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Sources Say : Not Yet**

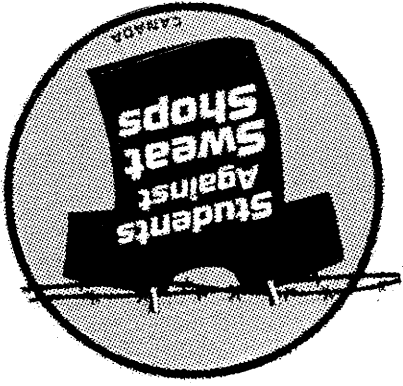
**Anti-sweatshop policies mean
nothing if they are not enforced**

Companies like the Gap and Nike claim to have codes of conduct which apply to their overseas suppliers, however workers are still reporting gross human rights abuses, dangerous working conditions, withholding of pay and firings if they try to unionize.

**When will the Administration
take the necessary steps to
implement Trent's
No Sweat Policy?**

Join the SAS Campaign

OPIRG@pipcom.com



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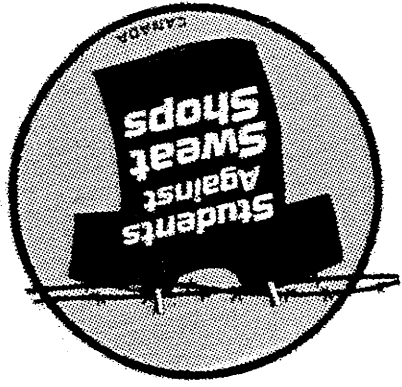
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Boycott Imports from Burma!

"The people of Burma suffer from one of the most brutal and repressive military regimes in the world, which continues to commit brutal acts of genocide and dislocation of its ethnically diverse peoples." (Canadian Friends Of Burma)

The military junta round up citizens including children and use them for forced labour. Garment importers and consumers help the Burmese junta to buy weaponry, inevitably contributing to the oppression of the people of Burma.

It is extremely difficult to avoid doing business that does not benefit from or support Burma's regime and its human rights abuses. Aung San Suu Kyi's National League for Democracy (NLD) urges consumers to boycott all goods produced in Myanmar because of the detrimental effects it has on the people and the environment.



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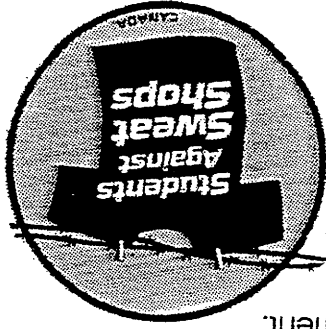


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Help stop imports from Burma!

Imports from Burma continue despite Canada's limited sanctions policy. **Help the Canadian Friends Of Burma to track down** which stores are selling "Made in Myanmar" products by helping to monitor the stores in the Peterborough area.

Access to which companies are selling Burmese products is very difficult to obtain in Canada. People are needed to search individual stores. **You can report** back the names of stores where "Made in Myanmar" labels are found. If it is a garment product, **write down the CA number** on the label and send the information to **CFOB** at www.cfob.org. The CA number is used to track the origins of the garment.

Reitmans, Jacob and Zellers are just a few Canadian stores who continue to source from Burma.

Check labels for "Made in Myanmar!"

Trent Students Against Sweatshops
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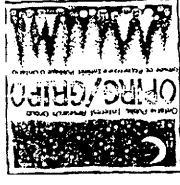
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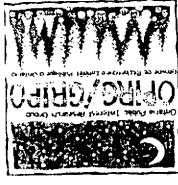
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Trent Students Against Sweatshops Action Kit

**Includes:
Final Research Report
Bibliography**

By Hala Zabaneh

Completed for:

**Ontario Public Interest Research Group (OPIRG)
Professor Margaret Hobbs, Trent University
Trent-Centre for Community-Based Education**

**Department: Women's Studies
Course code: WMST 482 – Community Research Placement
Term: Fall/Winter 2002-2003
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Call Number: 331 Zab

Trent Students Against Sweatshops

ACTION KIT

Assembled by Hala Zabaneh for OPIRG

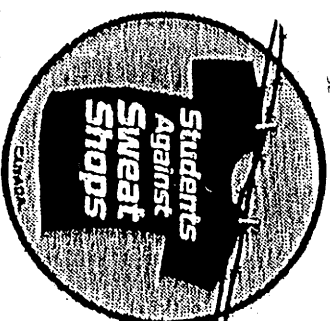


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ABSTRACT

The primary purpose of this project was to provide action tools and resources for Trent Students Against Sweatshops (SAS). The secondary purpose was to provide a background of information on several sweatshop and labour related issues. Promotional materials are also included. The research was compiled by looking at several sweatshop issues and locales and gathering information. The information was then made into this action kit for Students Against Sweatshops.

KEYWORDS

Students Against Sweatshops, sweatshops, labour issues, Trent policy, workers rights, globalization.

SAS ACTION KIT User Guide

Purpose

This Action kit was designed for the Ontario Public Interest Research Group (OPIRG) in conjunction with the Trent Center for community Based Education (TCCBE). The purpose of this binder is to provide action tools and resources for Trent Students Against Sweatshops (SAS). The kit includes background information on a number of sweatshop and labour related issues, including promotional material and strategies for action. This Action Kit should be used in conjunction with the *No Sweat Binder* which records the SAS campaign to enact an anti-sweatshop policy at Trent, and the *Annotated bibliography* documenting anti-sweatshop and labour related resources, both by Tanya Roberts-Davis.

Intro

Sweatshop abuses are systemic in a globalized garment industry. Workers often suffer gross human rights abuses, are forced to work long hours with less than subsistence wages, and are denied rights to organize the union of their choice. Sweatshop workers are mostly female, and are particularly vulnerable to abuse. Students Against Sweatshops needs your support to help work to stop sweatshop and labour abuses worldwide, as well as in Canada. This kit was designed with the hopes that incoming students will be interested in continuing much needed support for anti-sweatshop and labor related issues at Trent.

Students Against Sweatshops

Welcome to the wonderful world of SAS. Students Against Sweatshops (SAS) is a university-based network across the continent that works to raise awareness about sweatshop issues and to support the efforts of garment workers around the world in their struggles to negotiate fair wages and working conditions. Over one hundred universities in the US and a few in Canada have adopted strongly worded codes of conduct or "No Sweat" Policies as a result of Students Against Sweatshops actions. Trent SAS is an OPIRG working Group, which successfully pressured the administration to adopt a code of conduct, requiring companies supplying clothing to Trent disclose the locations of factories and abide by international labour standards.

Trent's Policy

A No Sweat Policy uses the power of bulk purchasing to pressure clothing companies to respect workers rights. In December 2002, Trent became one of the first four universities in Canada to adopt a no sweat policy.

The No Sweat policy requires companies supplying clothing to the university to:

- Respect the rights of garment workers to:
 - Be free from forced overtime, harassment, abuse and discrimination
 - Work in a safe and healthy environment
 - Join the Union of their choice
 - Be paid a living wage
- Publicly disclose the locations of factories
- Accept independent monitoring

The full document can be viewed at www.trentu.ca/sweatshops. Copies are included in this kit.

Message to Users

Implementing Trent's No Sweat Policy is an ongoing process which requires continued support from Students Against Sweatshops. Without continued support, Trent's code of conduct will effect little change for the workers it is meant to empower. Each section in this kit provides resources to TAKE ACTION against the unjust practices of the global garment and labour industry, and to continue Trent's No Sweat Mandate.

Trade Liberalization and Indentured Servitude in Saipan

By Hala Zabaneh

In the era of globalization, the garment industry has undergone dramatic changes. Global restructuring has drastically altered the world economy, facilitating international trade and creating an unregulated labour market. The garment industry, which once employed unionized workers, now employs mostly female labour in southern nation states for sale in the North. Now with no minimum wage, no enforced human rights standards and no taxes, corporations are encouraged to exploit workers. Free trade policies such as the FTA and NAFTA have fostered the creation of garment industry sweatshops with a near limitless capacity for human exploitation. The raced and gendered nature of sweatshop work makes women of colour particularly vulnerable to exploitation. Misconceptions about the insurance of fair working conditions under globalization leave many consumers unaware that very nature of trade liberalization facilitates worker exploitation. The unique example of Saipan demonstrates how recent global restructuring has allowed indentured sweatshop labour to become the grim reality of the global garment industry. The processes of globalization and free trade initiatives have enabled the exploitation and even indentured servitude of garment industry workers worldwide.

The garment industry in North America finds a billion dollar market. Today's consumerism demands the latest and most updated styles, requiring a season turnover every six weeks. Fueling this desire requires mass manufacturing of goods, which are now with free trade, almost exclusively produced in poor developing countries for sale in North America and Western Europe. Believing this to be standard practice, western consumers are often unaware of the inhuman conditions under which the clothing they are purchasing have been produced. The thinking that buying clothing labeled "Made in U.S.A" or "Made in Canada" might ensure better standards of production could not be further from the truth. The reality is that the processes of globalization benefits corporate powers, at the expense of garment industry workers worldwide.

The emergence of trade liberalization was initiated by shifting economic ideals. The twentieth century began with the hopes that an economic model could be built which would eliminate poverty, expand democracy, and could consider the general well being of all people. British economist John Maynard Keynes identified the necessity of social services for a healthy economy, and provided the framework for the post WWII welfare state in Canada. The Welfare state model included government expenditures on services such as education, social security, health, pensions and other community and social services.¹ Taxes and tariffs once prevented cheap goods from other countries from flooding local markets and competing with local production and prosperity within nations. Political economic thought from the 1930's until the mid 1980's Within the corporate community understood the logic behind the necessity of full employment, high wages and social support systems when relying on people within a nation to purchase goods produced.² Where national prosperity and social spending was once recognized as essential for a healthy economy, corporations began to recognize the potential in foreign

¹ Majorie Griffin Cohen "New International Trade Agreements: Their Reactionary Role in Creating Markets and Retarding Social Welfare."

² Majorie Griffin Cohen "What Women Should Know About Economic Fundamentalism." *Atlantis* Vol 21.2 Spring/Summer

markets which would not depend on the ability of populations within nations to purchase goods produced. The logic that goods could be produced more cheaply in other countries gained favour, and free market capitalism swiftly rose to the forefront of the international political agenda.

Free Trade agreements enhance capital mobility between nations, creating a single market, which constrains government capacity to regulate the behavior of foreign and domestic corporations,³ effectively putting nation states at the mercy of corporate economic interests. The North American Free Trade Agreement was ratified in 1992, bringing to fruition the over a decade long process toward free trade in North America. The General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) and the Free Trade Agreement between Canada and the U.S.A. in 1988 (FTA) had already begun the process. These agreements dramatically altered the relationship between the state and economic activity, guaranteeing special rights to corporations including tax and tariff free operations, facilitating trade between nations. Tariffs were relaxed, allowing foreign goods to compete equally with locally produced products, and enabling corporations to produce goods wherever boasts the cheapest production costs. NAFTA also guarantees rights to private corporations, in which the sale of their products can not be restricted by any one nation, creating a situation where countries are no longer in control of their internal economies.⁴ This encourages the privatization of what was once considered the sole domain of public services. As a result, we have seen the erosion of the Keynesian welfare state, rising costs of social services, the southward migration of the goods producing industries, and lower average wages worldwide.⁵ The FTA saw three out of every ten Canadian Garment workers lose their jobs between 1988 and 1995, and the figure was five out of ten in Toronto.⁶ Where unionized factory work was once considered the backbone of the industrialized world, opening up the global market has created a situation where unregulated foreign labour has become the industry standard.

As a result of free trade dominating current ideology and practice, foreign low wage garment factory "sweatshops" have popped up in Free Trade Zones all over the world. NAFTA saw the creation of thousands of Maquila factories on the border the United States and Mexico. Approximately 3,000 maquilas in this region assemble about half the nation's exports.⁷ Mostly Women are employed in the garment manufacturing sector, who employed 60,000 workers 1995 up from 12,000 in 1992.⁸ Giant apparel retailers such as JC Penney, Fruit of the Loom, Sears, Nike and hundreds of others produce almost exclusively in Mexico as well as overseas. Thousands of Mexican families displaced by economic necessity have moved to border cities looking for work in the Maquilas. Countries outside of NAFTA such as South America, Africa, China and

³ Ian Robinson, North American Trade as if Democracy Mattered Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives and International Labor Rights Education and Research Fund, 1993 p20

⁴ Powell, John A. and Udayakumar S.P. "Race, Poverty & Globalization" Global Exchange www.globalexchange.org/economy/econ101/globalization072000.html

⁵ Cohen "New International Trade Agreements..."

⁶ Wear Fair Action Kit "The changing Face of a Global Industry," Chapter 1 Produced by OPSSU LBLC September 1997

⁷ John Ross "Maquila Meltdown" New Magazine Nov. 8-Dec24 2002

⁸ "The Changing Face of a Global Industry" p5

Korea have also negotiated Free trade Zones where industries can operate with the same tax and tariff free benefits.

In recent years, we have begun to witness a situation in Mexico which parallels the migration of northern factories southward. A situation has been created where poor countries are offering lower minimum wages and other incentives such as free electricity and cheap production materials in order to encourage foreign industry. Mexican Maquilas are now moving production to China where sixty cents an hour constitutes a considerable profit over the 80 to 90cents to an hour which Mexican workers can usually expect.⁹ From 2000 to 2001, approximately 600 maquilas have moved production to china, a situation which has the potential to globalize the maquila industry right off the map.¹⁰

The gendered nature of sweatshop work makes women most vulnerable to exploitation. An estimated 90% of sweatshop workers worldwide are women.¹¹ Women are employed for a variety of reasons. It is said that women have "small" and "dexterous" hands, when in fact women are preferred because they are considered less likely to form unions and are more willing to settle for low wages and poor and unsafe conditions.¹² Women with family responsibilities are considered less likely to revolt under exploitative conditions in fear of loosing their jobs and being unable to provide for their families. Men who do work in the industry are more often employed as tailors in the higher-paying parts of the industry such as custom made suits and sample-making for the more expensive women's lines. Women are also more vulnerable to sexual harassment from employers and are often fired should it be found out they are pregnant.

Free Trade policy encourages the exploitation of sweatshop workers by setting no standards of minimum wage, which are thus far below subsistence levels. The misconception that workers are paid the going rates in the countries they are producing in is grossly inaccurate. Although the standard of living in developing nations requires far less than in Western countries, average wages earned remain insufficient for survival in those countries. Workers in Thailand and Guatemala receive an average wage of .65 cents an hour and Dominican Republic and Malaysian workers can expect \$1.15 an hour.¹³ The Global exchange reports Indonesian Nike workers are paid an average wage of 15 cents an hour, some of the lowest wages worldwide. The foundation Nacional para el Desarrollo, or the National Foundation for Development, an NGO research organization in El Salvador, establishes the basic basket of necessities for the average sized Salvadorian family (4.3 people) to survive in "relative poverty" as 287.21 per month. In El Salvador, workers average \$0.60 an hour, meeting only 51% of a basic

⁹ Ross

¹⁰ Ross

¹¹ Sharon Ann Navarro "Las Mujeres Invisibles/The Invisible Woman" *Women's Activism and Globalization: Linking Local Struggles and Transnational Politics* Nancy A. and Desai, Manisha ed. 2002 Routledge, New York

¹² Menderz, Jennifer Bickham "Creating Alternatives from a Gender Perspective: *Transnational Organizing for Maquila Workers Rights in Central America*" *Women's Activism and Globalization: Linking Local Struggles and Transnational Politics* Naples, Nancy A. and Desai, Manisha ed. 2002 Routledge, New York

¹³ Sweatshop Watch "The Garment Industry" www.sweatshopwatch.org/swatch/industry

basket of goods necessary to survive in relative poverty.¹⁴ Whole families are often employed in the industry, and women working in a garment factory cannot expect to provide for a family on the wages they are earning.

Free trade protects the economic interests of companies, at the expense of workers. Companies use competition as the rationale for denying workers a living wage. Support for the garment industry's use of foreign labour bases much of its claims on the false assumption that increasing workers wages will increase retail costs. Production labour costs are only a fraction of profits made by retailers. The Global Exchange reports that if Nike paid its workers only 4% of the billions of dollars in revenue annually would be enough to grant every Nike worker a living wage. Companies will often argue that if they raise wages than they will not be able to stay alive in this highly competitive industry. Paying workers a living wage would only amount to a few cents more per shirt.¹⁵ The reality is that consumers would see no increased retail costs for a shirt made by workers paid a living wage. Companies will often claim that workers are happy with the wages they are receiving. The assumption that workers are happy with what they have keeps the North American public complacent about wages earned by foreign workers, when in fact any attempts at unionization or worker organizing met with harsh retaliation from employers.

With free trade agreements, no labour rights standards allow garment producers the freedom to employ any tactics necessary to maintain the complacency of its workers. Workers attempts to unionize are met with firings and even factory closures. Workers who are fired for speaking out risk not being hired by any other factory. The threat of being fired or losing the factory all together effects situation where workers must endure conditions or face no work at all. The lack of international labour rights in NAFTA and other free trade agreements constitutes a violation of fundamental human rights as outlined by the International Labour Organization of a living wage, to be free of harassment or coercion, and the rights to form a union of choice.¹⁶ Workers can be continually harassed and threatened by employers with no consequences. Having no federal commitment to provide any new labour adjustment measures under NAFTA, free trade has significant consequences for women, and most particularly women of colour.¹⁷

The existence of foreign sweatshop labour is often regarded as simply a third world phenomenon, highlighting an unwillingness to recognize the ways in which free trade policy encourages the exploitation of human labour across the globe. The ideology of free trade depends on the idea that poor economies welcome these factories which provide much-needed jobs. Workers are painted as happily willing to work for the meager wages they are offered. Corporations often assert that they as foreign investors have no business telling other countries how to conduct business, and that they are simply

¹⁴ "Liz Claiborne/Sweatshop Production in El Salvador" September 17, 1998 National Labor Committee as cited in "The Garment Industry"

¹⁵ Global Exchange

¹⁶ International Labour Organization www.ilo.org

¹⁷ Gabriel, Christina and Macdonald, Laura "NAFTA and Economic Restructuring: Some Gender and Race Implications." Rethinking Restructuring: Gender and Change in Canada Isabella Baker ed. U. of T Press 1996, p169

abiding by the labour laws and minimum wage standards set by the host country. Trade liberalization strategies by nature must capitalize on women's vulnerability to economic marginalization in order to function.

Disturbingly, the misconception that sweatshop conditions only exist in third world countries is a grand delusion. Immigrant women are increasingly contracted out of their basements in North America, and paid less than subsistence wages on a piecework basis for large apparel retailers. Homeworkers in Ontario are legally entitled to 10% above the minimum wage to compensate for overhead costs, however they receive an average of two to four dollars an hour, or 60% of the minimum wage.¹⁸ These women are usually unaware of their rights due to language barriers, and are thus vulnerable to many forms of exploitation, demonstrating the raced as well as gendered implications of Garment industry restructuring. The exploitation of homeworkers in North America is also a form of sweatshop labour. Sweatshop conditions have erupted in North America as well as overseas, revealing the systemic problem with trade liberalization policies.

A global trade system which encourages the exploitation of workers in third world countries, has been adopted to create third world conditions in U.S. territory. Saipan is the largest island of the Northern Mariana Islands and home to hundreds of garment industry sweatshops. Saipan is U.S. territory, lying four thousand miles west of Hawaii in Micronesia. With Free trade benefits and using loopholes in U.S. immigration and wage laws, Asian-based garment manufacturers have flocked to Saipan. Garment factories on Saipan are granted the same tax free and unregulated operations as any free trade zone, and garments produced in Saipan are granted the rights to the "Made in U.S.A." label. G.A.P incorporated, Polo Ralph Lauren, J. Crew, Abercrombie and Fitch, and many other multimillion-dollar major retailers source from Saipan. Lured with the promise of jobs in America and American wages, women pay thousands of dollars to be brought from China, the Philippines, Bangladesh, Thailand and other Asian countries to work in the factories. Upon arriving, they find themselves subjected to sub-human labor practices and low wages, bound to their employers by contracts and fear. The unique situation of Saipan is the foremost case of indentured servitude in the global garment industry, yet "Made in U.S.A." remains a slogan used to evoke the supposed American values of freedom and justice for all, including those who made your jeans.

Because they arrive heavily in debt, workers in Saipan are extremely vulnerable to exploitation. Women working in the garment industry on Saipan pay enormous recruitment fees in order to attain a contract to work in a Saipan garment factory. Women can expect to pay 3,000 to 6,000 U.S. in recruitment fees, which they scrape together from family, friends and neighbors.¹⁹ This usually amounts to a small fortune in their home countries. Contracts keep the workers in line with clauses such as "employee may not strike, shall not transfer to another factory without authorization or accept any job offer from other company; female workers are not allowed to get pregnant overseas;

¹⁸ "Changing the face of a Global Industry"

¹⁹ Behind the Labels: Garment Workers On U.S. Saipan Produced by Tina Lessin for WITNESS, program coordinator. Sam Gregory, 2000

never do anything that impairs personal or national dignity.”²⁰ One typical clause in these contracts holds the worker’s father or husband or other family member financially liable for breach of contract. Other clauses may prohibit them from joining unions, attending religious services, marrying or resigning.

