TRANSNATIONAL ADVOCACY AROUND GARMENT INDUSTRY: TACTICAL CHANGES IN THE CLEAN CLOTHES CAMPAIGN

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ABSTRACT

TRANSNATIONAL ADVOCACY AROUND GARMENT INDUSTRY:
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This thesis investigates the changes in tactics of the Clean Clothes Campaign (CCC) as a transnational advocacy network (TAN). To understand the change, the conceptual framework of TANs in the garment industry is examined. Early consumer activism movements emerged as social, political, and moral actions; starting from the 1970s, the impacts of neoliberal economic politics on the garment industry triggered the anti-sweatshop movements by TANs. TANs tactics are examined through examples; by examining, I attempt to explore how TANs have become a major actor in labor rights movements and specifically how their tactics are used to contribute to their efforts. To understand the change in the tactics of the Clean Clothes Campaign, campaigns of the network, starting from the late 1960s to current ones, are provided. The analysis of the CCC in a historical process showed that while in the early campaigns, informing people was crucial to raise awareness and necessary for the encouraging actions; campaigns started to target authorities to be more effective; strengthening, expanding the network, improvements in international norms on labor rights gave network members power to hold responsible actors accountable.

Keywords: Transnational Advocacy Network, Clean Clothes Campaign, Labor Rights, Consumer Campaign, Activism

ÖZ

HAZIR GİYİM ENDÜSTRİSİNDE ULUSÖTESİ SAVUNUCULUK: TEMİZ GİYSİ KAMPANYASI' NDAKİ TAKTİKSEL DEĞİŞİKLİKLER

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Bu tez, bir ulusötesi savunuculuk ağı (TAN) olarak Temiz Giysi Kampanyası'nın (CCC) taktiklerindeki değişiklikleri incelemektedir. Değişimi anlamak için hazır giyim endüstrisindeki ulusötesi savunuculuk ağlarının kavramsal çerçevesi incelenir. İlk tüketici aktivizmi hareketleri sosyal, politik ve ahlaki eylemler olarak ortaya çıktı; 1970'lerden başlayarak, neoliberal ekonomi politikalarının hazır giyim sektörü üzerindeki etkileri, ulus ötesi savunuculuk ağlarının kötü çalışma koşullarına karşı hareketlerini tetikledi. Çalışmada, ulusötesi savunuculuk ağlarının taktikleri örneklerle incelendi. İncelemenin amacı, ulusötesi savunuculuk ağlarının işçi hakları hareketlerinde nasıl önemli bir aktör haline geldiğini ve özellikle onların çabalarına katkıda bulunmak için taktiklerinin nasıl kullanıldığını keşfetmektir. Temiz Giysi Kampanyası'nın taktiklerindeki değişimi anlamak için, ağın 1960'ların sonundan günümüze kadar olan kampanyaları sunulmaktadır. Temiz Giysi Kampanyası'nın tarihsel süreç içindeki analizi, ilk kampanyalarda insanları bilgilendirmenin farkındalık yaratmak için çok önemli olduğunu ve teşvik edici eylemler için gerekli olduğunu göstermiştir; daha etkili olabilmek için kampanyalar zaman içinde yetkilileri hedef almaya başladı; ağın güçlendirilmesi, genişletilmesi, işçi haklarına ilişkin uluslararası normlardaki gelişmeler, ağ üyelerine yetkilileri sorumlu tutma gücü verdi.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Ulusötesi Savunuculuk Ağı, Temiz Giysi Kampanyası, İşçi Hakları, Tüketici Kampanyası, Aktivizm

To the workers who lost their lives in work-related accidents
To activists trying to make the world a better place

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AdM	Artisans du Monde
AI	Amnesty International
BD	Bern Declaration
C&A	Clemens and August
CCC	Clean Clothes Campaign
CIA	Central Intelligence Agency
COVID-19	Corona Virus Disease 2019
CSCE	The Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe
EU	European Union
H&M	Hennes & Mauritz
HRDD	Human Rights Due Diligence
ICT	Information and Communications Technology
ILO	International Labour Organization
INCB	The International Narcotics Control Board
IR	International Relations
MNCs	Multinational Corporations
NAFTA	The North American Free Trade Agreement
NGO	Non-governmental Organization
OECD	The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
TAN	Transnational Advocacy Network
TNCs	Transnational Corporations
TV	Television
UN	United Nations
UNGPs	United Nations Guiding Principles on Business and Human Rights
UNICEF	The United Nations Children's Fund
US	United States
WHO	World Health Organization

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

To produce brand-new jeans, the worker wakes up before sunrise; gets ready for work in a poor condition house; often skips breakfast because knows that being late may cause loss of payment for the whole day; arrives in a factory, noisy and very hot working environment, combined with a dusty air inside welcomes the worker; safety equipment is missing or not enough to protect the worker from even a minor injury, therefore, avoiding from any injury and accident is the best way to save the worker's own life; the worker stays in this environment and works for more than twelve hours in a day; if the worker gets sick, gets pregnant, or wants to give a break from work for a bit of rest with a vacation, it may be a serious problem with the contactors, even the worker may lose the job at the end (Armbruster-Sandoval, 2005, p.1). A short description of a garment worker's one day reflects the main causes of the emergence of transnational advocacy networks' actions around the garment industry with the main motivation of improving working conditions for workers; making changes. 'Changing the world' desire makes ordinary people take action; strengthens solidarity between others who have the same motivation, and the motivation encourages them to act together. Throughout history, injustice treatment against people has caused the rise of opponent voices. While activists are noisy to make changes; advocates listen to convince others with specialized knowledge (Flavell, 2021).

From the 16th century onwards, the rise of the capitalist system had gradually created a consumer society under conditions of unequal distribution and alienated workers. Through the Industrial Revolution and especially improvements in manufacturing during the 18th century, factory workers were 'alienated' from the production process; consumer activism has emerged as a result and changed in time: Early actions of consumer activism were generally motivated by changing consumption behavior by not buying slave-made products; consumers were seen as moral agents in economic activity (Glickman, 2004). Early consumer activists believed that ethical production was possible, and the motivation paved the way for modern consumer activism. However, Hilton (2009) stated that consumer activism is not limited to changing consumer behavior actions; beginning in 1929, buying the best product idea created the comparative testing movement, but the motivation was different from modern consumer activism. At the end of the 20th-century conditions of the production process triggered the anti-sweatshops movements. The 'sweatshop' concept was firstly used in the middle of the 19th century in Britain to describe the workers who work for long hours but earn very little under poor conditions. For the garment industry, Armbruster-Sandoval (2005) explained the concept in a pyramid relationship in which each layer leaves the layer below little money. After the End of the Cold War, when the world started to wipe out the dust of the wars and conflicts, the influence of globalization and neoliberal economic policies on the production process of the garment industry led Western brands to choose the Third World countries as corporations' supply bases because of their cheap labor abundance and competitive prices. However, poor working conditions and labor rights abuses in the factories have forced transnational advocacy members to raise awareness about the violations; pressure for changes, and remind authorities that they are the responsible bodies. Labor unions were not effective or even did not exist in such cases. The exploitation of garment workers encouraged other workers, NGOs, and labor unions to join transnational networks. They were considered as a threat by the companies; because transnational campaigns encouraged garment workers to act independently and in solidarity with allies from all around the world; raising their voices for their rights (Armbruster-Sandoval, 2005; Kidder, 2002).

Transnational advocacy networks dedicate their efforts to improve human rights by providing social and political changes; while going beyond borders. Members connect with each other by exchanging information, services and sharing common values (Keck & Sikkink, 1998). Networks strengthen people; change perspectives and frames; encourage others to participate in actions (Kidder, 2002, p.291). Activities of the transnational advocacy networks may range from preparing reports, street demonstrations, petitions, meetings, or writing letters to authorities; the main purpose is changing discourses and/or policies. Keck and Sikkink (1998) categorized the tactics of the transnational advocacy networks into four divisions: information politics, symbolic politics, leverage politics, and accountability politics. In this research, each tactic is explained with examples, demonstrating that campaigns may involve several tactic tools. Tactics are differentiated in terms of the main motivation and repertoire; the main motivation may be disseminating the information; using symbols to raise awareness; taking public and media attention; pressuring the policymakers or authorities; holding authorities responsible for their commitments or international norms.

Sikkink (2002) admitted that transnational advocacy network actors restructure world politics (p.306). While members of the networks can bring changes in policies through collaborative action, transnational advocacy networks need to be more involved in academic analyses. Generally, scholars focus on the impact of transnational advocacy networks, however, focusing on the tactics of transnational advocacy networks is still missing in academic discussions. Therefore, the main motivation behind conducting this research is that; exploring the tactics of transnational advocacy networks within their historical trajectories and how they change through analyzing activities of the Clean Clothes Campaign on the garment industry. In this research, specifically, the Clean Clothes Campaign is analyzed; because it is the largest leading transnational advocacy network, advocating for promoting labor rights in the garment and footwear industry. Believing in the power of solidarity, together with worker organizations, unions, NGOs, research groups, and activists, the network currently works in more than 45 countries, and connects 235 organizations (Who We Are-About, n.d.).

In order to understand the evolution of the Clean Clothes Campaign tactics, it is necessary to analyze early consumer activism campaigns, launched and organized by the coalition members of the CCC; The Bern Declaration and Artisans du Monde were early examples of the CCC network campaigns, then created national branches of the CCC. Although the CCC is divided into coalitions and works with different groups and organizations from different parts of the world, it is driven by the same motivation (Who We Are-About, n.d.; Who We Are-Our Network, n.d.).

The purpose of this thesis is to explore the evolution of the CCC tactics from a transnational advocacy network perspective; it does not seek to evaluate the reasons for the changes or effectiveness of the tactics. Understanding the historical process of the advocacy efforts is crucial to exploring the shifts in transnational advocacy network tactics. In this research, the qualitative method is used. Both primary and secondary sources were reached. As primary sources; conventions, the documents from the CCC's and other related organizations' archives were used; as secondary sources, articles, news, books, were used to identify network activities from past to present. The objective of the research is explanatory.

The organization of the chapters in this study is as follows: The second chapter presents the conceptual framework of this research firstly, through explaining the activism and advocacy concepts and efforts in the historical process; secondly providing definitions to concepts related to transnational advocacy networks in historical trajectories and four tactics from Activist Beyond Borders (1998) are explained with examples. The second chapter examines the main components which led to the emergence of transnational advocacy networks efforts for garment workers; gives definitions and examples to readers. The third chapter provides the CCC's organizational background and examines the network's efforts starting from the late 1960s, early consumer activism movements by the coalition members of the network, and then transformation to labor rights activities with the globalization effects on the Third World. To explain the shift in tactics, this chapter explains the CCC network actions within the historical process of advocacy efforts for labor rights. This research's conclusion part sums up the findings related to the research question; illustrates the shifts in the Clean Clothes Campaign tactics.

CHAPTER 2

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK OF TRANSNATIONAL ADVOCACY NETWORKS AND TACTICS

Introduction

From history, demanding change has mobilized groups of people against authorities for civil rights, environmental, feminist concerns, or Third World policies. Even if they achieved their aims or failed; legacies remained in political and cultural aspects. Solidarity, coordination, and consistency became the main components of the movements, Tarrow (1994) explained it as an ‘invention of the modern age’ (p.6). Especially when the human rights abuses and uprisings have not found any response because of the lack of attention from international actors, advocacy actors have been involved in the cases through network activities.

At the end of the twentieth century, when the Cold War ended, the interaction of nonstate actors among international organizations and states have been needed urgently. Transnational level communication, especially with NGO’s leading role, has increased among network members; taken global attention to various subjects; challenged the state-centric focus on international politics (Beer et al., 2012).

Contrary to expectations, networks may become more powerful than political groups or governments, and corporations. Transnational advocacy networks differ from the other networks by involving activists sharing the same principles, ideas, and strong motivation to make a change. Therefore, having a common human rights consciousness and responses from the international network help in drawing attention to cases. Especially, in human rights cases, advocacy networks create links and cooperation between states, NGOs, and international organizations; helping domestic actors to access international arenas. The actors involved in the network, play an important role in global governance by taking attention of political actors for bringing policy changes (Beer et al., 2012; Keck & Sikkink, 1998).

Scholars have analyzed transnational networks in different contexts and perspectives. In this part, first of all, concepts related to transnational advocacy networks and tactics which are generally used; will be analyzed through examples from history.

2.1. Advocacy and Activism

Activism is coming from the motivation of people for "making a difference" or "making a change" for political or social issues which they cannot accept to happen without any interference by actions. An activist is a person who defends an idea or issue so that accepts any cost of it and acts for it. Therefore, activist participates in various related activities such as protests, workshops, conferences, petitions, writing letters which contribute to raising awareness and being heard about such issues because they believe that their voices matter for changes.

Tarrow (1994) claimed that ordinary people are actually powerful because they stand up against authorities; build solidarity; they are important actors in specific groups and communities (p.6).

The difference between activist and advocate can be explained as activists act for a change but advocate defends an idea for a change with special knowledge. Activism includes efforts for change in the first place; advocacy includes a deeper process that requires identifying problems, negotiation with all parties, and education to settle the problems, focusing on providing permanent solutions. Hence, advocacy takes more time in achieving purposes than activism. As such, the main purpose of the human rights advocacy networks can be explained as eliminating violations in the long term (Flavell, 2021).

According to Beer, Bartley, and Roberts (2012), the advocacy function of NGOs attract attention to social problems and enforces states and international organizations to fulfill international norms. Hence, NGO advocacy contributes to strengthening global governance, helps to the adoption process of policies for human rights, the environment, and other related fields. Especially countries which have strong relations with international NGOs are more likely to achieve this process (pp.9-10).

2.1.1. Consumer Activism

Consumer activism is a process in which activists on behalf of consumers try to change the production or delivery process of goods and services. The activities can include buying only fair-trade goods or boycotting a corporation or a product due to employers' behavior toward laborers. Consumer activism is unique due to the reason that deciding which product to buy or not to buy in accordance with the activism purpose is enough to be a consumer activist, hence, anyone can take a part in a consumer action with only their daily consumption habit. Therefore, in consumer campaigns solidarity can be built easily among activists regardless of the distance (Glickman, 2009; Lightfoot, 2019).

Glickman (2009) claimed that consuming is political, moral, and social action because buying a product affects not only the consumer but also the environment and all actors involved in the process. Accordingly, choosing to buy or not to buy a product may have an impact on a good, buyer, seller, and public as a whole. Consumers can aim to harm companies and sellers by boycotting their products because they believe, otherwise, it will harm others (pp.4-7). Even if consumer activists fail to achieve changes, at least they raise awareness, make an issue heard, or echoed in political discussions (Glickman, 2009).

Historical Evolution of Consumer Activism

In order to understand the dynamics of consumer society, it is vital to consider the development process of the capitalist economic system and consumer activism accordingly from its emergence. From the 16th-century rise of the capitalist economic system triggered its dominance with the influences of the Industrial Revolution, especially developments of textile manufacturing in England during the 18th century led to the increase of unequal distribution in the society. Factory workers had poor living and working conditions which inspired Karl Marx to create the 'alienation' concept. Capitalism had uneven influences over the world. Since the 18th century, for the consumer society, there have always been concerns about the market. Consumption has symbolized the struggles of slaves or laborers. Consumer actions have been motivated by politics and transformed into political actions in such cases; actions included boycotts, alternative suggestions, strive to change consumer behavior

(Hilton, 2009). For example, The Sugar Boycott campaign from the 1790s; encouraged people in England not to buy products produced by slaves, especially sugar. Consequently, the boycott led to a decrease in the sugar buying rate.

Strategies of the sugar boycott paved the way for free produce movements: In the 19th century, free produce movements emerged in the United States as actions against slave-made products and were supported by the abolitionists. They believed that boycotting was not enough to eliminate slave-made products; alternative solutions were necessary. Therefore, free produce stores were opened in the U.S. and England as well; various products were sold such as clothes, shoes, bowls, candies, etc. with the words written on the product: “Not Made by Slaves”. The movements represented alternative ways to consumption including all production, distribution, and selling processes, not including slave labor. Even the enterprises were not so successful in sustaining free labor products and increasing complaints about the quality and price of the products, free produce movements were important actions in the creation of modern consumer activism because of the following reasons: Being early attempts of modern consumer activist history; not including violent protests; women playing an important role so that some of them were the owners of the stores; for the first time, free produce activists accepted public as consumers and moral authority. Moreover, free produce activists paved the way for modern consumer activism through tactics and motivation. Consumers were seen as both the cause and solution of slave produce (Glickman, 2004).

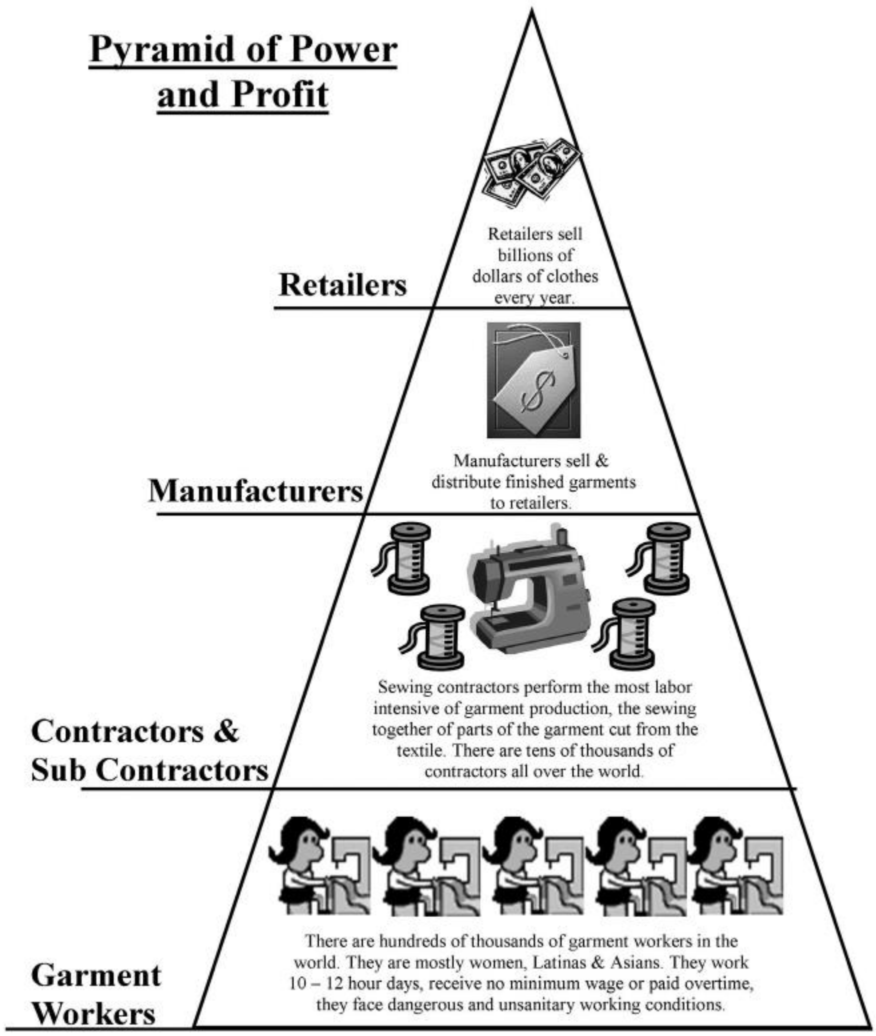
After the Second World War, modernization triggered the settlement of consumption in the center of social life. Economic recovery led to the development of the social aspect of consumer movements. Especially, the rich middle class took part in consumer campaigns through comparative testing. It refers to a process of evaluating the quality of products. in 1929 a research center was established in the United States, and then magazines started to inform consumers about the best products. Starting from the end of the 1960s, the comparative testing movement has become popular all around the world. Hilton (2009) called comparative testing a social movement; it helped consumers to choose the best products, considering their economic situation. However, consumers’ engagement with goods in that way reminds Marx’s claims that in modern capitalism, commodities are vital than the social interaction aspect of the production process; consumers are alienated from the conditions of labor in the process. Hilton (2009) emphasized that modern consumer activism actually refers to actions including protests, lobbying, protesting, launching campaigns for the violations in the market or consumers' interests. Consequently, modern consumer activists' actions affected governments' policies at the end of the 20^{th} century; took consumers' attention to specific issues. In the 20^{th} century while consumers were concerned mostly about the cost and quality of the product with comparative testing, starting from the late 20^{th} century and in the 21^{st}-century conditions of the production process have gained importance. Movements spread to the Third World by transnational networks including organizations from diverse backgrounds, cultures, and countries but sharing resources, information, and tactics, aiming to influence governments. Similar to the anti-slavery movements from the 19^{th} century, anti-sweatshop movements which emphasizes the improving working conditions of labor, Third World solidarity movements, fair trade, movements for environment, animals, increased in the 21^{st} century, activists took attention to the violations in the market, shopping was not simply buying or selling, it became more political action (Glickman, 2009; Hilton, 2009; Lang & Gabriel, 2005).

