but the advantage is we can create competition among companies)



The counter trend here is that **companies** are getting better and **better at responding**: they reply quickly to actions or even anticipate them. There is a need to share information on company responses and define more common points of view. However, the capacity of CCC is limited.

## TRENDS RELATING TO GENDER

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The gender group analyzed one main problem: that there is **a lot of discussion** about gender issues in NGOs, governments, and trade unions, but **little significant change**. Trends that were noted:

- ★ **Women workers organizations lack capacity** at all levels - **trade unions lack gender perspective**. The majority of workers are women, some of them are organized in trade unions, but there are few women in high-level trade union positions.
- ★ **Gender blindness of core labor standards** (it is important to have non-discriminatory laws, maternity laws, etc and to have them implemented)
- ★ **Reinforcement of gender stereotypes in consumer campaigning**. The majority who buy gar-

For all of this closer participation of **Southern and Eastern groups** in our strategies is essential (in formulating the demands, in the monitoring, and in the analysis of the results).

ments are women, they are the mass of consumers. On both sides (workers and consumers) stereotypes exist: "the poor women workers in the South are such poor helpless victims," "women (above all married women) should not take any function in a trade union."

*Additionally:* The growth of the informal sector has increased activity not only for women workers in the sector, but also women who run their own small enterprises (ex. workshops). The majority of small entrepreneurs in the industry are women, but they often do not have access to credit.

## TRENDS RELATING TO THE ENVIRONMENT

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This discussion group identified the following main trends:

- ★ **Increase in sustainable production and consumption** (includes interest in less consumption, more responsible consumers, interest in simple lifestyles, second-hand clothes, interest in fair trade and organic products)
- ★ **Links between consumer protection** (legislation, ex. regarding AZO dyes) **and improving labor conditions**

- ★ Growing importance of **organic farming**
- ★ Attention for "**responsible business**" (in terms of social, health, and environmental concerns) likely to be a long term trend
- ★ **NGOs gaining (political) influence**: relevant for environmental and social policy; involvement with governmental decision making (ex. in cooperation with green parties)

## TRENDS RELATING TO INFORMALIZATION/HOMEWORK

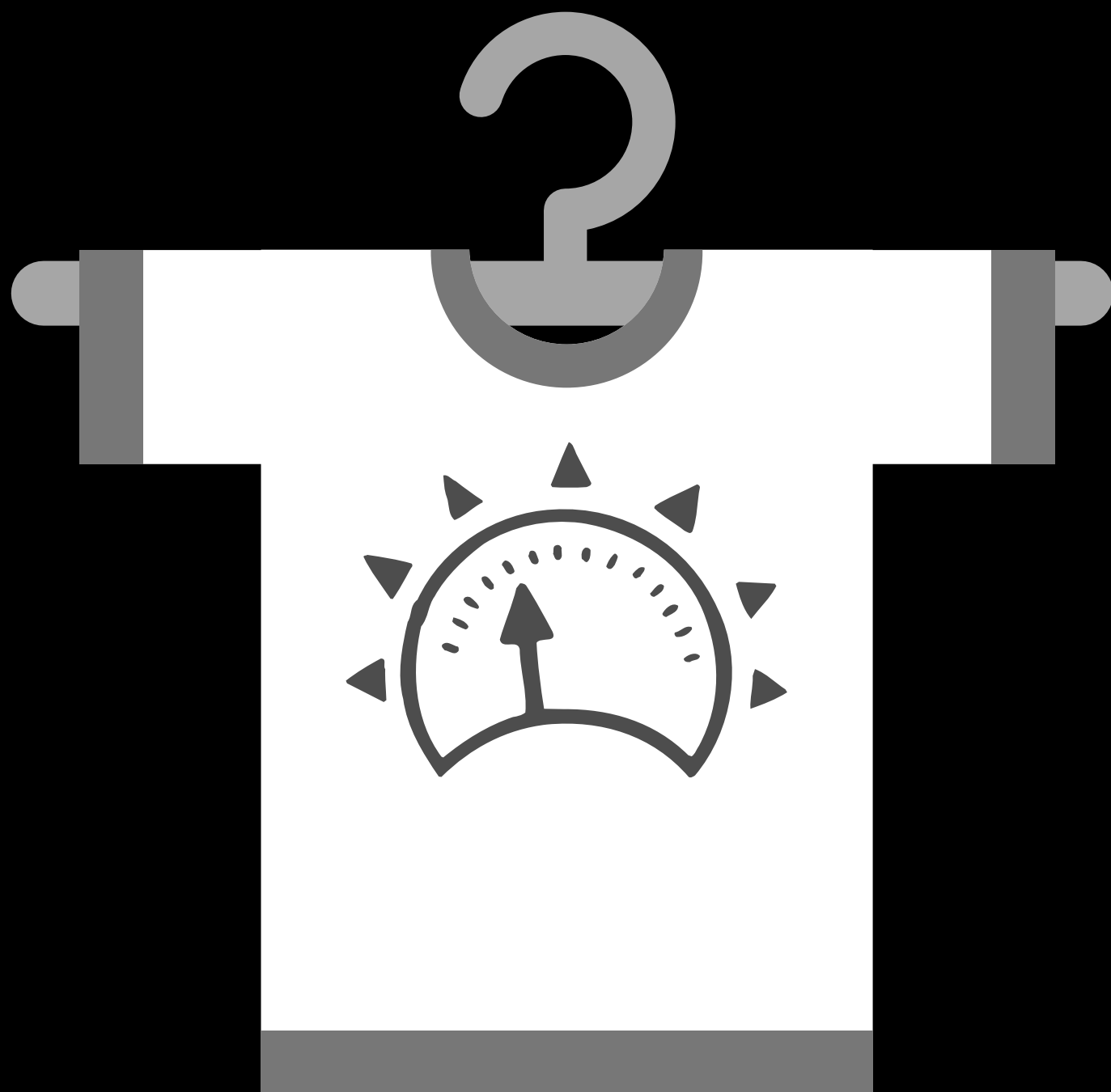
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This group discussed the trends underlying the increase in informalization and homework:

- ★ The characteristics of informalization: more work, less pay, less social protection, more child labor
- ★ The driving forces of informalization are **neo-liberal policies of globalization** (ex. deregulation), accompanied by **racism** and **sexism**
- ★ The garment industry is more and more informalized in both **North and South** (domestic, export) examples: EPZs, sweatshops, homework

Within this context we can see:

- ★ **The ILO** increasingly prioritizing the informal sector e.g. 2002 Conference on Informal Sector
- ★ **Organizing** in informal sector by SEWA (India) SEWU (South Africa)
- ★ **Risks of codes** creating more informal work, for example, companies set up big model factory — sweatshops hide behind these. Children can be pushed into more dangerous work



## Part IV Regional Perspectives on Priorities and Strategies for the CCC International Network

To get further input for the strategy discussion, space was created within the program to share regional perspectives on the issues the campaign needs to address at the international level. First, a panel made up of representatives from various regions presented their views on the issues they are concerned about in their home regions and the associated concerns for the CCC. Then participants split up into regional discussion groups to continue this line of thinking and to specifically consider the trends in the garment industry that were highlighted the day before (see box page 28)

### PANEL DISCUSSION

Joan Axthlem (U.S.), Sandra Ramos (Nicaragua), Sujana Krishnamoorthy (India), Verka Vassileva (Bulgaria), Willy Mats'eo (Lesotho) and Chan Ka Wai (China) participated in a panel discussion, which was facilitated by Maggie Burns (UK). The following issues were raised:

- ★ the need to look at the **secondhand clothing** industry (as secondhand goods from outside the region flood the market and undermine the local industry, especially in Africa);
- ★ the need to **carry out CCC activities** in conjunction with unions and NGOs in production areas, and the need to support capacity building for these organizations;
- ★ the idea of **regional offices** for the CCC (outside of Europe) was raised, while the scarcity of funds for setting up regional projects was also noted;
- ★ the impact of **new technology** on the industry should also be considered (ex. the pressure such technology puts on subcontracting chains and workers);

- ★ **non-European brands** should also be targeted for improvement;
- ★ the trend towards **unemployment** in areas where the garment industry is being **privatized** was noted, as well as the influx of **foreign owners**;
- ★ the need for **mapping the industry** was cited;
- ★ the need for **inter-regional exchange** of information and experience on the industry was noted (ex. Asia-Eastern Europe). Intra-regional networking is important, but the experience of some has not always been positive (ex. becoming overloaded by adding your neighbor's problems to your own);
- ★ the continued **need for information** from the CCC **on brands/retailers** (structure, operations, their codes of conduct) was cited, and
- ★ the significance of **trilateral campaigning** (as in

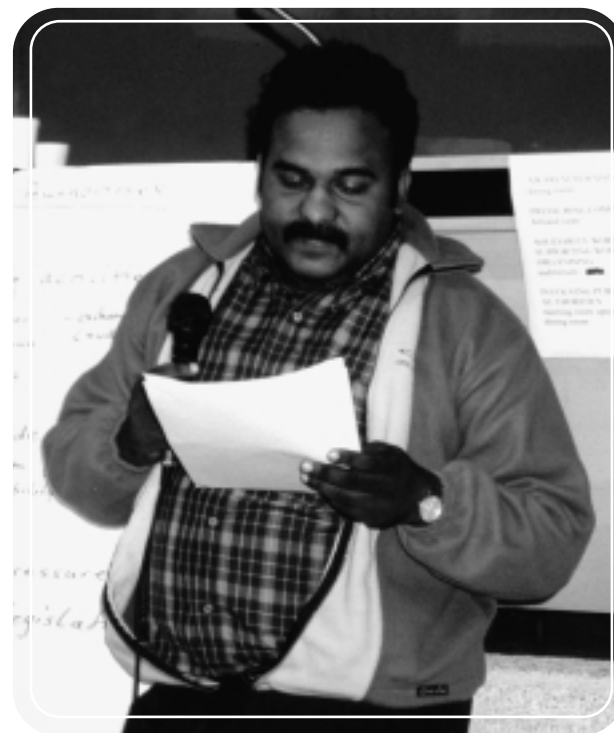
the case of the labor dispute at the Kuk Dong factory in Mexico) was noted. Trilateral in the sense that consumer support came from the U.S./Europe, information and production was coming out of Mexico, and the factory owners were in Asia.