Although Saipan is U.S. territory, it is exempt from many U.S. laws such as minimum wage standards, and is able avoid adhering to U.S. labour codes. Promises of U.S. wages lure women from their home countries, and arrive to find they will be paid a fraction of that, if at all. They are locked into barracks at night as if in prisons, and are not permitted freedom to go into town. Saipan’s minimum wage has been set at \$3.05 U.S. an hour, compared with 5.85 an hour in America. U.S. labour laws state that workers must not be subjected to forced overtime, and must receive payment for overtime work.²¹ Company records often show only eight hours of work per employee, in contrast to workers logs who report working 14hours a day regularly.²² Workers working 14-hour shifts are given only a half-hour lunch break, and get a limited number of bathroom quotas. Factories force workers to work long hours without payment for the actual number of hours worked, so workers end up receiving only a fraction of what they are legally entitled to. One anonymous worker stated that,

“We worked for fifteen or sixteen hours every day. And they wouldn’t let us punch our timecards. We worked on Sundays and didn’t get our timecards punched. We worked so hard for no money.”²³

After protests because of withholding three months worth of wages, thousands of Saipan workers saw the factory they worked at close and declare bankruptcy. Workers have not seen a penny, and only a handful remain on Saipan waiting for money owed to them.²⁴

Women who come to Saipan for work find they have fallen into a situation equaling indentured servitude. Women must Work in Saipan for years before earning enough money to return home. Companies are permitted to deduct up to \$200 a month for room and board, which are usually squalid and unsanitary with up to 20 women sharing one bathroom.²⁵ Training fees and work visas are also deducted. The average wages for one year of work equals about \$3, 450.00, while recruitment fees average more than a year’s wages. The workers send most of the money they make home to pay off debts. Meager wages, coupled with deductions for room and board, take at least one full year of work to pay off. After her first year of working in a Saipan sweatshop, one worker reports that she made \$148.06 U.S.²⁶ Wages earned at the end of one year working in a Saipan sweatshop can still equal less than the total amount of recruitment fees plus deductions. Workers must then work another couple of years before they can earn enough to buy a plane ticket home with enough extra for their families.

²⁰ Screening Guide: Behind The Labels Feb 2002 Update www.witness.org

²¹ Behind the Labels: Garment Workers On U.S. Saipan

²² Behind the Labels: Garment Workers On U.S. Saipan

²³ Behind the Labels: Garment Workers On U.S. Saipan

²⁴ Behind the Labels: Garment Workers in U.S. Saipan

²⁵ Behind the Labels: Garment Workers On U.S. Saipan

²⁶ Screening Guide: Behind the Labels

A global trade system which enables the exploitation of garment industry workers worldwide, has created a situation where the indentured servitude of women in Saipan effects a modern day form of slave labour. Slave labour has been outlawed in Canada and the U.S. for many years. The assumption that women want these jobs and are willing to work for them, does not correctly describe the situation in Saipan. Article 4 of the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human rights states: No one shall be held in Slavery or servitude; slavery and the slave trade shall be prohibited in all their forms.²⁷ Although these women assert that they make more money than they would have in China or the Philippines,²⁸ it does not change the nature of their work as being a form of slavery.

The abuses endured by workers coming to Saipan fit into the larger pattern of human trafficking. The Global Alliance against Traffic in Women defines trafficking as “All acts involved in the recruitment and/or transportation of a woman within and across national borders, for work or services, by means of violence, debt bondage, deception or other coercion.”²⁹ The mostly female garment workers who come to Saipan are never informed of the actual labour conditions under which they will be working. The situation of garment workers on Saipan violates not only U.S. federal law against involuntary servitude and peonage, but also international law on indentured servitude and the principles of Article 4 of the Universal Declaration of human rights.

Legal measures have been taken against the indentured servitude of Saipan workers. In January 1999, three class action lawsuits were filed against factories and retailers based in Saipan.³⁰ The first filed by Saipan garment workers accuses 18 retailers and 11 contractors of violating the Racketeer Influence and Corrupt Organizations Act (RICO), as well as the Anti Peonage act which prohibits forced labour. District Judge Alex R. Munson upheld the complaint allowing the case to proceed to trial. The second case made by Sweatshop Watch, Global Exchange, UNITE!, the Asian Law Caucus and Saipan garment workers against several major retailers. As of February 2002, 19 companies have settled and agreed to independent monitoring by Verite. This has not yet been implemented since eight companies including the G.A.P incorporated, which owns the G.A.P, Banana republic, and Old Navy, has not settled and monitoring cannot begin until the lawsuit is settled. The third Class-action case was filed by 30,000 non-resident garment workers against contractors who violated federal overtime laws. A federal Judge ruled on October 16, 2001 that tens of thousands of foreign “guest workers” from China and the Philippines who have suffered sweatshop abuses, including those who now work in the 22 Saipan garment factories, should be entitled to the minimum hourly wage of \$3.05 an hour plus time and a half overtime as well as penalties required under the Fair Labour Standards Act. The workers may be owed up to \$9 for every hour of uncompensated overtime. The defendant companies could be facing a multimillion-dollar liability.

²⁷ United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights. www.fournilab.ch/etexts/www/un/udhr.html

²⁸ Behind the Labels: Garment Workers in U.S. Saipan

²⁹ Gabriella Lazaridis “Trafficking and Prostitution: The Growing Exploitation of Migrant Women in Greece” *The European Journal of Women’s Studies* 2001 SAGE Publications (London, Thousand Oaks and New Delhi) Vol. 8 (1) p72

³⁰ Screening Guide: Behind the Labels (all of the lawsuit information in the paragraph)

These lawsuits are an exceptional case where industry practices on Saipan have violated human rights standards to such an extent that legal action against factories have been able to achieve some successes. However NAFTA and trade liberalization policies still guarantee corporations economic rights which supersede fundamental human rights. Many retailers claim to have a code of conduct which factories must adhere to. Many retailers such as the GAP claim to be 'sweatshop free.' Avoiding U.S labour codes and safety standards in Saipan is easy when the nearest U.S. Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA) office is in Hawaii, and who visit only three times a year to find cleaned up factories with new safety equipment.³¹ The reality is that most codes of conduct are there for a show of good faith, but are not enforced and offer no provisions for any kind of monitoring strategy.

Free Trade was marketed as possessing unlimited possibilities for global trade. It promised to provide much-needed jobs to southern nation states and a cheap source of labour for the north. We have come to accept the fact that free trade has meant the dissolving of Northern manufacturing positions in exchange for unregulated poverty wages in the south as a normal and logical aspect of globalization. However it is important to recognize how the prevalence of the ideology itself depends on the assertion that globalization is the natural next step in economic growth. In her article "What Women Should Know About Economic Fundamentalism," Marjorie Griffin Cohen presents her position that the shift toward new right globalization policies were not inevitable because of the logic of economic forces, but was a carefully planned occurrence.³² Cohen asserts that the ideologies of today have been favoured on behalf of the corporate elite who have lobbied hard to gain support. Organizations such as the World Bank and the International Monetary fund have been extremely influential in shaping the ideology of the global political economic climate. These organizations make huge profits off of international loans, wielding power over nations in debt to conform to the free trade model. When attempting to successfully change exploitative garment industry practices, we must remember that the dominant ideology of trade liberalization has been designed to make us believe there is no alternative, when in fact an infinite number of strategies and alternatives do exist.

Many theorists such as Cohen have identified how Globalization and trade liberalization strategies undermine a democratic process, however it is important to recognize the effect a collective resistance to these processes can have. If we are to accept globalization is economic reality that is here to stay at least for now, than attempts to enact change must work within its parameters. Cohen asserts that the Nations and people are not paralyzed from acting in response to the increased powers of the corporate sector, and that it is important that action is focused and deliberate and have a vision for the future.³³ Enforcing independent monitoring strategies has the potential to change the way in which the industry conducts business without taking on the ever-powerful forces of free trade.

³¹ Behind the Labels: Garment Workers in U.S. Saipan

³² Cohen "What Women Should Know About Economic Fundamentalism" p6

³³ Cohen "What Women Should Know About Economic Fundamentalism"

Collective resistance to garment industry exploitation has been recognized as the most effective strategy to combat garment factory abuses, and is gaining momentum on many levels. Activists both north and South of the border have expressed the need for enforcing human rights standards and providing a living wage. Garment industry workers continue to attempt to unionize worldwide and are making gains in the industry. Organizations such as the Central American Network of Women in Solidarity with Maquila Workers are working with both garment industry workers as well as making connections with northern activist groups. Boycotting individual companies has been recognized as an ineffective strategy, as it encourages the closure and movement of factories, and does not address the nature of today's globalized garment industry. Demanding a living wage for garment industry workers is not an unreasonable request. A Living wage in China has been estimated at only .87 an hour, an increase which would not affect western consumers.³⁴ A living wage increase in China has the potential to eliminate the need for women to go to Saipan in hopes for a better means of subsistence. Demanding a living wage for garment workers across the board will aid the migration of production to wherever boasts the cheapest wages which we have seen in North America, and we are now beginning to see in the Mexican Maquilas. The power that consumers demands have on corporate practices has been recognized. Many Retailers have been forced to adopt monitoring programs as a result of public outcry. Adopting monitoring programs and signing purchasing agreements holds factories accountable to human rights violations. About two-hundred Universities in North America have adopted purchasing policies, whose provisions for monitoring have begun to have an effect on those factory practices. Workers in some of these factories and factories which have successfully unionized, are now able to make complaints without fear of being fired.³⁵

The processes of globalization and free trade initiatives have enabled the exploitation as well as the indentured servitude of garment industry workers worldwide. The Indentured sweatshop labour suffered by Asian women in Saipan demonstrates the exploitative nature of recent global restructuring initiatives. As result of globalization, the garment industry as has seen the shift in production to southern nations for sale in the north. Under NAFTA and the FTA, corporations are encouraged to exploit workers with no provisions for minimum wages, no enforced human rights standards and no taxes. The raced and gendered nature of sweatshop work makes women of colour particularly vulnerable to exploitative policies which have been designed to capitalize on economic effects of global restructuring, and are able to exploit the desperate and deteriorating situation of women in impoverished nations. Misconceptions about the insurance of fair working conditions under globalization leave many consumers unaware that very nature of trade liberalization facilitates worker exploitation. The capacity to which Free trade enables worker exploitation has yet to be realized, however with collective strategies of resistance, we can begin to rebuild fundamental human and economic rights for garment industry workers worldwide.

³⁴ Sweatshop Watch "The Garment Industry"

³⁵ Maquila Solidarity Network www.msn.org

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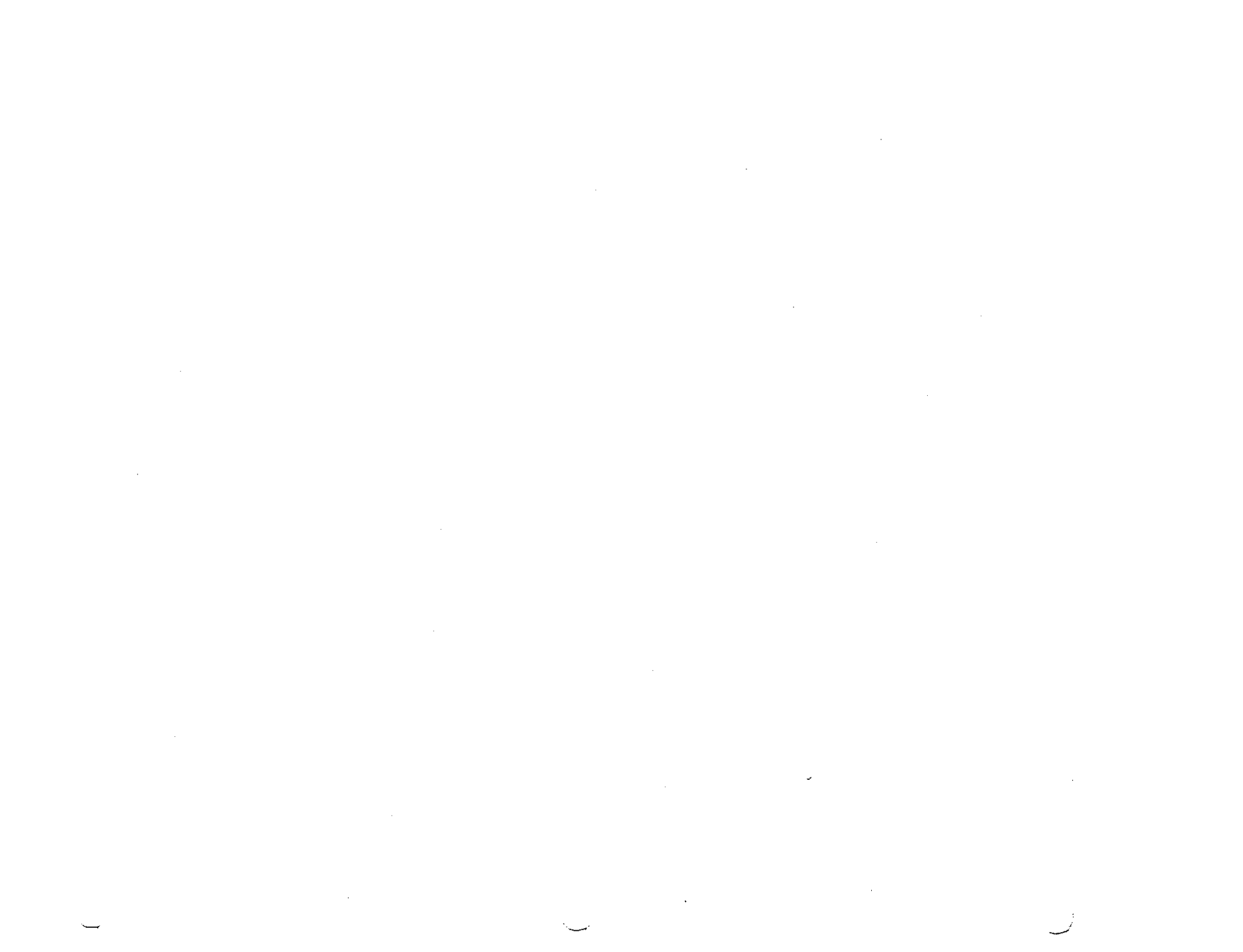
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Race, Poverty & Globalization

Poverty & Race
May/June 2000

By John a. powell and S.P. Udayakumar

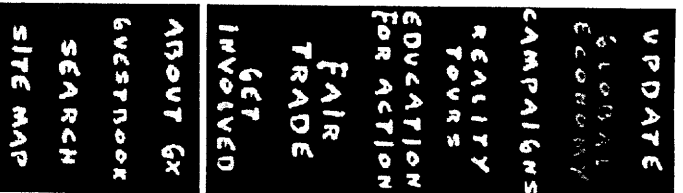
The world economy is in a state of what is commonly viewed as unprecedented growth. But with this growth has come dangerous and destructive economic disparity. On the one hand, we see the "impressive" economy in the Northern Hemisphere, particularly in the United States, where Silicon Valley, a region of 2.3 million people, has produced tens of thousands of millionaires, with 64 new ones every day. There are regular U.S. reports of historically low unemployment rates, labor shortages and booming economy.

On the other hand, many people of color, particularly those in the Southern Hemisphere, do not have enough food to eat, resulting in malnutrition and disease. They face growing inflation while their governments, which used to subsidize some aspects of their marginal living, are urged to stop subsidies for food and adopt a more market-oriented economics. Many workers in these economies are trapped in poor working conditions with low pay. Women are often expected to do back-breaking farm and domestic work, with few rights or benefits. Yet many of the fiscal policies pushed onto developing countries and adopted in northern countries exacerbate the problem of the most marginal while celebrating the wealth of the rich.

In the North as well, people of color often find themselves being left farther and farther behind. Even as states in the U.S. and the nation as a whole report budget surpluses, we seem unable or unwilling to provide adequate housing for the growing number of working-class and homeless families, to repair the physical structure of schools that house low-income students of color, or to provide social services or medical attention for those most in need.

Sweatshops that employ people of color working as virtual slave laborers are tolerated -- even encouraged -- as part of the new world trade. The public space people of color and marginal groups are most dependent on -- whether it is public hospitals, schools, parks, or a social welfare system -- is constantly attacked as inconsistent with the needs of capital and the market. Indeed, we are encouraged to remake public space to mimic private space with a market, anti-democratic orientation where we are consumers, not citizens.

How are these disparate conditions related to globalism, and why are people of color under the most severe threat from this process? Certainly, other people are also under a threat from this globalization process, and some would assert that democracy and capitalism itself may be undone by this process if it is not checked. To answer the above question and to understand why minorities and other marginal populations are most at risk, it is first necessary to better understand what globalism is, particularly the type of globalism that dominates today's markets.



What Is Globalism?

In the most general sense, globalism refers to the process in which goods and services, including capital, move more freely within and among nations. As globalism advances, national boundaries become more and more porous, and to some extent, less and less relevant.

Since many of our early industries, such as steel, were location-sensitive, there was a natural limitation to globalization. To be sure, some things remain location-sensitive, but mobility is the trend. It is assumed that liberalizing laws and structures, so that goods and services can become more globally focused, will produce more wealth, and indeed this seems to be true. Using this general understanding of globalism and globalization, it would be accurate to say this process has been developing and growing for well over a hundred years.

But there have been many changes in the globalization process in the last two decades that makes it distinct from earlier incarnations. The major thing being traded in today's global market is information and capital itself, rather than commodities or other products. Technological change allows capital to move almost instantaneously. Changes in monetary policies, as well as in what is being traded and the importance of capital, have created a global market distinctively different from previous eras. Earlier products and capital were more rooted to a place. Today, many of the things traded and produced in the global market, such as knowledge and computer technology, are extremely mobile or rootless.

The United States has emerged as the only world superpower. This has allowed the U.S. tremendous influence in setting the terms for global trade. The style of globalism pushed by the United States has favored the free movement and protection of capital, while being at best indifferent and at worst hostile to the more place-dependent labor. It is the dual relationship of mobile capital and fixed, unorganized and unprotected labor that has created the conditions for capital to dominate. This has been greatly enhanced by the U.S. position toward organized labor and capital. While the U.S. has been aggressive in protecting capital both at home and abroad, it has encouraged both the weakening of organized labor and removing protections for workers.

While both Japan and Europe have aggressively pushed for globalism, each has been more willing to protect labor, the environment and certain markets -- at least within their own borders. It is the United States that has consistently been the most radical on liberalizing capital and protecting it as it moves across boundaries, and the most hostile to protecting labor and fragile markets. Protecting labor expresses itself not only in strong unions and workers' benefits but also in a strong social welfare system. The United States has purposefully moved toward weaker labor unions, as well as an anemic social welfare system. It has used the globalism it advocates as justification for keeping workers' jobs insecure, pay and benefits relatively low. Workers are told that pushing hard for benefits will cause capital to leave to another location in the country or the world where workers are willing to work for less with fewer benefits.

The United States and the international organizations over which it has substantial influence, such as the International Monetary Fund, have demanded protection of capital and encouraged or tolerated the suppression of labor and the environment in the weaker southern countries. Capital is actively being directed to markets with low wages, where workers are sometimes abused and labor organizations suppressed. The wealth this

globalism is creating is being forcefully subsidized by vulnerable workers and the environment, especially in the Southern Hemisphere. This logic is then used to weaken the position of labor in the North, as we are required to compete with unorganized, suppressed labor in the South.

While sweatshops and slave labor may attract capital investments, what about the futures of black welfare mothers in Detroit or the Aborigines in Australia, who need government assistance to take advantage of, say, the educational system? How or why does U.S.-style globalism affect their needs? U.S.-style globalism not only attempts to suppress labor, but also seeks to suppress social welfare systems and support for public expenditures that do not directly benefit the expansion of capital. The social welfare system and other public services, such as schools, social services in the North and food subsidies in the South, are supported through taxes, and taxes reduce short-term benefits to capital.

In the North, it is women and minorities who are most dependent on the public sector. These racial and gender correlations make it all the easier to attack the legitimacy of taxation for this purpose. Taxes are seen as undesirable because they reduce profits and interfere with the market. But the public space, including the welfare system, can only be supported by the public in the form of taxes. Whether we are talking about education or other public services, we are encouraged to believe that they should be as limited as possible and made to mimic the market. Those who cannot thrive in the market environment without help, especially if they are people of color, are seen as free-loaders and illegitimate. In many ways, much of the public space in the United States becomes associated with people of color.

Goodbye, Democratic Vision?

Public purposes and civic goods -- to the extent they are even recognized -- are no longer to be achieved through public institutions but are to be privatized. The democratic vision associated with public functions is to be abandoned or seriously curtailed in favor of the ideal of efficiency. There is an abiding belief that democracy must be limited because it interferes with the private decisions of market experts, thereby reducing wealth and capital. And anything that is perceived as interfering with the growth of capitalism -- be it the social welfare system, labor unions, civil rights or government programs -- is being curtailed, while government policies and structures that protect capital, including the military, are enhanced.

Although proponents of this style of globalism purport to support democracy, it is only in a role subservient to capital. In the United States, we are softly encouraged to vote, while being constantly reminded that in these global matters that shape our everyday life, we have no say. We are told that no city, state or nation can or should try to influence this powerful but uncontrollable process. We are reminded that one can regulate capital, and any attempt to do so will hurt the economy.