2.1.2. Anti-Sweatshop Movements

From the middle of the 19^{th} century "sweating" was used for the workers in Britain who works for hours but earns very little, not enough compared to living expenditures, in a poor working environment which threatening their health, and the "sweater" was used for the employers (Ross, 2004). The first legal initiative in the anti-sweatshop movement history was the 1909 Trade Boards Act which aimed to eliminate low wages through legal enforcement in England. The Act included industry workers at the first phase, in 1912 included the miners (Blackburn, 1991).

Armbruster-Sandoval (2005) described the garment industry as a pyramid (see Figure 1) where the retailers stay on top of it. Manufacturers who stand on the second layer, give orders to contractors to establish a factory and manage the relations with exporters and clients. They get profit by keeping the production costs at a minimum as possible through employing workers, who "sweat" because accept to work under bad conditions for low salaries and long hours in the factories. Therefore, inside and outside of the workplace become a nightmare for them. Hence, in this structure, retailers and manufacturers are the most powerful actors. Armbruster- Sandoval (2005) described it as each actor in the pyramid aims to leave the layer below little money (pp.2-8).

Figure 1: Sweatshop Structure



Source: Armbruster-Sandoval, 2005, p.8

Globalization had considerable effects on the exploitation of garment labor and accordingly triggered anti-sweatshop movements. The 1970 economic crisis; the need for cheap labor; ineffective labor unions; and the increase of trade privileges of neo-liberal policies were the main reasons for anti-sweatshop movements. TNCs in the garment industry set up factories especially in the Third World countries due to the cheap labor market. If wages and demands increase in the country, moving to another labor-abundant, the more profitable country was not an issue for big companies and they easily found many options in the Third World (Armbruster, 1998, p.21; Armbruster-Sandoval, 2005, p.8).

Lack of social security insurance, safety standards and lack of strong unions to bargain in the Third World countries caused to increase violations in the garment factories. For example, when the American corporations moved to labor abundant countries, during the 1970s, the International Ladies Garment Workers Union emphasized limiting garment industry imports from the Third World countries and encouraged consumers not to buy the products, made in those countries. However, the actions were still not enough to stop exploitation in sweatshops (Armbruster-Sandoval, 2005, p.10). While contractors and manufacturers were making profits by "sweating"; actions inside and outside of the boundaries increased for changing the conditions for the garment workers. Ineffective movements from previous periods; turned into more powerful advocacy actions for the rights of others through strengthening labor unions; raising awareness for ethical consumption; demanding reforms from governments; implementing the right to bargain for workers. The solution to ending the exploitative policies of corporations was strengthening solidarity across borders, reminding the words of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, "workers of the world, unite!" (Armbruster-Sandoval, 2005, p.9). Transnational advocacy networks for labor rights started their actions during the 19th century, however with the globalization effect, labor rights network members have extended their contact transnationally. Especially, during the 1980s and 90s, activities like conferences, campaigns, newsletters contributed to the development of negotiations between activists and workers in networks. Workers found a place to discuss the issues and could reflect the globalization effect on the production process which their rights have been violated for some cases. Therefore, in the early phases, the main purposes of these networks were shaped around raising awareness, encouraging workers, activists and providing changes.

Kidder (2002) explained four reasons which led to the rise of transnational labor networks: First of all, globalization's impact on production processes and its triggering influence on workers' movements; second, involvement of different actors may be needed to provide solutions to worker's problems, or unions may have problems inside. Workers look for a space to draw attention to such issues, different from the union's agenda. Therefore, networks focus on these issues transnationally; and provide spaces to emphasize the claims; third, individuals from outside of the unions or organizations may also be a significant factor in the emergence of transnational networks for labor rights; lastly, advanced network skills including integrating and framing useful information and disseminating to the related actors contribute to the emergence of network activities (pp.290-291).

Armbruster (1998) emphasized that expansion of production facilities to Third World countries and limitations on labor movements led to the creation of international efforts (p.21). Innovative ways have been started to be used such as codes of conduct, monitoring, campaigns, petitions, community-based, and cross-border organizing. (Armbruster, 1998, p.21; Armbruster-Sandoval, 2005, p.11).

Codes of Conduct

The concerns have started to rise around the exploitation of labor at the end of the 20^{th} century, manufacturers and retailers were seen as responsible for the abuses and this situation led them to create a set of rules that includes values, norms, procedures, practices, and responsibilities. Classic codes of conduct of corporations are created according to UN and ILO documents generally include the points of the prevention of child labor and fair wages and working conditions (Armbruster-Sandoval, 2005, p.11). Esbenshade (1999) stated that for the garment industry, codes of conduct specifically may include working hours, wages, and freedom of association; should comply with the domestic laws.

Necessary conditions for decent work are indicated in the ILO Conventions, which bases legislature for countries ratified the Conventions and codes of conduct for companies. Member states must provide the necessary steps. Under the *Right to Organize and Collective Bargaining Convention, 1949*, collective bargaining is a fundamental right of the workers which helps to address problems and create an agreement for better working conditions and fair wages for workers. Collective bargaining is crucial to eliminate inequality and protect labor. About elimination of child labor, as stated in the *Minimum Age Convention, 1973* children under the age of eighteen; working in dangerous conditions, are considered child labor. Minimum wage is stated under the *Equal Remuneration Convention, 1951* that may be determined through a legal process, binding agreements, or a combination of them. In order to provide equal working conditions for all men and women in the workplace and eliminate poverty, wages must be fair regardless of gender (ILO, 2016, 2019).

Independent Auditing

For the garment industry, codes of conduct describe a proper environment for companies in which clothes are produced. Subcontractors in other countries are asked to sign and implement the rules. In the next step, factories are monitored to confirm if codes of conduct are implemented properly or not. Even the private firms are employed for periodic monitoring; activists have concerns about the reliability of the process; they emphasize independent monitoring as a solution rather than private ones (Armbruster-Sandoval, 2005, p.11; Esbenshade, 1999, p.1).

Many garment workers from developing countries avoid joining unions regarding the threats they will face such as being fired, arrested, or suspicious if the union is close to the administration or government. Hence, independent monitoring is necessary for workers' voices to be heard and construct a more transparent working process in the factories.

Campaigns

Campaigns are used to provide public support and convert it to social changes or influence political actors for policy changes. Campaigns are powerful, creative tools in achieving changes with solidarity. Campaigners dedicate their effort to a specific purpose, various tactics and actions can be used to invite more participants. As such, with educational activities campaigners inform people about the necessities of action; provide constant pressure on targets, and extend networks through connecting with new supporters (Keck & Sikkink, 1998). Tilly and Tarrow (2015) explained movement campaigns as a collective public action that includes three actors; people with a specific demand, steps for making the demand implemented, and supporters from the public. targeted actors may be authorities from governments, corporations, religious actors, or others whose behavior affects people accordingly (p.153).

The important point is that campaigns are not solely aimed to indicate a vision like stopping global warming but around a purpose, gradually, follow necessary steps like first increasing solar panels usage in businesses. In anti-sweatshop movements, transnational networks use campaigns as strengthening solidarity to improve working conditions and wages for labor. Campaigns generally focus on one target (Armbruster-Sandoval, 2005).

Petitions

A Petition is a written demand, a formal call, signed by many people with the purpose of requesting action for specific issues from decision-makers. In the structure of the petition, at the top of the document, a statement indicates which action is requested from decision-makers to take; below the statement, the signature part is signed by many people, supporting the statement. Hence, a petition is an effective way to indicate many people support requested demand from decision-makers, therefore, a large number of supporters contribute to the effectiveness of the petition ("Petitions for Advocacy" n.d.).

Petitions do not form a legal force, but form moral force through gathering many people around the same purpose. Armbruster-Sandoval (2005) claimed that throughout the worker rights movement history, petitions have been sufficient tools to organize workers with shared cause and create legal unions. However, in order to make them more effective, petitions should involve actors and workers from the Third World countries; should be strengthened through reviews and pressuring procedures (p.16).

Community-Based and Cross-Border Organizing

Organizations working for labor rights are categorized in terms of their level of function. In addition to domestic and international levels of organizing, community-based organization is an important part of networks (Duke & Henry Edet, 2012).

Community-based organizations are established by people bound with shared culture, motivation, geography, or technology; dedicate their effort to achieve developments for the community. According to Armbruster-Sandoval (2005), community-based organizing has been achieved positive results for garment workers at the local level. Community-based organizations, established at the end of the 20^{th}-century for maquiladora workers can be given as examples here. Maquiladora refers to factories established in the 1960s by foreign corporations near the U.S.-Mexico border. The main purposes of establishing the factories for Mexico; were increasing exporting and foreign investment; benefits of duty-free; decreasing the unemployment rate. Factories were quite beneficial for the owners because; Mexico was a cheap-labor abundant country; agreements like NAFTA provided advantages and eased the trade. However, Maquiladora was criticized for the exploitation of workers because of paying lower wages to workers; poor working conditions, threatening the workers' health; discriminative conditions against migrant and women workers; lack of labor unions' efforts (Kenton,2021).

Community-based organizations like the Border Committee of Women Workers were established near the border and focused on the conditions for women workers, violence, low wages, lack of basic equipment were uncovered by the workers as the main problems. Activities were organized, which informed workers about their rights. According to Armbruster-Sandoval (2005), these efforts have contributed to the development of a democratic organizational structure that includes various voices; encouraged workers to fight for justice, and to participate in organizing practices (p.16). Although community-based organizations have been criticized by labor unions for focusing on narrow aims than comprehensive achievements for labor rights; justified themselves as focused on excluded labor and discrimination and violence against women in the workplace. Therefore, community-based organizations' aims are clear and act according to a specific plan. However, financial problems limit their activities to go beyond its territory; demands do not enforce corporations sufficiently, hence, public and media support are crucial for community-based organizations at that point (pp.16-17). As in the case of Maquiladora example, community-based organizations are important for touching upon and contributing to specific regions and issues; developing organizational structures and strategies.

After the end of the Cold War, the rise of neoliberal policies on production encouraged activists and labor unions from Western and the Third World countries to come together. Cross-border organizing for garment workers consisted of NGOs, activists, labor unions, workers from different countries; in such cases, involved authorities from international bodies. The main motivations behind working with solidarity were improving working conditions; fighting for fair wages; ending sweatshop practices. The actions targeted authorities from factories or corporations (Armbruster-Sandoval, 2005, p.10-17). Although cross-border organizing achieved important results for sweatshop movements in improving working conditions, wages, ensuring recognition for unions, had limitations to sustain the efforts; being a member of unions has caused to losing jobs for garment workers as in the case of maquila in Latin America. Therefore, because of the fear of losing their job, workers hesitated to join unions; or companies moved to another labor-abundant country when the demands and complaints increased, efforts became unnecessary; oppression against activists was another difficulty as in the cases of Latin American countries, activists faced with threats of being arrested, beaten or killed for defending the workers' rights; this situation intimidated activist to organize movements (Armbruster, 1998, p.23; Armbruster-Sandoval, 2005, p.17).

According to Frundt (1999), cross-border organizing for garment workers could have achieved its aims by strengthening local movements and transnational activists altogether (p.103). Similarly, Armbruster-Sandoval (2005) claimed that the main problem of cross-border organizing has been focusing on specific targets. This strategy has not provided long-term solutions; plans should have included more workers regionally or all workers in a factory.

According to the definitions of cross-border organizing, it has similarities with today's transnational advocacy network on the points that includes members across boundaries; different strategies are applied or combined to be more effective. Therefore, it can be claimed that cross-border organizing has been created to challenge globalization's influence on the garment industry and initiative for transnational advocacy networks on the garment industry.

2.2. Transnational Advocacy Networks (TANs)

Transnational networks can be divided into three categories based on their aims as motivated by instrumental purposes; causal thinking; or shared values and principles. Transnational advocacy networks are involved in the last category. Transnational networks are established based on the mutual, horizontal, voluntary structure of transmission and communication, transnational advocacy networks are nonstate actors, created across boundaries linked by exchange and usage of information, common values, and discourses. Shared values and identities were the crucial components to legitimize the activities of the advocacy networks. The main aim of TANs is to provide motivation for political actions and influence power holders. In contrast to the rationalists' arguments, members of advocacy networks defend the rights of others, an idea or suggestion, rather than interests, main purpose of members, forming a network, providing ideas, standards and achieving policy changes at the end. (Keck & Sikkink, 1998; Khagram et al., 2002). Therefore, solidarity and commitment to the basic values and principles of the network are crucial to strengthen the links between members and make efforts more effective in achieving changes.

Furthermore, Khagram, Riker, and Sikkink (2002) differentiate transnational advocacy networks from transnational coalitions; and transnational social movements. Transnational coalitions involve coordinated actions beyond borders; tactics they use may require formal contacts as different from the informal interaction of the networks. Because, in coalitions' activities, tactics are required to be agreed by the groups for implementation. On the other hand, in transnational social movements, members from different countries are linked by common concerns. The main purpose of social movements is to be effective, for this reason, members generally use pressuring actions like protests. Regarding the division between three actions, Khagram, Riker and Sikkink (2002) emphasized that three types of actions are not exclusively separated but the most considerable method of each action can be highlighted as for transnational coalitions, a formal level of communication; in transnational movements, mobilization of the society; and for transnational advocacy networks, information exchange between members (pp. 6-11).

Tarrow (1994) explained collective action as consisting of people, coming together around the same purpose, interacting with authorities, and focusing on a solution that combines various demands and different identities. The main components of social movements are a common problem and common solution; common culture and common identity; common ground as a network; a structure, builds connection and strengthens solidarity between members (p.8). Therefore, Tarrow's social movements' components can be related to TAN's actions.

TANs distinguish themselves from other networks by dedicating their efforts to defending the rights of others. However, TANs are not only concerned with ‘helping others’, the uniqueness comes from the interactive working structure which includes exchanging and disseminating information, testimonies, supports, experiences, and strategies across countries and continents. Members of the networks transform each other, contribute to the knowledge of others, understand and they are open to different perspectives. Especially in human rights debates, the works of TANs are significant for contributing to international debates.

Ritchie (2002) pointed out the positive effects of TANs’ activities in Third World countries with the case of the Nestlé boycott (p.294). The campaign is an important example for indicating the involvement of different actors; dynamics and strength of global network activities. Therefore, the Nestlé boycott example is also given in the following parts of the research. In 1974, British War on War, a nongovernmental organization, published a pamphlet *The Baby Killer*, criticizing Nestlé’s marketing strategy in the Third World countries; indicating that the consumption of infant formula caused an increase in the number of diseases and infant mortality; translated into other European languages and took public attention in a short time. On 4 July 1977, the Nestlé boycott was organized by the Infant Formula Action Coalition in the U.S., spread to other countries across borders. In 1979 an international meeting was organized by UNICEF and WHO to develop an international code for corporations’ marketing practice. Especially The International Baby Food Action Network was leading the meeting with its groups at the meeting. In 1981, a marketing code was adopted which prohibits the promotion actions of infant formula and other breast milk substitutes; prevents spreading inaccurate information; encourages breastfeeding; limits corporations in providing scientific information. Ritchie emphasized that in order to stop the marketing strategy of the company, activists from all around the world worked with solidarity while sharing and exchanging useful services and knowledge with each other and it gives activists new perspectives (p.294). Currently, The International Baby Food Action Network monitors the practices of corporations; works with governments to hold corporations responsible; works with more than 160 countries with allies (Baby Milk Action, n.d.-a, n.d.-b).

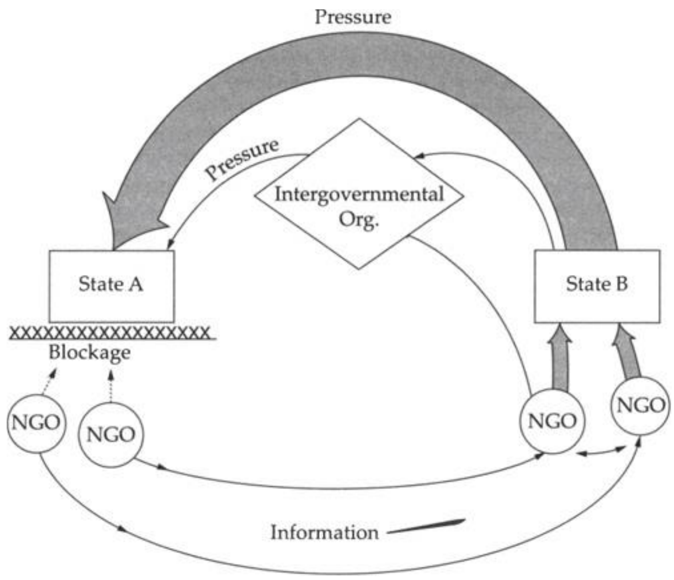
Transnational advocacy network actions generally include domestic and international advocacy NGOs activists, the media, decision-making bodies of governments, foundations, consumer organizations, unions or religious institutions, intergovernmental organizations. However, all the actors may not be involved in an advocacy network. But NGOs have a leading role in creating ideas, launching actions, and pressuring for policy changes (Bülow, 2010; Keck & Sikkink, 1998). Bülow (2010) explained the actions of the transnational networks as structured on interactions between the actors; the structure of the network is dynamic, may involve temporary interactions. Exchange of information and services, conferences, visits, building contacts from different countries are part of network activities (p.5).

According to Sikkink (2002), in order to promote moral authority, movements and networks need to have some conditions: First of all, they are independent actors as their purposes are distinct from any political or economic interests which belong to an individual or a government. However, they need to provide balanced relationships between political and economic actors when they aim for policy changes or receive funds for the activities; second, networks and NGOs establish moral authority through providing reliable and accurate information. Therefore, the image of organizations is linked with the accuracy of the information they give; third, social movements of the networks may also represent the weak or repressed groups in a different country, hence, moral authority comes from the representativeness for others; lastly, transparency is the main component of the accountability of advocacy networks (pp.313-316).

The Boomerang Pattern

TANs emerge based on the conditions where domestic groups cannot influence their government. Activists or political actors are motivated to strengthen networks because they believed in the power of networks to achieve policy changes, international events help to create an environment to expand networks. *The Boomerang Pattern* is the most common strategy used in transnational advocacy campaigns when the governments violate the rights and refuse to fix the behavior as a primarily responsible body. Domestic NGOs give up on their state and directly seek an international body to express the situations and protect the rights by providing pressure on the state through international network actions. After the issue echoes in the international arenas, it influences the responsible government with the pressure from international actors and fear losing good image and consequently military or economic aids from the powerful allies (Bassano, 2014; Keck & Sikkink, 1998). In other words, domestic NGOs try to influence their governments through the help of networks around the blockage which the government created. Boomerang Model is used for government authorities, corporations, contractors which is able to provide change on laws or policies and reforms. To achieve it, transnational advocacy networks use four tactics which will be discussed in the following parts (Armbruster-Sandoval, 2005).

Figure 2: Boomerang Pattern



Source: (Keck & Sikkink, 1998)

Generally, less democratic states use blockages to prevent domestic NGOs' advocacy works. Blockages include dangerous factors for NGO members such as disappearance or even death. To pass the blockages, networking helps the domestic NGO. Information flow, links with other organizations, capital, skills, and other sources are sufficient in the networks (Bloodgood & Clough, 2017).

Armbruster-Sandoval (2005) explained the boomerang effect in the context of labor movements. It happens when states pressure domestic NGOs for their claims about working conditions, unfair wages, abuses, etc. In order to prevent NGO activities, states may prevent campaigns or arrest members of organizations. Domestic NGOs develop communication with external allies. Therefore, members in the network pressure the target state through their own states (p.22).

Khagram, Riker, and Sikkink (2002) explained the boomerang pattern in the context of domestic-international relations. The blockage forces domestic movements to apply to international arenas. The blockage includes authoritative, suppressive behavior. Moreover, if domestic actors cannot find responsible actors to their demands, they can also carry it international spaces. Closed domestic space and open international space are the main components of the boomerang pattern (pp.19-20).

2.2.1. International and Domestic Human Rights Non-Governmental Organizations

Many definitions from different perspectives exist to identify non-governmental organizations. To combine definitions of NGO in common points, NGO refers to the formal nonprofit groups from civil society, consisting of people who are bound together by common aims; NGOs are generally considered reliable entities for societies and stakeholders.