*The discussion on regional issues of relevance to the CCC were opened up to all the participants, who took part in regional discussion groups on Central America; Northern Africa; Southern Africa; Asia; Eastern Europe; Western Europe and the United States, Canada and Australia. Participants were asked to respond to the trends outlined the day before in the context of their own regions and to outline and prioritize actions to be taken by the CCC network in response to those developments.*

## PERSPECTIVES FROM ASIA

Conference participants working in Asia called for:

- ★ **increased information exchange** (related to this would be translation of materials into local languages and increased acquisition and/or upgrade of information technology infrastructure)
- ★ **education work** (with a broader scope) to be done;
- ★ **expansion of the network** to include Asian consumer organizations and other stakeholders in the region the development of an international network on informalization in order to raise awareness/campaign and lobby at the policy-making level (research/advocacy/campaign);
- ★ **corporations to take up more responsibilities** for implementation of codes of conduct; and
- ★ the organization of a **regional meeting among the CCC's Asian partners** in order to discuss and strengthen their cooperation.



## PERSPECTIVES FROM CENTRAL AMERICA

The Central American discussion group noted the following trends:

1. The **increase in subcontracting** for major multinational brands
2. International financial institutions imposing **structural adjustment policies**, with a tendency to deregulate labor
3. Support from **civil society for reform** labor legislation and foreign investment laws that govern *maquilas*
4. However, **civil society** is relatively **isolated** and **weak**, although there have been initiatives taken in various countries
5. There is an urgent **need** to build national and international **alliances**
6. Increased involvement from civil society, for example the work of GMIES (Independent Monitoring Group of El Salvador) and COVERCO (Commission for the Verification of Codes of Conduct, Guatemala) who are beginning to legitimize the **application of codes of conduct** as a tool to support labor rights.
7. NGOs initiating **pilot projects** to verify technical labor conditions
8. Modest regional and national initiatives developing to denounce violations of human rights and labor rights, develop and implement educational



programs, and mount campaigns. However, results are mixed, and unfortunately there is little or no coordination between them.

### **What is needed:**

- ★ Increased capacity and coordination to implement national and regional campaigns.
- ★ Sustainable resources, and more concrete cases and diagnostic assessments.
- ★ Translations

## PERSPECTIVES FROM EASTERN EUROPE

The Eastern Europe discussion group commented on the following trends in relation to their region:

### **1. Garment company trends:**

- ★ There is intensive **relocation** to countries with lower wages and lower organization within Eastern Europe; low organization is due to repression by management and due to distrust of workers towards trade unions. Manufacturing

conglomerates still invade Eastern Europe, but there are also (existing or new) small national suppliers.

- ★ **Informalization** is also taking place within the formal sector and homework exists, but the sensitivity about homework is not there, particularly with trade unions.



★ **EU enlargement** (harmonization according to EU law and EU trade policy) is very important for the region. Both subsidize informalization and relocation by facilitating outward processing trade.

**2. Increased legislation but mainly for public relations (PR) purposes:**

The PR legislation in the region is **mainly harmonization according to EU law**. For instance, labor inspectors are now entitled to fine companies much more, but the inspectors are personally threatened and their willingness to fine is lower. Respect of national labor law is low and there is nobody who pursues complaints. The Bulgarian Gender Research Foundation plans to develop model court cases to enforce women's labor rights.

**3. Growing civil society movement opposing neo-liberal globalization:**

People perceive globalization and anti-

globalization movements as something **far away**. There are no links seen between a social situation and globalization and deregulation. Our aim is to strengthen social movements in our countries.

**4. Monitoring and verification of codes:**

Codes are not an issue, but there are already **commercial social auditors** active in our countries as second and third party auditors.

**5. Possibilities for supporting worker organizing:**

Education and networking on codes and labor rights is exactly what we want to do in the project that is recently underway with participants from Bulgaria, Romania and Germany to pursue CCC work in the region. Our first aim must be **awareness raising**.

**6. Continuing scope for (consumer) campaigns focusing on major brands:**

Maybe for Bulgaria the intensive presence of Puma might be a starting point for consumer actions. Since **most production is for export**, the power of consumers is not so high (as in Hungary or Poland). Urgent actions must be prepared and done very carefully. We would prefer to otherwise strengthen the workers organization nationally or through regional action and court cases.

**Priorities for the CCC:**

Relocation to and within Eastern Europe is still strong; the most important factor is time for the manufacturers. This leads to informalization and lower levels of organization. This is in the framework of EU enlargement. Awareness raising through education and networking in conjunction with information gathering is vital for us, specifically information on supply chains, working conditions, codes, and labor rights.

## PERSPECTIVES FROM NORTHERN AFRICA

The Northern Africa discussion group reported on the industry trends in the context of Morocco.

**1. Garment company trends:**

There is a **relocation** of companies in Morocco. There are **homeworkers**, but the garment companies are organized in workshops: **sweatshops**.

**2. Increased legislation but mainly for PR purposes:**

The present situation (of garment companies) is that they have been affected by the new legislation with a clear loss of achievements. This is particularly so in terms of salaries, working conditions, and bargaining power. These legal changes are **introduced without being noted**.

**3. Growing civil society movement opposing neo-liberal globalization:**

In Morocco, there are **very few anti-globalization actions** by the unions and the civil society but there is **growing awareness**.

**4. Monitoring and verification of codes:**

There are difficulties in getting consumers involved, especially in the garment sector, although there is a growing market in the cities for famous brands. Codes of conduct and monitoring are **unknown** in Morocco.

**5. Possibilities for supporting worker organizing:**

There is **heavy repression**, so much that it prevents the work of the trade unions and associations. There are very few training programs for workers (female workers). There are many small organizations but they are dispersed. There is a need to promote the right to associate, and an urgent **need to work more with women**. There are real obstacles for women to organize, not only in their workplace but getting support and approval from their families.

**6. Continuing scope for (consumer) campaigns focusing on major brands:**

Urgent appeals: Find out about the activities of TNCs in Morocco

**Priorities for the CCC:**

1. Support workers organizations to fight against repression and the impact of the flexibilization of production practices
2. Training and capacity building of workers
3. Research on multinationals in Morocco and their involvement in subcontracting
4. Awareness raising on the situation of women. For this coordination with NGOs and trade unions is necessary.

**Actions:**

1. Letter writing to governments and companies responsible. CCC representatives visit workers (victims of repression) to support them, speak to the local media, local authorities, etc.
2. Working together with local NGOs to carry out literacy courses on the labor rights of both men and women workers and exchange information and experiences.
3. Research has already started with the Spanish CCC on working conditions in Tangier; this will be expanded to other cities and places. Spanish companies are being investigated but other European ones will also be looked at.
4. Information gathering and exchange of experiences. The participant from Morocco suggests a seminar with the CCC's support in the near future. Building up networks.

# PERSPECTIVES FROM SOUTHERN AFRICA

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The discussion group from Southern Africa noted the following in relation to the trends in their region.

## 1. Garment company trends:

- ★ **Textiles** should be included in projects; the focus should not simply be on garments. Although this is sometimes difficult we have noticed in Africa that often the same company may do garments and textiles or a textile factory supplies just one garment manufacturer.
- ★ The ITGLWF is attempting to monitor **fly-by-night companies** by establishing a communication network in the region. Naming companies that have been moving in the newspaper as well as a fax and e-mail network to gather information are ideas for communicating information on such companies.
- ★ Practical information on companies is needed, particularly on **ownership and control structures**, as this is frequently difficult information to access in less developed areas of the region. This is useful information when it comes to campaigning against such companies so that the companies they are producing for may be targeted and exposed. This is also critical should some consumer action be contemplated.
- ★ **Informalization** is intensifying in the region, not strictly speaking in terms of homeworking but in terms of the breakdown of centrally-negotiated agreements and legislation by turning workers into a collection of individual contractors or self-employed people. Some information on experience in other (particularly Asian countries) may be useful here. Also, the practice of casual labor is increasingly being used. These are very difficult workers to organize
- ★ **Investment competition** fuels the race to the bottom; this is an important research area.
- ★ International perspectives to look at different **companies across borders**:

- ★ **Cross-border collective bargaining**: start facilitating this by forming shop stewards councils that cross borders.
- ★ **A Nien Hsing world meeting** to discuss joint actions.

### Priorities for the CCC

- ★ Research into company ownership structures
- ★ Networking capability in linking unions South-South, ex. Africa and Central America
- ★ Information provision on how different countries have dealt with the process of casualization

## 2. Increased legislation but mainly for PR purposes:

Legislation for PR is **not** a process that has been **experienced in Africa**. Other uses of law are being contemplated in terms of suing companies civilly for violations in the countries where this is happening. Presently there is informal use of ILO structures, ex. distributing documents at key ILO meetings

### Priorities for the CCC

There are no real priorities for the CCC here except possibly providing information on other uses of labor law in other areas

## 3. Growing civil society movement opposing neo-liberal globalization:

There are increasing attempts to bridge the gaps between communities and unions. Unions and NGOs are increasingly acting jointly on

social issues. CCC may link into these agendas where appropriate. Awareness around the **AIDS** issue is key here.