The deregulation of capital is made to appear both good and natural. Our attention is drawn away from the fact that there are powerful organizations supported by the U.S. government's leadership that protect and facilitate the flow of capital. These institutions include the World Bank, International Development Association, International Finance Corporation, International Monetary Fund, World Trade Organization, etc.

Unfortunately, there are no organizations of equal stature to protect the interests of workers, racial minorities, the environment, or women and

children. There are, of course, several treaties and international instruments dealing with some of these issues, such as the Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species, Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women, Declaration on the Rights of Persons Belonging to National or Ethnic, Religious or Linguistic Minorities, and so forth.

However, they are nearly impotent, compared with the institutions with far-reaching and substantial goals of protecting capital. When citizens try to raise such issues, it is simply asserted that making working conditions or the environment part of trade agreements would unduly interfere with free trade. American-style globalism has not just transformed the flow of capital, it has transformed the role of government and the meaning of citizenship.

People are now brought together as consumers but kept apart as citizens. The transformed role of government is not to protect citizens or the precious safety net of public space but to protect and facilitate the flow of capital. So today we speak of free markets but not of free labor. We speak of an expanding global market, but a diminishing public space, and we hardly speak at all of citizen participation and justice. This is an authoritarian vision where armies police people and nations, so capital might be free.

It is very doubtful that capital, despite advances in technology, would be nearly as mobile as it is without the nationally brokered agreements that have the force of law and the coercive power of the state behind them. But while capital relies on the government to do its bidding, we enjoy freedom as individuals without the power that only comes from the collective action of informed citizens. While it might be true that cities and states, and certainly private individuals, can do little to influence globalism, it is clearly false that nations, especially the United States, are powerless in the face of globalism.

Undermining Social Movements

During the last part of the 20th century, the Civil Rights Movement, the women's movement and the environmental movement advanced their claims for inclusion and justice. An attack on the public role of the state is a powerful strategy to limit the aspirations of these groups. They are made impotent in a forum where wealth, not votes, dictates policies. These groups are marginalized in an economic arena that transforms the market, with decisions made behind closed doors, and not in public and civic spaces.

Destruction of the public space also results in a decline of the public voice. In the United States, this decline in the role and scope of democracy in the relationship to the market occurred just when the Civil Rights Movement began to make significant gains in securing for blacks and other minorities real access to the political process.

This article, then, is not an attack on globalism per se but on the excess and undemocratic nature of the U.S.-style globalism popular now, which is particularly hostile to people of color and other marginal groups. This style of globalism disempowers average Americans in every way, except as consumers. Globalization has been happening for over a century and will continue. It must be re-envisioned to appropriately protect capital, but also to protect labor, the environment and people of color. These concerns must be seen as interrelated, not as separate. Furthermore, we must create the necessary international structures with transparency and accountability in order to make this vision a reality and to develop suitable remedies for the plight of marginalized peoples. These steps should not be seen as hostile to business, but as an appropriate cost of doing business in a justice-oriented

and sustainable global economy.

Despite the rhetoric about the unmitigated good that can come from U.S.-style globalism, there is an increasing call to look more closely at the process as it relates to people and the environment throughout the world. Some assert that U.S.-style globalism threatens democracy. Others argue that this style of globalism threatens capitalism itself. We think that both claims may be right.

We believe it is critical to look more closely at what globalism means for people in general and people of color in particular. Given its more recent history of developing a social compact that includes all people, the United States should not be championing a style of globalism that is blind to the needs of some sectors. If this process continues, we are likely to permanently re-inscribe a subordinated, life-threatening status for people of color all over the globe and rationalize it with an invisible hand. We can change this by working to make the invisible visible.

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**Social Justice in the International Economy:
Trade Union and NGO Perspectives**

Lance Compa
Human Rights Watch and Cornell University

Working Paper □ Trade Union/NGO Session

"Ethics, Actors, and Global Economic Architecture" Workshop
Carnegie Council on Ethics and International Affairs
Pocantico Conference Center, New York
June 3-5, 1999

Introduction

Although trade unions and non-governmental organizations share a common desire to halt abusive behavior by corporations and governments, there is no unified labor/NGO strategy for promoting social justice in the global economy. Unions and NGOs have differing institutional interests, differing analyses of problems and potential solutions, and differing ways of thinking and talking about social justice. Not only that, there are diverging lines of strategy and action inside the labor movement and inside the NGO community.

Unions tend to be centralized national institutions, both in national federations (AFL-CIO, CLC, CTM) and in major affiliates (auto workers in the United States and Canada; oil workers in Mexico).¹ While not monolithic, trade unions' policy positions and advocacy programs are recognized by governments, corporations, and other social actors as legitimate expressions of "labor's" interest. Union members are identifiable both as represented employees and as dues-payers to the union. They elect local, regional, and national leaders. Leaders of predominant national federations like Bob White of the CLC, John Sweeney of the AFL-CIO, and Leonardo Rodriguez Alcaine of the CTM are also elected pursuant to constitutional processes. When they intervene in policy discourse, they have a ready answer to the query "Whom do you represent?"²

A disciplined labor voice extends regionally and globally, too. The Interhemispheric Regional Workers Organization (ORIT) includes the CLC, the AFL-CIO and the CTM as well as other smaller federations like Quebec's *Confederation des Syndicats Nationaux* and Mexico's *Union Nacional de Trabajadores*. In turn, the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) groups regional affiliates like ORIT from around the world.

The situation for NGOs is far more complex. No single national or international organization or federation of organizations speaks for the human rights community, the environmental community, farmers, women, racial minorities or indigenous peoples. Rather there are hundreds, even thousands of such organizations in Canada, the United States and Mexico addressing these

¹There are important deviations from the centralized national model. In all three countries of North America a single economic sector or large company can be divided among several unions competing with varying degrees of cooperation or hostility. A dozen different unions represent General Electric workers in the United States, for example. The Mexican auto industry is divided among several unions with little national coordination. Regional distinctions can also be important. Many provincial and state federations are the locus of trade union action in Mexico and Canada, particularly in the maquiladora zones of Mexico and in Quebec. Mexico also has competing national federations both within the corporatist labor system and in the 1997 creation of the UNT federation outside the PRI-dominated "House of Labor" that includes official federations.

²This is not meant to overlook unions' responsibility to maintain a vigorous internal democracy so that policy positions and advocacy represent members' real interests and desires. Nor is it meant to suggest that all unions perform well in this regard. Continuing reports of corruption and undemocratic practices in some unions are distressing, even allowing for the fact that unions are organizations with all the frailties of human nature and that labor's record is probably better than most institutions when one considers the many thousands of local, regional, and national organizations that are run cleanly.

and other issues. Some are based in capital cities and act at national and international policy levels, Others organize themselves and focus their work at regional, state, provincial, and local grass-roots levels.

Some NGOs are membership organizations funded by contributions from individuals. Payments are often sporadic and crisis-driven rather than predictable, in contrast to stable union dues. Others depend on government grants, wealthy individuals, foundations, corporate donations, or "conscience dues" from liberal lawyers at corporate law firms. These contributions, too, are variable. They tend to contain NGOs within the limits of the risks their funders are willing to take in supporting their programs.

With these and related differences in mind, the discussion of the 4 questions posed by the workshop organizers generally follows two tracks, one on trade unions and one on NGOs. They occasionally merge, but they still have to be discussed separately. There is no single labor/NGO view on social justice in the global economy.

I. What Are the Problems of Social Justice in the Globalization Context?

Labor Views

Trade unions and NGOs agree that the most powerful actors of the global economic architecture -- multinational corporations and banks, regional and multilateral trade organizations, international financial institutions, national governments -- fail to account for harmful effects of their policies and decisions on human rights, labor rights, environmental protection, sustainable development and other social outcomes. A consensus trade union view sees the main problem as one of corporate power unchecked by effective regulation by the nation-state or by international institutions. Not only is corporate power unchecked, it is enhanced by national governments and international bodies like the UN, the WTO, the IMF and World Bank, and others that give short shrift to workers' concerns.

Most of these state actors accept the neoliberal ideology promoted by powerful private actors. Free trade is always good, protectionism is always bad. The market is the best allocator of resources. Trade unions interfere with a smooth-functioning market. Unions create a privileged worker aristocracy that shuts off opportunities to unorganized workers. Enterprise-based bargaining that puts workers in competition with one another is always better than industry-based bargaining that takes wages out of competition. Labor standards and environmental rules are excuses for protectionism. In other words, efficiency and growth are higher values than solidarity and fairness.

Unions stand for solidarity and fairness. But alongside their idealism is an institutional interest in having dues-paying members in the face of declining union membership and recruitment problems in expanding sectors of the economy. In the United States, union membership in private sector firms has dropped to 10 percent of the workforce from a high of 40 percent in the mid-1950s.

Overall, union membership stands at 16 percent compared with 35 percent in the mid-1950s. The difference is reflected in the growth of public sector unionism since the 1960s.

Canadian experience is similar, but without the extremes noted in the United States. Private sector unionization has fallen from 40 percent to about 20 percent in the same period, while overall levels of unionization have declined only slightly from the mid-30 percent range to slightly below 30 percent, again thanks to high rates of public sector unionization.

Traditionally high rates of real unionization in Mexico's formal sector economy (leaving aside the problem of "protection contracts")³ have also fallen as formerly protected enterprises are wiped out by imports from the United States, more workers leave the formal sector for the unorganized informal sector, and as companies in the rapidly growing maquiladora areas (now up to more than 2,000 factories and more than 1 million workers) resist unionization or sign protection contracts.

Trade union analysts and many industrial relations experts attribute the dramatic decline in private sector union density in the United States, and the smaller but still measurable decline in Canada, first to the changing structure of employment. A rise in the number of self-employed individuals, independent contractors, and employees classified as managers or supervisors reduces the pool of "unionizable" workers since all these are excluded from coverage of labor laws protecting the right to organize (agricultural workers and domestic household employees are also excluded). An equally significant increase in part-time, temporary, and casual employment is also important. While such workers are technically permitted to organize, their attachment to an employer is usually so tenuous that organizing is extremely difficult.

The United States has a relatively deregulated labor market that makes rapid shifts in employment structures and relationships -- including dismissals and layoffs under the prevailing "employment at will" doctrine -- easier for employers. In contrast to the "U.S. model," Canada is closer to a "European Model" of strong social protections and mandatory, seniority-based severance pay for dismissed workers. Mexico's labor code maintains a full-fledged "tutelary" system (where the state acts as the worker's protector) still typical of many developing countries, with a guaranteed weekly salary regardless of hours worked, mandatory social benefits, a "just cause" standard for any dismissals, and generous severance pay requirements. Both Canadians and Mexicans (and many Europeans, too) are concerned about the inroads of the "U.S. model" in their own employment structures.

More directly related to the global economy, unions in developed countries confront twin problems of more imports from low-cost foreign competitors in labor intensive industries that are traditionally unionized like apparel, electronics, and auto parts, along with a "runaway shop"

³"Protection contracts," called "sweetheart" contracts in the United States, involve an agreement between an employer and a sham union or corrupt union official that will give the employer a favorable labor agreement without real bargaining or involvement by rank and file workers. The practice is prevalent in some Mexican regions and sectors, often with encouragement from local political officials.

phenomenon that leads to widely publicized plant closings and relocation to other countries.

These shutdowns and relocations often affect women and minority workers more than any other groups. Even where plants are not closed, the threat of closing is an effective employer device to drive down wages in bargaining with unionized employees or to discourage unorganized workers from forming a union.

U.S. analysts add a factor to explain the even greater decline of private sector union density in the United States than in Canada: ruthless anti-union ideology and practice among much of American company management. U.S. law has few legal constraints on aggressive anti-union campaigning by employers when workers seek to organize. Where the law applies, it has only weak remedies for violations of union organizing laws. Management's determination to maintain a union-free environment has largely prevailed in many companies and industries. Canadian and Mexican unionists are concerned about the spread of such anti-union attitudes among employers in their countries, where until now a more favorable legal and institutional regime for union organization has prevailed.

Seeing the main problem as one of maintaining their own membership is *not* a reflection of unions' class self-interest toward problems of social justice in the global economy. Union membership growth is essential for bargaining power with employers and political power with governments. Without strong, independent, democratic workers' organizations to countervail management power, an unregulated global market moves inexorably toward income inequality, worker exploitation and abuse, and other features of a global race to the bottom. At the same time, accelerating corporate control over all aspects of economic, social and cultural life results in a "race to the top" of wealth and power toward a small international elite of executives, bankers, government officials and a related professional class, leaving masses of working people in misery. Bigger, stronger unions are the best hope for more social justice in the global economy.

NGO Views

NGO analyses of the main problems of social justice in the global economy are more varied than trade union views. In contrast to unions' unified mission of advancing wages, benefits, and working conditions -- including job security -- of the workers they represent, NGOs carry out a variety of missions. Human rights groups emphasize civil and political rights, most often involving torture, arbitrary detention, suppression of speech and assembly and other "first generation" human rights. Development NGOs concentrate on debt relief, structural adjustment, and revamped North-to-South international aid. Migrant workers' support groups deal with special problems of workers who cross national borders to find employment. Women's rights advocates contest the lack of gender analysis in trade and trade's negative effects on women workers. There are NGOs devoted to work against child labor, sweatshops, workplace hazards, discrimination against ethnic or national groups, and other discrete problems and populations related to the global economy.

Trade unions' analyses and interests run to questions of power. Workers have too little, employers

too much, and national and international institutions that are supposed to promote at least a balance of power have surrendered this role to an employer-favoring market. In contrast, NGOs' analyses and interests run in a more targeted fashion to questions of morality. Torture is wrong. An oppressing debt burden is wrong. INS raids are wrong. Child labor is wrong. Pregnancy testing in export processing zone factories is wrong. While many NGOs may be sympathetic to unions, they would not necessarily say that a bigger, stronger trade union movement is the key to righting these wrongs. Most NGOs would rather emphasize the need for changed government policies on their issues.

Labor-NGO Tensions

At their best, trade unions incorporate NGO concerns into their own membership education, collective bargaining programs, political action and policy advocacy. Likewise, NGOs are becoming increasingly sensitized to labor concerns. But there is still inherent tension. Some trade unionists believe in a "separate-but-cordial" relationship with NGOs so as not to dilute labor's goals with those of other groups. Others are more open to coalitions, but think unions should have a "first-among-equals" role because they are the most universal, representative, membership-based organizations, while NGOs are all over the lot in terms of membership accountability.

NGOs question leadership claims by the labor movement. They prefer a more horizontal "one-among equals" arrangement for coalition work. Many NGOs see themselves as the focus of a new emphasis on "civil society" in international discourse that should give them equal status with trade union movements. Some even question labor's claim to broad representativity, since most trade union movements have only a minority of workers among their ranks.

This difference arises in the FTAA context, to take one example. Trade union advocates view organized labor as the natural counterweight to corporate interests. Thus, the ORIT seeks status in a "Labor Forum" in FTAA negotiations parallel to the "Business Forum" already established, with privileged access to negotiations. In contrast, NGOs propose an "all-civil society" forum where labor and NGOs would combine, with no special prominence for unions.

Elements of class antipathies can also come into play. Many NGOs are composed mainly of middle and upper class intellectuals and professionals with a lingering perception of labor unions as a special interest group devoted to protecting their own members' jobs and wages at the expense of the larger society. In turn, unionists, including labor's own intellectuals, are often suspicious of "do-gooders" in non-labor groups, however allied, who presume to tell the labor movement what it ought to do without ever having passed through the crucible of an organizing campaign, hard-nosed collective bargaining, or a strike to understand what workers are up against.

The same tensions arise within each community. Union leaders who came up "from the shop floor" are suspicious of university-trained labor advocates, and employ the "you don't know what it's really like" trump card in internal policy debates. NGO activists in grass-roots based

organizations or with grass roots experience take a moral advantage over NGO analysts and advocates who think great thoughts but again "don't know what it's really like" out there.

Another inherent tension has to be recognized in the North American context: a deep-seated anti-Americanism within the labor movements and within the NGO communities of Canada and Mexico. Mexican and Canadian labor and NGO activists often meet separate from their U.S. counterparts to escape the larger size, greater resources, and self-referentialism of their American counterparts. For example, U.S. unions' and NGOs' declarations about plant closings and job losses under NAFTA, or about unsafe trucks and food from Mexico, as if companies never closed and moved from Northern to Southern U.S. states, or unsafe trucks and contaminated foods are not a U.S. problem, can be perceived in Mexico as exaggerated arguments for keeping all the good jobs at home while Mexicans are supposed to remain happy corn farmers and tortilla consumers. Many Americans just "don't get" English Canadians' concern about cultural preservation (Quebec's concern is easier to understand). Unfortunately, though, trade union and NGO activists in Mexico and Canada can take a healthy skepticism of U.S. motives to extremes that inhibit sustained cross-border collaboration.

II. What Are the Goals Regarding Social Justice/Social Responsibility?

At the most basic level trade unions and NGOs share a simple goal like that expressed by Samuel Gompers in the early days of the AFL-CIO when asked what does labor want. "More," he replied. Many people who hear the quote think he meant more money for union members, but he went on to say more schools, more hospitals, fewer jails -- in short, more social justice. Unions and NGOs believe that more social justice and more social responsibility are now needed in global economic affairs. But when it comes to specifics their strategies, tactics, and priorities can differ.

Labor Views

Labor and NGO goals reflect their differing analyses of the problems. At the national level unions want labor law reforms that will promote union organizing and bargaining effectiveness. Thus, for example, Canadian unions want to reverse anti-union measures enacted by the conservative Harris government in Ontario that ended the "card check" method of union certification and enhanced employers' ability to replace striking workers to maintain operations during a strike. U.S. unions want speedier union representation elections, equal access for union organizers in workplace "captive audience" meetings where employers now launch unchallenged harangues against unions, and reform of the legal doctrine permitting permanent replacement of strikers.

Mexican unionists have divided views about labor law reform. Corporatist unions are satisfied with the status quo, which privileges them. Some independent unions want to maintain labor laws as they now stand, hoping that the toppling of the PRI in 2000 elections will lead to labor law enforcement in their interest. Other dissident unionists call for reforming the labor law to allow for a more pluralistic, democratic structure for organizing and collective bargaining whether or not it contains immediate institutional payoffs for them.

Still at the national level, prevailing trade union economic policy goals still tend toward protectionism. This is not a dirty word in the labor lexicon like it is among most economists, business people, and government officials, and among many NGOs. Unions reject the notion that globalization and free trade are inherently positive. Managing trade to protect domestic employment and mitigate harm from imports is seen by most trade unionists as a responsibility of any national government in its economic and trade policy.

This is not to say that all developed country unions are conventionally protectionist. Expanded trade hurts some workers in labor intensive sectors sensitive to imports, and helps others in capital intensive sectors that depend on global markets for sustained growth. Union leaders understand that they cannot indefinitely keep the least skilled sewing jobs in the United States, and that they cannot forever hold the jobs of members making \$25-30 per hour painting luminescent numbers on speedometer dials. As economies develop, American human resources can be put to better uses, while helping poor countries move up the ladder of value-added production by keeping U.S. markets open.

The challenge is engineer these transitions gradually to minimize short-term harm to workers and to protect trade unions' institutional role and integrity. Adjustment programs should provide generous benefits like early retirement with continued medical insurance for workers nearing retirement age, and substantial severance pay, unemployment insurance, and other income maintenance along with training and education for younger displaced workers. To the extent possible, economic conversion to new product or service lines should keep workers employed by the same company with continued union representation as they move to more productive, higher value-added tasks. These are areas where U.S. programs fall far short of what is needed, leaving little scope for labor's embrace of trade-promoting policies.

At the international level, unions generally maintain a goal of strong, enforceable social justice requirements in trade and investment agreements and in the disciplines of international organizations that oversee such agreements. Specifically, unions want a "social clause" by which workers' rights are enforced by trade disciplines applying economic sanctions against firms and countries that seek a comparative advantage in trade by violating workers' rights.⁴ The same enforcement principles should apply in programs of the international financial institutions.

Some unionists would apply sanctions for violations of "core" labor standards covering

⁴Pharis Harvey, Terry Collingsworth, and Bama Athreya of the International Labor Rights Fund have developed a highly detailed proposal for a social clause in trade agreements as part of the Ford Foundation-supported Workers in the Global Economy project with the Institute for Policy Studies, the Economic Policy Institute, and the Cornell University School of Industrial and Labor Relations. Their paper is titled *Developing Effective Mechanisms for Implementing Labor Rights in the Global Economy* and can be found, with related papers from IPS and EPI, at the web site of the ILRF: www.laborrights.org. Summaries of these papers are attached here as Appendix A.

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS COMMITTEE

Ken and Kennis Kim are International Ministries overseas staff on assignment to Guatemala. Ken currently works for COVERCO – the Commission for the Verification of Codes of Conduct.

In recent years, North American and European activism around the production of shoes, clothing and other goods has led major retailers such as Nike, Levi-Strauss and others to create "Codes of Conduct" for the manufacturers from whom they contract their production. But are these Codes effective? Do workers know they exist? Do the contractors know they exist? Are they implemented? Who assures that they are?