Throughout history, crises and important events led to the evolution of NGOs: Abolishment of welfarist states starting from the 1970s to the dissolution of Soviet Union during the early 1990s; economic recession during the 1980s; increasing individual participants to social, political, economic activities; increasing demand for addressing needs of individuals which have not been addressed before; improvements in information and communications technology (ICT) from the 1980s and its influence on economic development. Regarding all these factors, NGOs have become an important factor in creating appropriate or demanded environments which private sector or government cannot create for special needs and opinions. In the categorization of NGOs function based on the general activities, during the 1960s and 70s, NGOs helped people in need through delivering goods and services; in the 1980s and 90s, local communities were tried to be strengthened through projects and activities held by NGOs; lastly, starting from the 1990s to current times, NGOs' main focus is changing policies to end oppression or solve problems of society, or providing reforms and policies (Duke & Henry Edet, 2012).

After the end of the Cold War period, NGOs became important actors in national and international arenas through various tasks such as establishing standards, preventing social conflicts, helping societies to recover themselves after disasters and conflicts, or contributing to the development process. Beer, Bartley, and Roberts (2012) defined the function of NGOs as actors that use soft law (p.327).

Extension of the NGO networks helps in taking global attention to human rights violations, environmental problems. The power of the NGOs does not come from democratic standing or military power but from a normative structure based on modern concepts related to humanitarian and development fields. Beer, Bartley, and Roberts (2012) divided the activities of NGOs into three types: Advocacy, service delivering and regulating (p.326). In the advocacy type of activities, NGOs try to take attention to the social problems, carry local problems to the international arenas. In service provider type, NGOs promote assistance to countries in need. NGOs may also take regulating responsibility in governmental and business activities through monitoring or they use moral leverage tactic. While NGOs may act in all types, they may be specialized in one of these types. Some of the NGOs, specialized in service provision, avoid advocacy functions because they fear involving political debates. Moreover, NGOs' efforts in three divisions and the mediator role between people, organizations, and governments contribute to establishing and strengthening good governance. As NGO activities require coordination, there is reciprocity between transnational and domestic NGOs. As such, in order to implement activities or get related information, NGOs need resources or expertise from other NGOs. Beer, Bartley, and Roberts (2012) defined this interaction under multi-level governance (Beer et al., 2012).

Keck and Sikkink (1998) explained the structure of transnational advocacy networks as based on horizontal relations not hierarchical. Members of the networks share information, services, expertise, and tactics. In this process, Domestic Human Rights NGOs play a significant role. While international NGOs focus on human rights issues in different countries; domestic NGOs work inside of the territory of one country. The number and structure of domestic NGOs may differ according to the countries and regions. One of the important roles of domestic NGOs in networks is that reaching information and sources on the ground level which international NGOs cannot easily reach. Furthermore, while globalization has encouraged all NGOs to transform themselves in accordance with the international human rights norms, domestic NGOs monitor their governments and other authorities in implementing human rights practices (Calnan, 2008; Keck & Sikkink, 1998). Beer, Bartley, and Roberts (2012) emphasized the importance of domestic NGOs in international arenas as without connection with domestic NGOs, International NGOs' efforts would have been inefficient (p.332).

According to Khagram, Riker, and Sikkink (2002), as different from the international NGOs, while members of domestic NGOs come from the inside of the country, their motivation and actions can be affected by international actors (p.6). Especially after the 1980s, domestic NGOs extend their network through communication with other organizations and funders. Members of domestic NGOs improved their skills to fulfill the requirements of the funders. Moreover, reciprocal influence between domestic and international NGOs exists. Domestic NGOs transmit their experiences and knowledge to other national and international actors (Ebrahim, 2003).

As an example of the domestic human rights NGOs, after the military coup in Argentina in 1976, domestic human rights NGOs were actively engaging with other actors, contacted external allies, members of the organizations traveled to Europe and the United States to meet with politicians, other human rights organizations and inform the media about the abuses and disappearances. The main aims were raising awareness about the repression, finding funds for their activities, taking support from the European and American authorities which will protect them from the government's pressure. Significant changes were provided with the well-organized domestic NGOs' activities like publishing abuses, protests and their coordination with other actors created pressure on the Argentina government. It was not just domestic NGOs' success, but coordination with international allies that helped them to achieve changes. The Boomerang Process was implemented through this coordination. International allies gathered information and symbolic cases from domestic NGOs and they took attention to the abuses in international arenas. Its influence turned back to the country in 1978 and the Argentine government started to work on improving its image and protecting the flow of aid from the other countries. As in the Argentina case, domestic NGOs provide information, report violations to raise global awareness, and achieve policy changes of governments. Hence, domestic human rights NGOs are vital actors in the networks. Keck and Sikkink (1998) analyzed the successful network activities as first emerged as a network which loosely organized focuses on a target and to raise awareness in the first phase uses symbols, real-life stories from victims and launches a campaign about the issue with the purpose of making a change and all these steps create a strong network and global awareness at the end (Keck & Sikkink, 1998).

2.2.2. Historical Process of Transnational Advocacy Networks

Modern network term was firstly used by the women groups in the United States to explain interconnections or interactions between other members and organizations. The first examples of the advocacy network campaigns go back to the 19^{th} century, the abolition of slavery campaign. In the U.S and Britain as early initiatives of advocacy networks activities, local, national, and regional organizations were established by the activists. Communication in the network helped movements to grow. The groups in both countries took the tactics, structure of the organizations, and communication as examples from each other and mutually influenced motivation for the collective action. In both countries, the number of signed petitions and the number of organizations indicated that it became a mass movement. Moreover, the repertoire of the movements included protests, letters, newspapers, petitions, documents, and visits to each other, accelerated to put pressure on the states. King and Havemen (2008) emphasized the importance of mass media and religious institutions in strengthening the anti-slavery movements. Activists can transmit the necessary information to both public and state with the help of media, it helps to be known as legitimate actors. Religion unites people with common values, morality, and customs which strengthen the bonds in community members and which also contribute to the solidarity between members. Therefore, religious institutions were the big supporters of social movements at that time, they were helpful in transmitting the moral values influencing the movements. Moreover, all the early movements that emerged from religious institutions and anti-slavery movements paved the way for establishing modern social movements which are comprehensive, independent, and modular. Hence, continued with the movements for woman suffrage from 1848 to 1904, the campaigns against foot-binding in China from 1874 to 1911 and followed, campaigns against female circumcision in Kenya from 1923 to 1931. As all the campaigns and movements carried unique content and structure in themselves, they had also similarities like activists had a motivation to change embedded cultural beliefs or practices that prevented the development of society in such aspects. Similar to the abolitionists, movements were motivated by religious support. Missionary institutions led the first practices of the campaigns which encourage more. For example, Protestant missionaries in Kenya firstly prohibited female circumcision while arguing it was a dangerous operation and against the religious rituals, in China missionary schools refused to admit the girls and teachers with bound feet. As early initiatives of the network activities, activists worked with other organizations in other countries, joined conferences; translated the documents into other languages to spread the purposes of the campaigns and reach more supporters (Keck & Sikkink, 1998; King & Haveman, 2008; Tilly, 2005).

The structure, work performance, relationship with other international actors in networks have changed over time. In the beginning, creating a network internationally was difficult because of the distance, nationalism effect, language problem, costs of communication, difficulty in travel. However, when the conditions have started to get better, the size of networks has extended. An increase in the number of NGOs which are the main actors of the transnational advocacy networks; indicates the growth of the networks.

After the Second World War, the creation of an international human rights regime became an urgent issue to promote a peaceful political environment internationally. The human rights concept has been emphasized by intellectuals and politicians. In this period, transnational advocacy networks especially focused on the promotion of human rights norms and policies. Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948 formed the base for international human rights law implying shared values in the network members which legitimizes their actions, indicating common purposes and procedures. Therefore, the process of the emergence of transnational human rights advocacy network can be formed as establishment, growth, and connecting with other organizations. Creating coalitions between human rights organizations both domestically and internationally strengthened the human rights advocacy networks. Moreover, with the modernization of the networks, rather than religious influence, which was mentioned before, network members were mostly motivated by secular beliefs. Socialist movements and trade unions demonstrated the examples of international solidarity which sets a crucial component for the TANs. Coups and pressures in Latin American countries and Greece raised awareness about the violations by states. While participation in human rights organizations started to increase, the structure of the organizations including budgets and the number of employers extended. The number of both southern and northern organizations grew (Keck & Sikkink, 1998).

In the context of globalization, with the end of the Cold War, states tended to communicate more with transnational actors, were involved in international debates, and transform themselves to comply with the human rights and democracy standards. Therefore, not only capital was flowing across boundaries and shaping world affairs (Calnan, 2008).

From the 1960s, activism began to spread in Europe, the US, and in the Third World countries with the decline in transportation costs, exchange programs especially the ones that give students the opportunity to live in the developing countries and help them understand the conditions in which people live, courses about the politics of Third World countries given in European and American universities. Moreover, Marxist-based liberation theology has started to spread among the student groups, students started to support the liberation for the Third World and it led to the reactions against the development aid policies provided by the Western countries and impacted the content of the international campaigns. Another reason for the rise of activism and advocacy activities in the 1960s is that individuals who belong to the groups which have religious and political effects, did not want to define their missions according to these groups anymore; especially, the activist coming from the leftist groups were worried about the violations in the Eastern Bloc countries and the ignorance of the groups which they belonged. Since the 1980s, the improvements in communication technologies and transportation made information flow easy and fast; international events helped activists to expand their network and communication. Activists create transnational networks in the situation they believe networks will help them to achieve their missions through the exchange of information, accessing audiences and authorities (Keck & Sikkink, 1998).

At the end of the 20th-century, with the Seattle protests against World Trade Organization, the power of TNAs started to grow. Protests became an example of coordinated actions against globalization, while activists mostly targeted economic policies, several groups focused on labor rights and environmental policies. Negotiations were stopped due to the protests (Khagram et al., 2002).

2.2.3. International Norms and Transnational Advocacy Networks

International norms form the essence of the activities of transnational actions and are examined by both IR theorists and social movement theorists. Norms indicate certain standards of the actors' behaviors. In order to understand the difference between norms and ideas, it is necessary to compare principled and causal opinions. While principled opinions are based on right and wrong; causal opinions are mostly related to the experiments or scientific relation between causes and consequences. However, the structure is not based on evidence in the principled opinions, if it is accepted by the wider community, they are turned into norms. International norms can be created via international conferences with the ratification of treaties or policies widely. According to Khagram, Riker, and Sikkink (2002), the causes of the transnational network actions generally depend on international norms. However, if international norms do not exist in such cases; network members create international norms and focus on providing consensus, related to their purposes (p.15). International arenas can be seen as a place which networks use for judgment of actors about their consistency to proper behaviors (Khagram et al., 2002).

Sikkink (2002) examined international norms under the soft power concept and claims that while norms are becoming more important in international arenas; transnational actors are the main bodies who both enforce and create new norms. Hence, they are the main actors in restructuring world politics. After the Cold War period, norms and discourses have been shaped around human rights and democracy. However, the improvement of the norms has not been the same for all regions, for example, it has been different in Asia than in Europe. Sikkink (2002) also claimed that some of the nongovernmental organizations use soft power through participating international organizations as consultant actors, or they can participate in global conferences as accredited actors, therefore, they have the opportunity to lobby, extend their network, take media and public attention to such issues with the purpose of creating or developing norms. Exercising of soft power by TANs can be analyzed under information politics, leverage politics, accountability politics, and symbolic politics (pp.301-303).

2.3. Transnational Advocacy Network Tactics

Campaigns may not be categorized with one tactic, to have more influence on the actors, many elements can be used. For example, it may contain disseminating information, using symbols to draw attention to the issue, and moral and material pressure to the policymakers. In order to take public and media attention to human rights abuses, networks frame the issues or events into meaningful concepts; therefore, it helps in organizing their actions. Framing is contextualizing the issues or events and it requires the ability to interpret and influence the public. Activists use innovative perspectives to take attention to those issues/events. Framing includes concepts and perspectives that influence understanding and reacting against a fact by groups or individuals. Innovative ways can be reframing old issues into new characters. Networks use their power of information, ideas, and strategies (Keck & Sikkink, 1998; Khagram et al., 2002). Successful framing can change the society's perception. Khagram, Riker and Sikkink (2002) emphasized on the idea that framing is a strategic action that organize people around common understanding of the facts; and helps to legitimize the actions around it. Moreover, framing concept means more than ideas; it is a way to represent the ideas collectively. Therefore, framing includes the way of act, the tactics of the networks (p.12).

According to Tarrow (1994), technological developments have contributed to activists' actions; impacted changes in tactics of the network. As such, the internet has become useful in disseminating information; inviting people across continents to participate in actions; strengthening connections between network members (pp.137-138).

Keck and Sikkink (1998) defined four tactics being used by transnational networks: information politics, symbolic politics, leverage politics, and accountability politics. In the following sections, each tactic is explained by examples.

2.3.1. Information Politics

Information politics refers to the ability in transmitting usable information to where it will have the influence to change. The concept is usually used related to transparency in the political contexts, started in democratic countries with the right-to-know movements and legal practices from the 1960s and 1970s, and continued to spread to other countries and transnational networks as well. Providing information and giving control over information is regarded as the greatest resource for the powerless in democracies which explains the link between transparency and power (Mol, 2014). Mol (2014) explained the importance of transparency as "informational capital" contributes to the power of civil society members through legitimacy and reliability (p.8).

Armbruster-Sandoval (2005) explained information politics as spreading facts to the public on issues like human rights abuses, climate change, and sweatshops. In order to disseminate information, TANs use various tools such as workshops, websites, informative documents, and films (p.22).

Activists used testimonies and facts to motivate actions and provide policy changes. According to Keck and Sikkink's (1998) definition, three actors are involved in information politics: activists, the public, and policymakers. Although Keck and Sikkink (1998) did not categorize them, in this research, categorization will help to better analyze advocacy networks' actions. Moreover, informing just one group will not be enough to achieve activists' purposes, information politics can be seen as a connected tactic of the networks.

In *Restructuring World Politics*, Khagram, Riker, and Sikkink (2002) analyzed TANs as one of the types of transnational collective actions. Information is the main tool of their activities (p.7). Exchange of information exists in the center of TANs' members. Formal and informal connections between members and groups in the network provide the information flow. TANs use informal communication more than other actors. Informal information flows through mails, phone calls, magazines, journals, newsletters, and brochures. Informal information provides rare information for activists which cannot be easily reached and strengthened the communication between members (Keck & Sikkink, 1998).

Since the date when *Activists Beyond Borders* was written, communication technology has been highly developed; especially the increasing usage of computers and the World Wide Web transformed transnational organizing (Ritchie, 2002). Currently, new communication tools such as social media channels and smartphone applications have been added to the list. Improvements in communication technologies have made the flow of information quicker between members and it has a significant impact on the enlargement of the networks. Ritchie (2002) analyzed the contribution of the communication revolution to the development of transnational organizing as follows: Policymakers and citizens can reach original documents via the internet; e-mails make the communication faster between authorities; so that local authorities could reach the international bodies easily; people can easily get to know how politicians and agencies react the questions or claims, so that, an opposite stand of the politicians to any groups can easily be proved; contradictions of the arguments and promises made by politicians can be easily found out by the internet; campaigns can be circulated easily with the help of internet. However, Ritchie (2002) also emphasized that in the end, the most important thing is the contribution of transnational organizations to the personal engagement and performance of the campaigns (p. 297-208).

Making information clear and useful for both members and the public is important. Categorizing the information quickly helps activists to be more organized in the campaigns. They use real stories to reflect striking facts about the issue they try to take attention. Therefore, as an alternative source of information, testimonies or real-life stories help activists to mobilize people and pressure power holders. In order to promote changes, networks try to take policymaker's attention to the problems. For reliability of the networks, the information should be well prepared and based on reliable resources; to take attention, information should be striking and reported on time. Although all components may not be fulfilled together, reliability and striking effect of the information are crucial components to influence policymakers (Keck & Sikkink, 1998).

Examples of Information Politics

In the examples of information politics, as mentioned before, not just one actor which is leading for information politics contributes but the combination of all actors' involvement has an influence on policy changes. In 1974, British organization War on Want published a document with a striking title, "The Baby Killer" against the sales promotion of powdered milk in the Third World countries, the production threatened the baby's health and caused increasing mortality (Keck & Sikkink, 1998; Muller, 1974). In supporting the campaign, activists helped the flowing of the information both for the members of the network and the public by translating other European languages. The Swiss Third World Action Group translated the pamphlet into German with directly stating the responsible corporation as Nestlé. And Nestlé sued the Swiss campaigners (Balsiger, 2014; Keck & Sikkink, 1998). However, the campaign was successful in achieving purposes: in 1981, the International Code of Marketing of Breastmilk Substitutes was published by the World Health Organization which was aimed to support breastfeeding by indicating the importance of babies' health over marketing strategies and advertisements and encouraging governments to regulate their legal frameworks about preventing commercial purposes harming babies' health (World Health Organization, 1981).

Amnesty International, as a transnational non-governmental organization, uses information politics in the activities to raise public awareness; mobilize grassroots organizations, media, and elites; lead the social change in protecting human rights (Ron et al., 2005; Vestergaard, 2008). For example, in 2004, Danish Amnesty International used a TV spot that included nine scenes to introduce missions of the AI and to inform people about the human rights actions they can take. In the analysis of these scenes, they refer that AI prevents crime and provide security; advocates for the innocent; contact authorities to find missing people, releases innocent people from prison, preventing the death penalty and torture. Finally, a website address of the campaign appears at the last scene as *"see what you can do"*. On the website, actions are indicated as signing petitions, being a volunteer, donating, or writing letters to authorities (Vestergaard, 2008).

2.3.2. Symbolic Politics

The symbol is a bond from outward of image or subject through a view of comparison. Its main aim is to explain or describe an idea (Vischer & Yanacek, 2015). Moreover, symbols consist of information, experiences, social values which help to interpret, act and handle such problems or situations. Symbolic politics transform the social order with the help of representative events and help to change politics through collective actions such as protest, mobilization of public, or uprising. The mechanism includes interpretation, processing influential information, and framing. Hence, symbols are tools to mobilize people; they create integrity among people sharing common views about certain situations (Blühdorn, 2007). Using symbolic events and issues is essential for the persuasion process which also ensures expanding network. It expands the meaning and aim of an action or event, carries it through imagination and further thinking to reach its potential.

According to Armbruster-Sandoval (2004), framed symbols can be pictures, street events, awards, or clothes (p.23). Therefore, reflecting a message or an issue through symbols is a creative tactic for activists.

Network members frame issues into certain patterns, through using symbols they can also frame old patterns into new debates and actions (Blühdorn, 2007; Keck & Sikkink, 1998). Moreover, Brysk (1995) emphasized the idea that framing action of symbolic politics reminds us that politics does not start with the masses' actions but transforming information, turning it into a perspective that improves actions. Therefore, it helps to create political reality and to understand the main motivation behind the persuasion of collective actions (Brysk, 1995, p.570).

Symbolic events help to draw attention and create awareness about related subjects. Although important events can be part of the process of persuasion to change minds and take actions, just one event can be enough to make awareness about the subject (Keck & Sikkink, 1998). Brysk defined successful symbolic politics examples as promoting social changes through changing priorities and agendas, creating collective identities, or questioning the legitimacy of states (Brysk, 1995, pp.559-561). However, the influence and function of symbolic politics have changed in time with changing political, economic, and social discourses (Blühdorn, 2007).

Examples of Symbolic Politics

In the 1970s, Chile was a democratic country and a potential threat to the U.S. government for inspiring other Latin American countries. Close relations between Cuba and Chile, sharing the common ideology as eliminating U.S. imperialism in the region and continuation of Soviet influence were enough to scare the U.S. government (Qureshi, 2008). However, on 11 September 1973, the first democratically elected Marxist president Salvador Allende was overthrown by the violent military. Pinochet dictatorship quickly came into power and destroyed the established democratic structure through dissolving congress and labor organizations and political parties. Strong evidence shows about the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) supported both the military coup and Pinochet's power afterward (Qureshi, 2008; Winn, 2010). The 1973 Coup in Chile was just one event or symbol for growing suspects about the U.S. government. However, at that time, the Vietnam War and Watergate Scandal triggered the human rights movements in the United States (Keck & Sikkink, 1998). All these events showed the loss of reliability of president Nixon and the government of the United States.