## 4. Monitoring and verification of codes:

**Consultation on codes has begun** in a Southern African project where workers are being introduced to codes and their uses and problems, to enable them to decide how, if at all, codes should be used in their particular circumstances.

### Priorities for the CCC

Education on codes and facilitate strategic decisions on their use.

## 5. Possibilities for supporting worker organizing:

- ★ **Education** for regional leadership and activists is happening in Southern Africa. This is a strategic and functional activity.
- ★ Campaigns on **secondhand clothing** and dumping in Southern Africa are beginning. Europe provides charity clothing but these end up being sold at lower cost causing formal sector jobs in Southern Africa to be lost. In most countries formal sector jobs are the only social welfare net in society and every job that is lost affects the lives of about five other people who also depend on this income. To a large degree they also support the informal sector so this is a very serious problem.

★ **Campaigns around specific multinationals**: both research and consumer awareness are important priorities here.

★ The **right to organize** freely is often a problem in Southern African countries where even though regulation exists it is often not upheld or people are subject to direct harassment by the state e.g. Lesotho, Swaziland.

### Priorities for the CCC

- 1 Consumer awareness in the North of the negative effects of secondhand clothing
- 2 Research on multinational companies
- 3 Networking awareness of abuses in Africa
- 4 Awareness of the AIDS context (not a direct responsibility) — networking capabilities.

## 6. Continuing scope for (consumer) campaigns focusing on major brands:

South Africa as a market and other significant consumer markets **need to be organized**. Consumer campaigns should be brand name based.

### Priorities for the CCC:

Establish campaigns in significant African markets.

## PERSPECTIVES FROM THE UNITED STATES, CANADA, AND AUSTRALIA

This working group, with participants from North America and Australia, made the following observations in response to the trends:

### 1. These regions possess large consumer blocks (universities, municipalities, workers who wear uniforms) that can be utilized in campaigns

### 2. Disclosure helps strategically in that it helps identify factories where international campaigns can be helpful

- ★ disclose where factories are
- ★ disclose how much they produce
- ★ develop legislation that codifies disclosure

### 3. Discourage cutting and running

- ★ develop shared strategies about cutting and running in the media
- ★ include punishment (concrete) of cutting and running in our constituencies
- ★ more education on cutting and running with our constituencies
- ★ develop disincentives with groups on the ground on the theme of cutting and running



### 4. Push for disclosure in international financial institutions and free trade agreements (controversial) promoting standards in trade stipulations/agreements

## PERSPECTIVES FROM WESTERN EUROPE

The Western European discussion group categorized their responses by type of action. The group realized they came up with far too many ideas to realistically take up, this should be therefore seen as a brainstorming session, with prioritization to follow in light of the reports received from other regions.

### 1. Campaign-related proposals:

- ★ Focus on successful newcomers in the industry (sportswear?), the ones with a high image profile
- ★ Continue to utilize (soccer) championships and

continue with the sportswear campaign (coming up: Japan, Portugal, Euro championship)

- ★ Continue campaigning to introduce a social label (for companies)
- ★ Homeworkers Campaign
- ★ Need more tools on homework and other forms of informalization; we must also use the existing network (Homenet) and intensify links to it
- ★ Proposal to commonly focus on one specific company (across national European campaigns)
- ★ The right to know: transparency

- ★ Public procurement: campaign targeting city councils/mayors
- ★ Campaign on EU resolution

### 2. Research and evaluation:

- ★ learn more about companies' strategies
- ★ Informalization: carefully look at the whole informalization chain
- ★ Pilot projects: what has been achieved, how should we continue
- ★ Urgent appeals, a better evaluation of their impact is needed; also let's have fewer urgent appeals, but concentrate on following through on those we take up
- ★ Gender audit of CCC: make sure gender is considered in all activities
- ★ Prepare rankings of companies (France, Switzerland) and construct databases on them at national levels

### 3. Communication and network:

- ★ South: more focus on new emerging "apparel countries" (ex. Vietnam, China)  
Emphasis on direct worker support: deepen the strategies to support them; there is a need for regional CCC contact points. The CCC should look for European funds to support them.
- ★ North: work more with trade unions: training programs; get unions to support CCC research  
Mapping of organizational links and their respective potential uses (ex. areas of cooperation, common research). There is a lot of overlap with growing civil society movements (ATTAC, anti-WTO), there should be reporting back on this to the Secretariat and sharing of information.

### 4. Legislation:

- ★ Look more at national labor legislation in Europe (also to improve conditions in Europe – e.g. "black" labor market legislation)
- ★ EU resolution: Follow up, if possible develop a common strategy towards MEPs



- ★ OECD guidelines and national contact points: we should utilize them, even if they are weak
- ★ ILO complaints system/court cases: a complaint with the ILO may lead to a lawsuit, we will also draft other legal cases
- ★ Next year there is a big ILO conference on the informal sector: the CCC should organize a parallel conference in advance to discuss the matter and utilize the opportunity.

### 5. Companies:

- ★ Pilot projects (in the framework of the monitoring projects): at some point we need to decide what to do with them: perhaps the conference in October (DG5 project) is a good opportunity for that
- ★ The strategy of denouncing and having dialogue with TNCs will be continued

### 6. Worker's right to organize needs priority:

- ★ Emphasis on freedom of association
- ★ Provide education for workers
- ★ Focus on collective bargaining agreements (CBAs) – brings in a different focus point, as compared to urgent appeals



## Part 5 An agenda for action

For the last day of discussions, participants went back into groups based on trends/areas of activity (supporting worker organizing; legal initiatives; codes, monitoring and verification; garment industry; brand-focused campaigning & awareness raising; and the growing civil society movement). With participants bringing with them the different ideas that were raised by the various regional groups, these sessions yielded many useful ideas for the campaign's work in the future.

### ACTIVITIES RELATED TO SUPPORTING WORKER ORGANIZING

This group worked on action agendas for two major strategies: developing **worker education programs**, and an **international campaign on the right to organize**, which would include a campaign to have the **ILO convention on homework ratified**.

#### WORKER EDUCATION

Participants decided it would make sense to organize a **clearinghouse on worker education** that would provide people with information on what is already going on/available in this regard (projects, kits, different methodologies, etc.). For each project the following should be made available:

- ★ what is the target group? (ex. workers for an education project on worker rights; organizers for a project on lobbying and negotiation skills)
- ★ what type of education? (ex. on worker rights, globalization, or codes)

- ★ how was the project financed?
- ★ what is the division of roles between trade unions and NGOs?

It was noted that on the CCC website there is already a list of education resources. This list was compiled following the CCC International Seminar on Worker Education and Codes of Conduct, held in 1999. Organizations are encouraged to add their resources to this list.

To improve on this it was decided that regional partners should be identified who will **keep track of education** projects and make lists of **publications** so that others can use the same material. The International Federation of Workers' Education Associations (IFWEA) should be contacted again to discuss this further. AMRC is willing to act as an intermediary for Asia. Possibly, other partners outside the CCC should be found to do the clearinghouse work.

**Campaigns** on specific companies or big brands **should always include the demand for worker education** (as well as other demands).

Setting up a **chatroom** on education was suggested: once a month a chat conference could take place to share information. This could be done in addition to posting information on the CCC mailing list.

Participants stressed the need **to keep in mind what workers see as important**. For example, in Australia an important form of education has been training on English-speaking skills. Many workers are foreigners and their lack of English makes them even more vulnerable in relation to their employer. Through these language classes issues like worker rights and women's rights can be incorporated. In Morocco, a literacy program is important because many workers are illiterate. Different countries and situations require different education programs. Education has to be based on local demands; there is no fixed formula. First a preliminary study should always be done to determine what workers need; then a plan should be drafted to train resource persons, and an education plan should be created which is down-to-earth and simple. On another level, it is essential to train trainers, to include analysis in training, to develop readers, and to share experience with other organizations.

Participants felt that it was important that the target group should be ordinary workers *and* the unorganized, among whom home-based workers should be a priority. The conclusion of the 1999 worker education seminar was stressed again: worker education should start with education on labor rights in general, and only then focus on the different "tools": local laws, codes of conduct, etc. The right to organize was seen as a good starting point, with worker education on other core labor rights also being important. The following roles for trade unions and NGOs were outlined:

#### **Trade unions (in production countries)**

- ★ organize and mobilize workers, organize training (in cooperation with NGOs)

- ★ be aware of demands and develop education plans

Unions (national and international) who are directly involved in the CCC should meet and share more information and **discuss their roles in the CCCs** (this goes beyond participation in worker education initiatives). The international trade union organizations have ongoing campaigns and education projects on worker rights; how can we link up with these initiatives?



#### **NGOs (in production countries)**

- ★ support unions
- ★ when workers do not feel they are represented NGOs can have different responsibilities, they can be more active in actually organizing programs.
- ★ when unions are not allowed: NGOs

Examples were given from Eastern Europe, where workers mistrust their unions, and Morocco, where some trade unions are not interested in worker education but mainly in the training of trade union leaders.

#### **CCCs**

- ★ should work with unions in production countries, should not do educational programs on their own, but instead facilitate information provision,

(via the clearinghouse, or perhaps through a regional intermediary body) and the chatroom (mentioned above).

While the CCCs do not have a direct role in worker education, it would be good for the CCC to work more with national unions in countries of production as well as within countries where CCC campaigns exist, such as the Philippines. In trade union education programs **the CCC can provide input** on themes such as globalization, campaigning, supply chain information, and codes of conduct.