Many companies do have internal monitoring systems. But critics hold that an internal system is inadequate. An independent monitor is required—one who has no obligation to the contractor or the retailer. COVERCO is such an independent monitor. With the permission of the retailer, COVERCO staff are allowed into the factory to monitor working conditions, including health and safety precautions, hours of work and rates of pay. Their reports go to both management and workers.

Ken Kim presented this overview of his work with COVERCO at the Calgary Roundtable, "The Church as Global Citizen."

POLICING GLOBALIZATION – INDEPENDENT MONITORING OF LABOUR CONDITIONS BY CIVIL SOCIETY (including CHURCHES)

The 20th century that just ended and the 21st century that we are in has seen the most amazing technological advances, growth in knowledge, theory and application. After the world wars the accumulation of wealth through industrial production has grown together with technological advances to evolve into something called "neoliberalism". The key point is the reliance on a "free market" system where controls or regulations on investments are eliminated. The political, economic and cultural hegemony of this new economic model has resulted in the greatest concentration of capital in history. The problem is that this great increase in "wealth" has not come about without paying a price. This "wealth" I talk about has some very real negative effects and costs involved, some of which not all of us who benefit from it, acknowledge.

'Global forces', embodied in transnational corporations (TNCs) or multinational companies, have been the key protagonists in the "globalization of capital in production." Driven by the multinationals, the internationalization of capital in the form of direct foreign investment reshaped the world economy. With the removal of barriers to investing and "doing business" production was re-deployed to all corners of the globe as companies scoured the globe to lower unit costs. This is primarily accomplished by improving access to low cost raw products and access to cheap pools of labour. The move to expand by companies is the strategy many corporations found in industrialized countries to counter declining or stagnant profit rates.

Speculative investments and finance capital can flow in and out of nation states within seconds, thanks to the advances in technology, especially computer and communication technology. Trading and financial operations unfolding in financial centres of NY, London and Tokyo (and yes, even Montreal, Toronto and Vancouver), with computer banks linking currency, stock and financial markets have far reaching impacts beyond those who want to play this game. That is, the market price or the futures of "coffee" or banana can have a direct impact on the quality of life of poor peasants in Guatemala who know little of these things. To give you an example, coffee prices are at a world low at the moment because of a flood of large amounts of cheap, low-grade beans produced in countries like Vietnam. This has meant that it is not worth it for the Guatemalan coffee plantation owner to even harvest his beans. Workers who traditionally rely on the coffee harvest as the major source of cash income for his/her family now have to look elsewhere to earn income. At the moment, in Guatemala, they are going over the border into Mexico, where they say that they earn less, but at least are earning something as the alternative by staying in Guatemala is nothing.

Globalization is a process unfolding in spaces removed from how most citizens in the world experience the "real economy of everyday life." Yet, these 'invisible,' 'intangible' and little understood financial operations affect working people everywhere. I am not here to describe in full how this has all developed, but it is important to state what is currently in existence in order for me to share the main thrust of my presentation today. It is the fact that companies in Canada and the United States, as well as major European countries now "outsource" their production to countries in the south. Not only do these countries have raw products essential for production, but with the advances in communication and transportation primary inputs can be shipped or transported from other countries to these "assembly" plants where the most essential component they offer is readily available cheap labour supply.

When such investments come to a country like Mexico, as a result of NAFTA or Free Trade, the export totals, the value of goods leaving the country increases dramatically. Yet, if we look at the issue in another way, a different picture emerges. For example, five years ago, 91 cents of every peso of exports were produced in Mexico. Only 37 cents of every peso of exported goods are produced by local workers today. This means that even if total export figures are rising, the value added by Mexican workers has sharply declined. Mexican workers assemble goods with parts made from other places. In other countries where "free trade" or "export processing" zones have

HALA ZARANGA
~~workshop copy~~ - Minus posters + sample policies + photos
un-edited

Second ~~proof~~ ^{complete} Binder goes to OPRG
- but not this copy

Forced labour in Burma

Background

The people of Burma are suffering from a brutal and repressive military regime. Following independence from Britain in 1948, Burma has been run by an army-controlled dictatorship that continues to commit brutal acts of genocide and displacement of its ethnically diverse peoples.¹ In 1988, students responded to the State Law and Order Restoration Council (SLORC) taking control by way of peaceful protest. The SLORC in turn responded by mass execution of over 3000 demonstrators and supporters in one day.² In 1990 when the National League for Democracy (NLD) won an election by a landslide, they were prevented from taking power by the SLORC, who forcefully regained control. With its abundant resources for sale and its cheap production costs, Burma attracts huge foreign investment, profits of which go toward the repressive military powers which own or co-own most of the factories.

Current Situation

The Junta military regime, who now call the country Myanmar, control the economy by rounding up its citizens and using their forced labour to further their economic interests. Burma finds the lowest garment factory wages worldwide - an average of 4 cents U.S. an hour,³ if workers are paid for their work at all. Canada continues to be one of the top dozen investors in Burma. The official figures for 2000 show imports from Burma have trebled since 1997 to 60.7 million, with garments accounting for 47.5 million of that trade.⁴ About one sixth of the earnings from the export of clothing from Burma goes directly to the purchase of armaments for the governments military campaigns against ethnic minorities, and the enforcement of martial law throughout the country.⁵

The issue

The Burma situation is unique from other anti-sweatshop and labour campaigns in that it calls for a complete and total ban on all clothing and products manufactured in Myanmar, since any foreign investment directly contributes to and encourages the human rights violations and forced labour. The people of Burma themselves have stated that every dollar invested in Burma contributes to the torture. Aung San Suu Kyi, leader of the NLD urges foreign investment to pull out of Burma and asks consumers to boycott all goods produced in Myanmar until the situation has improved.

¹ Canadian Friends of Burma
² The Burma Project www.soros.org/burma/
³ "Wal-Mart Celebrates Sweatshop Retailer of the Year Award" members.shaw.ca/cdlc/printdocs/breaksweat.pdf
⁴ Clyde Sanger "Looted Land: Proud People" p 44
⁵ Dave Todd "Dirty Clothes; Dirty System" p8

Why take action?

Anti-sweatshop activism at the university level is usually focused on passing selective purchasing agreements, designed to ensure adequate human rights standards and freedom association for the workers who produce clothing for these college institutions. SAS was able to pass the Fair Trade Purchasing Policy for Apparel at Trent University in December of 2002. The policy is not intended to boycott, but to encourage better practices in the global garment industry. Of the 200 some odd universities in North America with such policies, none would have any effect on the situation in Burma.

Campaigns in Canada

Free Burma campaigns publicize how Canada and other foreign investors play a significant role in perpetuating the genocide and forced labour in Burma. Canadian corporations will maintain that they do not support the torture and forced labour endured by most garment industry workers, and that "business is business and politics is politics." However Canada continues to financially support human rights violations by continuing to invest in oil, timber and clothing operations owned by the SLORC. Canada's "limited" or "voluntary" sanctions, only "discourages" new investment in Burma and allows imports to continue without restrictions. The *Retail Council of Canada* as well as the *Ethical Trading Action Group* (ETAG) have asked for clarification on Canada's position on imports from Burma, and are demanding a stronger Federal position with the *Canadian Friends of Burma*.

Global Successes

Campaigns against Human rights abuses in Burma have been ongoing for over twenty years. The power of consumer activism, student movements and boycotts have proven to be effective tools to begin to enact change. Many international companies such as London Fog, Eddie Bauer, Levi Strauss, and Hanes have pulled out of Burma or have agreed not to do business there, however investment from Asian companies is still increasing.⁶ Many American and European Municipalities have also banned imports from Burma. Strong student and activist movements within the country are still demanding a complete and total withdrawal of investment. Carleton University is currently running a campaign for a campus-wide ban on all clothing from Burma.

⁶ Dirty Clothes, Dirty System.

Event ideas: Shop for Burma!

Organizations such as the Free Burma Coalition and the Canadian Friends of Burma are continually looking for the locations of stores which carry clothing made in Myanmar. Because access to which companies are selling Burmese products is very difficult to obtain in Canada, people are needed to scout out the fine print on a store by store basis. Individuals and groups can report back the CA tag number and names of stores where "Made in Myanmar" labels are found to the CFOB. Organize a shop for Burma excursion. Zellers, Reitmans, Jacob and Saan stores have been reported to source clothing from Burma. Set a date and meeting time at a mall or a specific store. Students can sweep the store looking for clothing with "Made in Myanmar" labels.

This event could easily coincide with a campus-wide campaign to boycott clothing made in Burma. A simple pamphlet can be distributed to shoppers at stores where clothing from Burma is found, as well as on campus. A sample pamphlet is included.

If you would like to stage a movie night as well, the Hollywood film "Beyond Rangoon" adequately portrays the oppressive military regime in Burma.

Contact Info:

Shareef from Canadian Friends of Burma is able to send documentary videos.
Shareef@cfob.org

Target Audience:

The campus wide boycott would be directed towards faculty and students, although members of the Peterborough community could also be invited to "shop for Burma." Put up posters around downtown and be sure to have a listing in Arthur for the event.

Promotional Strategy:

In order to attract students to shop for Burma, they need to be at least somewhat aware of the issues. Writing an article for Arthur is a great way to get the information out there about the situation in Burma. Students and community members might then be more inclined to participate in a "shop for Burma" excursion. Make a large banner out of a sheet to promote the campus wide boycott. Paint is available at OPIRG.

Advertise the event with posters in family and community areas. Getting kids to start checking labels is a fun way to get them checking for life!

Estimated Costs:

\$5-\$10 for Posters and pamphlets. \$8-\$15 for a sheet to use as a banner on campus.

Campaign resources and information:

- *Canadian Friends of Burma* www.cfob.org

CFOB is a national non-governmental organization whose primary objectives are to raise awareness about the political, human rights and socio-economic situation in Burma and how it pertains to Canadians. They encourage Canadians to take action and to get involved, and act as a clearinghouse of information about Burma's pro-democracy movement in Canada. Check the "Boycott" page for info on collecting label numbers and stores and where to send them.

- *Free Burma Coalition* www.FreeBurmaCoalition.org

The Free Burma Coalition (FBC) is an Internet-based organization whose affiliates work to raise awareness about the horrific human rights violations by Burma's illegitimate military dictatorship. The coalition builds grassroots support worldwide for the National League for Democracy (NLD), Burma's democratic uprising led by Aung San Suu Kyi, the 1991 Nobel Peace prize winner.

- A resource folder full of less current Burma information and past campaigns (eg. Boycott Pepsi) can be found in the OPIRG Library. Also consult the *Annotated Bibliography* for additional resources.

A few Academic Sources

- *Dirty Clothes: Dirty System* A report by the Canadian Friends of Burma by Dave Todd. This booklet uncovers hoe Burma's military dictatorship uses profits from the garment industry to bankroll oppression.
- *Images Asia Alternative Perspectives. Other Voices: Assessing gender equality in Burma* December 1999
- Sanger, Clyde - Canadian Friends of Burma Report "Looted Land, Proud People: the case for Canadian Action in Burma" 2002 Ottawa

Canadian Companies Investing in Burma

Ivanhoe Mines Waterfront Centre, 900-200 Burrard Street, Vancouver, BC, V6N 3L6, tel (604) 688-5755, fax (604) 682-6728 or e-mail info@ivanhoemines.com, CEO: Robert Friedland

Ivanhoe Mines (formerly Indochina Goldfields) is in a 50/50 joint venture with the SPDC's Mining Enterprise no.1 operating the largest foreign partnership mining project in Burma. At least eight villages were forcibly relocated in June 2000 to make way for the mines expansion project -- homes and belongings confiscated -- with no compensation to the victims. Much of the infrastructure surrounding the mine was developed using forced labour and a security corridor was established around the mine.

TG World Energy 736 - 6th Avenue SW, Suite 2000, Calgary, AB T2P 3T7, President: Mr. Clifford M. James

In November 2001, TG World Energy entered into three production sharing contracts with the military regime's national oil company, the Myanmar Oil and Gas Enterprises (MOGE).

Aeroground Group Services Anthony Bonino, CEO, Vancouver International Airport Terminal, 3611 Jericho Rd., Richmond, BC V7B 1M3, Tel: (604) 207-0500, Fax: (604) 207-0501, bonino@mail.aeroground.com, <http://www.aeroground.com>

Will undertake direct marketing and sales, coordinate educational trips to Burma for tourism operators and writers, provide ticketing services, and represent Burma at consumer and industry expos (Myanmar Times and Business Review August 14, 2000).

BC Gas John Reid, CEO, 1111 West Georgia St, Vancouver V6E 4M4 Tel.(604) 443-6500, Fax (604) 443-6904

In a long-term contract to source gas from California-based Unocal which is in a business consortium with SPDC and French-owned Total to build controversial Yadana gas pipeline project in Burma.

Canadian Helicopters International Chris Flanagan, President, #1 St. John's Airport, P.O. Box 5188, St. John's, NF A1C 5V5, Tel: (709) 570-0749, cflanagan@stjohns.chc.ca, <http://www.chc.ca>

Signed a \$24 million contract in 1997 for a minimum of 5 years involving two aircraft operating from Rangoon and a third remotely operated. Previously, CHC provided helicopter services for French oil company, Total and its work in the construction of the Yadana pipeline project -- which has benefitted from the SPDC's use of forced labour (Interview w/Chris Flanagan, Mar 2, 2001, Company documents 1997, New Light of Myanmar 1997).

East Asia Gold Corporation President: John B. Hite, 40 King St. West, Suite 2100, Toronto, ON Canada M5H 3C2

In January, 2001, East Asia Gold signed a contract on production in the Wetthe region of Thabeikkyin township (near Mandalay) with the SPDC's

Mining Enterprise No. 2. In the proposed project, East Asia Gold stated it would seek to increase its share in the venture from 50% to 75% , promising the SPDC a 5% royalty on profits and an unspecified signing bonus. (Interviews with company -Feb.23, Mar.1, 2001, Company documents).

First Dynasty Mines CEO: Deb Bandyopadhyay 2800-199 Bay Street, Toronto, Ontario M5L 1A9, Tel: (416) 863-2753 fax: 416-863-2653 email: information@firstdynasty.com, www.firstdynasty.com

Entered into joint venture with the Ministry of Mines to prospect for copper and gold on the Wuthno region, Central Sagaing and south of Mandalay. First Dynasty then suspended its operations in 1999 because of the refusal of the regime to increase the company's share to 84% of the joint venture, but has resumed exploration on for 2000 after receiving investment from Indian Sterlite Industries, a copper and aluminum smelter refiner. Ivanhoe Capital Corp, the holding company controlled by Robert Friedland, controls a 78.6% of its long-term debt ("Myanmar" 2000 Mining Journal, Company documents, Compact Disclosure 2000).

International Bio-Recovery Ben Van Dyk, President, 52 Riverside Dr. N., Vancouver, BC V7H 1T4, Tel: 604 924-1023, Fax 604 924-1043, <http://www.ibrcorp.com>

Signed a license agreement with Singapore's Salcon Bio-Technology and PT Biotama Recovery Indonesia for the sale of IBR technology in Southeast Asia including Burma. The company did not disclose the value of the agreement (Company documents, 2000/01, Corresp. w/company, Feb. 27, 2001).

Leeward Capital Corp President is Jim Davis, 301-1000, 8th Ave. SW, Calgary, AB T2P 3M7, Tel 403-265-4077 president@leewardcapital.com, www.leewardcapital.com

Leeward was into gold mining but is now tapping into Amber, expanding it operations by 125%. Leeward plans to use Amber mined in areas along the Ledo road northwest of Myitkyina as the base for his newest enterprise. (Company documents 1996-2001).

Marshall Macklin Monaghan 80 Commerce Valley Drive East, Thornhill, Ontario, Canada, L3T 7N4, Tel: 905-882-110, Fax: 905-882-0055, email: mmm@mmm.ca

Toronto-based Marshall Macklin Monaghan Ltd. took on the project management and design for the Mandalay airport. Thanks to Canadian planning and paving, the \$225 million Mandalay International Airport boasts the longest runway in Southeast Asia - equipped for the biggest jumbo aircraft. Yet air force fighters are the only jets touching down on its world-class, 4.3-kilometre-long tarmac (Toronto Star, Martin Regg Cohn, Jan. 2001).

Mannix Resources Ltd. (Formerly Ridel Resources) Andrew Chinnick, CEO, 1290, 112-4th Ave. S.W., Calgary, AB T2P 0H3, Tel (403) 705-0330, Fax (604) 685-0513)

As of July 1, 1998 Ridel owns 100% of the shares of Asia Pacific Energy Co (APEC) which entered into a contract with Burma's junta on July 18, 1997. Under this contract, APEC will earn a share of the profits derived from incremental production, exploration and development in 3 onshore oilfields, Htaukshabin, Kanni and Peppi in the Minbu Basin. The company sold off its assets to Mondale for \$5 million after the SPDC demanded a \$1 million payment for a production sharing agreement (New Light of Myanmar, Dec.3, 1998).

Mitsubishi (Subsidiary of Mitsubishi Ltd.) Edward R. McRae, Vice-President, 2800-200 rue Granville, Vancouver, BC V6C 1G6, Tel 604 654 8061, fax 604 654 8223

Supplying the material for the SPDC pipeline project with Total/Unocal. Also helping to construct a power plant and three bridges. Has retail outlet in Rangoon. Boycott Mitsubishi cars, Tvs, VCRs, fax machines, and Nikon Cameras!

Nortel Networks John Roth, CEO, 8200 Dixie Rd., Suite 100, Brampton, ON L6T 5P6, Tel: 905-863-0000, www.nortelnetworks.com

For 10 years Nortel supplied equipment, primarily telephone switching equipment, to the SPDC through its 20%-owned subsidiary, the Israeli Telrad. According to the New Light of Myanmar newspaper (military mouth-piece), Telrad signed a contract with the SPDC agency, Myanmar Posts and Telecommunications, as recently as August 1999. Under the contract, Telrad was to supply telephone exchange equipment, cables and telephones. Nortel equipment was also being sold to the SPDC through Thai-based distributor, Loxley. In March 2000, Nortel sold off its 20% ownership of Telrad to Koor Industries which owned the other 80%. The deal also involved the creation of a new company, Nortel Networks Israel, jointly owned by Nortel and Koor. Nortel confirmed in August 2000 that neither Nortel, Nortel Networks Israel, any other of Nortel' subsidiaries or affiliates would acquire Burma contracts held by Telrad. Nortel also attained assurances by Telrad that it would not enter into any new contracts in Burma. However, CFOB is still concerned about Nortel because of its continuing connection to Telrad, which has on-going contracts with the SPDC. We still have no confirmation from Nortel that Telrad has ceased selling Nortel equipment to Burma's regime. Also, Nortel has still not provided confirmation that it has ceased selling its equipment to the SPDC via Loxley (Company documents 2000, Michael Jantzi Research & Associates 2001, Koor and Telrad documents and corresp.2000).

Northrock Resources Don Hanson, President 3500-700 2nd Street SW Calgary, AB T2P 2W2 Phone: 403-269-3100

Previously a minority owner, UNOCAL acquired the majority of Northrock shares in an agreement reached on June 14, 2000. The company was bought out by UNOCAL who then formed Northrock as a Canadian subsidiary. Unocal maintains a joint venture in the Yadana gas pipeline project with the SPDC's Myanmar Oil and Gas Enterprises (MOGE), Total of France and the PTT, Thailand's public electrical company. The project has been linked to the use of forced labour and the forced relocation of villages (Company documents, 2000, Earthrights International, 2000).

Prime Resources Management President: David R. Stelck, 115 - 10th Ave, N.E., Calgary, AB, T2E 0W8, Phone: 403-276-

5989; Fax: 403-276-5997, Email: primem@home.com

PRM signed a production-sharing contract January 24, 2000 with the dictatorship's Myanmar Oil and Gas Enterprises of the Ministry of Energy to explore and produce oil and natural gas in the country's western Pyay region (New Light of Myanmar, Jan. 2000).

Suzuki Canada 100 East Beaver Creek Rd., Richmond Hill, ON L4B 1J6, tel: 905-889-2600, <http://www/suzuki.ca>

Suzuki is currently involved in an on-going joint venture with the SPDC, announced in Oct. 1998, which will invest \$10 million to build cars and motorcycles in Burma (Company documents, Oct. 1998).

Canadian Importers

Reitmans Mr. Jeremy H. Reitman, CEO, Reitmans (Canada) Limited, 250 Sauve Street W., Montreal, Quebec H3L 1Z2, (514) 385-2630

Docking orders show that between August and October of 2000, Reitmans imported at least 94,238 kilograms of clothing from Burma. The year before, documents disclosed Reitmans imported 106,050 kilograms from July 1998 to July 1999. Reitmans stated on July 4, 2001 that they were no longer doing business with Burma. But activists have since found garments in Reitmans' stores with labels saying "Made in Myanmar". (Port Import Export Reporting Service [PIERS]).

Walmart-Canada Mr. David Ferguson, President and CEO, 800 Warden Avenue, Scarborough, ON L5N 1P9, (905) 821-6399

Although Wal-Mart claimed it stopped importing clothing from Burma in May 2000, it was discovered that Wal-Mart continued to import clothing in June 2000. Also in July 2000, it was discovered that imports had actually increased in the previous six months from four new companies in Burma. One of the companies that Wal-Mart sourced from in Burma is Ever Green Overseas Enterprise Group, owned by infamous Burmese drug lord, Lo Hsing-han. Wal-Mart stated in a letter dated May 23, 2001 that it no longer sources products from Burma and no longer accepts merchandise from our suppliers sourced in Burma. But because of past track record of lying, they must still be monitored. (PIERS).