Another example of symbolic politics, can be Gezi Park Protests in Turkey which started on 28 May 2013 by group of activists against Turkish government's urban renewal plan aimed to demolish Gezi Park, one of the few green places remained in the center of the Istanbul, and reconstructing shopping center and Ottoman-era Taksim Military Barracks. However, Gezi Park Protests are actually symbolic of many other policies, making citizens suspicious about the losing democracy in the country. For example, the prohibition attempts on abortion, banning the sale of alcohol for a certain period of times in a day, government policies on the Syria War, and especially the police suppression of the First of May marches in Taksim Square triggered the opposition ideas against the Justice and Development Party government's policies. In a short time, violent police forces' actions turned the protests into a massive anti-government social movement. Christofis (2013) claimed that Gezi Park Protest initiated solidarity against neoliberal authoritative politics, therefore, it was not about the park, it was about the collective motivation of people to control their own lives (Christofis, 2013).

The Nestlé Boycott example which was mentioned earlier, can be also given for the symbolic politics' examples which was against the marketing strategies of Nestlé for infant formula and became a successful example for controlling the code of conduct by networks for strategies of multinational corporations in the Third World (Brysk, 1995).

Symbolic politics is also an essential tactic for environmental actions. While the striking photos of fire in the Amazon rainforest from Brazil in 1988 made people concerned about global warming, the assassination of environmentalist Chico Mendes in December 1988, who advocated for the peasant, indigenous people and fought for the preservation of Amazon forests, justified the people's suspicions about Amazon. Murder of Chico Mendes was published in the New York Times and took attention to the topics he had been fighting for (Keck & Sikkink, 1998).

2.3.3. Leverage Politics

Political effectiveness is the main concern for activists, with pressure and convincing, they strive to provide policy changes of targeted actors such as governments, international institutions, transnational companies. Networks use leverage politics to affect those powerful actors. Material or moral leverage are the two important strategies for transnational network campaigns (Keck & Sikkink, 1998).

Material Leverage

Material leverage includes both financial and governmental elements such as goods, votes, dignitary offices, etc. Negotiations are set with the governments and institutions, which manage financial aspects, as their works are related to the human rights implementations like military and economic aids and diplomatic negotiations. In democratic countries, organizations that have more members than others; can affect voting and for this reason, have an advantage with their leverage power in lobbying with actors. With the increasing importance of media and public influence, members of the networks raise public awareness and media attention. Therefore, political and economic actors are more concerned about their image in domestic and international arenas so that they try to protect their good image (Keck & Sikkink, 1998).

Moral Leverage as Naming and Shaming Process

Activists use moral leverage with social pressure in situations when states do not keep their promises or violate obligations for which they are the responsible ones according to the international law or norms. Losing their credibility may harm their prestige in both the eyes of the public and in international arenas. At the first meeting of the League of Nations, public opinion was defined as the most powerful weapon, powerful than any material power, and not joining the collective action in an international context will be resulted in public condemnation. When the social pressure is not enough to change policies, TANs strive to gain support from other states which are powerful in the context of material leverage. Consequently, both nonstate actors and states can be seen as part of society which creates effective social pressure (Friman, 2015; Morgenthau, 1948).

Using moral leverage by TANs in the human rights violation cases is defined as "naming and shaming" process as a watchdog function of NGOs. It is explained with different components as international scrutiny to targeted governments or corporations because of their violation of the normative standards; exclusion from the international community; criticism by public or demanding reform by media, international organizations, and NGOs for the violations. The naming and shaming process questions the practices of actors and demands for the policy or behavioral change (Beer et al., 2012; Friman, 2015).

The process involves the dissemination of information to actors and the public about human rights violations with the purpose of shaming responsible actors. Naming refers to identifying violations of human rights by targeted actors; shaming contains a strategic aim that naming will deter the target from the violations. Naming and shaming have been a significant strategy for the human rights violations' actions because firstly, the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and other treaties about human rights regionally or internationally accepted; second, the existence of many national, international and transnational actors working on examining and uncovering human rights abuses through regularly prepared reports which demonstrate human rights implementations with country profiles for every country in the world; third, because of the nature of the strategy, not including the use of force, sanctions or interventions, but persuasion. Therefore, naming and shaming is one of the leading strategies for human rights networks against targeted actors.

Problems may occur in the naming and shaming process such as cannot predicting the reactions and emotions of the political leaders of targeted governments before; it is possible to turn out aggression; not ending the abuses at the end; authoritarian regimes which normalized abuses already to strengthen their power or having supporters and advisors justifying authoritarian's abusive power. The naming and shaming process is useful when it is not solely depending on the psychology of targets but through changing their behavior because of its noncommitment to the international normative standards, or when the other actors as third parties' influence stop their support to them, which called as boomerang model for advocacy networks (Friman, 2015; Keck & Sikkink, 1998).

In order to be effective in using material and moral leverage against targeted actors, networks should be capable of disseminate information transnationally and/or transculturally to their network members and other actors. Therefore, the structure of networks is essential. The number of the members and its presence in the targeted state strengthens the legitimacy of the network. Other factor for effective material and moral leverage is vulnerability of the targets through availability and sensitivity to the leverage. In regard to availability, while target's dependence on economic and military aid, trade and loans is related with the effectiveness of material leverage, target's reliance on its image in international negotiations determines its vulnerability to moral leverage. Moreover, the target should be sensitive to leverage, and concerned about its prestige in international spheres (Friman, 2015).

In the context of consumer activism, naming and shaming process may include campaigns in headquarters of companies, retail stores with the help of media and internet in order to raise public awareness or mobilize them. Moreover, those campaigns may lead to end the business between suppliers and retailers because of their bad image (Beer et al., 2012).

Examples of Leverage Politics

International drug control is a significant example of the leverage politics. During the 20th century, states, international organizations and transnational networks initiated the establishment of international drug control through treaties and as the main body investigating implementations in 1968, the International Narcotics Control Board (INCB) was established by the United Nations. Material leverage power plays an important role in the agency's procedures with its monitoring role for the compliances and annual reports. In the case of serious evidence exists about illegal cultivation, production and trade of drugs and the INCB confirms that government does not provide necessary information or does not take necessary steps, applying leverage politics becomes urgent action. According to the 1961 and 1971 Conventions, the drugs embargo may be applied by stopping export and import of drugs for the targeted country until the risks are prevented. As the second strategy for INCB's naming and shaming strategy, annual reports include an evaluation by the Board, the gaps between country's practices and the treaties as indicating the compliance situation, challenges in the specific regions, and necessary steps should be taken according to the procedures. Reports influence states' behavior and encourage compliance to the conventions (Friman, 2015; Taylor-Bewley, 2012).

In the Boycott against Nestlé campaign, activists used moral leverage in convincing states to accept the WHO's code of conduct, and also corporation was concerned about its image as a famous brand with not just infant formula but also other food items which invested to provide a corporate image of them. Pressures were successful in the end with even convincing the big exporter countries of the infant formula to accept the code (Keck & Sikkink, 1998).

2.3.4. Accountability Politics

Accountability term is related to governance and ethics, and also defined as holding actors responsible to certain standards by other actors who have the right to do so and if they fail to fulfill these standards, sanctions can be imposed on them. Hence, it is expected from the actors, who can be held responsible, to act according to certain standards of behavior (Grant & Keohane, 2005).

Keohane (2003) defined accountability politics with a relationship between two parties: Power-holder and accountability-holder. The power holder is the one who can be held responsible by the accountability holder for its own actions/inactions and as a result of it, can be exposed to the sanctions. Hereby, in this relationship structure, two essential elements are required reciprocally: Information and sanction. Accountability holder has information, provided by the power-holder, for questioning of whether the power-holder are fulfilling the standards of behavior and the sanctions are sufficient to change power-holders behavior. Accountability holder is required to influence the power holder in this relationship.

According to Armbruster-Sandoval (2004), accountability politics is related to inconsistency between the commitment of an actor and behaviors. Code of conduct bases main source for this analysis (p.23). When a government devoted itself to a position, networks can hold the government responsible for the incompatibility between practices and discourse in accordance with the necessities of this position (Keck & Sikkink, 1998). Especially about the issues of human rights and democracy, the distance between practices and discourse may damage the reputation of the governments. Hence, reputation is the most important factor involved in the accountability politics which is formed as soft power influences the decision of actors. And this applies to firms at the global level. Especially famous brands try to protect their image from consumer boycotts and media criticisms which can also affect their place in the market and economic stand accordingly. For this reason, they may choose to adapt code of conduct (Grant & Keohane, 2005). Code of conduct and monitoring form basis for companies' accountability (Esbenshade, 1999). Hence, TANs pressure power holders to be accountable to international or national laws or apply the same tactic if power holder remains inactive against human rights violations. International standards are vital sources for transnational advocacy activities.

Legitimacy Factor

Legitimacy is the essential element of accountability politics. On the domestic ground, it can be derived from legal structure, tradition, or election process. However, when they are not applicable to the transnational networks, informal norms maintain legitimacy at the global level. Firstly, international human rights norms are commonly accepted and supported by public discourse; second, normative standards related to democracy can also be applied to the global level; lastly, normative coercion for economic equality, affects the political economy globally. International standards and states' participation contributes to the legitimacy practices at the global level and power holders can be held responsible to the standards of transnational networks, even though applicable international law and representative of their power do not exist. Rather than formal process, reputation and pressure from international networks can be applied in accountability politics. For international organizations, norms and international law form their legitimacy. The procedure is based on the articles of agreements (Grant & Keohane, 2005).

Keohane (2003) analyzed accountability practices in the context of democracy. The systems in which higher power holders can be held accountable to less power holders; are more democratic to the opposite ones. Democracy contributes to the accountability of citizens, prevents the implementation of self-interest (Grant & Keohane, 2005; Keohane, 2003). However, as the domestic structure of governments may vary, practices may also be different. For example, the main role of the courts is not the same in the European countries as it includes variable representation in the U.S. Hence, it explains the reason for the existence of many advocacy organizations in the U.S.(Keck & Sikkink, 1998).

Throughout history, three steps made the accountability process easier for accountability holders. Firstly, starting from the 1980s, the development of the internet and the media industry have made the public more aware of the current events and increased opposite approaches against leaders. The second transformation is the changing behavior of citizens. Despite the improvements in regulations and focusing on the well-being in policy practices, the public became more suspicious and anxious, vulnerable to failures. The third step is the strengthened position of the victims. As the internet and media have been transformed, their stories have become heard more and called attention to the government policies by the public and networks. Networks have been engaged in discussions with policymakers for their mistakes, influencing them to change their policies (Boin et al., 2008).

Examples of Accountability Politics

In 1968 during the student movements in Mexico, the army killed more than three hundred students, kidnapped, wounded thousands, and many of the students disappeared. Mexican human rights organizations documented violations during the 1970s. However, it did not take attention due to Mexico's good image supporting human rights norms and practices in international arenas. As the human rights abuses increased, from the late 1980s, the situation has started to change with the efforts of domestic human rights organizations and the boomerang effect. Attention from organizations like Amnesty International and Americas Watch echoed back in Mexico. Actions scared the Mexican government to lose its good image as supporting international human rights norms and affect free trade agreement discussions with the U.S. and Canada. Due to these concerns, Mexico's Human Rights Commission was established to monitor the government's practices just before the agreement meeting with U.S. President George Bush. Hence, when the transnational network suspected the democracy and human rights practices in Mexico, the government initiated forming and strengthening practices as an accountable actor (Keck & Sikkink, 1998; Lutz, 1990).

In 1989, communist governments were collapsed; political, environmental, and economic problems continued. International solidarity and democracy became the fundamental necessities for transforming the structure of world politics. In 1973, the Foreign Ministers of thirty-five states, including the United States and Canada, participated in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) to contribute to building a bridge between East and West. The main concern was the human rights issues in Eastern Europe. As a result, on 1 August 1975, the Helsinki Final Act or Helsinki Accords was signed, establishing international humanitarian norms which shaped relations between European states, including respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms and contributing to the cooperation between states. Furthermore, in the context of sanctions, any non-compliance by the signatory states would be accepted as a violation of international law under the Final Act. Hence, it would be followed by diplomatic actions at the multilateral or bilateral levels (Arangio-Ruiz, 1977; Thomas, 1997). Furthermore, the Final Act encouraged human rights movements in the Soviet Union. For example, Helsinki Watch Committee (later formed Human Rights Watch) and Moscow Helsinki Group were established to monitor the Soviet Union's compliance with the Helsinki Accords or, in other words, focused on holding the Soviet Union to human rights standards, supported activists and protect them, used media to report human rights violations to the West (Keck & Sikkink, 1998).

Conclusion

Two world wars and the Cold War afterward increased the necessity of international cooperation in human rights issues. Advocacy has become an essential tool in defending the rights of others. Networks have been shaped around this purpose, and members of the networks have been the main actors in achieving changes through sharing common values, motivation, and beliefs. Increasing flows of goods and services between borders triggered the rise of consumer activism around Third World policies of Western actors. Shopping was not a simple need anymore; it reflected consumers' reaction against Western brands' profit-based actions. Establishing supply chains in the Third World countries because of the cheap labor abundance encouraged international and local actors to take action for ignorance of labor rights. The networks have strengthened coordination between domestic and international actors. Starting from the 1980s and 1990s, international negotiations increased. As solutions to labor abuses, codes of conduct, monitoring, campaigns have been applied by network activities. Four types of tactics generally used by transnational networks are analyzed in this chapter through examples include human rights issues: The tactics of the networks are categorized based on information flows, pressuring authorities, taking attention by a symbolic event, or reminding power holders of their responsibilities. In this chapter, it is clearly understood from the conceptualization and examples; tactics are not used independently; they are combined and complete each other for the TANs' activities.

CHAPTER 3

EVOLUTION OF THE CLEAN CLOTHES CAMPAIGN TACTICS

Introduction

This chapter introduces the Clean Clothes Campaign by giving the organizational background. Main tactics are investigated in a historical context, starting from analyzing the early actions in the consumer market to extending the power of the network with anti-neoliberal movements against authorities. Finally, the tactics used for holding them responsible for the labor rights practices in garment supply chains, are explained. Analysis of the tactics of the CCC campaign shows that actions varied from raising public awareness through petitions, brochures, surveys, striking slogans for the specific targets to pressuring authorities in conferences, street protests, or publishing evaluation reports. The extension of the CCC network globally has contributed to disseminating the advocacy principles and encouraged other advocacy actors to participate. This chapter aims to analyze how have the Clean Clothes Campaign tactics changed over time and explore the historical conditions that led to the changes.

3.1. Organizational Background of the Clean Clothes Campaign

Hilton (2009) stated that in the 20th-century, consumer activism had acquired its natural term with politicizing the actions such as protests, lobbying, and campaigns for labor rights (p.11). In the 1970s, neoliberal economic politics triggered the sweatshops' influence on garment workers. Due to the free-market economy and competitiveness between corporations, labor-abundant Third World countries became profitable supply bases for the corporations. However, poor working conditions and a lack of strong labor unions caused the workers to suffer more. Clean Clothes Campaign was established to provide fundamental rights of garment workers.

In 1989, when garment workers demanded the payment of minimum wage in a Philippine supply factory, and it caused losing their jobs, the Dutch Solidarity Action Group, mostly consisting of women, protested this issue in front of a big store in Amsterdam, Netherlands. This protest led to the establishment of an international network; first, twelve European countries joined the network: Great Britain, France, Belgium, and Germany; then Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, and Austria; Italy, Denmark, and Norway followed them by 2007 (Who We Are-History, n.d.). Each national chapter was established as a coalition of NGOs, which consisted of consumer organizations, Third World solidarity organizations, women's organizations, and research groups[1] (Esbenshade, 1999; Sluiter, 2009). A collective network that covers different types of organizations, the CCC has been an influential actor in consumer markets and the garment industry from the beginning till today. As Keck and Sikkink (1998) identified that transnational advocacy networks established based on horizontal, voluntary, and mutual structure, the CCC believes in the power of collective action, and rejects hierarchical, centralized working structure, The CCC primarily focuses on connecting organizations, unions, activists, and workers around the purpose of providing better working conditions for the garment and sportswear industry. The expansion of the network has continued globally and currently reached 235 organizations from all around the world (*Who We Are-About*, n.d.). Considering each region has different backgrounds and cases, to analyze local issues and provide more effective solutions, the CCC works with Regional Coalitions, organizations, and groups (*Who We Are-Our Network*, n.d.).

The Clean Clothes Campaign is a significant transnational advocacy network. "Clean Clothes" refers to not clean nor stylish or trendy clothes but produced by labor that is paid fair wages and in healthy working conditions that do not harm the environment and people; also refers to the transparency of the production process which consumers are informed about it. Considering this primary objective, activities of the CCC start from local and reach to global arenas: problems are determined in its field, and to solve these problems, aims are created, and the CCC carries these aims to the global level.

[1] Although, national branches are autonomous, they are motivated by the CCC principles and act around them.

Therefore, the CCC generally advocates workers' rights by demonstrating the violations and proposing solutions to companies, governments, and society.

The vision of the CCC is shaped around promoting the fundamental rights of garment workers (*Who We Are-Our Global Strategic Framework*, n.d.); therefore, the network activities are based on advocating the rights of the workers. Various types of activities of the CCC can be combined as follows: Education and mobilization, to provide efficient information to consumers about fundamental rights of workers, raising awareness; pressuring and lobbying authorities, to change or reform policies at the local and regional level; organizing training, to strengthen workers; supporting other campaigns to collaborate in the same purposes (*Who We Are-About*, n.d.).

On the website of the Clean Clothes Campaign, under the *Global Strategic Framework,* the CCC's principles are divided into five main actors, involved in the actions and lead the implementation of the actions: workers, consumers, governments, companies, and civil society. For workers, the main aims of the CCC can be combined as follows: Decent working conditions and fair wages, right to bargain and associate; reaching necessary information about their rights; empowering women workers through raising awareness about their rights and giving support to the organizations which aim to support the rights of women in the workplace; supporting all employment type of workers in reaching their rights. For the public or consumer base, the main aims of the CCC can be referred to as: consumers have the right to know under which conditions their clothes are produced. Therefore, they should be informed about the production process; consumers can take action with the aim of providing the rights of workers. For governments: national legislation should comply with the ILO and UN standards, policies should be regulated according to these standards; considering the responsibility of governments in protecting worker's rights, governments should provide necessary working conditions and relations according to the standards, guarantee the implementation of the rights of workers when their rights are violated; governments have the responsibility to hold companies accountable when the rights of workers are violated; governments have the responsibility to stop violations of the rights of civil society and trade unions as they have right to function freely. For company base: garment and sportswear industries are responsible actors to provide the implementation of workers' rights; companies and retailers should adopt code of conduct in accordance with the international standards, follow, encourage and guide the implementation of these codes through the production process; companies and retailers should maintain relations with trade unions; companies should support bargaining with trade unions and freedom of association practices through agreements. In compliance with transparency, companies should inform the public and workers about their chains so that workers can be aware of the company structure; report violations in their chains, and prevent them. Therefore, the public can take action, and hold companies accountable for their practices; companies should consider living wages for workers when they price products. For the last actors involved in the strategies of the CCC, civil society, including organizations and unions, should be encouraged to combine their efforts with different types of actions in improving the rights of labor in garment and sportswear industries (*Who We Are-Our Global Strategic Framework*, n.d.).

3.2. Rise of the Clean Clothes Campaign Network

The CCC, as a global network, connects different actors from different countries, but also today's achievements of the CCC network in the garment industry come from its past initiatives. To analyze changes in the CCC network's tactics, it is essential to examine the roots of the CCC network, including the early actions; even if the activities were conducted in different countries under different situations, motivation is the same; coordinated campaigns contributed to strengthening coordination in the network (Balsiger, 2014). During the 1960s and 1970s, early initiatives generally focused on raising awareness about the development issues and changing personal consumption practices. Campaigners first informed consumers and raised awareness about labor rights, working conditions, and unfair trade policies, especially in Third World countries. "Making a change" desire for activism led ordinary citizens to join activities with daily habits.

Early Initiatives around Consumption Campaigns: Bern Declaration and Artisans du Monde

Balsiger (2014) explained the early actions with examples from two different European countries: France and Switzerland which the CCC coalitions were established first as national branches of the network. Early actions of them paved the way for the establishment of the CCC network. Currently, they are involved in the European Coalition of the network. The Bern Declaration (BD) established in 1968 as an NGO, was one of the NGOs that created the Swiss CCC later in 1999 (p.21). According to Sluiter (2009), the BD is an important actor that led the establishment of the main strategies and campaigns of the Swiss CCC (p.202). The Bern Declaration's name was changed to 'Public Eye' in 2016. However, the change in the name did not lead to any change in the organization's values, motivations, and strategies in promoting human rights and justice globally (*Berne Declaration Becomes Public Eye*, 2016). In the early times, the actions of the BD were based on consumption campaigning and development projects in the Third World (Balsiger, 2014; Sluiter, 2009).