**Financing** these kinds of programs is extremely difficult. Participants felt that in some cases it may be all right to make use of funding from companies.

#### **CAMPAIGN ON THE RIGHT TO ORGANIZE**

Many participants in this group felt that a campaign on the right to organize would give us **common ground** to work on. All participants from the different regions, except the Eastern European participants, felt that in their home context such a campaign could make a valuable contribution to the improvement of worker rights.

If the CCC does this, the campaign must:

- ★ carefully develop and cooperate closely with the international trade union organizations who have ongoing campaigns on trade union rights,
- ★ make a clear plan and focus the campaign on the right to organize as defined by ILO convention no. 87/98 to put this in the framework of human rights in a globalizing world, and
- ★ form a working group with participants from Africa, Asia, North and South America, Australia, and preferably Western and Eastern Europe.

All campaigns should commit to have this as their **top priority internationally**. Campaigning on this issue should be directed at all levels, including at the UN level (ex. Global Compact).

This campaign can involve many consumer, human

rights, and other civil society organizations, for example Amnesty International, Human Rights Watch, churches, women's groups, and of course unions.

Campaigning for the **ratification of the ILO convention on homework** should be the first concrete step of the campaign on the right to organize. To do so, the CCC should:

- ★ organize a conference parallel to the ILO conference on informalized work,
- ★ raise awareness on the content of the convention,
- ★ encourage ratification at all levels, and
- ★ act in solidarity with Homenet, SEWA, SEWU, WIEGO, and IRENE (and therefore not lead).

Other ideas:

- ★ document best and worst practices (shame file)
- ★ the right to organize is not clear enough in codes of conduct (distinction should be made between company codes and model codes) and therefore should be developed and company codes should be challenged
- ★ bring a case from a garment factory where the right to organize is violated to the ILO
- ★ urgent appeals as a tool to assist in collective bargaining negotiations (i.e. cases should not only be pursued *after* violations are reported)

Who should be involved in the campaign?

- ★ at the **international level** a coordination body of unions, NGOs, church, human rights groups, students, etc. is needed
- ★ at the **national level**, unions should collaborate with NGOs. Tools: education; training; lobbying at the international, regional, and local levels; other activities
- ★ at the **regional level**, unions should take the lead, exchange information, and involve other networks, ex. Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, Homenet. Tools: education at the local level, lobby at all levels, demonstrations

A preliminary working group was formed and will draft a proposal.



## ACTIVITIES RELATED TO GARMENT COMPANIES

To address the relocation of companies the CCC needs:

- ★ information on new regions and
- ★ better connections between regions. This should be done through: exchange of information, visits, research into company structure and strategies, research on labor conditions.

To address the regulations governing companies and the lobbying that governments do at the international and regional level the CCC needs:

- ★ tracking of investment agreements;
- ★ a campaign to highlight trends; and
- ★ a campaign to strengthen workers' voices within the ILO.

To address the production triangle (the big manufacturing TNCs in Taiwan, South Korea, and Hong Kong) the CCC needs:

- ★ codes of conduct for retailers (also the OECD code);
- ★ new campaigns on manufacturing TNCs, based on links between regions;
- ★ information; and
- ★ to trace production chains (through interviews with buyers and agents, the trade press and internet).

To address the increase in informalization the CCC needs:

- ★ an international campaign on the informal sector;
- ★ local campaigns to organize the informal sector;
- ★ to use the existing networks on homework (Homenet, IRENE, WIEGO);
- ★ campaigns for local legislation to protect workers in the informal sector (and implementation of that legislation); and

- ★ active promotion and inclusion of the ILO convention on Homeworking in codes.

It will be essential to **differentiate strategies on footwear and strategies on garments**. In footwear we see stable suppliers to specific brand names, but for garments we do not. Then we have to follow up at both ends: target retail TNCs *and* the big manufacturers. For the latter, we can choose one or two; this will involve different local partners (also in the process of decision making).

To be able to realistically carry out this agenda we need to **map all CCC partners**: who is working in which areas, what are their priorities.

On the research agenda we should link in as much as possible to **existing research**, such as on informalization, and have Homenet take the lead in further developing this while strengthening the link with the CCC. Informalization research should have a priority, but be **linked in with (consumer) campaigns**.

Research on the subcontracting system is very difficult to develop in reality. Local level CCC partners in production countries should extend their research capacity also by linking in more with local groups that are working for garment workers in various areas. This might be complicated by the brand focus of the campaigns: it is hard to study the working conditions for one specific brand. A **special website** could be set up as a way of sharing information on tracing chains.

## ACTIVITIES RELATED TO CODES, MONITORING, AND VERIFICATION

Participants predicted that it would be difficult to come up with a concrete, common agenda on this controversial subject due to the many different experiences participants have, both regionally and according to organizational background. Across regions the ideas (definitions, perceptions) on what constitutes monitoring and verification differ widely.

It was decided to spend time on sharing actual experiences, since this was one of the first opportunities for such an interregional and interorganizational exchange. Discussing "regional approaches to monitoring and verification" turned out to be both interesting and enlightening.

Overall the growth and strengthening of company-dominated monitoring systems (**commercial firms**), defined as major trend number one, has meant that **civil society is not driving the process**, but at best intervening in the process. Local/Southern groups are not setting conditions.

Participants (mainly from Central America) saw countering this with **local (monitoring) groups who should pay more attention to setting these conditions** as one strategy. This process should be taken up seriously. "We, the local people need to do the monitoring and develop our own systems. We should for example develop links with universities to improve monitoring methods." Central American participants felt that monitoring needs to be independent and professional. Workers need to understand the process. Monitoring is diagnostic but does not fight for change - that would be taking the role of the unions. It is hard to see workers as monitors, they are one of two parties - they cannot be independent. Daily monitoring has to be done by workers, but independent monitoring is a different approach.

At the same time for many others it is still an overriding concern that codes are becoming too much a focus of work and workers are not involved in the

process. Especially **in the Chinese context**, it seems an extremely **difficult and ineffective strategy** to follow. A key issue in the Asian context is also who pays for monitoring? If the company pays, the monitoring cannot be independent. How frequently should monitoring take place? At the most, it is two times a year, and by leaving out the workers the only real monitors are excluded.

Participants concluded that **it is impossible to take codes and monitoring out of their regional context**, and that regional differences have to be respected.

The CCC's have become engaged in several multi-stakeholder projects on monitoring and verification, including pilots (jointly with Southern/Eastern partners). The hope is that through this we can learn more about what kind of monitoring/verification can work, under which conditions, and how to **develop our own alternatives**. From the Northern perspective, this kind of engagement is also needed to enable us to continue campaigning, to differentiate between companies willing to accept certain demands and those who do not. The WRC is also working on an alternative.

The job for the CCC, to be done in close cooperation with those working on these issues internationally, is to:

- ★ collect and distribute information on the different monitoring and verification experiences, and
- ★ make comparisons for our own learning and to combat commercial audit systems.

Two important points to keep constantly in mind when doing this:

- ★ the relationship with local labor law and
- ★ the impact on the right to organize and bargain collectively.

Concretely, a meeting for further interregional exchange can be linked in with a conference planned in October for evaluating monitoring projects at the European level. Groups from Asia, Europe, Central America, and Canada could participate. Other activities could be: joint research and publications, for example on our relations to such initiatives as SA 8000, FLA, and the Global Alliance.

## ACTIVITIES RELATED TO LEGAL INITIATIVES

Participants decided there were four major goals for the coming years:

- ★ Present cases under the **OECD guidelines**
- ★ Presenting a **case to a court**
- ★ Follow and influence **new laws**: as stated throughout the conference many laws exist for PR purposes, but we have to still influence them, pushing for higher standards
- ★ **WTO conformity**: get clarification from our governments on possible (non)conformity of our initiatives plus clarify our own position and use this area of work for building links with the respective parts of the anti-globalization movements.

### 1. OECD GUIDELINES AND NATIONAL CONTACT POINTS

Participants feel we should **utilize them**, even if they are weak (they are weak mainly because supply chain responsibility is missing, the guidelines only refer to encouraging suppliers where possible). The view is also that by presenting cases we can **prove that the guidelines are too weak** and that legislation that is more effective is needed. These intentions are at odds with each other, and we have to be very strong for that and very careful, so this will not backfire. The OECD is powerful and receives a lot of media attention. Additionally the OECD itself may want to research a case that is

Participants defined additional roles for the CCC:

- ★ Pressuring retailers with a focus on the **sourcing policy** of the company concerned and how this influences the labor situation at the supplier; defining the obligations of “buying companies” versus suppliers, this means looking at the **“true cost”** of code implementation; and
- ★ Continuing to “monitoring the monitors.”

presented to one of the NCPs and then we face problems if we want to maintain confidentiality (for the protection of the workers involved). The same case can be used in different countries.

The following steps and responsibilities were identified:

- ★ A research report about violations (possible cases to put forward)
- ★ Strategy paper on concerns and consequences of filing a case under the OECD guidelines, what do we do if we win or lose
- ★ Consultation with CCC partners (in the South and among the CCCs) about concerns and possibilities to bring forth a case before the national contact points (NCPs) of the OECD. This includes information on the status of NCPs in respective countries. This should lead to a common agreement on strategy.
- ★ Presenting the case to one or more NCPs (if there is agreement to do so)
- ★ Public campaign
- ★ Also bringing the case to the ILO and Global Compact
- ★ Follow up and utilization during next review of the OECD Guidelines three or four years from now!