Saan Mr. Bob Whitney, President, 1370 Sony Place, P.O. Box 9400, Winnipeg, MB R3C 3C3

Between August and October of 2000, Saan Stores imported at least 49,340 kilograms of garments from Burma. In February 1999, sourced 4,100 kilograms (PIERS).

Western Assembly 1275 Kingsway Ave., Port Coquitlam, BC, V3X 4K6

Imported and shipped 31,160 kilograms of clothing into Canada between August 2000 and October 2000 (PIERS).

ABCO International Freight 116 - 5000 Miller Rd., Richmond, BC, V7B 1K6, Tel: (604) 273-7656, Fax: (604) 273-2053

Imported and shipped 18,050 kilograms of clothing into Canada between August 2000 and October 2000 (PIERS).

Air Sea Transport (Canada) 14 - 585 Middlefield Rd., Scarborough, ON M1V 4Y5

Imported and shipped 6,620 kilograms of clothing into Canada between August 2000 and October 2000 (PIERS).

Total Logistics Partner 463 Michel Jasmin Ave., Dorval, QC, H9F 1C2, Tel: (514) 420-0282

Imported and shipped 2,710 kilograms of clothing into Canada between August 2000 and October 2000 (PIERS).

Geologistics 651 Wilton Grove Rd., London, ON N6N 1N7

Imported and shipped 850 kilograms of clothing into Canada between August 2000 and October 2000 (PIERS).

Stopped Doing Business in Burma

Sears Canada

"We have consciously made the decision not to purchase products from Myanmar..." December 17, 1999

The Hudson's Bay Company

"I would advise that in response to the Canadian government's (and our) concern for the Burma humanitarian issue, we advised our buyers and agents not to source any products from this country, and by late 1996 had completely ceased our trading with Burma." December 17, 1997

Mindoro Resources Roger Morton, CEO, Suite 103, 10471 178 St., Edmonton, AB T5S 1R5, Tel: (780) 413-8187, Fax: (780) 426-2716, mindoro@mindoro.com, <http://www.mindoro.com>

Mindoro held a 30% stake joint venture with the SPDC's Ministry of Mines and Leeward Capital for a gold-copper exploration concession in Arakan State. By October 1998, they determined that the targets were "too restricted to be viably mined" and abandoned further plans for the concession (Company documents 1998).

CRSA Logistics President: Doug Stewart, Doug_Stewart@crsalog.com, 5 West Dr., Brampton, ON L6T 4T2, Tel: (604) 941-8228

As of July 1, 2001, it was decided that the CRSA would no longer conduct business in Burma. CRSA had previously imported and shipped 159,960 kilograms of clothing into Canada between August 2000 and October 2000 (PIERS).

Date

Dear President/CEO:

We the members of the Trent University student community are writing to express our deep concern regarding your business dealings in Burma. As you may be aware, the importation of clothing from Burma into Canada has serious ethical implications and is opposed by the Canadian government. We hope that you will join a growing list of companies that are publicly declaring their commitment not to do business with the military dictatorship of Burma and all of its affiliated companies and organizations.

Burma's military dictatorship is an illegal regime which cancelled the results of the country's 1990 elections, thereby retaining its hold on power. Even though Nobel Peace Laureate Aung San Suu Kyi and her party, the National League for Democracy (NLD), won 82% of parliamentary seats, she is still under house arrest and her party is still prevented from taking office. Moreover, NLD members and other opponents of the military regime face ongoing repression from the authorities. Human rights abuses such as arbitrary arrest and imprisonment, torture, rape, and forced labour, are commonplace in Burma. Currently, there are 1,500 political prisoners languishing in the country's jails.

Burma's military regime owns apparel factories, wholly or partially, which provide profits to the regime and its arms procurement body, "the Directorate of Procurement of the Ministry of Defence." In addition, like many industries in the country, the garment industry is intimately tied to the heroin trade, which the Burmese junta promotes, protects and profits from. This was well exemplified in June 2000 when it was discovered that one of Wal-Mart Canada's supply factories in Burma was owned by the notorious Burmese drug lord, Lo Hsing han.

A 1998 Commission of Inquiry by the United Nations' International Labour Organization (ILO) issued a report revealing the pervasive nature of forced labour in Burma, which is often accompanied by other severe abuses. Since then, the ILO has effectively expelled Burma and has issued an unprecedented resolution calling for all ILO members to review their relations with Burma to ensure that they are not contributing to the widespread system of forced labour in the country.

By committing not to do business with Burma, you would not only avoid supporting a brutal military regime, you may also avoid tarnishing your company's reputation by becoming a target of consumer pressure in the future. Over the past year, more than 23 companies in North America have ceased importing from Burma due to citizens' advocacy campaigns in Canada and the United States.

We would request that your company confirm in writing that it is not currently sourcing from Burma (or Myanmar, as it appears on apparel labels), and clarify that you will not do any future sourcing from Burma or sell products made in Burma until the democratically elected leaders of that country determine that respect for labour and human rights has improved sufficiently to allow companies to reestablish business relations with Burma.

We look forward to your prompt response on this important issue.

Sincerely,

Trent Students Against Sweatshops, Trent Amnesty International, And the following members of the Trent University community:



MYANMAR

Min Ko Naing

Student leader and prisoner of conscience

"If we want to enjoy the same rights as people in other countries, we have to be disciplined, united and brave enough to stand up to the dictators. Let's express our sufferings and demands. Nothing is going to stop us from achieving peace and justice in our country.... Our noble desires must be brought forth through peaceful means."

Excerpts from Min Ko Naing's speeches, 1988

Paw U Tun *alias* Min Ko Naing, Chairman of the All Burma Federation of Student Unions (ABFSU), was arrested on 24 March 1989. He was sentenced to 20 years' imprisonment (later commuted to 10 years under a general amnesty) for his anti-government activities. The ABFSU was formed on 28 August 1988, at the height of the mass civil disobedience campaign against 26 years of one-party military rule in Myanmar. At the founding rally of the ABFSU, Min Ko Naing called on students throughout the country to struggle peacefully against military rule and for democracy and freedom of association. The ABFSU and Buddhist monks went on to lead non-violent anti-government protests.

Paw U Tun launched his 1988 appeal for peaceful political action in the name of "Min Ko Naing", a pseudonym he and at least 18 other students had adopted earlier to sign posters and leaflets criticizing military rule. It means "Conqueror of Kings".

In 1988 civil unrest erupted in Myanmar (then called Burma), after the demonetization of much of the Burmese currency in 1987 by the military government of General Ne Win. The same year Myanmar was accorded Least Developed Nation status by the UN -- a resource-rich country had become one of the world's poorest. In protest at government mismanagement of the economy, students in Yangon, the capital, began demonstrations in March 1988. Min Ko Naing soon emerged as a leader, encouraging people to use peaceful means to express their frustration.

Min Ko Naing's interest in politics began at Yangon University in the mid-1980's where he studied Zoology. Student Unions at that time, as now, were illegal; however he and other students formed secret study groups in anticipation of protests against the worsening economic conditions in Myanmar. According to people who knew him, Min Ko Naing was a member of a performance troupe which took part in the traditional *Tham Gyat* competition during the annual Water Festival (*Thingyan*); his troupe was called "Goat-Mouth and Spirit-Eye" and apparently performed satirical plays and sketches about Myanmar's government and the lack of democracy and freedom.

In September 1988 after violently suppressing demonstrations and killing hundreds of people, the military reasserted power and formed a new government, called the State Law and Order Restoration Council (SLORC). Martial law decrees were issued, including a ban on any criticism of the military and of any public gathering of more than five people. At the same time the SLORC announced that political parties could be formed and that elections would take place in May 1990. Dozens of political parties were founded, including the National League for Democracy (NLD, led by Nobel Peace Prize laureate Daw Aung San Suu Kyi).

In March 1989, the Myanmar Government began to issue warnings against possible memorial gatherings by students and others to mark the first anniversary of the deaths of student demonstrators during the initial waves of civil unrest in March 1988. At a 24 March 1989 press conference a SLORC spokesperson said that the ABFSU and two other student union organizations were "illegal organizations" because they had refused to register with the authorities. The spokesperson went on to say:

"Min Ko Naing, alias Paw U Tun, chairman of the illegal ABFSU, has been arrested... because he and

his associates instigated disturbances to the detriment of law and order, peace and tranquillity. At the same time, it had been ascertained that they have been carrying out organizational work and giving speeches... Furthermore, Min Ko Naing has been found to have repeatedly violated Order No 2/88 [forbidding gatherings of more than five people]... Action will be taken against him according to the law."

The spokesperson stated that another reason for his arrest was that they had learnt that "Min Ko Naing and his associates have been carrying out activities and plans to disturb and undermine the holding of Armed Forces Day", an official event held annually on 27 March.

According to unofficial sources, before his arrest some of his fellow student leaders had tried to convince Min Ko Naing that he should leave Yangon and seek sanctuary with the All Burma Student Democratic Front (ABSDF) on the Thai border. The ABSDF coordinates armed activities against the regime by anti-government students. Min Ko Naing reportedly refused to join the ABSDF, saying that he would rather continue ABFSU activities such as distributing leaflets and organizing demonstrations than join the armed struggle. Other allegations made by the SLORC against him claim that he and other ABFSU leaders were "recruited" by the communist insurgent underground early in 1988. However, the stated position of Min Ko Naing and other leaders has been to pursue a course of political organization and demonstrations.

The Myanmar authorities have arrested hundreds of students for their political opposition activities. Although thousands of young activists fled to neighbouring countries after the military reasserted power in September 1988, others continued their struggle inside the country. Most recently students staged demonstrations in December 1996 when scores of them were arrested. In the runup to the 10th anniversary of the 1988 pro-democracy movement, scores of young activists were arrested in mid-1998. Arrests of students and other young people have continued into 2000 in pre-emptive moves by the authorities - now known as the State Peace and Development Council - to eradicate any opposition to their rule.

Min Ko Naing was sentenced to 20 years' imprisonment under Section 5(j) of the 1950 Emergency Provisions Act, vaguely-worded legislation which is frequently used to imprison political prisoners. His sentence was commuted to 10 years under a general amnesty in January 1993. Amnesty International believes that Min Ko Naing is a prisoner of conscience detained solely for his leadership of a student movement without having used or advocated violence. He should be released immediately and unconditionally.

Min Ko Naing was awarded the John Humphrey Freedom Award in Canada on 10 December 1999, which is Human Rights Day; the day which the Universal Declaration of Human Rights was adopted by the UN in 1948. In a videotaped message which was smuggled out of Myanmar, Daw Aung San Suu Kyi made these comments about Min Ko Naing:

"[Min Ko Naing] is one of the student leaders who started the 1988 movement for democracy, and he has stood firm against all pressure from the authorities... [he] represents many others who are suffering from the injustices of the present military regime. That the prize has been awarded to him gives us all great hope, great pride, and great pleasure, because it shows that the world has not forgotten our cause...."

His treatment in prison

Min Ko Naing was severely tortured and ill-treated during the early stages of his detention and his health suffered as a consequence. During his interrogation he was reportedly forced to stand in water for two weeks until he collapsed, and as a result, his left foot became totally numb. Such treatment is not uncommon. Political prisoners in Myanmar routinely face torture during the initial phases of detention when they are often interrogated for hours or even days at a time by rotating teams of Military Intelligence (MI) personnel. They are also vulnerable to torture and ill-treatment after sentencing, when they can be punished for breaking arbitrary prison rules such as possessing writing paper. In addition conditions in most prisons are harsh, due to lack of adequate food, water, sanitation, and medical care.

Torture and ill-treatment have become institutionalized in Myanmar. Patterns of torture have remained the same, although the time and place vary. Torture occurs throughout the country and has been reported for over four decades. Members of the security forces continue to use torture as a means of extracting information; to punish political prisoners and members of ethnic minorities; and as a means of instilling fear in anyone critical of the military government.

For most of his imprisonment Min Ko Naing has been held in complete solitary confinement. In 1993 he was visited in Insein Prison, Myanmar's main detention facility, by a United States Congressman. He was said to be in poor health and appeared disoriented. In November 1994 the United Nations Special Rapporteur on Myanmar was also allowed to visit him briefly in prison, and described him as being nervous and thin. Subsequent reports on his health stated that, although it improved, he suffers from a nervous tremor and may have suffered emotionally as a result of his ill-treatment and prolonged solitary confinement. He is believed to suffer from a gastric ulcer.

Although Min Ko Naing should have been released in March 1999 on completion of his sentence, he is still held at Sitway Prison, Rakhine State. He was transferred there from Insein Prison, near Yangon, the capital, on an unknown date. As his family lives in Yangon, it is extremely difficult for them to visit him. Prisoners rely on their families to provide them with essential food and medication during their fortnightly visits.

WHAT YOU CAN DO:

Please write to the Myanmar authorities:

- ! expressing concern that Min Ko Naing is a prisoner of conscience, detained solely for his leadership of a student movement without having used or advocated violence.*
- ! urging the authorities to ensure that, pending his release, Min Ko Naing is provided with adequate medical care and that he is allowed access to his family.*
- ! expressing concern that Min Ko Naing's health has suffered as a result of torture and ill-treatment during the early stages of his detention.*
- ! expressing concern that Min Ko Naing has been held in complete solitary confinement for most of his imprisonment.*
- ! expressing concern that, according to his prison sentence, Min Ko Naing should have been released in March 1999, but that he remains detained.*
- ! urging the authorities to release Min Ko Naing immediately and unconditionally.*
- ! urging the authorities to respect and promote the protection of fundamental human rights in Myanmar.*

Addresses:

General Than Shwe
Chairman
State Peace and Development Council
c/o Ministry of Defence
Signal Pagoda Road
Yangon, Union of Myanmar

Lieutenant General Khin Nyunt
Secretary 1
State Peace and Development Council

c/o Ministry of Defence
Signal Pagoda Road
Yangon, Union of Myanmar

For more information about torture and ill-treatment in Myanmar, please see Amnesty International report - Myanmar: The Institution of Torture (ASA 16/24/00).

MYANMMAR

Union of Myanmar
Head of state and government: General Than Shwe
Capital: Yangon
Population: 48.4 million
Official language: Burmese
Death penalty: retentionist

In January the Special Envoy of the UN Secretary-General for Myanmar announced that a confidential dialogue had been taking place since October 2000 between the ruling State Peace and Development Council (SPDC) and Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, leader of the opposition National League for Democracy (NLD). The dialogue was believed to have continued for most of 2001. However, Aung San Suu Kyi remained under *de facto* house arrest, although international delegations were permitted to visit her. Some 1,600 political prisoners arrested in previous years remained in prison. Almost 220 people were released. Three people were sentenced to death for drug trafficking. Extrajudicial executions and forced labour continued to be reported in the ethnic minority states, particularly Shan and Kayin states.

Background

As in previous years, the army continued to engage in skirmishes with the Karen National Union, the Karenni National Progressive Party, and the Shan State Army-South (SSA-South). Small numbers of combatants in two Mon armed groups also engaged in skirmishes with the SPDC. Sixteen cease-fire agreements negotiated in previous years between the SPDC and various ethnic minority armed opposition groups were maintained.

The International Labour Organisation (ILO) High Level Team visited the country in September and October and the newly appointed UN Special Rapporteur on Myanmar visited in April and October.

Political developments

In February General Tin Oo, a senior SPDC leader, was killed in a helicopter crash. His post of SPDC Secretary II remained vacant at the end of the year. In November, seven ministers were removed from their posts, some of them reportedly for corruption. Ten of the 12 regional military commanders were removed from their positions.

The contents of the dialogue between the SPDC and Aung San Suu Kyi were not revealed but were believed to remain at the confidence-building stage rather than focusing on future political arrangements. Ethnic minorities were not included in the talks as both sides stated that the time was not right for a trilateral dialogue. The frequent attacks in the government-controlled media on Aung San Suu Kyi's character and on the NLD in general ceased. The NLD generally refrained from public statements critical of the government. In August the NLD publicly called for the release of Aung San Suu Kyi and all other political prisoners. Some NLD township offices in Yangon and Mandalay Divisions were allowed to reopen.

Political imprisonment

- U Shwe Saw Oo, U Tha Tun Aye, both lawyers and U Khin Maung Gyce, a trader, were allegedly arrested in March and beaten before being sent to Sittwe Prison, Rakhine state. The three, all members of the Arakan League for Democracy, an opposition political party, were detained awaiting trial at the end of the year.
- Pastor Gracey, an ethnic Chin Baptist minister, was arrested in February and sentenced in July to two years' hard labour after being convicted of passing information to the Chin National Front, an armed opposition group. She was transferred later the same month to a prison camp in Sagaing Division, amid concerns about her health.

Some 1,600 political prisoners, including hundreds of members of the NLD and other political parties, were held during 2001. Among those who remained imprisoned were U Win Htein, chief aide to Aung San Suu Kyi; U Win Tin, founding NLD leader; and Paw U Tun alias Min Ko Naing, a prominent student leader. At least 52 prisoners, including Paw U Tun, remained imprisoned after completing their sentences. At least 150 student activists remained in jail. Seventeen NLD members of parliament-elect remained in prison.

- Saw Naing Naing, an NLD member of parliament-elect who had been rearrested and sentenced to 21 years' imprisonment in 2000 in connection with an NLD statement calling for the lifting of restrictions on the party, remained in prison at the end of 2001.
- U Aye Tha Aung, a prisoner of conscience and leader of the Arakan League for Democracy, sentenced to 21 years' imprisonment in April 2000, remained in poor health.
- Zaw Min, who had been arrested in July 1989, remained imprisoned in Mandalay Prison. He was reported to be suffering from severe mental health problems. Having already served his 10-year sentence, he continued to be held under the administrative detention provisions of the 1975 State Protection Law.
- Prisoners of conscience Nai Ngwe Thein, Min Soe Lin, and Min Kyi Win, three leaders of the Mon National Democratic Front, an opposition political party,

remained in prison. They had been arrested in September 1998 for their alleged support for an NLD call to convene parliament. Min Kyi Win and Min Soe Lin, who were sentenced to seven years' imprisonment, were held in Mawlamyaine Prison, Mon state. Nai Nywe Thein, aged 76, was held in Insein Prison.

The majority of the people released during the year had completed their sentences or had been held without charge or trial. Scores of those released were people who had been detained in September 2000 at the Yangon train station when Aung San Suu Kyi, who was attempting to go to Mandalay, was placed under *de facto* house arrest. Thirty-nine members of parliament-elect who had been detained without charge or trial since September 1998 for attempting to meet in Yangon were released.

Among those released in July were: the writer Daw San San Nwe, who had been arrested in 1994 and sentenced to 10 years' imprisonment for having contact with foreigners; and comedians U Pa Pa Lay and U Lu Zaw, who had been arrested in 1996 and sentenced to seven years' imprisonment in connection with a comedy performance.

Prison conditions

Prison conditions were believed to have improved since the International Committee for the Red Cross (ICRC), began to visit prisons in 1999. However, concerns about overcrowding and medical care remained. In 1997 the SPDC reportedly issued 11 instructions about the treatment of prisoners which were also said to have resulted in some improvements, although the regulations were not publicly available. At least 64 political prisoners had died in custody since 1988.

- Khin Maung Myint, an NLD youth leader, died of unknown causes in Kalay Prison in July. He had been arrested in 1997 and sentenced to eight years' imprisonment after attempting to organize a meeting with NLD youth activists and Aung San Suu Kyi. He had been in good health at the time of arrest.

Forced labour

The military continued to compel civilians to perform forced labour in the seven ethnic minority states. In Rakhine state, forced labour of Rohingyas, a Muslim ethnic minority group, continued in Maungdaw and Buthidaung townships, although there were reports of people being paid for their labour and of decreases in demands for forced labour in some areas. Forced labour also continued in some areas of the Kayin, Mon, and Shan states, and in the Tainintharyi Division in the east. The practice, which included carrying supplies for patrolling troops, and working on military farms and bases, was associated with the army's counter-insurgency activities against ethnic minority armed opposition groups in these regions. Prisoners convicted of criminal offences and sentenced to work in labour camps were also used as forced labour. Deaths from exhaustion and lack of medical care continued to be reported.

- A member of the Mon ethnic minority from Chaung Pya, Yebyu township, Tanintharyi Division, was forced by Light Infantry Battalion 273 to carry 60mm mortar shells for five days until his escape in January. He was kicked in the back for walking too slowly.

Extrajudicial executions

Extrajudicial executions of ethnic minority civilians taking no active part in the hostilities continued to be reported, particularly in the context of the army's counter-insurgency activities, when civilians were punished for alleged contacts with armed opposition groups.

- Sa Ti Ya, a 45-year-old Shan traditional healer and farmer, was taken from his house in Tun Hing, Murrngnai township, Shan state, by SPDC Unit 99, and accused of being a member of the SSA-South. After being beaten he was reportedly shot in the back of the head twice and died instantly.