Sluiter (2009) claimed that in the 1970s, fair trade movements were identified with the BD campaigns (p.202). Balsiger (2014) stated that regarding the tactics and transformation, the Bern Declaration actions were early examples of the CCC campaigns against corporations. The actions first started with publishing a public appeal that requested policy change and more money spending for the development projects from the Swiss government; they turned to petitions that had religious figures, and signatories were religious people. It was a significant factor in influencing citizens to sign as well. At that time, Under the influence of dependency theory, Western countries' Third World policies were criticized by the church and youth groups (pp.21-22).

In 1974, the Bern Declaration members came together to plan actions. Most of the suggestions were about consumption. One of the campaigns was supporting a movement, which had already been launched by the Bananenfrauen in Switzerland, a group consisting of women, after watching a documentary about bananas' production process in the Third World; they aimed to raise public awareness about the conditions of the production and low prices paid to workers. The BD supported the actions; signatures were collected as reflecting consumers' demand for paying a higher price to bananas to provide fair payments to workers. In another action in 1973, campaigners sold coffees in Switzerland imported from Tanzania. The main purpose was to support the autonomous development process of Tanzania. Activists were firstly informed by a document giving information about trade relations between the Third World and developed countries and the domination of the MNCs. Therefore, the main purposes of informing activists were, in addition to providing simple instruction for selling a Third World product; inviting more people to join actions, and raising awareness around activists and consumers. In another campaign of the BD, a questionnaire was used to ask local groups for a tool to be used in the campaign. Bags made of 'jute' was chosen as a result of the questionnaire. The 'jute' meant more than development as Bangladeshi women produced it, and regarding the environmental problems, it was a symbol for encouraging consumers to use reusable products, not plastics. Lastly, the BD focused on reducing meat consumption in another campaign because they saw it as a reason for the hunger in the Third World and the production process requires a lot of crops. Public statements were used, which is different from the petitions, reflecting an individual's commitment to consuming less meat in a certain period. However, Balsiger (2014) claimed that this campaign, similar to coffee and jute campaigns on the point that action involves a production, a concrete option of joining the campaign; but also differ from them as not just aimed to raise consciousness but also reduce meat consumption (p.26).

Artisans du Monde (AdM) was founded in 1974, combines all local French associations, its origin dated back to 1971, priest Abbé Pierre's public appeal to help Bangladesh, fighting with internal crisis and famine at that time (*Notre Histoire: Précurseur Du Commerce Équitable En France*, n.d.). Artisans du Monde was involved as a part of the French CCC, a national coalition of the CCC network, in its early actions, primarily focused on helping the economic development of Third World countries through improving fair trade rather than aid. The motivation of the actions was influenced by two traditions: Christian left tradition by founder Abbé Pierre and anti-imperialist tradition. AdM published bulletins, organized discussions and film screening activities locally to inform members and volunteers of the network; raised public awareness, sold Third World fair trade products in local shops. As such, in August 1977, in a bulletin, the AdM explained the main aim behind selling concrete goods as an unconventional method, but activists aimed to make people aware of the situation in Third World countries, they believed, rather than giving information; concrete items are more effective in reflecting imperialist influence on the Third World; therefore, it was both informative and political action, consumers would be activist by buying the goods. Therefore, for the AdM, selling and buying fair trade products were more than shopping; standing against imperialism, with both political and informative purposes, and building solidarity between the Third World and France. However, the AdM was concerned about the organization's charity image in the public; misunderstanding of the main motivation behind selling products. Therefore, in order to prevent it, and reflect organizational goals accurately, the AdM organized informative events for consumers and activists. Discussion and film screening activities were organized. Early campaigns paved the way for anti-corporation actions of the future CCC. AdM has not actively organized campaigns until the 1990s, in the early years of the organization, generally engaged with informative actions; supporting other campaigns through its volunteer network, as such, supported the jute campaign of the BD (Balsiger, 2014).

Lumsdaine (1993) explained humanitarian aid movements as not simply trying to prevent poverty but changing social, political conditions underlying poverty because transformation is only possible by uncovering reality and government responsibility. Therefore, activist networks reveal the problems with fact-finding, taking media and public attention to reality and making them speak out for change and finding solutions. Moreover, in the early times of the actions, the internet or modern communication channels have not been developed and used worldwide making the exchange of information more difficult. As mentioned earlier, Tarrow (1994) stated the importance of the internet in contributing to strategy practices of the networks (p.137). However, during these times, it can be claimed that the CCC actions were limited; therefore, petitions, brochures did not carry only one purpose as informing people and changing consumer behavior, also encouraged people to disseminate the information, extending the message as far as it reaches. Therefore, early network actions were important for creating a conscious society.

Starting from the late 1960s, Marxist-based liberation theology has started to spread among the student groups, they supported the liberation for the Third World, and it led to reactions against the development and trade policies provided by the Western countries and impacted the content of the campaigns; early examples mostly used *informative tools* to raising awareness in public (Balsiger, 2014). According to Keck and Sikkink (1998), members of the network try to find innovative tools to raise public awareness. During the 1970s, in the cases of the BD campaigns mentioned above, activists used different types of tactics; innovative and creative tools in taking attention to the problems and inviting others to act. Balsiger (2014) stated that in the early actions, information politics was used by activists through concrete materials like bags made of jute, coffee, or meat (p.27). The campaigns did not involve any specific actor, target, or corporation only aimed to raise awareness in public about the underdevelopment of the Third World (pp.23-27). Moreover, Sikkink (2002) believed that representativeness for others contributes to the moral authority of the organizations (p.314). During this period, the BD and AdM avoided being identified as charity organizations; because their main purposes were not providing aid to Third World countries; but raising awareness about unfair policies. Regarding the contributions of the early actions by the BD and AdM, as mentioned earlier, Keck and Sikkink (1998) emphasized that domestic NGOs are important actors in advocacy issues because they work from the ground level; can reach information more easily than international actors. Robert (2012) added the discussion as without connection with domestic NGOs, international efforts would have been not enough (p.332). In the cases of the BD and AdM, efforts were dedicated to Third World problems; however, their actions were made locally; film screening, discussion, workshop activities aimed to inform firstly the members of the organizations and volunteers; and then they raise public awareness.

3.3. Turning Point of Tactics: Actions Including Actors

Starting from the end of the 1970s, early the CCC network campaigns were started to be criticized by scholars for depending merely on raising awareness purpose and changing the consumption behavior. Some scholars claimed that type of action is not real participation and harmful to the movements, some of them considered protests, resistant movements that lead to the changes in the society, as more important; some scholars identified selling Third World fair trade products, opening shops for them as commercialized movements and eventually fail at achieving changes in society. Hence, for the 1970s, tactics have been limited to *informative* actions; however, the BD members have also discussed this issue during internal meetings in 1979: Actions should involve political action, directly engage with the source of the problems, rather than trying to convince authorities in the conference, alternative voices and solutions should be involved in the actions for the Third World. This issue was held during a committee meeting of the Bern Declaration in 1979 (Balsiger, 2014, pp.28-31):

.. It is important to reach individual actions, to be as consequent as possible, but it is even more important to look for collective solutions. It is in this desire to touch people personally, in their concrete lives, that one risks falling into escape routes as those of the ecologists or the consumers. Our project is political, we want political change. We need to be pushing for this sort of approach.

(As quoted in Balsiger, 2014, p.)

Rather than acting towards naïve actions which aimed to convince actors; through network actions, actors should face their responsibilities and this type of action can be possible by the support of other actors and organizations from the Third World countries. Moreover, rather than focusing on criticizing the current problems, alternative solutions should be presented by encouraging new participants (Balsiger, 2014). Therefore, these developments refer to the changing of network tactics toward including powerful actors and extending the boundaries of the network.

In the 1980s, the campaigns started to focus on the corporations directly through other NGOs and groups' involvement. In Nestlé Boycott Campaign, which was mentioned earlier, campaigners claimed that the company's marketing practices of infant formula caused the death of babies in the Third World countries. Campaigners informed the public with the striking pamphlet title 'The Baby Killer'. It took public and media's attention; the Third World Action Groups translated the pamphlet to inform a wider audience, however, the company claimed that it was slander and sued the group. The BD was not the main actor in the Nestlé Campaign; but supported the group by translating the pamphlet into other European languages, standing by the group members after accusations. Balsiger (2014) evaluated the action as a failure of strategy, because, the group lost the case and the trial took attention by the media, however as it was an early case of targeting authorities directly and in a positive perspective, due to the main motivation which the campaigners have, they acquired many supporters (p.31). Keck and Sikkink (1998) stated that activists are the people who are ready to accept any cost of their actions. Therefore, in Nestlé Campaign, campaigners did not hesitate to publish the company's harmful marketing strategy in the Third World, even if the actions ended up in court. As another important point, in engaging with companies and political, economic actors, solidarity with other actors is crucial. The BD supported the Third World Action Group during disseminating the information and during the accusations.

Regardless of the success of the demands, every campaign contributes to the network power through growing support, different actors' involvement, or experiencing new tactics and evaluating the results. In Nestlé Campaign, the BD experienced targeting authorities directly. During the end of the 1970s and the beginning of the 1980s, agricultural industry policies were under the focus of transnational network actions involving the BD. As a result of an international summit organized by the Food and Agriculture Organization in 1979, increasing network efforts and the BD involvement led to the creation of the Hunger is a Scandal campaign in 1981. The Campaign involved topics about the impacts of the agricultural industry on the Third World. In the campaign, products that are produced in the Third World and sold in the Western retailers were chosen to demonstrate problems of the industry. As such, Del Monte and Dole whose products were sold in the Swiss companies, the BD worked with a domestic NGO from the Philippines against problems of the global agricultural industry during the production of pineapples: Processed food and poor working conditions were main concerns. In the petition, two points asked consumers for their signature as approval if they had been informed by the companies about the products they sell, produced fairly. If they had not been informed, consumers chose to sign the second option stating they support the boycott of companies: *"I've learned that Del Monte and Dole pineapples are produced under unjust conditions in the Philippines. If the retailers do not take our demands seriously, I'm ready to support a boycott"* (As quoted in Balsiger, 2014, p.32). In the end, Migros which is one of the selling companies in Switzerland, and Dole accepted to negotiate with campaigners. Companies' doubts about losing their image, public trust, and money, accordingly, pushed them to change their behavior (Balsiger, 2014). As mentioned earlier in this research, 'calling for a boycott', as a controversial action of the consumer activism campaigns, aimed to change the production or delivery process of the products. Consumer activism encourages consumers to take a part in the actions, strengthens solidarity with activists (Glickman, 2004; Keck & Sikkink, 1998; Lightfoot, 2019). Hence, consumption can be analyzed in the political, moral, and social actions as deciding to buy or consume a product may influence those aspects (Glickman, 2004).

From the examples of the early initiatives, in comparison to Tarrow's (1994) claimed in the *Power in Movement,* he emphasized the point that ordinary people can make a change and solidarity between movement members strengthen the actions however he explains the changes that occurred with revolts or protests in the streets (p. 6). However, in the early consumer campaigns, campaigns were generally concerned about informing the public and network members; raising consciousness about the unfair trade rules imposed by the well-known companies. Campaigners aimed to achieve changes through informative actions. As Glickman (2009) and Lightfoot (2019) explained consumer activism is unique because ordinary people can join just by changing the consumption behavior, the distance between activists is even not important.

In the early actions, the topics of the campaigns focused on the specific countries and examples, it was not comprehensive. However, starting from the late 1980s, pressuring power holders and encouraging others to participate in actions became more effective strategies. Keck and Sikkink (1998) emphasized the necessity of tactical innovation, proposing solutions to the authorities on the actions of activists to increase motivation in their networks and make changes in the policies. During this period campaigns, activists continued to *use informative tools* like pamphlets to inform more people and took media attention however in order to promote changes; activists chose to confront authorities through petitions, calling for a boycott and striking slogans, therefore, during this period, campaigns reflected mostly *leverage politics.* As mentioned in the conceptual part of this research, leverage politics is divided into moral or naming and shaming and material leverage. Regarding the campaigns starting from the late 1980s, campaigners pressured, and threatened the prestige of the companies in the context of *moral leverage*, as such, through using 'the Baby Killer' title or declaring that they hide information about the production process in the Third World by using consumers' signature and confirmation on the petitions. Activists identify companies' behavior or policies in the naming stage and then focus on preventing the policies on the shaming process. The main condition of *the moral leverage*; targeted actor should be sensitive to its public image, therefore, famous campaigns like Nestlé, Del Monte, and Dole, mentioned above, were concerned about the company's prestige in international arenas.

3.4. Rise of Anti-Neoliberal Movements – CCC Network Activities Around Sweatshops

As mentioned earlier in this research, starting from the 1970s, the textile companies from the West found cheaper production processes in the Third World and production has started to move those countries. Sluiter (2009) explained it as capitalist exploitation; because moving the garment industry to the Third World countries was more beneficial for the Western Companies because of cheap labor existence and the nonexistence of worker's unions in the Third World (p.16); employing educated labor and buying expensive machinery for textile production is not needed. Moreover, western brands are not responsible for the managing labor force, the burden is on the shoulders of producers and subcontractors. However, they are not successful in achieving this burden. Poor working conditions, lack of safety equipment, unfair salaries, discrimination in sweatshops have started to be under the focus of the movements. Activists started to concern more about the rights of garment workers and launched new campaigns and strategies.

Sluiter (2009) explained, at the beginning of CCC establishment, its network relations were not systematic, and widening the network was necessary to monitor the situation in the garment industry and support workers' organizations in this period. Communication channels were not developed like today. Hence, the CCC activists were collecting information from the libraries and archives; going to fairs and asking directly to the workers to describe the brand they work for; visiting factories in Third World countries to gather information about the working conditions in the first place. Sharing and exchanging information accelerated and their efforts led to the expansion of the CCC network globally.

During this period firstly, according to the information the CCC activists gathered from the factories, the CCC published documents to inform people about the effects of global supply chains in developing countries. In parallel with the tactics of the consumer activism campaigns during the 1980s, campaigns targeted corporations directly through using consumer pressure, organizing protests for the big events or in the streets, and collecting signatures. Sluiter (2009) mentioned an event that on 8 March 1990, women protested low wages of garment workers in front of Royal Place in Amsterdam, a big orange poster was used as a *symbolic* tool to actually take attention to the low wages of the workers in comparison to the queen's income. CCC organized many protests to the C&A in eleven European cities. The main purpose of the activists was to pressure authorities to change their exploitative behavior in the Third World. Negotiations continued in the court. When C&A asked not to publish negotiations, the CCC reminded and emphasized that informing the public and workers about the production process is companies' responsibility (p.15).

Balsiger (2014) explained the activities of French CCC, originated from the activities as transnationally coordinated in early 1996: Agir Ici, identified itself as an advocacy organization, targeted the sportswear industry and Artisans du Monde targeted the clothing industry. In the Agir Ici campaign, a brochure with postcards was sent to sportswear brands, other organizations in their network helped in disseminating the documents. 'To Dress the North Without Undressing the South' petition designed by the AdM in 1994/95, encouraged other organizations to join the fight against unethical fashion. In the petition, the problems, responsibilities, and required changes claimed by the supporting actors were clearly mentioned. Many laborers were working under unfair conditions in the clothing industry and authorities were only concerned by the quality of the products, not working conditions. But concerns had to be involved environmental responsibilities and worker's rights as mentioned in the ILO conventions. According to the surveys launched in France about the consumption behaviors, it was shown that although people want to buy clothes produced in better working conditions, they are generally unaware of the products they buy because of the lack of information. Therefore, providing information to the consumers about the production process is necessary.

In the Swiss case, starting from 1986, the BD focused on the clothing industry with different aspects. The BD magazine and booklet informed consumers about the abuses of labor rights, western domination of ethnic clothing in the developing world. While informing consumers about these issues, activists also encouraged them to take actions stated in the magazine, for example, asking about the production process and origin of a product. Moreover, consumers put pressure on producers for being accountable for their behaviors. In 1991, the BD conducted surveys on clothing stores asking about the origin and sustainability process of the products. Survey results were shown in the booklet with shopping advice for consumers.

Kryst (2012) emphasized the necessity of expanding the network because making contact with other unions and NGOs helps to negotiate with corporations. Building coalition and dialogue with different actors became important to pressure authorities involved in global supply chains. The rise of anti-neoliberal movements against the clothing industry among European countries led to the widening connection in the transnational networks. The European CCC network was established but the participation of national branches in the network differed, during this period, the CCC branches created coalitions with other organizations and unions. The main purpose behind creating a coalition is to increase the pressure power on the companies and retailers to extend their responsibilities in improving working conditions and promoting workers' rights. Balsiger (2014) explained the "Free Your Clothes" campaign launched in 1996 by the AdM aimed to reach beyond its own network to create a broader coalition which formed the CCC coalition and used leverage power against clothing companies. To extend the network of the campaign, workshops were organized.

The German Clean Clothes Campaign was involved in the CCC network in 1995, Kryst (2012) mentioned from its creation until 1998 it was the 'booster' period for the German CCC because it was a process to develop a strategy, action plans. During the expansion of the network, the German CCC contacted corporations directly, as such, in 1996, the first contacts were made with Puma, Otto, C&A, and Adidas. Regarding the banning of sandblasting, the network monitored the production process in the factories. Moreover, since 2000, the German CCC has focused on the sportswear industry; collected signatures to pressure Puma and Adidas for fair production. And then, starting from 2007, activities have targeted discounter corporations directly. Kryst (1995) emphasized that strengthening the coalition and negotiating, contributed to the network in achieving more successful results. Moreover, during the 2000s, political actors have been targeted in the German CCC actions. Demand for regulation of labor rights has become under the focus of the German CCC; rather than temporary solutions, binding regulations for corporations were needed and the state is the main responsible to implement (pp.101-119).

In 2007, the Clean Clothes Campaign organized the International Campaign Forum which was the biggest international meeting of activists fighting against sweatshops, participants consisted of activists, workers, companies, unions, and authorities from the organizations. In the forum, two campaigns were discussed: 'Play Fair Campaign' for sportswear workers, was going to launch in 2008 Olympic Games in Beijing; secondly, 'Better Bargain Campaign' was created against big retailers like Carrefour, Wal-Mart, and Aldi for their exploitative buying rule to garment productions. Moreover, outside of the formal discussion in the forum; participants from organizations, activists, and workers found places to discuss opinions, strategies with each other. It was an effective forum especially in strengthening the CCC network globally. In 2009, the network included 250 organizations from Asia, Africa, and Europe (Sluiter, 2009).

Keck and Sikkink (1998) stated that with the purpose of extending the activist network and informing a wider audience, pressuring authorities, activists join international or regional events and conferences. Moreover, as mentioned earlier, Kidder (2002) also contributed to the discussion of rising and enlargement of the transnational advocacy network activities for anti-sweatshops movements in four steps: firstly, the issue, globalization effect on the production process and labor exploitation in the Third World has raised around the activists' discussions; second, regarding the labor unions' inefficiency, new actors were needed to provide solutions to workers' problems; third, new actors outside of the unions joint the discussions and make the worker's demands heard in international arenas, took attention to the issues; lastly, special skills of the network actors like framing and disseminating the information contributed to the enlargement of network activities and actors transnationally (pp.290-291). Therefore, moving big brands' supply factories to the Third World, increased the activist movements against the ignorance of labor rights. However, in order to get accurate information, activists used informative tools, visited factories, and published the information to raise awareness. Similar to consumer actions during the 1980s, activists used *leverage politics*; targeted corporations directly through mobilizing masses in the streets, petitions, collecting signatures, protesting in front of the stores, or choosing the big events; the primary motivation was in the context of *moral leverage*, shaming the big brands, and enforcing them to get responsibility. It can be claimed that starting from the 1990s, the CCC network activities mainly involved leverage politics repertoire. In order to increase the pressure power on companies, the CCC focused on widening its network by creating coalitions with other organizations.

3.5. Holding Authorities Responsible

Extension of The Clean Clothes Campaign network transnationally and practicing leverage power on companies more effectively with other organizations and unions; led the CCC to become a more important actor in negotiations. Therefore, currently, the CCC advocates for legally binding agreements, ensuring labor rights; pressurizes authorities for being accountable to their commitments; enforce to be transparent in the production process. The CCC uses direct letters, position papers, and reports. The CCC's Model Code of Conduct and examples of current campaigns are given in the following parts.