### 2. COURT CASE

There has been a lot of study of the possibilities of suing a company which is violating labor standards abroad. Before we can really start a case, we should consult with each other thoroughly on **what the demands are and what workers want**. We should also consider the **repercussions of losing** a case, and how much harm that would do to our campaign. Therefore, we should do a **risk assessment** of pursuing such a strategy.

Steps to take:

- ★ Feasibility studies in Belgium and the Netherlands on both the juridical possibilities and on the effect on the public awareness
- ★ Develop script and checklist and suggest collaboration with CCCs in other countries
- ★ Organize a seminar on activities on court cases every two years
- ★ Training on a national/international level: exchange of information (studies by universities: CCC secretariat will formulate research questions that can be used by international law students in Europe or internationally.)
- ★ Present a case in three to four years: Belgium and Netherlands

### 3. NEW LAWS

As has become clear, there are **a lot of developments** in the legal field. This ranges from social clauses in free trade agreements to governments being “ethical consumers” to proposals for laws on holding TNCs responsible for labor conditions when operating abroad. The CCC needs to compile information on these activities so we can have an **overview** and if possible make comparisons. Furthermore, in the future it would be good if the CCC has a **joint strategy** towards policy made by national governments and/or international institutions. We can **develop a toolkit** with demands, information, and advice for the governments or parliamentarians and make alliances with other groups.

Participants agree that a better integration among the (European) campaigns is necessary when it comes to lobbying for European standards. A common strategy towards MEPs on the follow up of the Howitt resolution is one thing, in addition to this there are other proposals for **national level laws that could be taken to the European level** and/or require European harmonization (for example the proposals on MNC social reporting requirements).

Steps to take:

- ★ Overview of existing law (in collaboration with universities). Questions: In which legal areas shall we collect information, priorities, what should be left to other organizations? Map resources
- ★ Identify elements needed to hold MNCs responsible for their supply chain and themselves (such as social reports, traceability of subcontractors, WTO regulation, and extraterritoriality clauses).
- ★ Develop a toolkit to judge proposals on the national, international, and European level, also with a lawyers network or in an international seminar (involve progressive parliamentarians).
- ★ Lobbying!

### 4. WTO

New procurement guidelines on the European level are being worked on by the Commission. We are not closely following that process. The potential main obstacles for city council partnerships: are they in conformance with the WTO? No practical monitoring on this is available. In Belgium there is currently a government study running on WTO conformity, in the Netherlands a law school has been asked to investigate this for the Dutch context. Results will be communicated.

Communication structures:

- ★ The **legal working group will be revitalized and internationalized** (an e-mail list will be maintained by the CCC secretariat).
- ★ **Physical meetings** will also be necessary, in smaller constellations maybe two times/year,

and every two years an international seminar will be held.

★ Funding: several organizations agreed to actively look for funds.

## ACTIVITIES RELATED TO BRAND-FOCUSED CAMPAIGNING AND AWARENESS RAISING

Fundamental points to recognize:

- ★ awareness raising without an action perspective is pointless
- ★ women are workers and consumers; women should not be portrayed as victims (of fashion or exploitation)

Issues to be dealt with:

- ★ labor conditions: move away from the “scandal” approach and oversimplification, instead inform people about the complex production chain, ownership, informalization, and homework
- ★ labor rights: the right to organize is a priority
- ★ codes and labels
- ★ environment (textile and fiber/cotton production)

The group discussed agendas for the following actions/strategies (in order of importance):

- ★ urgent appeals
- ★ brand-focused campaigns (including sportswear campaign, new fashionable brands campaign)
- ★ ranking of TNCs
- ★ promoting/creating alternative brands

### 1. URGENT APPEALS

There is a need to **slow down** and think everything through in relation to urgent appeals. Build a **better relationship** between North and South, **translate documents** into local languages, and **give feedback** both ways.

The CCC should take into account that this instrument is **different from the campaigning approach** that the European campaigns use. With campaigns activities can be planned, but appeals are **unpredictable** both in terms of when they appear and the follow up that they require.

The CCC needs to carry out

- ★ an **impact study** on urgent appeals work of CCC in cooperation with Southern partners; and
- ★ conclusions and options drawn from study must be discussed in a **conference**.

The study should look at the effects (North and South) of urgent appeals, perhaps focusing on one or two cases from beginning to end, but also assessing the difficulties and possibilities of the system, especially in relation to the different avenues of communication: North/South; Northern partner to consumer, and Southern partner to worker. Because of the communication/information problems the CCC will need to discuss the findings within the campaign (the urgent appeal contact people and the campaign coordinators) and with partners, in order to **better integrate urgent appeals into the overall activities of the campaign**.

### 2. BRAND-FOCUSED CAMPAIGNS

The CCC should distinguish between **new target groups and informed consumers**. For new target groups use creative methods. For informed con-

sumers: follow-up of activities, action orientation, define their specific role and responsibility, and eventually create a separate structure

Involve media and famous people (helps achieve wider support, but rather than “flashy” people we should look for those interested in long-term involvement).

**CCC image:** consumers will join the campaign if they like our image. We should shift away from “scandal” although sometimes hitting companies “in the face” can be used as a strategy. We need to **show that we are a sustainable campaign with a constructive approach** and a variety of activities. We need to **demonstrate our impact** in the North and in the South.

The CCC will continue its **focus on sports:**

- ★ Germany: a sports congress will be organized in 2002
- ★ Korea/Japan: World football championships in 2002
- ★ A match with politicians and postcard campaign (Spain)
- ★ Belgium: a sports event this year and probably next year
- ★ Portugal: European football championship

Ideas were mixed on whether or not football is interesting for campaigning in terms of the participation of women. **Tennis** was suggested as another sport to focus on because the big brands put a lot of sponsorship money into this sport and it is considered an area with a “respectable reputation,” so we are sure to attract attention with some cases.

We should bear in mind that the sports brands have developed strong communication strategies to respond to consumer actions.

The CCC should target **new, fashionable brand names**. However, the CCC should not only go after the main brands, but also secondary brands. Which companies to focus on? Should there be a process in which the groups (workers) in production areas, etc. can help to choose?

### 3. RANKING OF TNCs

This strategy has been used in France (report card), and in different formats comparisons have been made between companies in other countries. We need to **coordinate** this at the European/international level, aware of the dangers that accompany this strategy.



### 4. PROMOTING/CREATING ALTERNATIVE BRANDS

There are (few) existing channels of “fair trade” in clothes, and many of the fair trade organizations are active in the CCC; but there are also big differences between fair trade and ethical trade. Maybe now the time is right to **work on an alternative brand** which could specifically employ people who were fired during conflicts. Campaigns could use this brand as a tool to raise awareness.

**New consumer campaigns.** Overall, as said before there is an interest and a **need for consumer campaigns to start in the “producer regions”** (Asia, South Africa). Question: how can the CCC share our experience in this field? Not many concrete agenda plans were developed but participants agree this should be worked out.

## ACTIVITIES RELATED TO LINKING WITH OTHER MOVEMENTS

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This group discussed actions necessary for cooperation with other civil society movements (notably the broad movement in response to neo-liberal globalization, though already there is quite a bit of overlap).

The following actions were defined:

- ★ Gather and disseminate information among CCCs and partners on the movement
- ★ Develop shared CCC understanding of how our focus fits into the broader movement in response to neo-liberal globalization (share this more publicly)

Our framework: basically one of action, with a place for different strategies (education and awareness

raising more in the North, networking and information gathering more in the South). The CCC has to look at its strategies and see where they fit into the broader context.

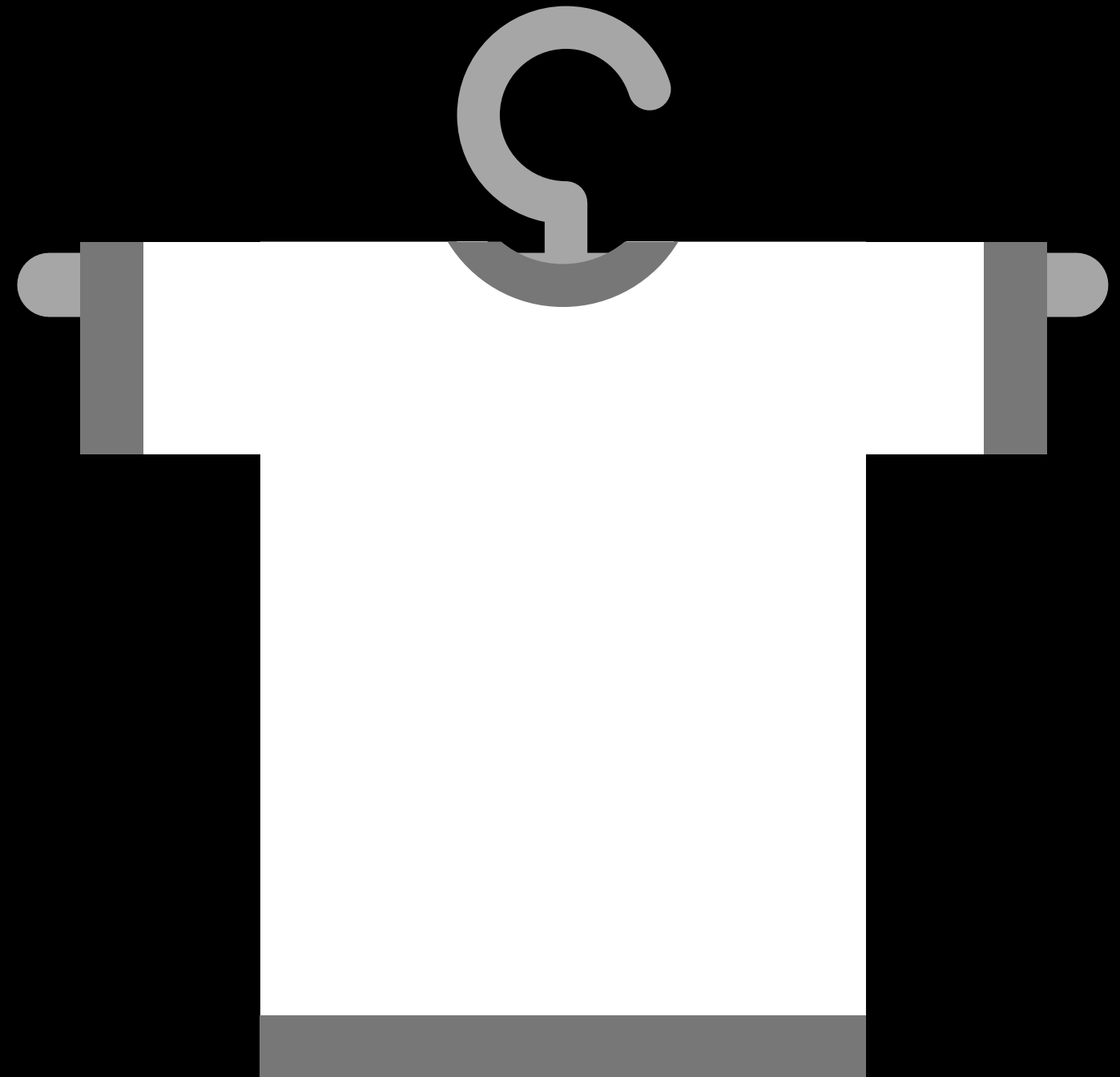
What the CCC offers:

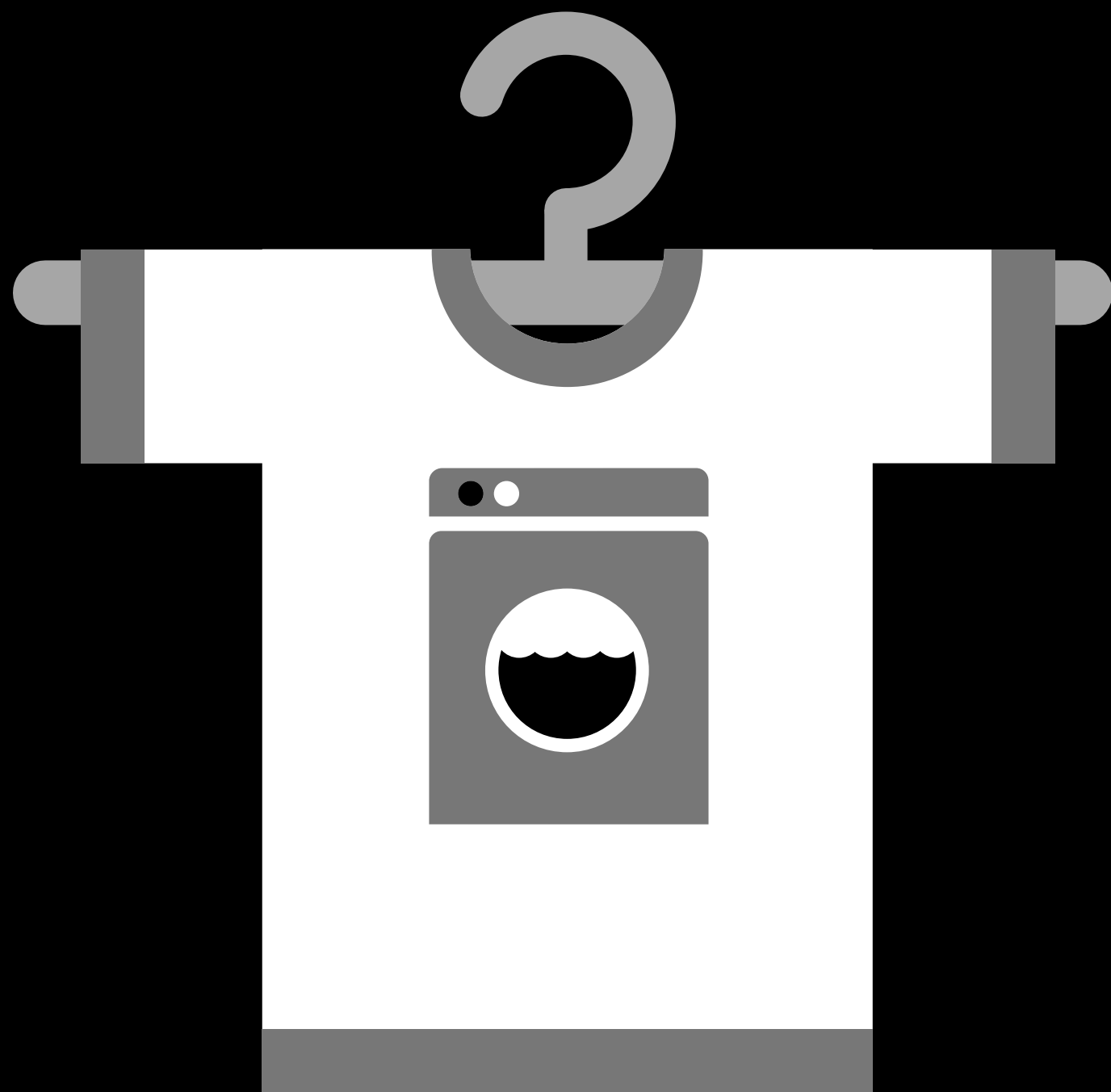
- ★ concrete research into problems,
- ★ concrete demands and rally points (ex. Nike),
- ★ models of demands that could be applied to other areas of broad movement (ex. code of conduct),
- ★ a “branding strategy” that creates awareness of the neo-liberal system, and
- ★ a networking role and mode, South/South, East/South, etc.

## A FEW FINAL WORDS...

It is clear that the process leading up to the meeting and then the five days of sessions in Barcelona generated a great deal of information for the campaign to consider. In the coming months the CCC anticipates spending much time synthesizing all this input — within national coalitions, at the European level, and in consultation with partners throughout the wider CCC network. What we are sure will follow are decisions to be

taken on the numerous recommendations found within this lengthy report and the development of concrete plans for action. It is our sincere hope that those who participated in the process will continue to remain actively involved. People interested in updates on any of the CCC areas of activity or specific items mentioned in this report are encouraged to contact the CCC International Secretariat.





## Appendix A

# Clean Clothes Campaign Discussion Paper: Evaluating the CCC \*

### INTRODUCTION

The Clean Clothes Campaign has been in existence for 10 years. During that time the campaign has grown and the context in which it operates has changed. Many more individuals and organizations are now involved in the campaign, which has spread from the Netherlands to many European countries. Our network of partners and contacts around the world has mushroomed. For example, approximately 200 organizations participate in our international online mailing list and 2500 receive our English language newsletter. Our website receives 600 hits per week. CCC activities include not only demonstrations and rallies that call attention to labor rights violations in the garment industry, but also research and documentation of working conditions in various countries; educational initiatives; an urgent appeals system; the development of and participation in monitoring and verification projects; international seminars, and local level workshops. We are engaged in an ongoing dialogue with our colleagues around the world to develop new ideas and better strategies to achieve our goal of improving working conditions in the global garment industry. For all these reasons therefore, at this juncture it seems logical to pause and reflect on what we have done thus far to reach our goal, and to evaluate our aims and activities.

We believe this evaluation process is crucial: making this effort to contemplate our past will produce insights that will better inform and facilitate our efforts to formulate strategies in the future. In June 2000 the CCC agreed to develop a questionnaire that would be used to compile evaluation perspectives (as well as strategy ideas), not only from organizations within the campaigns, but to seek information on how others perceive the campaign, its work, and its structure. Gathering information in this manner was seen as a preparatory step toward an inter-

national meeting to be held in Barcelona in March 2000 where CCC activities would be evaluated and strategies for the future discussed among members of the various CCCs as well as representatives of partner organizations from other parts of the world.

The questionnaire was circulated to all the CCCs in August. On Sept. 1<sup>st</sup> it was sent out on the CCC's international mailing list. At that time the questionnaire was also posted on our website with an invitation for all those interested to submit a response. E-mails, faxes, and letters were sent out to the groups and people who have worked with the campaign in the past, encouraging them to participate in the evaluation process. The questionnaire was circulated a second time on our international mailing list. Individual groups were contacted with specific follow-up questions. In some cases, where possible, people were interviewed in order to get their input. And finally, the questionnaire appeared in the November 2000 edition of the CCC newsletter, with a call for responses. Information from the questionnaire would be used to form two discussion papers, this evaluation paper and a paper on CCC strategy. Both papers are then by definition incomplete — the discussion is ongoing and are intended to generate more feedback and provoke new ideas.

What follows below is a compilation of the responses we received in response to the questions that dealt with evaluating the CCC. For the sake of brevity we have tried to present this information in the most concise format possible. First, we will take a look at what people understand the CCC to be, followed by what they think it has achieved and what the strengths of the campaign are. Then we will look closer at the weaknesses of the campaign, in terms of activities as well as organization and structure, and finally draw some conclusions. We hope

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\* This paper was written by Nina Ascoly and Ineke Zeldenrust in December 2000 in preparation for the Barcelona meeting. A strategy paper was also written by Ascoly and Zeldenrust, however that document remains an internal CCC publication, not available for public distribution.

that this document will be used to provoke further thought and discussion on the campaign's actions and structure in the past and, in conjunction with the strategy paper due to appear by the end of January, will lead to informed steps to build a better, sustainable campaign for the future.