International initiatives

In April the UN Commission on Human Rights adopted by consensus its 10th resolution extending the mandate of the Special Rapporteur on Myanmar for another year. The resolution expressed concern about the high level of human rights violations, while welcoming some improvements. In November a similar resolution was adopted by consensus at the UN General Assembly.

In July the UN Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) met and took note of ILO action on forced labour in Myanmar and requested that it be kept informed of future developments.

In November the ILO's High Level Team submitted its report to the ILO's Governing Body. The report concluded that forced labour of civilians was continuing, particularly near military camps, in spite of the SPDC's new decree, issued in October 2000 - SPDC Order Supplementing Order 1/99 - which reinforced the prohibition of forced labour by providing for punishments for both civilian and military authorities found responsible for the practice. The report acknowledged that progress had been made by the SPDC in halting the practice, but that in counter-insurgency areas it was an ongoing problem. The report recommended that there be a long-term ILO presence in the country to receive complaints about forced labour and to provide assistance to the government in eradicating the practice. The SPDC responded by stating that while they were ready to receive ILO visits, they were not in a position to accept a long-term presence.

In May the USA renewed limited economic sanctions against Myanmar. The European Union (EU) Common Position, which included the freezing of SPDC members' funds in EU countries, was renewed in April, and again in October when renewal was accompanied by a first package of modest but significant gestures in recognition of the slight improvement in the political situation. An EU troika visit took place in January.

The UN Special Envoy for Myanmar visited the country four times. He urged the SPDC to release political prisoners, with priority for members of parliament elected in the 1990 general

elections but never allowed to take up office; the elderly; women; and those who had completed their sentences. The SPDC said that releases were being considered on a case-by-case basis.

Australia continued to sponsor a series of human rights training sessions for Myanmar government officials, including police and army personnel. The sessions took place in July, September and October.

Topic: Maquila organizing and the cross-border connection

The issue

Grassroots labour movements have been mobilizing to fight human rights abuses in the maquiladoras long before Northern consumers began anti-sweatshop campaigns. Since the ratification of the North American Free Trade Agreement in 1992 and the subsequent creation of free trade zones throughout the Americas, hundreds of low wage production factories called Maquiladoras popped up in Mexican border towns and throughout the Americas. NAFTA saw an increase from 2,000 to 3,000 factories between 1994 and 1999, and a corresponding increase in numbers of workers from 546,000 to over 1 million.¹ Workers are primarily young women ages 16–25.² These women are regularly exposed to extreme health hazards associated with chemical exposures, as well as being subject to sexual harassment from employers. These women have been attempting to co-ordinate strikes and unions in protest of conditions, however they continue to face withholding of pay, firings and even murder as a tactic to discourage labour organizing. Factories in Guatemala and El Salvador routinely use the “cut and run” strategy, pulling out of operations when a union becomes legally recognized resulting in the loss of hundreds of jobs.

Why take action?

Although codes of conduct and consumer anti-sweatshop campaigns have improved the situation of workers in some cases, such as Nike and Reebok who are now requiring the many Asian factories that produce for them to stop using petroleum-based adhesives that cause damage to the liver, kidney and central nervous system in favor of safer water-based adhesives,³ codes of conduct are only a part of the process of giving voice to maquila workers and garment factory workers worldwide. No Sweat campaigns must not only focus on changing policy from our end, but must also support and give voice the efforts of women in the industry themselves for real change to occur. Workers must be permitted to mobilize and engage in collective bargaining strategies. Although Trent recently passed a selective purchasing agreement which states that factories sourcing clothing to Trent must guarantee workers the rights to organize as listed by the International Labour Organization, continued lobbying is required to put the policy work. (See the action on continuing Trent’s No Sweat Mandate in this kit.)

There exists the common belief that western organizing is more advanced, and that this is a major factor in the inability for southern factory workers to

¹ Magalia Solidarity Network

² Sharon Ann Navarro “Las Mujers Invisibles/The Invisible Woman” Women’s Activism and Globalization: Linking Local Struggles and Transnational Politics Nancy A. and Desai, Manisha ed. 2002 Routledge, New York

³ Global Exchange “Anti-Sweatshop Movement is Achieving Gains Overseas”

successfully organize, when in fact anti-union tactics are most often the case. Maquila factory workers have proven to be very effective strategists, and factory and community organizing continues to prevail against impossible odds. It is important to remember that cross border campaigns are meant to empower maquila workers to make their own demands, and not to "show them how it's done."

Cross-border organizations

Cross-border grassroots solidarity has emerged as a way of coordinating Southern labour movements, as well as offering support from the North. The *Coalition for Justice in the Maquiladoras*, the Central American Network of *Women in Solidarity with Maquila Workers*, and the *Maquila Solidarity Network* are just a few examples of transnational organizations which aim to aid community and workplace organizing efforts by maquila workers, and to build support campaigns in the United States, Canada and abroad. These organizations are involved in activities such as training and lobbying, working with local grassroots movements to support organizing efforts.

Campaigns

There are hundreds of labour campaigns underway in factories and communities throughout Mexico and Central America. The workers in each plant have different concerns and are in different stages of organizing. Organizations such as Campaign for Labor Rights, the *Maquila Solidarity Network* and the *US/Labour and Education in the Americas project* list individual campaigns. A few examples are listed here:

- The situation of the Aloca GM manufacturing plant in Mexico is just one example of factory attempts at squashing independent unionizing efforts. Over 20 workers and union leaders were fired for organizing, even after a vote was passed in favour of the independent union. A widespread call for support of Aloca workers can be found on the Campaign for Labour Rights website, as well as many other labour related websites.
- The *Ni Una* Mass campaign in Mexico: Actions around the unsolved murders of over 300 women walking home after late night shifts at maquila factories in border towns. Workers are fighting to have a late night bus system put in place. *Ni Una Mas* (Not Another Death) Coalition includes groups from Ciudad Juarez, the state of Chihuahua, Mexico City, the United States and Canada including the Maquila Solidarity Network.
- The *Industrial Union of Textile Workers* of El Salvador (SITT) was in the works at a Tainan plant in El Salvador for almost two years during that time workers were suspended and fired for their actions. SITT obtained legal recognition in July 2001 and had just submitted a request to the

Labor Ministry for collective bargaining when the factory was closed. On November 21, 2002, Tainan Enterprises and STIT came to an agreement to reopen the factory in El Salvador. The new factory could be the first maquila factory in El Salvador with a democratic union with a collective bargaining agreement, however western support of their efforts is still needed. The US/Labour education website contains current news and where and how to support SITT workers.

Event ideas: Letter writing campaign.

Goal: Lobbying factories to recognize maquila organizing.

The urgency is not over just because Trent now sports an anti-sweatshop policy. SAS needs to remain active in anti-sweatshop and labour issues. Letter writing is an effective way students can support current maquila organizing efforts, and complements the human rights mandate in Trent's policy. Since campaigns are always changing, it is important that SAS choose a current issue. Check the information and resources listed below and choose a current campaign. Information on where to send petitions are usually listed, and sample petitions are offered at many sites.

Promotional Strategy:

The best way to get signatures is to set up a table in a well traveled area such as the library or Wenjack foyer. This is also an opportunity to promote any updates on Trent's anti-sweatshop policy (the dislocation of factories or lack thereof.) There are a number of "No sweat at Trent" stickers remaining. Included in this binder are a number of postcards for the *ni una muerta mas* campaign obtained from MSN. These can be included at the table. Consider contacting MSN or other labour organizations for other promotional resources. OPIRG has a great thermos which can be used to serve hot chocolate and has proven to be effective in the past at getting people to sign you petition.

Contact info:

The Maquila Solidarity Network is a great place to contact in Canada for additional resources. They can be contacted at info@maquilasolidarity.org or by phone in Toronto at (416)532-8584.

Estimated Costs:

Sending individual letters and postcard is ideal, but at almost 50 cents a pop is not the best choice. Letters and signatures can be collected and sent all at once. Depending on the weight, \$5 should be all you need for postage. Pre-made

)
copies of letters and petitions can be made for Free at OPIRG. Try finding fair trade hot chocolate in keeping with the labour issues theme. Fair trade hot chocolate and coffee is sold at Dreams and Beans café on Hunter street.

Information and Resources:

- *Maquila Solidarity Network* www.maquilasolidarity.org

A Canadian network promoting solidarity with groups in Mexico, Central America, and Asia organizing in maquiladora factories and export processing zones to improve conditions and win a living wage. The MSN website is replete with information on current corporate as well as labour campaigns. Check out the "urgent action alerts" listings.

- *US/Labour Education in the Americas Project* www.usleap.org

An excellent source for info on a variety of campaigns. An independent non-profit organization that supports economic justice and basic rights for workers in Central America, Colombia, Ecuador, and Mexico. US/LEAP focuses especially on the struggles of those workers who are employed directly or indirectly by U.S. companies. This site offers in depth and up to date information on organizing efforts by factory, company or country in the Maquila worker campaigns section.

- *Campaign for labor rights* www.Campaignforlaborrights.org

Campaign for Labor Rights (CLR) mission is to mobilize grassroots support throughout the US to promote economic and social justice by campaigning to end labor rights violations around the world. This site features a number of current campaigns.

Grassroots Organizations

- *Central American Network of Women in Solidarity with Maquila Workers*

A network of women from Nicaragua, Elsalvadore, Guatemala, Honduras and other parts of Central America. The Network's research — which underpins training, education, lobbying and other activities — is supported by the International Development Research Centre, the Vancouver-based Trade Union Group (TUG) and CoDevelopment Canada (CoDev), Oxfam-Canada, Oxfam-Quebec, and the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA).

- *Coalition for Justice in the Maquiladoras*

A tri-national grassroots resistance to corporate globalization. Based in San Antonio, Texas, CJM brings together more than 100 organizations in a commitment to building bridges of solidarity between Mexican maquila workers, and between those workers and progressive organizations in the United States, Canada and Mexico.

- The OPIRG Library's labour section has resources on maquila organizing and global employment issues. Also consult the *Annotated Bibliography* for additional resources.

A few academic sources:

Mendez, Jennifer Bickham "Creating Alternatives from a Gender Perspective: *Transnational Organizing for Maquila Workers Rights in Central America*" *Women's Activism and Globalization: Linking Local Struggles and Transnational Politics* Naples, Nancy A. and Desai, Manisha ed. 2002 Routledge, New York

Navarro, Sharon Ann "Las Mujers Invisibles/The Invisible Woman" *Women's Activism and Globalization: Linking Local Struggles and Transnational Politics* Nancy A. and Desai, Manisha ed. 2002 Routledge, New York

Deborah Barrt ed. *Women Working the NAFTA Food Chain* 1999 Second Story Press

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Mexican Maquiladora Closes Down Two Months After Workers Begin Organizing

US/LEAP Newsletter 4-03

The Matamoros Garment factory, which produces PUMA and other apparel for export to the U.S. closed the week of March 17, 2003, two months after workers began their campaign to establish an independent democratic union in order to secure better wages and improved working conditions.

While production at the factory has been shut down and the future of the factory appears uncertain, the union still has a reasonable chance of success. The factory was being leased and run by an American citizen with questionable business skills who has apparently abandoned the operation, deeply in debt. The owner of the factory may be persuaded to establish a new operation that would employ the workers and recognize their union.

The Matamoros Garment factory located in Izúcar de Matamoros, Puebla is near the Kuk Dong plant (now Mex Mode), which was the focus of a successful student-led U.S. campaign two years ago that resulted in the first independent democratic union with a collective bargaining agreement in Mexico's maquiladora sector.

Workers Strike

Workers at Matamoros Garment went on an 11-hour strike on January 13, 2003 to protest unpaid wages, forced overtime, factory lock-ins, verbal abuse, unhealthy cafeteria conditions, sub-minimum wages, and the denial of freedom of association. The same day 162 of the factory's 250 workers applied to the local Labor Board to be legally recognized as the Sindicato Independiente de Trabajadores de la Empresa Matamoros Garment (SITEMAG, the Independent Union of Matamoros Garment Workers).

Five days after the strike, factory management removed all PUMA labels from the factory, saying the German-based company had pulled out due to the worker organizing. PUMA denied it had pulled out due to the union, saying that it had decided to terminate its contract on October 8, 2002 due to production delays.

An international campaign directed at PUMA, spearheaded by Christliche Initiative Romero (CIR) of Germany and joined by the Clean Clothes Campaign in Europe, the Maquila Solidarity Network in Canada, and several groups in the U.S., including Sweatshop Watch, USAS, Campaign for Labor Rights, the Mexico Solidarity Network, and US/LEAP, persuaded PUMA in late February to resume production at the plant but orders had not been placed before the factory shut down in mid-March.

Workers Being Followed

Shortly after they began their campaign, union workers began to be harassed and intimidated by men who they suspected to be from the Matamoros Garment factory or its company-union, the Sindicato Francisco Villa de la Industria Textil y Conexas. Union leaders report being followed to and from work and from union activities by a dozen different men who haven taken their pictures and conducted surveillance of SITEMAG meetings. Workers have also stated that the men are sometimes waiting outside their houses when they leave for work. They then follow them on city buses and get off at the same stops. The majority of workers at Matamoros Garment are women in their early 20s.

In response to the harassment, the Centro de Apoyo al Trabajador (CAT) and SITEMAG leaders met with the government of Izúcar de Matamoros, the Puebla State government, and the Office of Public Security on February 25, 2003. These governmental organizations pledged to take steps to increase police protection to ensure the safety of the union leaders. Initial reports indicated that police protection increased, but intimidation by these men had not stopped as of late March and workers remain concerned for their safety.

Next Steps

While discussions regarding reopening the factory take place, it is important that PUMA maintain its commitment to the factory and that local government authorities ensure the safety of the workers as well as approve the legal registration of the union. The CAT and SITEMAG secured a promise from the Municipal Director of Government, Prof. Justiniano Ruiz Tirado, that he would try to rescue the factory and would contact the local Labor Board to act on the legal registration.

U.S. groups met with Mexican government officials in Los Angeles and Washington the week of March 17 to express their concerns about Matamoros Garment. Both the embassy in Washington and the consulate in Los Angeles agreed to contact government officials in Puebla.

Support Matamoros Garment Workers! [Go]

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Action Page

Welcome to the action page! With the click of a mouse you can find out about out current suggested actions on our campaigns and links to more information about those campaigns. Get Active!

Don't forget to let us know about your actions of support! [Email our Campaign Coordinator](#) or call us at 773-262-6502.

Action Suggestions Index:

[1. Matamoros Garment Action!](#)[2. Colombia Legislation Action!](#)[3. Pepsi Co. Action!](#)[Other Actions\[Go\]](#)[Matamoros Garment Workers](#)[Independent Union Denied](#)[Recognition ~Take Action!](#)

Posted 4-14-03

Suggested Action

1. Contact the Governor of the State of Puebla. Call, email, fax or mail a letter telling Governor Melquiades Morales Flores that you support the Matamoros Garment workers independent union and that he should ensure that SITEMAG appeal for legal recognition is handled fairly and justly. Suggest that denial of Matamoros Garment workers' rights will give the Izuacar de Matamoros region a poor reputation and undermine its investment climate. The Local Labor Board is a part of the State government.

Governor Melquiades Morales Flores,
14 Oriente, No. 1204, Colonia El Alto, Puebla,
Puebla, México, Zip: 7200100
Tele:011-52-222-213-8801, Fax: 011-52-222-213-8805,

Email: go to
<http://www.puebla.gob.mx/gobierno/escribealgobernador.html>, you
will be asked to enter your name (nombre), city (ciudad), country
(pais), email (correo electronico), and your message (mensaje). Emails
in Spanish are preferred.

2. Contact the Mexican Embassy. Ask Deputy Chief of Mission, Mario Chacón, to contact local labor authorities and urge them to respect the

the Local Labor Board on March 21, 2003. Organizers claim the denial was due to ties between Matamoros Garment management and the Local Labor Board and are appealing the decision. The union is pursuing a strategy to reopen the factory and is asking for international support to obtain legal recognition.

For more information on [Matamoros Garment](#) click here.

basic right Matamoros Garment workers to organize an independent union by approving SITEMAG's legal recognition. Also ask Mr. Chacón to urge local labor authorities to take steps to ensure that the factory re-opens, including resolving land ownership issues surrounding Matamoros Garment. Stress that is important for the Embassy to intervene in order to assure a positive investment climate in Puebla.

**Mario Chacón, Deputy Chief of Mission, Embassy of Mexico,
1911 Pennsylvania Ave. N.W., Washington, D.C. 20006 USA
Tele: (202)728-1600, Fax #: (202)728-1615**

3. Meet with a local Mexican consulate. Please contact alison@usleap.org if you are interested in participating with a Mexican consulate meeting or action in any of the following cities: Tucson (AZ), Phoenix (AZ), Denver (CO), San Francisco (CA), San Jose (CA), Sacramento (CA), Los Angeles (CA), Washington DC, Miami (FL), Chicago (IL), New Orleans (LA), Boston (MA), Detroit (MI), Houston (TX), Dallas (TX), Austin (TX), Laredo (TX), Portland (OR), Atlanta (GA), Philadelphia (PA), and New York (NY).

Colombia Legislative Action!

The Bush Administration is asking for \$530 million in military aid for Colombia in 2004.

Congress is expected to begin debating the Colombia aid package in May or June 2003. This amount is an increase from the \$500 million in military aid to Colombia approved for 2003, \$90 million of which is to help the Colombia army guard an oil pipeline owned in part by U.S.-based Occidental Petroleum.

The Colombian trade union movement is opposed to the continuing sharp increases in U.S. military aid. Opposition to military aid and current U.S. policy is based in part on the fact that the Colombian military continues to maintain close ties with paramilitary groups that account for most of the murders of trade unionists in Colombia. The final toll of Colombian trade unionists killed in 2002 was 184.

Posted 4-14-03

Suggested Action

1. Organize letter-writing to members of Congress.

The Latin American Working Group, of which US/LEAP is a member, is coordinating legislative action to oppose current U.S. policy on Colombia and currently has materials for people interested in organizing letter-writing to their members of Congress. Visit the LAWG website at www.lawg.org for information for advocacy work around Colombia. Congressional votes may come up as soon as May or June.

2. Set up a meeting with your member of Congress. The Latin American Working Group (LAWG) also has materials for people interested in setting up meetings with members of Congress. Congress is on recess April 14-25 and a congressional vote may come as soon as May or June of this year. The LAWG website, www.lawg.org, includes information on doing advocacy work around Colombia for congressional votes.

3. Educate local groups. The Latin American Working Group (LAWG) has materials for people interested in educating local groups. Visit the LAWG website at www.lawg.org for information on doing advocacy work around Colombia.

Stay tuned for additional information. US/LEAP will prepare additional briefing materials focused on trade union violence and the need for a change in U.S. policy.

Posted 4-14-03

Guatemalan Pepsi Union Asks for Solidarity

The union representing Pepsi workers in Guatemala reports that PepsiCo's local franchise has refused to bargain in good faith since the union contract expired and is refusing to reinstate illegally fired union workers in accordance with

Suggested Action

1. Contact PepsiCo. Urge the company to intervene with its Guatemalan franchise La Mariposa to ensure respect for the basic rights of

a November 2002 court order. The Mariposa Pepsi bottling plant in Guatemala City is represented by the union SITRAEMSA, which is an affiliate of FESTRAS, the federation of unions representing beverage and food workers affiliated with the IUF. The union is asking for letters to PepsiCo and the local franchisee, La Mariposa, demanding good faith contract negotiations, reinstatement of the fired workers, and an end to the company's violations of labor rights.

SITRAEMSA workers, to reinstate fired workers in accordance with court orders, and engage in good faith negotiations.

**Steven S. Reinemund, Chairman and CEO,
PepsiCo, 700 Anderson Hill Road, Purchase, NY 10577.
Tel: 914-254-2000; Fax: 914-253-2070**

Copies of letters to PepsiCo should go to:

- (1) the local bottler in Guatemala City:
**Alvaro Castillo and Enrique Castillo, Corporación Mariposa,
Fax: 011-502-366-3885 or 366-4005**
- (2) the SITRAEMSA union at festras@terra.com.gt.

Other Actions:

1. Colombia Unions Under Fire! Colombian Coke Workers Fight Back!

2. BJ&B Union Success!

Colombia Unions Under Fire!

Colombian Coke Workers Fight Back!

Various groups are organizing to pressure Coca-Cola to take all necessary steps to ensure that its bottlers and franchisees in Colombia reject any connection to paramilitaries, reject all use of violence against trade unionists, and support the right of workers to organize.

Posted 12-02

Suggested Action:

- ➡ Read more about the Coke campaign: [\[GO\]](#)
 - ➡ Go to the Cokewatch Website: [\[GO\]](#)
 - ➡ Read more about the targeting of trade union leaders in Colombia: [\[GO\]](#)
- 1) **Contact Coca-Cola.** Urge the company to take responsibility for the conduct of its bottlers in Colombia and elsewhere to negotiate a global worker rights agreement with the its unions and the IUF, and to take every step to ensure no further violence occurs against Coca-Cola workers in Colombia.

Contact: Douglas Daft, Chief Executive Office, The Coca-Cola Company, One Coca-Cola Plaza, Atlanta, GA, 30313; Tel: 404-676-2121; Fax: 404-515-7099.

BJ&B Union Gains Collective Bargaining Agreement!