The CCC's Model Code of Conduct

Code of conduct became one of the instruments to provide decent working conditions through combining rules, norms, and duties of authorities and workers in garment and sportswear industries or in other words, code of conduct refers to right and wrong behaviors, as a guideline for employees and workers. It is a legal document for companies to be implemented, applicable when there is noncompliance or violations of the rights of workers. In 1998, the CCC created a Model Code of Conduct with a common network effort; included the main standards of ILO and can be implemented to all units in the garment industry's supply chain (*What Is a Code of Conduct and Why Should Brands Have One?*, n.d.).

According to the Model Code (1998), companies that adopted the code of conduct, are required to hire an independent monitoring institution to evaluate compliance, support companies in the implementation process of the rules, and give information to consumers about the practices. However, the Code does not represent national or international law. Content of the Code which is prepared according to ILO Conventions, as follows: prevention of forced labor, eliminating discrimination against labor, prevention of child labor, respecting freedom of association and right to bargain, paying living wages, fair working hours, decent working conditions and providing an employment relationship (Clean Clothes Campaign, 1998; *What Is a Code of Conduct and Why Should Brands Have One?*, n.d.).

Kryst (2012) emphasized that the CCC's strategy on holding corporations responsible to the code of conduct, which they have been committed already, is an *accountability* politics example (p.112).

3.5.1. Rana Plaza Collapse

The worst disaster in garment-industry history happened on 24 April 2013 with the collapse of the Rana Plaza building in Dhaka, Bangladesh. The building included a market, bank, garment factories, and apartments. The main reason for the rising reactions from the CCC and other organizations was after the cracks had been observed in the building, market and bank were closed but garment workers were forced to turn back to the building and it caused 1,134 deaths under the collapsed building and more than 2,000 people were injured. However, according to experts, the collapse could be prevented. Although the following day after the collapse, was declared as a National Day of Mourning by the Bangladeshi Prime Minister; Western brands expressed condolences to the victims, deep sorrow to all affected, however, Rana Plaza raised many questions and concerns about the Western brands and factory owners. Bangladesh is one of the profitable Third World countries for Western retailers through providing cheap labor and competitive prices. Therefore, garment workers were working for low salaries under unfair conditions. The owners of the factories ignored the dangerous signs and caused the death of many people. After the disaster, The CCC urged Western brands which work with the factories in the building to take immediate action by providing relief and compensation to victims' families and injured people. Accusations increased, because; the day before collapse garment workers had noticed cracks on the building. Although, first, owners told workers not to come to the work the following day, then, owners reversed and told workers there was no problem in the building. Workers came to the building the following day; because they had fear of getting fired. Authorities from Western brands and factories are responsible for not taking precautionary actions which would have prevented the disaster. British retailer Primark had a supplier on the second floor of the building, expressed their sadness over the incidents and necessity of controlling the safety standards with retailers (Ahmed, 2013; *Bangladesh Dhaka Building Collapse Leaves 87 Dead*, 2013; *Rana Plaza*, n.d.; ILO, 2018).

The CCC published the stories and words of the Rana Plaza collapse survivor:

> I felt a shock and the floor gave way. People started running in chaos and the ceiling came down. I kept protecting my head, but I got stuck between the rubble. My hand got stuck and I thought I would die. People around died.
>
> (As quoted in Still Failing to Pay Up, n.d.).

Rana Plaza was not the only event in Bangladeshi garment industry accidents history, many collapses happened because of disregard of safety standards by owners of factories. As such, in 2005 a collapse near the Rana Plaza caused 64 deaths; in 2010 another collapse caused more than 25 deaths and many people injured in Dhaka. After Rana Plaza collapsed, Western brands that had suppliers in Bangladesh, warned factory owners to control safety standards (*Bangladesh Dhaka Building Collapse Leaves 87 Dead*, 2013). However, actions by both brands and factory owners were not sufficient, the CCC with other organizations and unions emphasized the need for health and safety: *The Accord on Fire and Building Safety* was created in May 2013 by international effort, signed between trade unions and brands. The CCC made effort to the realization of the Accord and campaigns for Western brands to sign the Accord, more than 200 companies signed. The Accord holds factories accountable to international standards through monitoring, the outcomes of the monitoring will be published in accordance with the transparency and for the solutions, deadlines will be determined. *Rana Plaza Arrangement* was established in 2013 to create a system enforcing authorities from brands and retailers who had suppliers in Rana Plaza, for compensation payments in Accordance with ILO Convention 121, for affected people and families by the Rana Plaza accident. The Agreement determined principles for the payments which authorities have responsibility for implementing; Coordination Committee was created including authorities from the Bangladesh government, brands, unions, workers, international and domestic NGOs. The main objectives of the Committee are debating over the terms and following the Arrangement's implementation by the participants. The CCC established The Trust Fund to closely monitor payments from the responsible brands; launched campaigns to pressure for payment (*Rana Plaza*, n.d.).

On the fifth anniversary of the collapse, the Accord was renewed to ensure safe working conditions until national regulation is provided. 193 brands have signed the new Accord. After the Bangladesh High Court concerned about the reliability of the evaluation of the Accord office in Dhaka, attempted to close the office. This situation brought NGOs, unions, and international actors like Ethical Trading Initiative together to pressure the Bangladeshi government authorities; because the Accord has been successful in providing safe working conditions and independent monitoring (Ashwin et al., 2018; Christie, 2018). According to *the New York Times*, Rana Plaza led to the most effective campaign which aimed to improve working standards (Paton, 2020).

3.5.2. Bangladesh Crackdown

In 2016 in Ashulia, after Bangladeshi workers protested the low minimum wages, many factories were closed, more than 1,500 workers were fired, union leaders and some of the workers were arrested or left at risk of being arrested because of the charges. Bangladeshi government ignored the workers' unions' demand for wages. Workers feared claiming demands, freedom of association was limited by the government. Clean Clothes Campaign encouraged brands and retailers to claim their support for fair wage demands; firstly, Inditex clothing company, which owns famous brands, supported the claim, and then other brands supported the demands of workers however the CCC criticized the brands for not indicating specific amount for wages. Bangladeshi government did not respond to the wage demands positively; failed to comply with national and international standards by limiting the freedom of workers association (*Bangladesh Crackdown*, n.d.; Neva, 2019).

Starting from December 2018, protests have been increased in Bangladesh, police forces responded to the protestors with rubber bullets which caused the death of a worker and injuries of many people; more than 64 workers together with many workers union representatives were arrested and subjected to charges including life imprisonment. Worker Rights Consortium researched violations of government and authorities of the factories; published a report indicating repressions and authorities' unlawful treatment together with the specific cases (*Bangladesh Crackdown*, n.d.; Worker Rights Consortium, 2019).

The CCC did not remain silent against abuses and repression, the campaign began on 28 January 2019 against violations in Bangladesh through demonstrations; and online protests. The CCC asked all brands that have factories in Bangladesh to monitor the repressions and pressure the factory managers to end the unfair charges; negotiate with the government and the Bangladesh Garment Manufacturers and Exporters Association. Moreover, The CCC encouraged consumers to join the campaign through social media channels via using specific hashtags to pressure brands to take action; or using a picture of clothes, produced in Bangladesh or simply by signature, tagging the brands, consumers can show their support for workers. The campaign spread to other countries and continents; letters were written to Bangladeshi government authorities by CCC network members including unions and labor organizations. Various media channels took attention to the issue (*Bangladesh Crackdown*, n.d.).

Bangladeshi Crackdown reminds *the Boomerang Model* because; domestic groups have been under pressure and could not influence the government for the minimum wage demands. The government of Bangladesh violated the rights of the workers by not providing living wages, preventing the association activities, and using brutal force against peaceful protests. When domestic groups are suppressed, the violations were responded to by international actors like the CCC, and through various protests and campaigns, the CCC together with its international allies tried to influence government authorities and factory managers.

3.5.3. Fighting for Living Wages

One of the issues the Clean Clothes Campaign has focused on is providing living wages to garment workers. It is an ethical problem for the companies which are paying less than a living wage; because the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948) mentions in Article 23 that fair and enough amount of payment is the right for the workers. However, most of the garment workers are paid under the living wage and are not able to ensure basic needs for both themselves and their families. The CCC encourages trade unions to fight for living wages with supply chain authorities directly.

The Clean Clothes Campaign published the *Tailored Wages Report* in 2014 and 2019 respectively. In this study, survey reports aimed to provide information to consumers about the process of the companies' efforts on paying the living wage to the garment workers. According to the *Tailored Wages Report* published in 2014, surveys that were created with the Asia Floor Wage Alliance were sent to 50 European clothing companies, asking about their efforts in providing a living wage to the garment workers. According to the survey results, evaluation of the companies was published as their profiles and profiles were colored according to the level of their accomplishments, companies that refused to answer the survey were also indicated as 'information wanted profile'. Survey results were important indicators for the companies' image. Unfortunately, just a few companies' efforts were considered as in progress but none of them were considered as enough for providing a living wage (McMullen et al., 2014, pp.4-20). In the report, the words from a Cambodian female worker are stated as:

> My expenses are increasing every day. If I have a wedding or ceremony, if I have grandparents or a mother or children, how can I support them also? Even if we eat all together in a small room and I collect the money from all others, we still can only spend a very small amount each because everybody always thinks 'How are we going to be able to send money home to our families?
>
> (As quoted in McMullen et al., 2014, p.7).

According to the 2019 *Tailored Wages Report*, 20 brands were contacted again to learn the outcomes of the paying living wage process. Although some of them are making considerable efforts, there is still no brand that pays living wages. In the reports, at the end of each company profile, the comment section pressurizes companies to do more effort (*Tailored Wages 2019: The State of Pay in the Global Garment Industry*, 2019). These reports are important for holding retailers to their previous promises.

The CCC prepared *Feedback to the EU Commission's Proposal* with the objectives of stating current the situation of garment workers in fifteen EU countries, especially including Eastern and Southeastern countries, and evaluating wages and working, living conditions in accordance with international standards and authorities' responsibility; giving recommendations to the EU Commission to provide decent living conditions for garment workers. In the Feedback, the CCC identified investigation results of garment industry workers' conditions in the context of wages in the EU countries. According to the investigations, in seven EU countries, most of the workers work without insurance and are paid according to statutory minimum wage which does not comply with the necessities of decent living conditions. The CCC reminds the Commission's statements that minimum wage must prevent an individual to fall into the poverty line however one factor is missing if the worker is the only earner in the house and it is a reality for many women in the EU. In some of the EU countries the statutory minimum wage is not paid systematically; although international standards clearly prevent forced labor practices[2], such abuses were reported; gender discrimination has also been reported as in the cases, women work in positions that require low skills and women in higher positions are very rare; the CCC refers to inefficient collective bargaining as the main cause of poverty wages in the garment industry; lastly, in the negotiation between government, trade unions and workers' associations for determining the minimum wage is concluded with the dominance of government, therefore, in such cases, minimum wages do not reflect decent living conditions costs. The CCC stated the following recommendations to the EU Commission's proposal: minimum wages should be determined fairly and binding for the parties; regarding the international standards set by UN and ILO, minimum wages should reflect decent living conditions of labor and her family including not only basic needs but also additional needs for living such as social activities, savings, clothing, etc.; purchasing power should also be considered through benchmarks in determining fair wages because purchasing power differs in European countries; labor inspectors which aimed to control statutory minimum wage payments should be empowered through including ILO Convention rule about the inspection in the Commission's proposal; as freedom of association is stated as a human rights by international law, proposal should include strategies to prevent any dominance on practices (Clean Clothes Campaign, 2020b).

3.5.4. Fashioning Justice

With the adoption of United Nations Guiding Principles on Business and Human Rights (UNGPs) in 2011, the EU's Human Rights Due Diligence (HRDD) process and The OECD Due Diligence Guidance on Responsible Supply Chains in the Garment and Footwear Sector led the CCC to claim and urge states and business enterprises to take responsibility in protecting human rights in the garment industry. According to the UNGPs, companies have the responsibility to respect workers' rights by carrying

[2] ILO defined forced or compulsory labor as who have to work after normal working hours because of the workload and paid according to legally determined minimum wage (ILO, 2007).

out due diligence and states should protect workers' rights by holding companies responsible for their actions (Nahtigal & Treibich, 2021). However, as the Covid-19 pandemic worsened the conditions for garment workers, at the 10th year anniversary of the UNGPs, the CCC warns brands and retailers to not to ignore the principles (*Fashioning Justice: Clean Clothes Campaign's Latest Publication Calls for Mandatory and Comprehensive Human Rights Due Diligence*, n.d.).

The CCC's *Fashioning Justice* Report (2021) indicates the brand's unfair practices as causing human rights violations including a weak monitoring system; lack of transparency; working with poverty wages; discrimination against women; lack of safety conditions in the workplace; preventing freedom of association; lack of accessing justice. Moreover, in this report, while the CCC explains the responsibilities of the policy-makers, brands, and retailers, also indicates for importance and need for binding rules to hold authorities accountable for promoting labor rights (pp.2-40).

3.5.5. Pay Your Workers – Respect Labor Rights

Starting from January 2020 the COVID-19 pandemic has had a devastating effect on the garment industry and accordingly garment workers. After the factories had been closed, many garment workers lost their jobs or did not receive payments. While social protection procedures have already been weakly structured in many Third world countries, pandemics triggered the situation. Retailers and Brands have not taken necessary actions and this situation led to the rise of campaigns held by the CCC and many NGOs all around the world. The CCC firstly, invited government authorities, associations, international organizations to calculate the wages which have to be paid to garment workers (p.9). In accordance with the international rules and codes of conduct, all brands and retailers, involved in global chains are accountable for providing payments to the workers fairly. In the report, brands' leading role in global supply is emphasized as primary profit holders than factory owners. Brands manage the distribution of profits in factories. Brands especially choose labor-abundant countries as supply chains basements. Moreover, brands tend to ignore problems in the social security system of those countries. Starting from June 2020, the CCC network negotiated with more than 100 companies to guarantee the payment of the garment workers by the assurance stating clearly that all workers in their supply chains will receive their payments; companies will accept to support workers by funds; they will also support to the strengthening social protection process (Clean Clothes Campaign, 2020a). By implementing the Wage Assurance, the CCC tried to hold authorities accountable for their promises.

In order to urge big Western brands such as Primark, Nike, and H&M which do not make payments to the workers and ensure social protection during the pandemic, 'Pay Your Workers and 'Respect Labor Rights' campaigns were launched globally by the CCC and many other NGOs, trade unions and organizations for labor rights. The campaign invites everyone to take action with various tools against companies such as signing a petition which reminding their obligations for protecting labor rights; using the campaign titles with hashtags in the social media channels and tagging responsible brands' accounts; printing special labels for clothes including striking slogans. The CCC activist used Nike's slogan as reminding the responsibility of the brand: 'Nike stop talking about responsibility, just do it!' (*Pay Your Workers*, n.d.).

Especially starting from the creation of The CCC's Model Code of Conduct to current efforts, it can be claimed that *accountability politics repertoire* has been mainly used by the CCC network. As such, *The Accord on Fire and Building Safety* and *Rana Plaza Arrangement* were examples of the accountability politics practices which hold authorities responsible to the fulfill the standards. In Bangladesh Crackdown, the CCC together with workers organizations and international actors like Worker Rights Consortium stand against the repression of the Bangladeshi government and factory owners; pressured authorities to comply with national and international laws. As an example of using moral *leverage politics* tool, invited ordinary people to join online campaigns by using specific hashtags and asking brands if they responded to the repression against workers in Bangladesh. *Tailored Wages Report* does not only aim to enforce companies to pay the living wages; but also informs consumers about the companies' efforts. In the context of accountability politics, *The CCC's Feedback to the EU Commission's Proposal* reminds the international standards about the fundamental rights of the workers and recommends the authorities to improve the proposal accordingly. In 2011, *United Nations Guiding Principles on Business and Human Rights* was a crucial step in strengthening international standards on protecting garment workers' rights. Moreover, as Grant and Keohane (2005) stated, international norms contribute to the legitimacy of international networks. It strengthens the pressure power of the networks. The CCC's *Fashioning Justice Report* published companies' failed practices in promoting labor rights; both inform the public about the violations and hold authorities responsible for the practices. *Pay Your Workers and Respect Labor Rights* campaigns are another example of accountability politics by holding big brands responsible to make payments to the workers; spread globally and involved many NGOs and unions. In the current CCC campaigns, victims' or workers' words were given in the reports or the CCC website. In the context of *information politics*, activists use facts and testimonies to take attention to specific human rights issues; motivate network actions (Keck & Sikkink, 1998). Indicating the workers' and victims' own words in the reports and website of the CCC related with the specific campaigns are examples of it. To conclude, although; *accountability politics* has become the main tactic of the CCC in this period, other tactics' tools have also been used by the network. Information is the main component of accountability politics, therefore, to hold authorities responsible, the CCC firstly has received information and disseminated it through reports, and currently using hashtags on social media channels put pressure on authorities in this period. Moreover, as mentioned before, framing is a useful tool for activists, in examination of the CCC's actions it can be claimed that campaigns are contextualized into specific concepts. As such, the campaigns and actions were taken after the Rana Plaza Collapse aimed to remind brands and factory owners of their responsibilities. Besides providing compensation to affected people from the collapse; in accordance with the international standards, providing safety equipment in the factories, and controlling periodically, taking precautionary actions when necessary are the main purposes of the actions. In Pay Your Workers-Respect Labor Rights campaigns, the negative effect of the pandemic on laborers and unfair treatment of the brands are framed into certain concepts. Therefore, the message is more than providing payments to workers. Framing helps in organizing activities and choosing specific targets.

Conclusion

In this part of the research, shifts in the Clean Clothes Campaign's tactics are analyzed within the historical context. Although the Clean Clothes Campaign was officially established in 1989 in Amsterdam; as a coalition network, the efforts of the network actors go back to the 1960s consumer activism; today's motivation and actions have impacts from its past initiatives. The Bern Declaration from Switzerland, Artisans du Monde from France gave the first examples of the consumer activism campaigns of the CCC network. Starting from the end of the 1960s, campaigns were shaped around the purpose of informing consumers to change their consumption habits; however, the main purpose was raising awareness, concrete products represented the unfair policies in the Third World. Therefore, campaigns' tactics included informative tools. In order to achieve more effective solutions, starting from the end of the 1970s, activists chose to use leverage politics' tools, such as petitions, pamphlets with striking slogans, and boycotts. When the neoliberal economy politics made Third World countries more profitable for the Western brands, network actions focused on the sweatshops. The CCC started to enlarge its network through international events and campaigns; pressure on the companies increased. Labor rights have become an important topic in international discussions; therefore, international norms have started to be shaped around the responsibility of the authorities in the garment industry. Holding authorities responsible for their practices has become the main tool of the CCC actions currently.

CHAPTER 4

CONCLUSION

In this study, the change in tactics of transnational advocacy networks around the garment industry is analyzed by specifically focusing on the Clean Clothes Campaign. The main question: “How have Clean Clothes Campaign tactics changed over time?” is examined through exploring the concepts and historical evolution of TANs and, specifically the CCC network actions. The conclusion part of the research summarizes the arguments and main findings from the research.

In this thesis, conceptual framework, and literature written about transnational advocacy networks, social movements and human rights movements are used. In addition to the academic works written about related subjects, the CCC and associated organizations’ websites, reports, specific campaign documents and conventions are used.

Many scholars analyzed consumer activism starting from the 16th century, the rise of the capitalist economic system led to the unequal distribution between society. Early examples of consumer activism were against slave-made products, which continued until the end of the slavery period. After World War II, modern consumer activism implied campaigns, protests, or boycotts. However, many scholars explained that the main reason for the increase in transnational activity for garment workers is that as neoliberal economic policies made Third World countries profitable for Western brands; factories began to move to those countries. Activists and consumers were concerned about the production processes rather than the costs and quality of the goods. As Glickman (2009) emphasized, consuming has become a political, moral, and social action; because consuming impacts all actors, involved in the production process. Modern consumer activism has been shaped around this idea. Armbruster-Sandoval (2005) emphasized that lack of insurance, safety standards, and lack of strong labor unions were the main causes of the violations in the garment industry. Although transnational advocacy network actions started first in the 19th century, the globalization effect triggered the movements through expanding the network and connection with other groups and organizations. Especially in the 1980s and 90s, conferences, campaigns, international events contributed to the communication between network members. International events and movements were also crucial for workers; they found a place to reflect the workplace's reality.