### WHAT IS THE CCC?

We began our survey by asking people to describe the CCC. We felt that this would be illuminating – to see who and what people perceived the campaign to be. All the respondents seemed to have similar views on what the campaign is, seeing the campaign as focused on improving working conditions in the global garment industry and mentioned some of the specific activity areas which the campaign is involved in. Organizations outside of the European structure of the CCC acknowledged that the campaign exists in several European countries and noted that it operates as a coalition. It is noteworthy though that they described the CCC as made up of NGOs and/or consumer organizations, failing to recognize that trade unions are also an important component of each of the CCC national level coalitions.

### WHAT HAS THE CCC ACHIEVED?

In general, it is believed that the CCC has helped to put the issue of labor rights on “the agenda.” One CCC member said that there has been “a tremendous change in the quality of the public discourse with the corporations (from outright denial over the claim that they could not possibly take responsibility to the principle promise that they are in fact prepared to take responsibility.” Members of the campaign (as well as respondents in North America and the South/East) felt that the CCC's work had resulted in a higher level of public awareness in Europe on labor issues in the garment industry (one Hong Kong respondent noted that this had an impact in Asia as well, and now there is interest there in a variety of consumer campaigns),<sup>1</sup> as well as an increase in institutional interest in corporate responsibility issues. Remarkedly one of the CCCs: “We cannot claim credit for the level of awareness but we know we have contributed to it. Whatever companies have done in the past six years they have done as a result of consumer pressure and media exposure. Consumer pressure especially, media exposure to a lesser extent, are the product of campaigning activity.” (Several Northern groups specifically cited the increased awareness and contact between workers' organizations in Asia and Europe, another called the CCC's work in Eastern Europe “pioneering”).<sup>2</sup>

Some within the CCC believe that we have gotten companies to start working on these issues, and at the same

time that we have earned their respect. Meanwhile, we have supported efforts in the South/East to improve working conditions. Some CCCers believed that the campaign had done a good job in promoting responsible consumption in developed countries.

Our work on pilot projects to develop knowledge on monitoring and verification was seen as an accomplishment, not only from within (the formation of the Fair Trade Foundation, for example, was also recognized by a representative of a northern group as an accomplishment, as was the signing of letters of intent in Switzerland and Sweden). It is seen as a way to work on alternatives and be part of developing solutions. For the CCCs this is important also because focusing only on the problems makes campaigning very difficult: “... to oppose one must propose.”

Colleagues in the South felt that the CCC had helped workers to understand subcontracting chains and had forced companies to respond to the issues (though, “for the whole garment industry the impact is not so strong. When the CCC targets a company there might be some improvements at their subcontractors but not in the whole industry”). In one case, a respondent (from Eastern Europe) said that by making them aware of the situation, the CCC had pushed them into action.

One respondent from Asia said that there had been better enforcement of labor standards, due to pressure on buyers. One African trade unionist reported that pressure from European consumers on the government and companies was very helpful — the government pressured the companies to talk with the union and to work on a solution to the labor dispute. Another respondent said that while people at the grassroots level don't see any changes or experience any benefits, at least there is resistance and a way for worker's voices to be heard, and the companies are a bit restricted by the campaigns – “they are aware of the people and the movements that are watching them.” One respondent said that in situations where the workers were unable and restricted from forming labor unions, the introduction of “social clauses” by companies due to CCC activities have allowed workers to experience a certain amount of freedom.

### POSITIVE ASPECTS OF THE CAMPAIGN: USEFULNESS AND STRENGTHS

The CCC carries out a variety of activities; therefore, we were interested in hearing what people specifically found to be useful about the CCC's work. What are the specific strengths of the campaign?

Respondents from within the European campaigns, from North America and from production countries in the South and East all saw the CCC as useful for its information provision (on companies and on codes, for example) and as a link to other organizations, individuals and networks. The CCC seems particularly valued for its function as a clearinghouse for information, contacts and for developing creative organizing and campaigning materials. CCC research was seen as reliable and usable. The CCC was seen as being a source of ideas, providing a critical analysis of both problems and potential solutions.

Organizations in Europe and North America found the CCC's work on awareness raising to be useful. The CCC message has broad appeal and provides an entry point for the public. The campaign was seen as creating possibilities for taking action on the issues, and organizations in the North valued the CCC for demonstrating that it is possible to do something. “The urgent appeals network is great. It's a fantastic source of information, networking and building solidarity,” responded one North American campaign. Organizations in the South, meanwhile, also appreciated the CCC's work on protest letter writing and solidarity campaigns. The existence of the CCC was seen as providing leverage (“a bargaining tool”) with factory management. One respondent who had worked with an Asian trade union noted that in their country action from the buyers was virtually the only means of labor law enforcement. The CCC played a vital role in getting the attention of and pressuring the buyers into taking responsibility for the situation in their subcontractors.”

Coordinating our activities at the European level was seen as inspiring by European participants (“together we are a mass movement”). As a European network, participants reported that we functioned well, supplying information (and therefore cutting down on the amount of duplicate work) and access to a pool of experts. As a European-wide organization some respondents from within the campaign believed that we were more credible, taken more seriously, and more internationally recognizable. For the CCCs who operate within organizations that have multiple projects, the CCC was seen as a more successful project.

Southern organizations also saw the campaign's “umbrella” structure as a strength “...by contacting one organization you contact many.”

European participants in the campaign felt that the CCC draws its strength from being a broad movement with many different organizations in the North, South and East, in combination with its narrow focus on the garment industry. The whole concept of sharing work and working in partnership with many different organizations

was seen by some as *the* strength of the campaign. The focus on brand names and key industry players (since they hold the most power) was also seen as a source of strength from those within the campaign. Relying on our own strength as consumers and members of civil society was seen as important. The campaign conveys clear and appropriate messages. Providing international support in specific cases of workers struggles (providing them with bargaining power) was also seen as a strength.

According to some respondents outside the European campaigns, the CCC draws its strength from the tenacity, determination and commitment of its staff. One of the CCCs praised the Dutch/International secretariat for its grasp of the issues, and for being supportive, energetic, ready to take the initiative, willing to share information and the results of its work, and to provide access to Southern partners.

The campaign's strategy of outreach and networking was seen as a strength. The campaign is valued for being a broad-based one that is based on alliances between consumers, workers and trade unions. One Northern respondent noted the value of the thought the CCC puts into the relationship between campaigning and solidarity (organizing)/workers rights.

The CCC's strategic thinking and ability to straddle the activist-policy divide were seen as important strengths, as were the CCC's ability to mount particularly striking publicity campaigns (“that could be usefully copied by other movements in the ‘industrialized’ world”, our creativity was also noted). Detailed knowledge and popular campaigns based on serious research were seen as the CCC's strengths by some of the Northern groups. One Northern group felt that the CCC drew strength from its emphasis on organizing to have workers' organizers from Asia speak in Europe, another praised the international seminars the campaign has organized. “More opportunities to meet and share experiences like the seminar in Germany would be great; the seminar brought together a broad range of organizations from many different countries.”

Other successes cited by Northern groups were the campaign's work done to popularize the issue of a living wage and to encourage debate on the effectiveness of codes of conduct.

The CCC's southern partners believe that the campaign's international networking (and collaboration) has been a positive force for change and has supported workers' movements. The campaign's solidarity actions, consumer campaigns, pressure on governments and companies, work on developing monitoring systems, information exchange (for example, efforts to bring workers to Europe

and also efforts to share information on consumers' reactions, as well as providing workers with information on company codes of conduct while they provided the CCC with information on product labels/working conditions) were all seen as strengths. "...as we are active with workers in the South on the same theme, we are interested in relations with the North, to help the workers communicate with the TNCs who are responsible for their situation". Also, helping people (workers and consumers) to understand that globalization is not "far away" but in fact touches their lives was seen as an important contribution by the campaign.

The CCC's "fairly strong attempts to listen to workers from the South" was seen as one of the campaign's strengths.

"...The fact that it is an alliance, where Western organizations and people can support workers' organizations in developing countries, without dominating them, is a very important feature. Developing country organizations do not have the power to compete against the education and experience of the factory owners, who are well-educated business people (usually men, while the workers are women, which is another factor). CCC "lends" the workers' a good Western education and a Western-style network, which helps balance the scale," said one representative from a Southern organization.

#### **NEGATIVE ASPECTS OF THE CAMPAIGN AND WEAKNESSES**

People were asked to comment on aspects of the campaign they found not useful. One respondent from the South felt that communicating with companies was a waste of time. Another respondent from the South noted a gap between consumers and workers. Campaigns should have more understanding of the different impacts in different situations of campaigning strategies (ex. attracting attention to child labor, kids lose their jobs, or boycotts mean workers lose their jobs). And strategies in general should have a more holistic approach (linking consumption and production).

When asked about weaknesses, two Southern organizations cited capacity problems, saying that the CCC demands too much from them and adds to their work. Some said that they would like the CCC to do more education on codes, while also questioning the appropriateness of codes. They want more links to northern labor movements, more pressure on governments (not just consumers and companies), better links with workers ("the voice, needs, and demands of the workers are very far away from the campaign"), and more education on globalization

(specifically on the issue of lowering social standards for the sake of competitiveness). Environmental concerns were mentioned as an important area that should be considered by the campaign (specifically in relation to water pollution as a result of garment production).