Posted 4-03

Suggested Action:

Workers from the BJ&B factory in the Dominican Republic achieved a collective bargaining agreement on March 24, 2003 after international pressure led by the student anti-sweatshop campaign. This is the first collective bargaining agreement negotiated in the free trade zones of the Dominican Republic that exceeds government minimums. The BJ&B union is believed to be the largest independent free trade zone union in the region. Reebok was especially instrumental in pushing BJ&B to respect the rights of its workers to form a union and negotiate a contract.

- 1) **Contact Reebok.** Thank Reebok for its efforts to ensure respect for worker rights at BJ&B.

**Doug Cahn, Vice President,
Human Rights Programs Reebok**

1895 JW Foster Boulevard
Canton, MA 02021 USA
Fax: 781-401-4806
Email: doug.cahn@reebok.com

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Homeworker unions in Ontario

Background

Globalization and free trade initiatives have had a profound effect on the garment industry in Canada as well as abroad. 25 years ago the majority of garments in Canada were produced in large factories with a rate of unionization at about 80%. That figure has dropped to 20%.¹ Between 1988 and 1995, more than three out of every ten Canadian garment workers lost their jobs to cheaper foreign sourcing, and five out of ten were lost in the City of Toronto. Modern systems of just-in-time inventory require companies to continue to contract out sewing in Canada to homeworkers, who are almost exclusively female and often recent immigrants.

The issue

The word "sweatshop" usually conjures up images of poor, ill treated Third World workers, however third world sweatshop conditions are now normal in Canada's garment industry. Homeworkers sewing on a piecework basis make an average of 4.50 cents an hour, 65% of Ontario's minimum wage, and some earn as little as \$2 an hour.² Vacation pay is rarely offered, neither are they paid overtime for work exceeding 44 hours a week.³ Because homeworkers are considered self employed, they do not receive employment insurance or the Canada Pension Plan. Homeworkers are often Asian immigrants with little understanding of English, and are therefore more vulnerable to exploitation. When homeworkers sew fast enough to earn more than minimum wage, many employers deliberately reduce the price paid per piece. Workers are often unable to complain because of a language barrier, or because often they are not told how much each piece is worth until after they have completed an order.⁴

Why take action?

For the conscientious consumer, it has become increasingly difficult to distinguish what clothing has been made under fair conditions. Clothing labeled "Made in Canada" can no longer necessarily mean that the item was made under better conditions than those of third world sweatshops. Buying only "Made in Canada" is not a form of protest to sweatshop conditions, since the entire industry has been effectively globalized. Exploitation in the garment industry must be seen as a whole, and action must take place here as well as abroad.

¹ Lynnda Yanz and Bob Jeffcott, Maguila Solidarity Network

² Labour Behind the Label http://www.cvl.ca/Winter2001/labour_behind_label.htm

³ UNITE "Homeworkers" [www.unite-](http://www.unite-svtl.org/En/STOP_SWEATSHOPS/Homeworkers/homeworkers.html)

[svtl.org/En/STOP_SWEATSHOPS/Homeworkers/homeworkers.html](http://www.unite-svtl.org/En/STOP_SWEATSHOPS/Homeworkers/homeworkers.html)

⁴ UNITE "Homeworkers"

The special case of Indians who were never registered

In some cases Indians were simply left off Band Lists when registration was first carried out in their area or for some other reason were never registered (this often happened at birth). In other cases whole Indian communities were missed in the registration process or were for some other reason never recognized. These people and their children may be entitled to status under the new Indian Act, but Bill C-31 doesn't set up any clear and simple process to allow them to be registered.

The Minister has stated that he may be able to register these people; either by recognizing their communities for the first time as Bands or by setting up a process to find out why they were originally left off the Band Lists and then allow them to be registered under the new Indian Act.

The Congress of Aboriginal Peoples has proposed a number of ways of setting up these processes, including a Registration Commission and a special Commission to look into communities which have never been recognized as Bands.

In the meantime, if you were originally left off a Band List or the Indian Register and you believe that you should have been registered, fill in an application form indicating that you are claiming status under Section 6(1)(a) of the Act and provide all the details that you can gather to show how and why you were originally omitted from registration. If you are the child or grand-child of someone in this situation, you may also apply under one of the other sections of the Act. Be sure to provide all the details of your case and the details of your parent or grand-parent who was originally omitted from registration.

4. Entitlement to Both Status and Band Membership (S.6)

There is no "probation" or "waiting" period for receiving Band Membership for people in groups 1 to 8 as described on page 5. Status and band membership are received immediately and in full once an application form is filled out and accepted by the Registrar.

There is one exception to this rule. If you do not apply for status and Band membership before your Band adopts its own membership code, then you will probably have to apply for Band membership to the Band itself. You will still apply for status to the Registrar, but once a Band adopts a code it is in full control of its Band membership list.

However, even if you have to apply to the Band for membership, the Band cannot normally delay or refuse you membership if you have the right to it under the Indian Act.

The right to Band membership of those in groups 9 to 13 described on page 5 is dependent upon what their Band does within the next 2 years regarding control over membership. There are three possibilities:

1. If their Band does not adopt its own membership code within two years, then they will become band members on June 28, 1987.
2. If their Band decides to leave control over membership to the Department of Indian Affairs before June 28, 1987, then they will become band members as of the date the Band notifies the Minister of its decision.
3. If their Band adopts a membership code before June 28, 1987, they

Ontario Homeworkers union

Garment and textile workers in Canada have always maintained a strong union voice, and homeworkers are now being added to that voice. Two of Canada's oldest unions merged in 1995, the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union (ILGWU) and the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers' Union (ACTWU), creating UNITE! The Homeworkers' Association is an associate member of UNITE, formed in 1992 in response to a 1991 ILGWU study of Toronto home-based garment workers which found insufficient wages and exploitation to be the norm in the industry.⁵ Presently, there are more than 300 members who pay an annual membership fee of \$24, with the option of enrolling in a drug benefit plan for an additional \$90 per year.⁶

The objectives of the HWA are:

- to inform and assist homeworkers to enforce their rights as workers;
- to offer legal and social services;
- to provide the opportunity for homeworkers to come together to develop their own capacity to respond to issues and to find collective solutions;
- to provide training courses and workshops on various topics, including: upgrading sewing skills; pattern-making; sewing machine maintenance and repair, etc.;
- to provide classes in English as a Second Language;
- to organize recreational and social activities to help overcome the extreme isolation of their work, such as field trips, Christmas Parties, Mother's Day events, and so on; and,
- to publish a bi-monthly newsletter in Chinese for all members.

Campaigns

Campaigns for homeworkers rights are widely carried out by the workers themselves. Through unions, education and collective bargaining, workers have been improving their situation on a case by case basis. Organizations such as the Status of Women Canada and the North-South Institute work toward creating policy alternatives which would improve the exploitative practices of garment workers in Canada. Groups such as Labour behind the Label and the Maquila Solidarity Network recently ran a campaign against the Woolworths owned Northern Group of clothing stores, including Northern Reflections, and Northern Getaway stores for the treatment of the homeworkers which sewed clothing for the company. Consumer activists can help by reading labels and asking stores questions about who made the clothing, if they have a code of conduct and whether their workers are members of unions.

⁵ North-South Institute "The Homeworkers Association" www.nsi-ins.ca

⁶ UNITE "History of the Ontario Council" [www.unite-qjc.org/prod01_copy\(1\).htm](http://www.unite-qjc.org/prod01_copy(1).htm)

5. Anyone who has only one parent who is entitled to status under any of the previous categories whether that parent is alive or not (s.6 (2)).

3. Who is Not Entitled to Status (S.6 & S.7)

Not all people of Indian descent are entitled to be registered as Indians, and not all Indians who once lost status or whose parents lost status are entitled to reinstatement. People in this group include the following:

A. Some Grand-Children caught by the "Cu1-Off" Rule

Most Indians who once lost status will be able to be registered and so will their children. However, many of their grand-children will not be entitled to registration, even though one of their parents is entitled. This is because the federal government decided to impose a "2nd generation cut-off" rule for reinstatement, a rule based on a person's descent from someone who either had or was entitled to status before Bill C-31 or from someone who was omitted or deleted from the list of registered Indians before Bill C-31 was passed.

The rule affects all Indian children in the future in some way, since it either means that they won't be allowed status or they will not be allowed to pass a right to status on to their children depending on who their child's other parent is.

Basically, the rule works by stating that a child can only gain status if at least one parent is in categories 1-12 above. This would mean for example that if one of your parents is in category 13 and the other parent is not entitled to be registered at all, then you would not be entitled to registration yourself. However, if both your parents are in category 13, then you are entitled to status under category 12 and you can pass on status to your child no matter who your child's other parent is.

B. Indians who took "Half-Breed Scrip"

The old Indian Act excluded Indians who had taken half-breed scrip and also excluded their descendants. Bill C-31 ends this denial for the future but it does not give any right to these people now to apply for registered status unless they are entitled for some other reason.

C. Some Women who once gained status by marriage and then lost status, as well as their children.

Women who gained status originally by marriage and then lost status cannot be reinstated unless one of their parents also lost status and is eligible for reinstatement. The children of such women are also excluded unless their fathers have status or lost status and are entitled to be registered.

Even though this clause is supposed to exclude only women and children of non-Indian descent, some Indian women and their children will be affected since not all Indian women who once gained status by marriage and then lost it are entitled to be registered under the new Act (for example if they are caught by the Half-Breed Scrip rule or the 2nd generation cut-off rule).

Event idea: Invite a speaker

Goals: To continue Trent's anti-sweatshop mandate by educating students and community members about homeworkers and northern sweatshops.

Invite a speaker to discuss issues such as the current state of women's labour, how it relates to the garment industry in Canada and/or garment unionizing efforts. This event ideally would be part of the annual Women, Health and the Welfare State conference. The Toronto based organization Labour behind the Label organizes the Wear Fair Campaign, and offers resources and contacts, as does MSN and UNITE.

Promotional Strategy:

Contact through OPIRG the people organizing the conference. Let them know about the issue and ideas for a speaker. Offer to help find and confirm a suitable speaker. Even though the conference is usually well advertised, make some posters specifically for the SAS speaker to be posted on campus as well as downtown and community gathering places.

Target Audience: Students and community members

The Women, Health and Welfare State conference attracts a wide variety of people from the community. Your workshop should be accessible to members of the Peterborough community as well as students and academics.

Estimated costs:

Speakers can be costly, sometimes \$100-200 bucks. Funding should not be difficult to obtain, especially if the speaker is coming to participate in the Women, Health and Welfare State conference. Plan in advance! Apply for funding requests from college cabinets and the TCSA. The conference usually has a budget and the costs of a SAS sponsored speaker may be incorporated somewhat.

Contacts, Information and Resources

- **UNITE!** www.unite-svt.org

Garment and textile workers Union representing homeworkers.

Telephone: 416-510-0887

Toll Free: 1-800-268-4064 FAX: 416-510-0891

General contact: mail@unite-ajc.org

Organizing contact: organizeunite@hotmail.com

Band takes control over membership itself.

There are at least 13 different ways for a person to be entitled to status as a registered Indian.

If you fall into one of the 13 categories listed below, you are entitled to apply for status. People in the first 8 groups also have an automatic right to Band Membership and will receive Band membership upon application for status. People in groups 9-13 are only entitled to registered status and will not receive Band Membership automatically.

Entitlement to Status and Band membership

1. Those people already on the Indian Register or on a Band List, whether or not they were or are entitled "legally to have their name on the list (s.6 (1)(a));
 2. Those people who were entitled to be registered Indians under the Indian Act before April 17, 1985, whether or not their name actually appeared on a Band List or the Indian Register (s.6 (1)(a));
 3. Anyone who belongs to a group that is declared by the Federal cabinet after April 17, 1985 to be an Indian Band (s.6 (1)(b));
 4. Women who lost status by marrying a man who was not a registered Indian (s.6 (1)(c));
 5. Children who lost status when their mother was enfranchised for marrying a man who was not a registered Indian (s.6(1)(c));
 6. Children caught by the "double-mother rule" because their mother and father's mother were not status Indians before their marriage (s.6 (1)(c));
 7. Illegitimate children whose registration as status Indians was rejected because their mother was status but their father was not or because they were female children of only one status parent (s.6 (1)(c));
 8. Anyone born on or after April 17, 1985 both of whose parents are entitled to status and to Band membership on the same Band, whether their parents are alive or not (s.6 (1)(f));
- Entitlement to status but not to immediate Band membership
1. Any Indian who voluntarily enfranchised, including wives or dependent unmarried children who lost status because of a man's enfranchisement (s.6 (1)(d));
 2. Anyone who lost status for residing outside the country for more than 5 years prior to 1951 without consent of an Indian agent (s.6 (1)(e)(i));
 3. Anyone who lost status as a result of becoming a lawyer, doctor, minister or university graduate before 1920 (s.6 (e)(ii));
 4. Anyone both of whose parents are entitled to be registered for any reason under the new Indian Act, whether their parents are alive or not (s.6 (1)(f)), and;

- *Labour Behind the Label:*

A Canadian working group of labour, women, church & economic justice organizations to raise public awareness conditions in the garment industry, to encourage consumers to use their purchasing power by supporting retailers who make clothes in fair conditions & to organize actions to support the organizing efforts of clothing workers & the Campaign.

Wear Fair Campaign: Perq@web.net
Phone: 416-532-8584, Fax: 416-532-7688

- *Maquila Solidarity Network* www.maquiliasolidarity.org

A Canadian network promoting solidarity with groups in Mexico, Central America, and Asia organizing in maquiladora factories and export processing zones to improve conditions and win a living wage. The MSN website also contains information on Northern Sweatshops and supports homeworkeer campaigns.

A few academic sources:

Status of Women Canada Report: "Policy options to improve standards for women garment workers in Canada." The report can be obtained online under the publications section. www.swc-cfc.gc.ca/pubs/0662273834/199901_0662273834_1_e.html

Status of Women Canada "Women and Homework: The Canadian Legislative Framework" by Stephanie Bernstein, Katerine Lippel and Lucie Lamarche, March 2001. Available for downloading at www.swc-cfc.gc.ca

Journal of Canadian Women's studies: Roxana Ng, Ph.D. "Work, restructuring, and recognizing third world women: an example from the garment industry in Toronto." Vol. 18, spring 1998. Also "Homeworking: Home Office or Home Sweatshop? A report on current conditions of homeworkeers in Toronto's garment industry."

www.oise.utoronto.ca/depts/sese/csew/hall/99HWAR~1.htm





UNITE! Ontario Council

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A union's identity comes in large part from its history. Understanding past struggles helps workers fight future battles. Our unions history goes back to the beginning of the twentieth century. UNITE members are part of a proud tradition of working women and men who have struggled to secure and maintain a decent standard of living and a just society for all people.

UNITE was created in 1995, when two of Canada's oldest unions merged. These unions were the International Ladies Garment Workers Union (ILGWU) and the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers' Union (ACTWU).

The ACTWU itself was formed from a merger between the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America (ACWA) and the Textile Workers' Union of America (TWUA) in 1976. All of our founding unions had their own long histories of struggle. They also had a long history of helping each other.



From the 1800's, workers in the clothing and textile industries shared common workplace experiences. Historically, both industries have been plagued by low wages, long hour, poor working conditions and job insecurity. They were among the first factory-based industries to employ large numbers of women and immigrant workers. Employers had a pattern of promoting gender and ethnic tensions between workers, to keep them from banding together.

Several small clothing and textile workers' unions formed before 1900, but did not last. Workers struggled to build lasting unions in these industries in the early decades of this century.

The birth of garment unions

The garment industry has a complex history of organization. Its unionization has taken several forms. The first of these was craft unionism. Custom tailors



had formed several independent organizations by the 1890s. Many of these affiliated with the U.S.-based Journeymen Tailors' Union of America. These locals were made up of highly skilled craftsmen from small shops. They saw factory workers in the ready-made industry as a threat.

But this form of organization could not prevent the spread of sweatshop conditions in the North America clothing industry at the beginning of the century.

In 1900, the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union (ILGWU) was organized for the women's garment industry. This was the first time that immigrant women in the manufacturing sector had organized on a mass scale. In 1911 the ILGWU organized its first local in Toronto, still the oldest continuingly existing local of the union in Canada.

In 1914 the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America (ACWA) was created to organize manufacturing workers in the men's clothing industry. It grew rapidly and by the late 1930s represented 250,000 workers, covering over 90 percent of men's clothing manufacturers.

The Textile Industry's Struggle to Organize

Organization was slower in the textile industry.

During the Great Depression of the 1930s, new labour laws in the United States sparked the organizing drive of the century. A number of unions founded the Congress of Industrial Organization (CIO). The CIO took on the organization of all workers in an industry into a single union.

In 1937, the CIO turned its attention to textile workers. The Textile Workers Organizing Committee was founded. ACWA president Sidney Hillman was the Chairman. CIO member unions raised an organizing fund of over \$1 million to help the fledgling union.

Over half of this money came from the ACWA! The ILGWU also made a large donation. In 1939, the TWOC became the Textile Workers' Union of America (TWUA).



Increased employment during World War II brought important gains for workers.

By 1945, the TWUA had expanded into Canada, at the request of the Canadian Congress of Labour (CCL). The CCL had been running a Textile Workers' Organizing Committee of its own. At the same time, the Canadian-based National Textile Workers' Union of Canada also voted to join the TWUA.

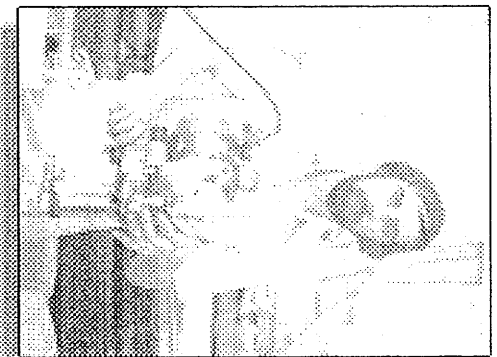
In 1946, the TWUA launched a huge organizing drive in Canada, along with several other CIO-CCL unions. In 1948, the Canadian director of the union, Sam Baron, reported that 47 plants with 17,000 workers were covered by collective agreements. Included were Courtalds Ltd., the largest synthetic yarn plant in Canada, six plants of Canadian Cottons and five units of Monarch Knitting. During this wave of negotiations, the TWUA won the first 40-hour week in the Canadian textile industry.

The ACWA and the ILGWU also made gains. During World War II, the union was able to win solid contracts across the country. During the 1940s, contracts for the ILGWU, ACWA and the TWUA came to include:

- two-week vacations with pay/premium pay for night shift work
- time and one-half for Saturdays
- double time for Sundays
- holiday pay
- seniority rights

Post war survival and renewal

The next decade brought hard times to the Canadian textile industry. Competition from imports hurt the industry badly. Over 200 plants shut down. The membership in many plants took pay cuts to keep jobs. The TWUA launched a major publicity campaign to change government import policy.



In 1974, the Canadian ACWA was the first to go out in a series of strikes that rocked the men's and boys' clothing industries. They stood firm against both the Manufacturers' Association in Montreal and the Men's Clothing Manufacturers Association of Toronto. In the

end, these workers won wage increases of 85 cents an hour over two years. They also got a fourth week of paid vacation, a raise in monthly pension amounts, increased life insurance, bereavement pay and other benefits. Even in tough times, workers in the industry were prepared to stand up for their rights.

The ILGWU faced the same issues of rising imports and plant closures, and responded with many innovative strategies. In the early 1990s, the ILGWU in Toronto became one of the first unions in North America to take on the challenge of organizing homeworkers in the clothing industry.

After decades of struggle and solidarity, the TWUA and the ACWA merged to form the ACTWU in 1976. In 1992, the five joint councils of the ACTWU in Ontario merged to form the Ontario Joint Council. In 1995, the ACTWU and the ILGWU came together to form UNITE. Finally, in 2000 the two councils of UNITE in Ontario, representing members of the former ACTWU and the former ILGWU, joined together to form the UNITE Ontario Council. For the first time, all locals of our founding unions in Ontario are organized together in one organization.

We have found that by working together, we can create an organization that

is stronger than the sum of its parts. In the first 18 months of the new council's existence, almost 1,600 new members were organized into the union.

UNITE members have overcome many struggles in the past. But, working together, we will build a better future.

Contact us!

Telephone: 416-510-0887

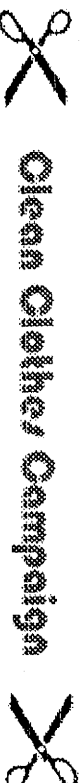
Toll free: 1-800-268-4064

FAX: 416-510-0891

Postal address: 15 Gervais Drive, Suite 400, Toronto, Ontario M3C 1Y8

General contact: mail@unite-ojc.org

Organizing contact: organizeunite@hotmail.com



Clean Clothes Campaign

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00-06-26, Canada: Homeworkers' Class Action Lawsuit

Dear Friends,

Please find below an article sent to us by the Maquila Solidarity Network on a class action lawsuit against five clothing retailers in Canada, filed by homeworkers seeking back wages, overtime, and vacation pay.

\$1.5 Million Class Action Claim Launched Against Clothing Companies UNITE Seeks to Have all Companies in Production Process Held Liable for Wages

(Toronto) A \$1.5 million class action claim was launched Monday against five clothing retailers, manufacturers and a contractor, on behalf of garment workers who did piece work for one of the companies. The claim alleges that the companies owe the workers wages, overtime premiums, and vacation pay, and seeks to hold them jointly and severally liable.