TANs are differentiated from other networks by defending the rights of others, rather than pursuing their own interests. As Sikkink (2002) stated, being a voice for others strengthens the moral authority of TANs. However, it does not mean that TANs work toward charity purposes. The main purposes of TANs actions can be stated as establishing a network, providing ideas, standards, influencing powerholders, and providing policy changes. Therefore, solidarity is the essence that contributes to the power of the TANs. The other reason that makes TANs different from others is the flow of information, experiences, support, and services between members in its horizontal structure across borders. Although all actors may not be involved in each case, network actions generally include domestic and international NGOs, the media, government authorities, consumer organizations, unions, intergovernmental organizations, religious institutions, and activists. Tarrow (1994) added that commonality in the causes and consequences of actions contributes to the solidarity between TANs members. Many scholars emphasized that NGOs have a leading role in network actions. In parallel with the TANs activities, Duke, Henry, and Edet (2012) categorized the main focus of NGOs starting from the 1990s to current times as changing policies, solving problems of society, and providing reforms and policies. After the Cold War, NGOs have become important actors in both domestic and international arenas for human rights discussions. Domestic NGOs work inside of the country; can easily reach ground-level information and sources. Therefore, domestic NGOs' efforts contribute to the network activities. Extension of the NGO networks leads human rights violations to be heard in international arenas.

TANs' activities are categorized in terms of tools and motivation they use: Information politics involve disseminating useful information to the public with the purpose of raising awareness of human rights issues. Providing accurate and reliable information contributes to the legitimacy and moral authority of TANs. Symbolic politics aimed to represent or describe an idea; helps mobilize people who share common motivation. Leverage politics is divided as moral and material leverage by scholars to indicate material leverage involves mostly financial purposes; moral leverage is related to the image of the target. Accountability politics is used by TANs when authorities do not comply with norms and standards. The main purpose is to provide consistency between commitments and practices.

In analyzing the tactical process of the Clean Clothes Campaign, this research reached the following results: At the beginning of the network activities, involving coalition members from Switzerland, Bern Declaration, Artisans du Monde from France, disseminating the information was the primary purpose, because conscious society would be more willing to take action. By using public appeal, petitions, selling products from the Third World, activists aimed to reflect unfair trade policies in the Third World. However, activists firstly organized activities like discussions, workshops, film screenings to raise awareness between members and volunteers and then inform the public. Information flow between members is essential for the activities. Moreover, As Sikkink (2002) stated providing accurate information contributes to the moral authority of TANs. Therefore, it increased the network's pressure power. The growing of brands and retailers' exploitative politics on the Third World garment industry factories, encouraged the CCC to take forceful actions, as such, pressuring companies, constructors, and subcontractors to comply with international standards, in practice, not just reminding the promises but also forcing them through campaigns, making them transparent and accountable became the main purposes of the CCC starting from the 1980s. However, informative tools continued to use with pamphlets, magazines, and petitions campaigns. When the network extended to other countries and continents during the 1990s, network members chose international sports events or organized specific campaigns against famous brands and companies. International meetings contributed to the extension of the network power. By 2009, 250 organizations were already involved from different continents. The growing moral authority of the CCC and developments in international norms and standards led to the shift from leverage politics to accountability politics in the network actions. In 1998, the CCC created the Model Code of Conduct for the garment industry to promote decent working conditions; enforced to hire independent monitoring body to follow compliance with the code. Currently, Rana Plaza Collapse, Fighting for Living Wages, Fashioning Justice, Pay Your Workers-Respect Labor Rights campaigns are examples of the CCC network's using accountability politics. Through accords, reports, feedback to authorities, and campaigns, the CCC pursued to hold brands, factory owners, and political actors responsible for their commitments and labor rights. For each campaign of the CCC, many tactical tools are used. However, as seen in the process of the network actions, there is a shift to accountability politics with the development of international standards. This situation can be explained with the historical process starting from the 1980s, developments of the media and communication technology have made the issues heard by a wider audience; it accelerated public awareness and the rising of opposite voices. Although regulations and international standards have been adopted to contribute to the well-being of society, it has not prevented the sensitivity to failures of authorities. The other important point contributing to the shift to accountability politics is that the internet and media have strengthened the victims' profile; stories and testimonies have been heard globally (Boin et al., 2008). Regarding the process of the CCC, becoming a 'global' network reminds the adage 'Rome wasn't built in a day.' Starting from the consumer activism campaigns with network coalitions' actions, the CCC evolved into a powerful advocacy network. Currently, the CCC identifies itself as a global network working to promote labor rights (Who We Are-About, n.d.). In the CCC network campaigns, brands were considered as the leading actors for violation practices in the workplaces or poverty wages. Because brands are the dominant power for global supply chains. The CCC has attached importance to strengthening international and national regulations about labor rights to make brands and retailers accountable to obligations.

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APPENDICES

A. TURKISH SUMMARY / TÜRKÇE ÖZET

Giriş

Ulusötesi savunuculuk ağlarının üyeleri politikalarda değişiklikler getirebiliyorken, ulusötesi savunuculuk ağlarının akademik analizlere daha fazla dahil olması gerekir. Genel olarak, akademisyenler, ulusötesi savunuculuk ağlarının etkililiğine odaklanır, ancak ulusötesi savunuculuk ağlarının taktiklerine odaklanmak akademik tartışmalarda hala eksiktir. Bu nedenle, bu araştırmayı gerçekleştirmenin arkasındaki temel motivasyon; ulusötesi savunuculuk ağlarının taktiklerini tarihsel yörüngeleri içinde ve Temiz Giysi Kampanyası'nın hazır giyim endüstrisindeki faaliyetlerini analiz ederek nasıl değiştiklerini keşfetmektir. Bu araştırmada, özellikle Temiz Giysi Kampanyası incelenmekte; çünkü hazır giyim ve ayakkabı endüstrisinde işçi haklarının desteklenmesini savunan, önde gelen en büyük ulusötesi savunuculuk ağıdır. İşçi örgütleri, sendikalar, STK'lar, araştırma grupları ve aktivistlerle birlikte dayanışmanın gücüne inanan ağ şu anda 45'ten fazla ülkede çalışıyor ve 235 örgütü birbirine bağlıyor (Who Are-About, n.d.).

Temiz Giysi Kampanyası taktiklerinin evrimini anlamak için, CCC'nin koalisyon üyeleri tarafından başlatılan ve düzenlenen erken dönem tüketici aktivizmi kampanyalarını analiz etmek gerekir; Bern Deklarasyonu ve Artisans du Monde, CCC ağ kampanyalarının ilk örnekleriydi ve daha sonra CCC'nin ulusal şubelerini oluşturdular. CCC koalisyonlara bölünmüş ve dünyanın farklı bölgelerinden farklı grup ve kuruluşlarla çalışsa da aynı motivasyonla hareket etmektedir (Who We Are-About, n.d.; Who We Are-Our Network, n.d.).

Bu tezin amacı, ulusötesi savunuculuk ağı perspektifinden CCC taktiklerinin evrimini araştırmaktır; taktiklerin değişikliklerinin veya etkililiğinin nedenlerini değerlendirmeye çalışmaz. Savunuculuk çabalarının tarihsel sürecini anlamak, ulusötesi savunuculuk ağı taktiklerindeki değişiklikleri keşfetmek için çok önemlidir. Bu araştırmada nitel yöntem kullanılmıştır. Hem birincil hem de ikincil kaynaklara ulaşıldı. Birincil kaynaklar olarak; sözleşmeler, CCC ve diğer ilgili kuruluşların arşivlerindeki belgelerden yararlanılmış; ikincil kaynak olarak geçmişten günümüze ağ faaliyetlerini belirlemek için makaleler, haberler, kitaplar kullanılmıştır. Araştırmanın amacı açıklayıcıdır.

Bu çalışmadaki bölümlerin organizasyonu şu şekildedir: İkinci bölüm, tarihsel süreçte aktivizm ve savunuculuk kavramlarını ve çabalarını açıklayarak öncelikle bu araştırmanın kavramsal çerçevesini sunar; ikinci olarak, ulusötesi savunuculuk ağları ile ilgili kavramlara tarihsel yörüngelerde tanımların verilmesi ve Activist Beyond Borders (1998)'den dört taktik örneklerle açıklanmıştır. İkinci bölüm, hazır giyim işçileri için ulusötesi savunuculuk ağlarının ortaya çıkmasına neden olan ana bileşenleri incelemektedir; okuyuculara tanımlar ve örnekler verir. Üçüncü bölüm, CCC'nin örgütsel arka planını sunmakta ve ağın 1960'ların sonlarından itibaren çabalarını, ağın koalisyon üyelerinin erken tüketici aktivizmi hareketlerini ve ardından Üçüncü Dünya üzerindeki küreselleşme etkileriyle birlikte işçi hakları faaliyetlerine dönüşümü incelemektedir. Taktiklerdeki değişimi açıklamak için bu bölüm, işçi hakları için savunuculuk çabalarının tarihsel süreci içinde CCC ağ eylemlerini açıklamaktadır. Bu araştırmanın sonuç bölümü araştırma sorusuna ilişkin bulguları özetlemektedir; CCC taktiklerindeki değişiklikleri göstermektedir.

Bölüm 2: Ulusötesi Savunuculuk Ağlarının ve Taktiklerin Kavramsal Çerçevesi

Giriş

Soğuk Savaş'ın sona erdiği yirminci yüzyılın sonunda, devlet dışı aktörlerin uluslararası örgütler ve devletler arasındaki etkileşimine acilen ihtiyaç duyulmuştur. Ağ üyeleri arasında özellikle STK'ların öncü rolü ile ulusötesi düzeyde iletişim artmıştır (Beer et al., 2012). Beklentilerin aksine ağlar, siyasi gruplardan, hükümetlerden ve şirketlerden daha güçlü hale gelebilir. Ulusötesi savunuculuk ağları, bir değişiklik yapmak için aynı ilkeleri, fikirleri ve güçlü motivasyonu paylaşan aktivistleri içermesiyle diğer ağlardan farklıdır. Özellikle insan hakları konularında savunuculuk ağları; devletler, STK'lar ve uluslararası kuruluşlar arasında bağlantılar ve iş birliği yaratır; yerli aktörlerin uluslararası arenalara erişmesine yardımcı olur (Beer et al., 2012; Keck & Sikkink, 1998).

Savunuculuk ve Aktivizm

Aktivizm ve savunuculuk arasındaki fark, aktivistlerin bir değişim için harekete geçmesi, ancak savunucunun özel bilgi ile bir değişim fikrini savunması ile açıklanabilir. Aktivizm, her şeyden önce değişim çabalarını içerir; savunuculuk, sorunların belirlenmesini, tüm taraflarla müzakere edilmesini ve sorunları çözmek için kalıcı çözümler sağlamaya odaklanan eğitim gerektiren daha derin bir süreci içerir. Bu nedenle, savunuculuk, amaçlara ulaşmak için aktivizme göre daha fazla zaman alır. (Flavell, 2021).

Tüketici Aktivizmi

Glickman (2009), bir ürünü satın almanın sadece tüketiciyi değil aynı zamanda çevreyi ve sürece dahil olan tüm aktörleri etkilediği için tüketmenin politik, ahlaki ve sosyal bir eylem olduğunu iddia etmiştir. Buna göre, bir ürünü satın alıp almamayı seçmek, bir mal, alıcı, satıcı ve bir bütün olarak kamuoyu üzerinde etkili olabilir. Tüketiciler, aksi takdirde başkalarına zarar vereceğine inandıkları için ürünlerini boykot ederek şirketlere ve satıcılara zarar vermeyi hedefleyebilirler (s.4-7). Tüketici aktivistleri değişiklikleri başaramasalar bile, en azından farkındalık yaratırlar, bir sorunu duyururlar veya siyasi tartışmalarda yankı yaratırlar (Glickman, 2009).

Kapitalist ekonomik sistemin 16. yüzyıldaki yükselişinden Sanayi Devrimi'nin de etkisiyle egemenliğini tetiklemiş, özellikle 18. yüzyılda İngiltere'de tekstil üretimindeki gelişmeler toplumdaki eşitsiz dağılımın artmasına neden olmuştur. Fabrika işçileri, Karl Marx'a 'yabancılaşma' kavramını yaratma konusunda ilham veren kötü yaşam ve çalışma koşullarına sahipti. 18. yüzyıldan beri, tüketim toplumu için her zaman pazarla ilgili endişeler olmuştur. Tüketim, kölelerin ya da emekçilerin mücadelelerini simgelemiştir.

Hilton (2009), modern tüketici aktivizminin aslında protesto, lobicilik, protesto, pazardaki veya tüketicilerin çıkarlarındaki ihlallere yönelik kampanyalar başlatma gibi eylemleri ifade ettiğini vurgulamıştır. Sonuç olarak, modern tüketici eylemcilerinin eylemleri, 20. yüzyılın sonunda hükümetlerin politikalarını etkiledi; tüketicilerin dikkatini belirli konulara çekti. 20. yüzyılda karşılaştırmalı testler ile tüketiciler daha çok ürünün maliyeti ve kalitesi ile ilgilenirken, 20. yüzyılın sonlarından itibaren ve 21. yüzyıl üretim sürecinin koşulları önem kazanmıştır. Hareketler; farklı geçmişlerden, kültürlerden ve ülkelerden gelen, hükümetleri etkilemeyi amaçlayan; kaynakları, bilgileri ve taktikleri paylaşan ulusötesi ağlar aracılığıyla Üçüncü Dünya'ya yayıldı.

Sömürüye Karşı Hareketler

19. yüzyılın ortalarından itibaren İngiltere'de, sağlıklarını tehdit eden kötü bir çalışma ortamında, saatlerce çalışıp da çok az, geçimine göre yeterli olmayan işçilerin durumunu anlatmak için sömürü anlamında kullanılan "terleme" terimi kullanıldı (Ross, 2004). Armbruster-Sandoval (2005), hazır giyim endüstrisini perakendecilerin en tepede bulunduğu bir piramit olarak tanımlamıştır. İkinci katmanda yer alan imalatçılar, müteahhitlere fabrika kurma emri verir, ihracatçılar ve müşterilerle olan ilişkileri yönetir. Fabrikalarda düşük ücretlerle ve uzun saatler boyunca kötü koşullarda çalışmayı kabul ettiği için "terleyen" işçileri çalıştırarak üretim maliyetlerini mümkün olduğunca minimumda tutarak kâr elde ederler. Bu nedenle işyerinin içi ve dışı işçiler için bir kâbus haline gelir. Dolayısıyla bu yapıda perakendeciler ve üreticiler en güçlü aktörlerdir. Armbruster- Sandoval (2005), piramidin içindeki her aktörün altındaki katmana daha az para bırakmayı amaçladığını belirtmiştir (pp.2-8). 1970 ekonomik krizi; ucuz işgücü ihtiyacı, etkisiz işçi sendikaları ve neo-liberal politikaların ticari ayrıcalıklarının artması, sömürü karşıtı hareketlerin ana nedenleriydi. Hazır giyim sektöründeki çokuluslu şirketler, ucuz işgücü piyasası nedeniyle özellikle Üçüncü Dünya ülkelerinde fabrikalar kurdu. (Armbruster, 1998, p.21; Armbruster-Sandoval, 2005, p.8). Sosyal güvenlik sigortasının olmaması, güvenlik standartları ve pazarlık edecek güçlü sendikaların olmaması, hazır giyim fabrikalarında ihlallerin artmasına neden oldu.

İnsana yakışır iş için gerekli koşullar, onaylayan ülkelerin yasama organlarının ve şirketler için davranış kurallarının temelini oluşturan ILO Sözleşmelerinde belirtilmiştir. Üye devletler gerekli adımları sağlamalıdır. 1949 tarihli Örgütlenme ve Toplu Pazarlık Hakkı Sözleşmesi uyarınca, toplu pazarlık, sorunların çözülmesine ve işçiler için daha iyi çalışma koşulları ve adil ücretler için bir anlaşma yaratılmasına yardımcı olan, işçilerin temel bir hakkıdır. 1973 Asgari Yaş Sözleşmesi'nde belirtildiği üzere, on sekiz yaşından küçük ve tehlikeli koşullarda çalışanlar çocuk işçi olarak kabul edilir. Asgari ücret, yasal bir süreç, bağlayıcı anlaşmalar veya bunların bir kombinasyonu ile belirlenebilecek 1951 tarihli Eşit Ücret Sözleşmesi'nde belirtilmiştir. İşyerinde tüm kadın ve erkeklere eşit çalışma koşulları sağlamak ve yoksulluğu ortadan kaldırmak için ücretlerin cinsiyet gözetmeksizin adil olması gerekmektedir (ILO, 2016, 2019). Hazır giyim endüstrisi için davranış kuralları, giysilerin üretildiği şirketler için uygun bir ortamı tanımlar. Diğer ülkelerdeki taşeronlardan kuralları imzalamaları ve uygulamaları istenmektedir. Bir sonraki adımda, fabrikalar, davranış kurallarının düzgün bir şekilde uygulanıp uygulanmadığını doğrulamak için izlenir. Özel firmalar periyodik izleme için istihdam edilebilir; aktivistlerin, denetlemenin adilliğiyle ilgili endişeleri vardır ve özel denetimlerden çok bağımsız denetimin gerekliliğini vurgularlar (Armbruster-Sandoval, 2005, p.11; Esbenshade, 1999, p.1).

Kampanyalar, kamu desteği sağlamak ve bunu sosyal değişimlere dönüştürmek veya politik aktörleri politika değişiklikleri için etkilemek için kullanılır. Kampanyalar, değişimleri dayanışmayla gerçekleştirmede güçlü, yaratıcı araçlardır.

Dilekçeler hukuki bir güç oluşturmaz, fakat birçok insanı aynı amaç etrafında toplayarak manevi bir güç oluşturur. Armbruster-Sandoval (2005), işçi hakları hareketi tarihi boyunca dilekçelerin, işçileri ortak amaç doğrultusunda örgütlemek ve yasal sendikalar oluşturmak için yeterli araçlar olduğunu iddia eder. Ancak, dilekçeleri daha etkili kılmak için, dilekçeler Üçüncü Dünya ülkelerinden aktörleri ve işçileri içermelidir (p.16).

Topluluk temelli organizasyonlar, ortak kültür, motivasyon, coğrafya veya teknolojiye bağlı kişiler tarafından kurulu. Armbruster-Sandoval'a (2005) göre, yerel düzeyde, hazır giyim işçileri için toplum temelli örgütlenme olumlu sonuçlar elde etmiştir. Soğuk Savaş'ın sona ermesinden sonra, üretime yönelik neoliberal politikaların yükselişi, Batı ve Üçüncü Dünya ülkelerinden aktivistleri ve işçi sendikalarını bir araya gelmeye teşvik etti ve sınır ötesi örgütlenmeler oluştu. Frundt'a (1999) göre, hazır giyim işçileri için sınır ötesi örgütlenme, yerel hareketleri ve ulusötesi aktivistleri birlikte güçlendirerek amaçlarına ulaşabilirdi (p.103). Benzer şekilde, Armbruster-Sandoval (2005) sınır ötesi örgütlenmenin temel sorununun belirli hedeflere odaklanmak olduğunu iddia etmiştir. Bu strateji uzun vadeli çözümler sağlamadı; planlar bölgesel olarak daha fazla işçiyi veya bir fabrikadaki tüm işçileri içermeliydi. Sınır ötesi örgütlenme tanımlarına göre, sınırları aşan üyeleri içerdiği için günümüzün ulusötesi savunuculuk ağı ile benzerlikler taşımaktadır.

Bilgi Politikası

Bilgi politikası, kullanılabilir bilgiyi değiştirme etkisine sahip olacağı yere iletme yeteneğini ifade eder. Armbruster-Sandoval (2005) bilgi politikasını insan hakları ihlalleri, iklim değişikliği alanlarında halka gerçekleri yaymak olarak açıklamıştır. Ulusötesi savunuculuk ağları bilgiyi yaymak için atölye çalışmaları, web siteleri, bilgilendirici belgeler ve filmler gibi çeşitli araçlar kullanır (p.22).