Southern partners said that they had trouble maintaining e-mail contact (language and capacity problems) which made it difficult to take advantage of the work the CCC does. More personal and face-to-face contacts would build up trust and personal relationships, and would help improve communications. The importance of the issue of improving communications cannot be highlighted strongly enough. Face-to-face contacts do not necessarily help. An Asian activist who had recently spent time with the campaign in Europe and had knowledge of a CCC research project in the past cited as weaknesses that the campaign was not distributing information on the internet, and that there was no European level campaigning.

Other Southern groups felt that much more contact and joint work was necessary. Another group noted that without regular communications, updates and links with labor groups in production countries it is difficult to monitor corporate practices at the factory level. "At the same time, it gives companies some kind of space to promote their improvement of labor practices but CCC cannot access the workers themselves to cross check what the companies report."

The campaign was taken to task by northern groups for not always making it clear that the CCC's focus is *not* only on conditions for workers in developing countries particularly Asia. One respondent noted that focusing on developing countries can reinforce an attitude that implies that there are no problems in Europe or developed countries. It is important for consumers to realize that the issues are also present here in Europe. In the experience of one of the international organizations that responded to the survey, it is also helpful to groups in, for example, Asia, when they hear that there are similar issues within the industry in Europe (bad conditions, low pay, etc.). Another respondent noted that it is important to link the experiences of those working in the northern economies to those in the south, and that this is of particular relevance to homeworkers. Related to this, it was noted that the campaign does not do enough to address the issues of informal sector workers and production (ex. How do codes work for the informal sector?). One Northern respondent saw lack of cooperation with other "product-sector" campaigns as a weakness. (Note: this issue of changing/expanding the CCC focus/structure is taken up in the CCC strategy discussion paper).

Within the campaign, there was the feeling that capacity problems were causing an inability to follow up as thor-

oughly as necessary. One of the CCCs remarked, "Should we have set out earlier to increase our overall capacity? Or is now exactly the right time?"

People said that the CCC's presence "on the street" was not great enough, according to their partners (though some in Asia thought just the opposite), and that more speedy information exchange on working conditions is necessary so that we don't each have to do it for ourselves.

One of the campaigns mentioned the CCC's inability to develop "easy-to-use" consumer guides (i.e. rankings for shopping), which we are constantly asked to produce. "We have no choice but to communicate that each consumer has the responsibility to inform him/herself and that this is not possible without putting some effort into it. In other words, we need to foster a culture of consumers that is ready to accept that."

One of the CCCs felt that not spending enough time considering corporate responses to the campaign is one of the CCC's weaknesses. "We should take greater account of the strategies the companies have evolved to counter our activities when formulating our own strategies. For example, entering into a dialogue with NGOs... companies terminating contracts with suppliers as a result of campaigns, etc." Has our work on codes of conduct given companies access to a new legitimacy and allowed them to whitewash their practices? "This is not to say that we should not have focused on codes or that we should end our focus on codes — companies would be only too happy if we did," remarked one CCC. Other campaigns, in North America as well, were also very aware of the need to evaluate the code work every step of the way; to be sure that it was worthwhile. The work on the monitoring and verification projects was seen as very time- and resource consuming and not giving much results in terms of actual improvement of labor conditions or in terms of offering consumers a choice.

Although a start was made with work on legal issues and campaigning for more public regulations (ex. international forum on legal ways of implementing codes, resolution by European parliament, cities for ethical procurement) people felt this was not developed sufficiently and there should be more clarity on the interplay between these strategies and the work with codes.

One of the campaigns felt that the exchanges with companies were too far removed from the educational work with consumers, and they were not clear anymore what to tell consumers after a company has adopted a "good" code and/or has become involved in a monitoring/verification project. One of the campaigns said that they would like to see the campaign do a better job at exchanging methods. Another said that cooperation with campaigns

in other regions (the United States and Central America) should be strengthened. One other Northern organization said that they wanted to receive more news on CCC success stories.

We asked people what they thought the campaign should have accomplished, but did not. CCC respondents felt that we should have transformed labor conditions (while acknowledging that our partners recognize that what we do does help) and built an independent verification system. Within the campaign, people thought we should have been doing all our activities more and more in depth. Other Northern groups also called for a stronger, more active campaign, with some respondents noting that alliances and coordination could be better and that the CCC could take on more leadership in the Nike campaign.

One Northern respondent felt we should have been able to forge better links with, and have our issues carried by, other international networks/campaigns. Specifically the environmental movement and the anti-globalization movement were mentioned, the last one did make Nike into a symbol of what is wrong with the global economy but are not very well linked to our campaigns. More specifically, CCCers believed there should have been more follow up on urgent appeals cases, more cooperation with consumer unions, and more cooperation with labor unions (though recognizing that these varies from country to country). In terms of content, one respondent felt there should have been more attention to the gender aspect of the issues we deal with (ex. Nike announced they are targeting European women, why aren't we? Why aren't there more women's organizations in our national platform?). Others felt we should have been able to get more done at the level of our national governments. One Northern respondent noted that more should have been done on the issue of homeworking (we could learn from the experiences of the Fair Wear Campaign in Australia). Several CCCs and Northern groups felt the lack of coordinated work, CCC as a whole, on environmental issues is a big weakness. Some active CCC groups work on environmental issues (ex. Biological cotton) but it remains isolated.

Southern and Eastern groups also noted failures in terms of the scope of the campaign —they believed that Eastern European organizations should have joined the campaign earlier, that there should have been more attention to the difficulties surrounding the issue of child labor, and that more attention should have been given to the harassment of women and pressure on women to move from the formal to the informal sector. More companies should have signed onto the CCC code by now and there should have been the implementation of a monitoring system.

One Southern respondent said we failed to change TNC behavior (but then added that it is unfair to demand that the CCC should accomplish that). Another said that buyers should have been forced to take a more comprehensive approach to their subcontractors so that there were more visible improvements in working conditions across the industry (buyers intervened primarily on specific problems rather than on fixing up conditions to prevent problems from arising). The CCC was not able to implement codes for all subcontractors, noted another respondent. Again, the usefulness of codes as a tool for improving labor conditions was questioned.

While one organization said they felt involved in strategy development, another said that there should have been more strategizing with local organizations and trade unions. "Trade unions are far away from the campaigns, they should be more linked to them. We need to fill the gaps between campaigns and trade unions." One respondent called for mobilization and more workshops to be held in Asia.

In terms of information provision, one Southern respondent believed that the CCC should have compiled a database to trace information on companies and subcontracting chains.

## CONCLUSIONS

The campaign's main successes are seen to be raising awareness on the issues, networking, and information provision (though failure to communicate our successes).

The CCC's urgent appeals network is seen as one of the campaign's strengths, both as a system for distributing information and motivating action. But there is a feeling that the follow through on cases needs more attention (in terms of strategy, given that companies often "cut and run" when campaigning draws attention to labor rights violations at a particular factory, and in practical terms, i.e. how long do we continue to follow a case).

The CCC is recognized for its contacts and cooperation with Asian groups – this is an accomplishment in itself, but points to the need to strengthen links with other regions (Africa, Central & Eastern Europe, Central America, North America). There is concern that the issue of violations of labor rights in developed countries have not been addressed enough.

In terms of content, homeworking and gender issues were seen as needing more attention. There is interest in covering environmental concerns as well. Cooperation with other "product-sector" campaigns (ex. baby milk groups, toys) and/or the environmental movement or anti-globalization movement could be a way to strengthen the campaign.

There were mixed messages on codes all around, as some respondents felt they were not appropriate or even a failure, and others felt they were one of the most important campaigning tools and strategically useful for creating space for debate, publicity and enable pressure. Most people are "...well aware of the dual nature of codes. On the one hand, they give TNCs an excellent public relations opportunity. At the same time they give us a leverage through which we can pressure companies to improve their workers' rights situation and hopefully create conditions that facilitate the right to organize and the right to collective bargaining".<sup>3</sup>

Capacity problems were noted at all levels (the CCC needs to do more, but we don't currently have the capacity to do so; we ask our partners to do more than they can, etc.) Capacity problems have an impact on other issues (for example capacity to expand communications between North and South — communication problems slow down or limit effectiveness/participation in the urgent appeals system and other campaign activities/resources).

Better links between North and South — in terms of strategizing, input and awareness raising (should go both ways, ex. on globalization — make connections between those working in Northern and Southern economies). Some Southern groups would like the campaign to do more education work (on codes for example). The relationship between trade unions and NGOs, within and outside of the campaign, deserves more attention.

The interplay between codes (often voluntary mechanisms) and public regulation (local labor law or international legal measures) at different levels was mentioned as an area needing attention. Few people commented specifically on legal initiatives (though there was some mention of increasing our lobbying effort at the local/national level), though this is logical as it is a relatively new area of activity for the CCC.

1 Our Korean partners also responded with information on the consumer campaign that they had started up. They noted difficulties in reaching their target group of middle class consumers, a hesitancy on the part of people to criticize foreign investment during a time of financial crisis, and a need to monitor the implementation of guidelines (involving government and companies).

2 Note that throughout this discussion paper respondents have been broken down into three broad groups: members of the CCC (meaning the European campaigns based in the Netherlands, Belgium, France, Italy, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Germany and Austria); "northern" groups (referring to organizations in North America and Western Europe beyond those that are members of the national-level coalitions included in each of the European campaigns); and "southern/eastern" groups (referring to organizations in Asia, Africa, Central and South America and Eastern Europe). While we do not feel comfortable with labels, especially those that bring with them a vast number of stereotypes and generalizations (inhabitants of the north=rich, developed, privileged; south=poor, undeveloped, etc.) we felt the need to break down the responses we received based on position in relation to the campaign, so to more clearly present and understand the perspectives expressed.

3 LARIC in *Change*, bulletin of HKCIC, July 1999.



# Appendix B

## Conference Participants

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