İletişim teknolojilerindeki gelişmeler savunuculuk ağları üyeler arasında bilgi akışını hızlandırmış ve ağların genişlemesinde önemli bir rol oynamıştır. Bilgileri hem üyeler hem de halk için açık ve kullanışlı hale getirmek önemlidir. Bilgileri hızlı bir şekilde kategorize etmek, aktivistlerin kampanyalarda daha organize olmasına yardımcı olur. Dikkat çekmeye çalıştıkları konuyla ilgili çarpıcı gerçekleri yansıtmak için gerçek hikayeleri de kullabilirler. Bu nedenle, alternatif bir bilgi kaynağı olarak, tanıklıklar veya gerçek hayat hikayeleri, aktivistlerin insanları harekete geçirmesine ve iktidar sahiplerini baskı altına almasına yardımcı olur. Ağlar, değişiklikleri teşvik etmek için politika yapıcıların dikkatini sorunlara çekmeye çalışır. Ağların güvenilirliği için bilgilerin iyi hazırlanmış olması ve güvenilir kaynaklara dayalı olması; dikkat çekmek için bilgilerin çarpıcı olması ve zamanında bildirilmesi önem arz eder. Tüm bileşenler bir arada yerine getirilemese de bilginin güvenilirliği ve çarpıcı etkisi, politika yapıcıları etkilemek için çok önemli bileşenlerdir (Keck and Sikkink, 1998).

Sembol Politikası

Sembolik siyaset, temsili olayların yardımıyla toplumsal düzeni dönüştürür. Semboller insanları harekete geçiren araçlardır; belirli durumlar hakkında ortak görüşleri paylaşan insanlar arasında bütünlük yaratırlar (Blühdorn, 2007). Ağın genişlemesini de sağlayan ikna süreci için sembolik olay ve konuların kullanılması esastır. Bir eylemin veya olayın anlamını ve amacını genişletir.

Baskı Politikası

Aktivistler baskı ve ikna ile hükümetler, uluslararası kurumlar, ulusötesi şirketler gibi hedeflenen aktörlerin politika değişikliklerini sağlamaya çalışırlar. Maddi veya manevi baskı, ulusötesi ağ kampanyaları için iki önemli stratejidir (Keck and Sikkink, 1998). Maddi baskı: mallar, oylar, devlet daireleri vb. gibi hem mali hem de hükümet unsurlarını içerir. Çalışmaları; askeri ve ekonomik yardımlar, diplomasi ve insan hakları uygulamaları ile ilgili olduğundan, mali yönleri yöneten hükümetler ve kurumlar ile müzakereler yapılır. Aktivistler, devletlerin uluslararası hukuka veya normlara göre sorumlu oldukları yükümlülüklerini yerine getirmediği veya taahhütlerini yerine getirmediği durumlarda manevi baskı politikasını kullanır. İnsan hakları ihlali davalarında ulusötesi ağlar tarafından manevi baskı kullanılması, STK'ların bir bekçi işlevi olarak "adlandırma ve utandırma" süreci olarak tanımlanmaktadır. Adlandırma ve utandırma süreci, aktörlerin uygulamalarını ve politika veya davranış değişikliği taleplerini sorgular (Beer et al., 2012; Friman, 2015).

Hesap Verebilirlik Politikası

Keohane (2003), hesap verebilirlik siyasetini iki taraf arasındaki ilişkiyle tanımlamıştır: yetki sahibi ve hesap verebilirlik sahibi. Yetki sahibi, hesap verebilirlik sahibi tarafından kendi eylemlerinden/eylemsizliklerinden sorumlu tutulabilecek ve bunun sonucunda yaptırımlara maruz kalabilecek kişidir. İşte bu ilişki yapısında karşılıklı olarak iki temel unsur aranmaktadır: Bilgi ve yaptırım. Hesap verebilirlik sahibi, yetkiyi elinde bulunduran kişinin davranış standartlarını karşılayıp karşılamadığını ve yaptırımların gücü elinde bulunduranların davranışlarını değiştirmek için yeterli olup olmadığını sorgulamak için, yetki sahibi tarafından sağlanan bilgilere sahiptir. Armbruster-Sandoval'a (2004) göre hesap verebilirlik politikası, bir aktörün taahhütler ile davranışları arasındaki tutarlılığı ile ilgilidir.

Ulusötesi savunuculuk ağları yetki sahiplerine uluslararası veya ulusal yasalara karşı sorumlu olmaları için baskı yapar veya yetki sahibi insan hakları ihlallerine karşı eylemsiz kalırsa aynı taktiği uygular. Uluslararası standartlar, ulusötesi savunuculuk faaliyetleri için esas kaynaklardır.

Uluslararası standartlar ve devletlerin katılımı, küresel düzeyde meşruiyet uygulamalarına katkıda bulunur. Resmi süreç yerine, uluslararası ağlardan gelen itibar ve baskı, hesap verebilirlik politikalarında uygulanabilir. Uluslararası kuruluşlar için normlar ve uluslararası hukuk meşruiyetlerini oluşturur. Prosedür, anlaşma maddelerine dayanmaktadır (Grant & Keohane, 2005).

Sonuç

Ulusötesi savunuculuk ağları, yerel ve uluslararası aktörler arasındaki koordinasyonu güçlendirir. 1980'ler ve 1990'lardan itibaren uluslararası müzakereler arttı. İşçi hakları suistimallerine çözüm olarak, savunuculuk ağ faaliyetleri ile davranış kuralları, denetleme ve kampanyalar uygulanmıştır. Ağların taktikleri bilgi akışlarına, otoritelere baskı yapılmasına, sembolik bir olayla dikkat çekilmesine veya güç sahiplerine sorumluluklarının hatırlatılmasına dayalı olarak kategorize edilir. Bu bölümde kavramlaştırma ve örneklerden açıkça anlaşılmaktadır; taktikler bağımsız olarak kullanılmaz, ulusötesi ağların faaliyetleri için birleştirilebilir ve birbirlerini tamamlarlar.

BÖLÜM 3: TEMİZ GİYSİ KAMPANYASI'NIN TAKTİKLERİNİN EVRİMİ

Giriş

Bu bölüm, Temiz Giysi Kampanyası taktiklerinin zaman içinde nasıl değiştiğini analiz etmeyi ve bu değişikliklere yol açan tarihsel koşulları keşfetmeyi amaçlamaktadır. Bölümde öncelikle CCC'nin örgütsel arka planı verilmektedir. Taktikler, tüketici pazarındaki erken eylemleri analiz etmekten başlayarak, ağın gücünü otoritelere karşı anti-neoliberal hareketlerle genişletmeye kadar tarihsel bir bağlamda anlatılır. Son olarak, hazır giyim tedarik zincirlerindeki işçi hakları uygulamalarından onları sorumlu tutmak için kullanılan taktikler açıklanmıştır.

Temiz Giysi Kampanyasının Örgütsel Arka Planı

Temiz Giysi Kampanyası, önemli bir ulusötesi savunuculuk ağıdır. Ağın isminde geçen "Temiz Giysi", temiz, şık veya modaya uygun anlamında değil; adil ücret ödenen, emekle, çevreye ve insana zarar vermeyen sağlıklı çalışma koşullarında üretilmiş giysileri ifade eder; aynı zamanda tüketicilerin bu konuda bilgilendirildiği üretim sürecinin şeffaflığını ifade eder. Bu temel amaç göz önünde bulundurularak, CCC'nin faaliyetleri yerelden başlayarak küresel arenalara ulaşır: Kendi alanında sorunlar belirlenir ve bu sorunları çözmek için amaçlar oluşturulur ve CCC bu amaçları küresel düzeye taşır. Bu nedenle, CCC genellikle ihlalleri göstererek ve şirketlere, hükümetlere ve topluma çözümler önererek işçi haklarını savunur. CCC'nin çeşitli faaliyetleri şu şekilde birleştirilebilir: Eğitim ve seferberlik, tüketicilere çalışanların temel hakları konusunda etkin bilgi sağlamak, bilinçlendirmek; yerel ve bölgesel düzeyde politikaları değiştirmek veya reform yapmak için yetkililere baskı yapmak ve lobi yapmak; işçileri güçlendirmek için eğitim düzenlemek, aynı amaçlarla iş birliği yapmak için diğer kampanyaları desteklemek (Who Are-About, n.d.).

Temiz Giysi Kampanyası Ağının Yükselişi

1960'larda ve 1970'lerde, CCC'nin ilk girişimleri genellikle kalkınma sorunları ve değişen kişisel tüketim uygulamaları hakkında farkındalık yaratmaya odaklandı. Kampanyacılar, önce tüketicileri bilgilendirdi ve işçi hakları, çalışma koşulları ve özellikle Üçüncü Dünya ülkelerindeki haksız ticaret politikaları hakkında farkındalık yaratmayı amaçlamıştır.

Balsiger (2014), ilk eylemleri ağın ulusal şubeleri olarak ilk olarak CCC koalisyonlarının kurulduğu Fransa ve İsviçre olmak üzere iki farklı Avrupa ülkesinden örneklerle açıkladı. Bunların erken eylemleri, CCC ağının kurulmasının önünü açtı.

1968'de bir STK olarak kurulan Bern Deklerasyonu (BD), daha sonra 1999'da İsviçre CCC'sini oluşturan STK'lardan biriydi (p.21). Sluiter'e (2009) göre BD, İsviçre CCC'nin ana stratejilerinin ve kampanyalarının oluşturulmasına öncülük eden önemli bir aktördür (p.202). Eylemler ilk olarak İsviçre hükümetinden politika değişikliği ve kalkınma projeleri için daha fazla para harcaması talep eden bir kamu itirazının yayınlanmasıyla başladı; 1974'te Bern Deklarasyonu üyeleri eylemleri planlamak için bir araya geldi. Kampanyalardan biri, İsviçre'deki Bananenfrauen adlı kadınlardan oluşan bir grup tarafından, Üçüncü Dünya'daki muz üretim süreciyle ilgili bir belgesel izledikten sonra başlatılmış olan bir hareketi desteklemekti; üretim koşulları ve işçilere ödenen düşük fiyatlar hakkında halkı bilinçlendirmeyi amaçladılar. BD eylemleri destekledi; Tüketicilerin işçilere adil ödemeler sağlamak için muzlara daha yüksek fiyat ödeme talebini yansıtan imzalar toplandı.

Artisans du Monde (AdM) 1974'te kuruldu, CCC ağının ulusal bir koalisyonu olan Fransa'daki CCC'nin bir parçası olarak, ilk eylemlerinde, öncelikle yardımdan ziyade adil ticareti geliştirerek Üçüncü Dünya ülkelerinin ekonomik kalkınmasına yardımcı olmaya odaklandı. AdM, ağın üyelerini ve gönüllülerini bilgilendirmek için yerel olarak bültenler yayınladı, tartışmalar ve film gösterimleri düzenledi; halkı bilinçlendirdi, yerel dükkanlarda Üçüncü Dünya'nın adil ticaret ürünleri satıldı.

Taktiklerin Dönüm Noktası: Aktörleri İçeren Hareketler

1970'lerde taktikler bilgilendirici eylemlerle sınırlıydı; bununla birlikte, BD üyeleri 1979'daki iç toplantılarda da bu konuyu tartışmışlardır: Eylemler siyasi eylemi içermeli, konferanslarda yetkilileri ikna etmeye çalışmak yerine doğrudan sorunların kaynağıyla ilgilenmeli, alternatif sesler ve çözümler sürece dahil edilmelidir. Aktörleri ikna etmeyi amaçlayan naif eylemlere yönelmek yerine; ağ eylemleri aracılığıyla, aktörler sorumluluklarını yerine getirmelidir ve bu tür bir eylem, Üçüncü Dünya ülkelerinden diğer aktörlerin ve kuruluşların desteğiyle mümkün olabilir. Ayrıca mevcut sorunları eleştirmeye odaklanmak yerine yeni katılımcıları teşvik ederek alternatif çözümler sunulmalıdır (Balsiger, 2014). Dolayısıyla bu gelişmeler, ağ taktiklerinin güçlü aktörleri dahil etme ve ağın sınırlarını genişletme yönünde değişmesine işaret etmektedir.

1980'lerde kampanyalar, diğer STK'lar ve grupların katılımı yoluyla doğrudan şirketlere odaklanmaya başladı. Nestlé Boykot Kampanyası'nda kampanyacılar, şirketin bebek maması pazarlama uygulamalarının Üçüncü Dünya ülkelerinde bebeklerin ölümüne neden olduğunu iddia etti. Kampanyacılar, dikkat çeken 'Bebek Katili' başlıklı broşürle kamuoyunu bilgilendirdi. Halkın ve medyanın dikkatini çekti; Üçüncü Dünya Eylem Grupları broşürü daha geniş bir kitleyi bilgilendirmek için tercüme etti, ancak şirket bunun iftira olduğunu iddia etti ve gruba dava açtı. BD, Nestlé Kampanyası'nın baş aktörü değildi; ancak suçlamaların ardından grup üyelerinin yanında yer alarak broşürü diğer Avrupa dillerine çevirerek grubu destekledi (Balsiger, 2014).

1979'da Gıda ve Tarım Örgütü tarafından düzenlenen uluslararası bir zirve sonucunda, artan ağ çabaları ve BD'nin dahil olmasıyla 1981'de Açlık Bir Skandaldır kampanyası başlatıldı. Kampanya, tarım endüstrisinin tarım endüstrisi üzerindeki etkileri ile ilgili konuları içeriyordu. Kampanyada, Üçüncü Dünya'da üretilen ve Batılı perakendecilerde satılan ürünler, sektörün sorunlarını ortaya koyacak şekilde seçilmiştir (Balsiger, 2014).

Bu dönemde kampanyalar sırasında aktivistler daha fazla insanı bilgilendirmek için broşürler gibi bilgilendirici araçları kullanmaya devam etti ve değişiklikleri teşvik etmek için medyanın dikkatini çekti; aktivistler, boykot çağrısı ve sloganlar atarak dilekçeler yoluyla yetkililerle yüzleşmeyi seçtiler, bu nedenle bu dönemde kampanyalar çoğunlukla baskı politikası taktiğini yansıtır.

Anti-Neoliberal Hareketlerin Yükselişi – Sömürü Karşıtı Hareketler Çevresindeki CCC Ağının Faaliyetleri

Büyük markaların tedarik fabrikaları Üçüncü Dünya'ya taşıması ile birlikte işçi haklarının görmezden gelinmesi, aktivist hareketlerini arttırdı. Aktivistler doğru bilgi almak için bilgilendirici araçlar kullandılar, fabrikaları ziyaret ettiler ve farkındalık yaratmak için bilgileri yayınladılar. 1980'lerdeki tüketici eylemlerine benzer şekilde, aktivistler baskı politikasını kullandılar; sokaklarda kitleleri harekete geçirerek, dilekçeler vererek, imza toplayarak, mağazaların önünde protesto gösterileri yaparak veya büyük olayları seçerek doğrudan hedeflenen şirketler; öncelikli motivasyon, baskı politikası ile büyük markaları utandırma ve onları sorumluluk almaya zorlama bağlamındaydı. 1990'lardan itibaren CCC ağ faaliyetlerinin ağırlıklı olarak baskı politikası taktiğinin repertuarını içerdiği iddia edilebilir. Şirketler üzerindeki baskı gücünü artırmak için bu süreçte CCC, diğer kuruluşlarla koalisyonlar oluşturarak ağını genişletmeye odaklandı.

Yetkilileri Sorumlu Tutmak

Özellikle CCC Model Davranış Kurallarının oluşturulmasından başlayarak mevcut çabalara kadar, hesap verebilirlik politikaları repertuarının ağırlıklı olarak CCC ağı tarafından kullanıldığı iddia edilebilir. Yangın ve Bina Güvenliği Anlaşması ve Rana Plaza Düzenlemesi, standartları yerine getirmekten yetkilileri sorumlu tutan hesap verebilirlik politikası uygulamalarının örnekleriydi.

*Bangladeş Baskı Kampanyası'*nda, CCC işçi örgütleri ve İşçi Hakları Konsorsiyumu gibi uluslararası aktörlerle birlikte Bangladeş hükümeti ve fabrika sahiplerinin baskısına karşı durarak; yetkilileri ulusal ve uluslararası yasalara uymaya zorladı. CCC'nin baskı politikası aracını kullanmasının bir örneği olarak, insanları hashtag'ler kullanarak çevrimiçi kampanyalara katılmaya davet etti ve markalara Bangladeş'te işçilere yönelik baskıya tepki verip vermediklerini sormaya davet etti. CCC'nin *AB Komisyonu'nun Önerisine Yönelik Geri Bildirimi*, işçilerin temel haklarına ilişkin uluslararası standartları hatırlatmakta ve yetkililere öneriyi buna göre iyileştirmelerini tavsiye etmektedir. *Çalışanlarınıza Ödeme Yapın* ve *İşçi Haklarına Saygı Duyun* kampanyaları, büyük markaları işçilere ödeme yapmaktan sorumlu tutarak hesap verebilirlik politikalarının bir başka örneğidir; küresel çapta yayıldı ve birçok STK ve sendikayı dahil etti.

Sonuç

Araştırmanın bu bölümünde Temiz Giysi Kampanyası taktiklerindeki değişimler tarihsel bağlamda analiz edilmektedir. İsviçre'den Bern Deklarasyonu, Fransa'dan Artisans du Monde, CCC ağının tüketici aktivizmi kampanyalarının ilk örneklerini verdi. 1960'lı yılların sonundan itibaren tüketicileri tüketim alışkanlıklarını değiştirmeleri konusunda bilgilendirmek etrafında kampanyalar şekillenmiştir; asıl amaç farkındalık yaratmaktı. Dükkanlarda satılan ürünler Üçüncü Dünya'daki haksız politikaları temsil ediyordu. Bu nedenle kampanyaların taktikleri bilgilendirici araçlar içeriyordu. Daha etkili çözümlere ulaşmak için 1970'lerin sonundan itibaren aktivistler, imza kampanyası, çarpıcı sloganlı broşürler ve boykot gibi baskı politikası araçlarını kullanmayı tercih ettiler. Neoliberal ekonomi politikaları, Üçüncü Dünya ülkelerini Batılı markalar için daha karlı hale getirdiğinde, ağ eylemleri işçi haklarının savunulmasına odaklandı. CCC, uluslararası etkinlikler ve kampanyalar yoluyla ağını genişletmeye başladı; şirketler üzerindeki baskı arttı. İşçi hakları uluslararası tartışmalarda önemli bir konu haline geldi; bu nedenle uluslararası normlar hazır giyim sektöründeki yetkililerin sorumluluğu etrafında şekillenmeye başladı. Yetkilileri uygulamalarından sorumlu tutmak, günümüzde CCC eylemlerinin ana aracı haline gelmiştir.

SONUÇ

Bu çalışmada, Temiz Giysi Kampanyası çalışmaları incelenerek, hazır giyim endüstrisi etrafındaki ulusötesi savunuculuk ağlarının taktiklerindeki değişim analiz edilmektedir. Araştırma sorusu: "Temiz Giysi Kampanyası taktikleri zaman içinde nasıl değişti?" Ulusötesi savunuculuk ağı kavramları ve tarihsel evrimi ve özellikle CCC ağ eylemleri araştırılarak incelenir. Bu çalışmada, ulusötesi savunuculuk ağları, toplumsal hareketler ve insan hakları hareketleri hakkında yazılmış kavramsal çerçeve ve literatür kullanılmıştır. İlgili konularda yazılan akademik çalışmaların yanı sıra CCC ve ilgili kuruluşların web siteleri, raporları, özel kampanya dokümanları ve sözleşmelerinden faydalanılır.

CCC ağ faaliyetlerinin başlangıcında koalisyon üyelerinden İsviçre'den Bern Deklarasyonu'nun, Fransa'dan Artisans du Monde'un gerçekleştirdiği hareketlerin birincil amacı bilgilerin yayılmasıydı. Sikkink'in (2002) belirttiği gibi, doğru bilgi sağlamak savunuculuk ağlarının manevi baskı otoritesine katkıda bulunur. Markaların ve perakendecilerin Üçüncü Dünya hazır giyim sanayi fabrikaları üzerindeki sömürücü politikalarının artması, CCC'yi daha baskıcı adımlar atmaya teşvik etti. CCC'nin artan otoritesi ve uluslararası norm ve standartlardaki gelişmeler, ağ eylemlerinde baskı politikasından hesap verebilirlik politikasının uygulanmasına geçişine yol açtı.

CCC, ağ koalisyonları eylemleriyle tüketici aktivizmi kampanyalarından başlayarak güçlü bir savunuculuk ağına dönüştü. Şu anda, CCC kendisini işçi haklarını geliştirmek için çalışan küresel bir ağ olarak tanımlamaktadır (Who Are-About, n.d.). CCC ağ kampanyalarında markalar, işyerlerindeki ihlallerin veya yoksulluk ücretlerinin baş sorumlusu olarak kabul edilir. Çünkü markalar küresel tedarik zincirleri için baskın güçtür. CCC, markaları ve perakendecileri yükümlülüklere karşı sorumlu kılmak için işçi haklarına ilişkin uluslararası ve ulusal düzenlemelerin güçlendirilmesine önem vermiştir.

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