"Yesterday, in the Superior Court of Ontario, a class action claim was launched against five companies," said, Veena Verma, the plaintiff's lawyer, who is with the law firm Cavalluzzo Hayes Shilton McIntyre and Cornish. "The claim is for \$500,000 in back wages for homeworker Fan Jin Lian and all the other Class Members who sewed and assembled garments for Eliz World. The plaintiff is also asking the court to declare that the five defendants have breached the Ontario Employment Standards Act."

The five defendants, who include retailers, manufacturers and contractors, are:

"J. Crew Group (J. Crew) New York, clothing manufacturer and retailer" Venator Group Canada Inc. (owns the group of stores in the "Northern Group", such as Northern Traditions, Northern Reflections and Northern Elements) Weston, Ont., retailer" Clothing for Modern Times Ltd. (the Costa Blanca stores) Toronto, retailer" E. Knitted Garment Inc., Scarborough, manufacturer" Eliz World Inc. (Eliz World) Toronto, contractor, Eliz World has closed its offices and factories and disconnected its phone.

"We regret that we have to resort to legal action," said Alexandra Dagg, the Co-Director of the UNITE Ontario Council (the Union of Needletrades, Industrial and Textile employees), which is sponsoring the legal action. The workers are members of the Homeworkers' Association, a project of the UNITE Ontario Council. "But the fact is this industry has had nearly a decade to clean up its act and start treating workers fairly. But it seems that for many firms in the industry, the only way to persuade them is to hit them is where it counts -- in the courts and in their pocketbooks."

Homeworkers are mainly female immigrants, who sew clothing at home on their own equipment and are paid by the piece rather than by the hour. .../2

"I worked very hard to do the work I was hired to do -- I sewed as much as seven days a week and up to 15 hours a day to meet their deadlines," said Fan Jin Lian, the proposed representative plaintiff. Fan worked for Eliz World between September 23, 1999 and November 24, 1999 and alleges that while she was paid \$675, she is still owed approximately \$5,000. "Now that the work is done, no one wants to accept responsibility for paying me or the other workers the money we are owed -- not the contractor, manufacturers or retailers."

"The homeworkers are at the bottom of an apparel pyramid in which the lower down you are, the less money you get," explained Dagg. "The structure of the garment industry is evolving so that retailers are at the top of the pyramid, contracting work to a contractor to assemble the garments. The contractor subcontracts to a small factory where the cutting and some sewing is done. The small factory will in turn subcontract sewing to homeworkers. Contractors and subcontractors recruit, hire, and pay the workers whose piece rates often fall below minimum wage.

"Over the years retailers have gained enormous power to determine the price of clothing, the price of production and the turnaround times. In this case, we are alleging that J. Crew, Venator Group and Costa Blanca were the controlling mind in the entire chain of production of their clothes. "They determined the price paid to contractors and subcontractors, and the speed by which production had to be completed. We're alleging that their prices are so low and production deadlines so tight, that the plaintiff, who was paid by the piece rate, sometimes did not earn minimum wage as required under the Employment Standards Act."

As far back as 1992, UNITE published a homework study showing industry violations of the Act. More recently, a 1999 study by the University of Toronto's Dr. Roxanna Ng, under the auspices of UNITE, discovered that many homeworkers in Ontario are paid extremely low wages and their employers regularly violate provincial laws regarding minimum wage, overtime pay and vacation pay.

"When we talk about homeworkers, we're talking about some of the hardest working, most poorly paid women in our society," said Dagg. "Many of them are immigrants who feel powerless in a new country. I'm hoping this claim will help not only the women involved, but all homeworkers across Canada."

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International Labour Organization

Promoting Gender Equality - A Resource Kit for Trade Unions

**Gender Promotion Programme
International Labour Office
August 2001**

**Booklet 4. Organizing the unorganized:
informal economy and other unprotected workers**

Homeworkers Section

4. Homeworkers

Home-based work has been expanding, especially as a consequence of developments in information and communications technology. Homebased workers are in an extraordinary diversity of occupations, payment systems and contractual arrangements, in a wide range of service and manufacturing industries. Industrial-type homework covers the traditional sectors such as textiles and clothing and also newer activities such as sorting, cleaning, packaging and labelling of high-technology manufacturing and electrical, plastic and light metal goods. Such work is labour-intensive and is often contracted out on a piecework basis. Homework in the service sector is also expanding, especially in teleworking and "back offices" for word and data processing, invoicing, editing and translating.

Women account for 70 to 80 per cent of homeworkers in both developed and developing countries; they make up an "invisible" and "captive" workforce, often tied to the home because of family responsibilities. Homeworkers are often migrant or ethnic minority women who are unable to find work outside their homes, because of discrimination or prejudices against migrants or barriers such as lack of knowledge of the host country's language.

Homeworking generally involves low pay, invisibility, long hours and poor working conditions. Compared with in-factory workers, who produce goods of the same quality and quantity, homeworkers are paid considerably less. Most have no networks or other organizational basis for bargaining or comparing the current wage rates. They are subject to insecurity of work availability, receiving income only when work is available. There is also the danger that homebased workers may use their children as part of the family labour force and withdraw them from school. Health and safety conditions may be poor in the home. Access to social benefits and protection is also a problem, since homeworkers normally are not covered by the national labour legislation.

Homeworkers were traditionally seen as "outlaws or scab labour" by the unions, so that the early response was to advocate a total ban of homework. But now many unions have moved towards organizing such workers. Instead of blaming homeworkers for the growth of homework, many unions have tried to understand the reasons why women take up homework and to help these women. Union can:

Checklist:

✓ *Establish contact with homeworkers.* Conventional methods may not be effective.

Unions may need to:

- work intensively in some communities with community organizations, including migrant community organizations, to contact such workers at their homes;
- organize special events which allow homeworkers to come out of their isolation, come into contact with each other, make factory visits, etc. ;

- establish a telephone hotline or free inquiry line so that homeworkers have a contact point where they can seek advice;
- set up information or support centres at the community level.

In the Netherlands, the **Women's Union** set up independent **Home Work**

Support Centres (HSCs) to provide advice and support service to homeworkers and through their contacts, collect information and develop policy about homework. The HSCs were funded by the national government but worked closely with the unions, and were successful in bringing some homeworkers into union membership. For example, the HSC liaised with relevant trade unions where possible, in order to build contacts between homeworkers, the organized workforce within the factory and the relevant trade union, and to persuade the unions to adapt some of their practices to encourage homeworkers to join, eg by having some flexibility in membership dues.

Source: Martens, M.H. and S. Miller (eds.), Women in Trade Unions

Organizing the Unorganized, Geneva: ILO, pp. 83-88.

✓ *Collect information about homeworking*, once contact has been established. Since most homework is invisible, information can be collected only through contact with the workers themselves.

✓ *Publicize the information*, carry out campaigns to make homework visible and to generate support for activities to improve the situation of homeworkers.

The **Clothing and Allied Trades Union of Australia (CATU)** organized a major publicity campaign in 1986 to directly inform outworkers about the union's policies on homework. It used the "ethnic media" ie both newspapers and the radio to reach such workers. It also collaborated with the state government to set up a multilingual hotline for advice and help to outworkers, and to produce thousands of leaflets in 14 different languages. The union also employed a project worker to deal with inquiries from outworkers. In a period of about 1 year, over 6000 workers contacted the union for advice. "Prior to this information campaign being implemented, the union scarcely heard from any outworkers"

Source: Martens, M.H. and S. Miller (eds.), Women in Trade Unions

Organizing the Unorganized, Geneva: ILO, pp. 67-73.

✓ *Lobby for legal reform for homework*. Especially where homeworkers are not covered by labour legislation, such reform is a pre-condition for improving their situation. It is important to lobby for recognition of the "employee status" of homeworkers since this enables them to have the same rights and to be covered by the

same awards as in-factory workers in the same industry, rather than being treated as "independent contractors".

In Australia, the initial step was to advocate the legalization of homework by campaigning for the permit system to be changed to enable homeworkers to come forward. It was then followed by a major campaign for employment rights for homeworkers. Once the move to establish legal rights was successful, the **Clothing and Allied Trades Union (CATU)** was able to fight numerous claims on behalf of homeworkers. Its successes were widely publicized.

✓ *Organize the homeworkers* - either by recruiting them directly as members of the union (eg. through keeping membership dues low enough to be accessible to homeworkers) or by encouraging them to set up their own associations that are affiliated with the union.

✓ *Include homeworkers in the terms of the collective agreement.*

Relevant ILO Standard:

Home Work Convention, 1996 (No.177)

Home Work Convention, 1996 (No.177)

Article 1

For the purposes of this Convention:

- (a) the term "home work" means work carried out by a person, to be referred to as a homeworker;
- (i) in his or her home or in other premises of his or her choice, other than the workplace of the employer;
- (ii) for remuneration;
- (iii) which results in a produce or service as specified by the employer, irrespective of who provides the equipment, materials or other inputs used,
- unless this person has the degree of autonomy and of economic independence necessary to be considered an independent worker under national laws, regulations or court decisions.

Article 4

1. The national policy on homework shall promote, as far as possible, equality of treatment between homeworkers and other wage earners, taking into account the special characteristics of home work and, where appropriate, conditions applicable to the same or a similar type of work carried out in an enterprise.
2. Equality of treatment shall be promoted, in particular, in relation to:
 - a. the homeworkers' right to establish or join organizations of their own choosing and to participate in the activities of such organizations;
 - b. protection against discrimination in employment and occupation;
 - c. protection in the field of occupational safety and health;
 - d. remuneration;
 - e. statutory social security protection;
 - f. access to training;
 - g. minimum age for admission to employment or work; and
 - h. maternity protection.

The Homeworkers' Code of Practice

Fair Wear Code of Practice

The Homeworkers' Code of Practice was developed by the TCFUA together with representatives of the textile and clothing retail and manufacturing industries. The Code is a self regulatory system that intends to regulate and monitor the production chain from the retailer to the homeworker. It also attempts to simplify the reporting requirements of manufacturers, building solidly on award entitlements to workers. There are two parts to the Code:

Part I is relevant to retailers. **The Statement of Principles regarding Homeworkers' Wages and Conditions:**

This includes ten principles that outline the intent of the parties to the Agreement;

The acceptable work conditions and pay rates homeworkers should receive;

Parties to the agreement will ensure that manufacturers comply with these standards;

Retailers who purchase products not produced by exploited labour may identify these products with a logo or other sign of compliance;

Retailers commit not to sell products which have been produced by exploited labour, this may include terminating a relationship with a supplier.

The Code will lead to garments carrying a sign that they are manufactured ethically and shops will carry a logo if they stock such clothing. Retailers may promote the fact that they only deal with accredited manufacturers who do not exploit homeworkers

Part II The Code of Practice: this part sets out the criteria for participating manufacturers:

A Code of Practice Committee will oversee the setting up and ongoing management of the Code.

It involves an accreditation procedure whereby manufacturers who give work to contractors or directly to homeworkers seek accreditation.

The accreditation process will ensure that from the retailer down to the homeworker the chain is transparent;

This will be achieved by the following steps:

Retailers signatory to the Code will provide to the union lists of their suppliers,

Retailers will require their suppliers in their purchase contracts to comply with all laws and regulations including payment of the sewing garment rate relevant to homeworkers;

Manufacturers or suppliers to retailers will seek accreditation;

Accredited suppliers will provide documentation to the Code Committee verifying that the subcontractors they use are keeping all appropriate documentation and paying their homeworkers according to the agreed garment sewing time manual standard

Pay rate for homeworkers:

The Code introduces a timing manual for classifying the sewing of garments into three levels of complexity and for setting the standard for fixing sewing time rates translated into pay rates for homeworkers

The minute sewing time per garment provided to the homeworker to sew will be adjusted with percentages for annual leave and public holidays. Homeworkers must receive with each batch of work, documentation which identifies that the homeworker is being paid correctly according to the standard.

The code also specifies the minimum garments (total amount of work) as well as the maximum work load a homemaker can receive from a contractor over a two week period.

Manufacturers will risk losing accreditation and contracts with retailers if their contractors fail to pay homeworkers correctly.

Code of Practice Committee:

The Committee will undertake an education and information programme to educate and inform manufacturers, homeworkers and consumers about the Code.

Source: <http://vic.uca.org.au/fairwear/cop.html>



Living Wage – The Canadian Dimension

The Issue

Globalization has created as many challenges for workers in Canada as well overseas. Increasing numbers of Canadians can be categorized as the “working poor.” Global restructuring has seen the decline of good full-time jobs in Canada, and an increase in part time employment.¹ One in six people in Ontario lives in poverty,² and statistics show that a good proportion of these do indeed have some sort of employment, but that available employment is not sufficient to adequately support a decent living.³ Part-time jobs are usually minimum wage jobs with little or no benefits. 70% part-time workers are women, contributing to the feminization of poverty.⁴ Ontario’s minimum wage has been frozen since 1995 at 6.85/hr. A full-time worker needs to make \$10 and hour just to reach the poverty line.⁵ A couple in Toronto on social assistance receives \$14,316 a year, \$21,115 below the 2001 poverty line.⁶

The living wage debate is replete with complex issues and conflicting ideas. Some groups feel that increasing the minimum wage will only contribute to the numbers of people who would “choose” to be on social assistance instead of working. This argument holds no water when considering the huge numbers of people on social assistance who do have jobs but are forced to supplement their income. A popular misconception is that the majority of minimum wage workers are teenagers living at home in middle-class families. This is not the case: 61% of minimum wage workers are adults, primarily women.⁷ Also, dominant ideology still values the male breadwinner model, where the husband’s employment is considered primary income, and that women in part-time jobs are simply working for “extras.” Some groups also feel that raising the minimum wage will have a severe negative impact on employers. The effects of globalization are apparent in minimum wage debates, revealing a wide variety of factors which contribute to changing trends of poverty in Canada.

Why Take Action?

Students Against Sweatshops (SAS) recognizes that labour issues and exploitation are not exclusive to foreign low wage workers, but that all workers deserve a decent standard of living. After successfully passing no sweat policies, many colleges and universities in the United States have turned to living wage

¹ Pat Armstrong “The Feminization of the labour force: Harmonizing Down in a global Economy.”

Isabella Baker ed. Rethinking Restructuring: Gender and change in Canada U of T Press 1996

² OCSJ “Living wage-living income campaign: Welfare fact sheet”

³ Armstrong

⁴ Alice De Wolf “The Face of Globalization: Women Working” Canadian Woman Studies fall 2000

⁵ Ontario Coalition for Social Justice “Minimum wage fact sheet”

⁶ Ontario Coalition for Social Justice “Living wage-living income campaign: Welfare fact sheet”

⁷ Canadian Center for Policy Alternatives “CCPA Quickfacts: The Case for Increasing the Minimum Wage” September 1999 <http://www.policyalternatives.ca/dc/bc/minwagecf.html>

campaigns. As we have seen, earning minimum wage is not sufficient even to reach the poverty line. With the support of thousands of students and unions, living wage campaigns in American Universities such as Harvard and Johns Hopkins University have been successful in raising wages for low income workers at their Universities. There are no living wage campaigns currently underway in Canadian Universities. Trent University full time Aramark food services workers are in fact unionized under CUPE local 3205 and earn \$10.450/hr plus health and dental benefits. This figure, although still low, meets poverty activists standards, making the possibility of a living wage campaign at Trent unlikely, however Trent students can still offer support to the national campaign.

The Living Wage Campaign in North America

Living wage ordinances have been passed in 30 American cities so far, including Detroit, Chicago, Baltimore, and Minneapolis, recognizing the right of workers to earn a living wage.⁸ Another dozen or so ordinances are under way including Los Angeles, San Francisco, and Dallas, however these ordinances only cover workers employed by companies that hold municipal contracts or which receive some sort of public funding.⁹ Anti-poverty activists in Canada are calling for province-wide increases in minimum wages. The right to an adequate standard of living is guaranteed by the United Nations *International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights*. A "living wage" is defined as the amount necessary to keep a family above the poverty line. Living wage campaigns usually focus on what they think they can win. To date this has varied from \$9.50 Cdn to \$18.00 Cdn.¹⁰

Event Idea Invite a speaker

Goal To educate students and members of the community on poverty issues and the living wage movement.

Invite a speaker to discuss poverty issues surrounding the "working poor." The issues are complex and fit the wider scope of the effects of globalization on employment in Canada. The Ontario Coalition for Social Justice currently (OCSJ) has a living wage campaign underway and can be reached at ocsj@ocsj.ca. This event ideally would be part of the annual *Women, Health and the Welfare State** conference in conjunction with OPIRG.

*Note: This conference has changed names and focus in the past, eg, *Women, Health and Environment*. Consult with OPIRG on the current status of the conference.

⁸ Cy Gonick *Canadian Dimension* "Living Wage campaign" December 1999, Vol. 33 Issue 6
http://www.canadiandimension.mb.ca/archiv/iv_wage.htm

⁹ Gonick

¹⁰ Gonick

Promotional Strategy

Contact through OPIRG the people organizing the conference. Let them know about the issue and ideas for a speaker. Offer to help find and confirm a suitable speaker. Even though the conference is usually well advertised, make some posters specifically for the SAS speaker to be posted on campus as well as downtown and community gathering places.

Target Audience

The *Women, Health and Welfare State** conference will attract a wide variety of people from the community. Your workshop should be accessible to members of the Peterborough community as well as students and academics.

Estimated Cost

Speakers can be costly, sometimes \$150-\$300, plus travel fees. Funding should not be difficult to obtain, especially if the speaker is coming to participate in the Women, Health and Welfare State conference. Plan in advance! Apply for funding requests from college cabinets and the Trent Central Student Association (TCSA) and relevant academic departments and programs at Trent. The conference usually has a budget and the costs of a SAS sponsored speaker may be incorporated somewhat.

Campaign Resources and Information

- *Ontario Coalition For Social Justice* www.ocsj.ca

The Ontario Coalition for Social Justice is a coalition of provincial and national groups promoting social and economic justice in Ontario. They currently have a living wage campaign underway. A sample petition from OCSJ is included in this binder. ocsj@ocsj.ca Phone: 416 441 3714

Peterborough contacts

- *Peterborough Coalition Against Poverty* (Division of OCAP) 393 Water Street, Unit #17. 749-9694
- *Peterborough Coalition for Social Justice* (Division of OCSJ) <http://www.web.ca/~pcsj/p-events.html> 705-742-4175
- *Peterborough Social Planning Council* 743-5915.

Additional resources

- *Acom Living wage resource center* www.livingwagecampaign.org/

An American organization dedicated to the living wage campaign. Although the information is primarily American, the site provides good living wage info and links.

- *the Canadian Center for Policy Alternatives* www.policyalternatives.ca

The Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives undertake and promote research on issues of social and economic justice, while maintaining that we do have a choice regarding the policies that affect our lives. Check out publications in the employment and labour section. e-mail: ccpa@policyalternatives.ca

- Golberg, Michael and Green, David "Raising the Floor: The Social and Economic Benefits of Minimum wages in Canada" Canadian Center for Policy Alternatives-BC 1999.

Can be viewed as a pdf, at www.policyalternatives.ca/bc/minwage.pdf

- Schenk, Christopher, "From Poverty Wages to a living Wage" Nov. 2001

An argument by the Center for Social Justice in Toronto why Ontario must make the move from minimum wage laws to living wage laws. Can be viewed as a .pdf at www.socialjustice.org/pubs/schenk.pdf

- Armstrong, Pat "The Feminization of the Labour Force: Harmonizing Down in a Global Economy." Isabella Bakker ed. Rethinking Restructuring: Gender and Change in Canada University of Toronto Press 1996
- De Wolff, Alice "The Face of Globalization: Women Working" Canadian Woman Studies fall 2000
- Swanson, Jean Poor-Bashing: The Politics of Exclusion 2001, Between the Lines
Available in the OPIRG Library

Appeal to the Ontario Provincial Legislature to Raise the Minimum Wage:

Because the minimum wage has been frozen at \$6.85 since 1995 despite increases in the cost of living; and

Because a full-time worker earning the current minimum wage in a large city is \$5 904 below the poverty line, and to reach the poverty line would need an hourly wage of at least \$10* ; and

Because the minimum wage should provide people with an adequate standard of living;

We demand that the Ontario government immediately increase the minimum wage to at least the poverty line – that means \$10 an hour and index it to the cost of living.

Name (print)

Address (street and city)

Signature

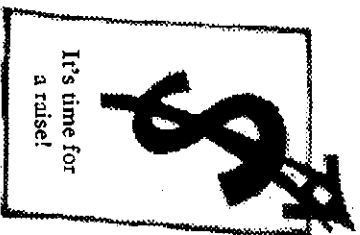
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Please return to: Ontario Coalition for Social Justice, 15 Gervais Dr, #305, Toronto, Ont., M3C 1Y8

*\$10 an hour is required to bring a single person living in a city of 500 000 or more, working 35 hours a week to the 2000 Low Income Cut Off set by Statistics Canada.

Living Wage – Living Income Campaign

Minimum wage fact sheet



The current minimum wage is a poverty wage.

A full-time worker, working a regular 35-hour week needs to earn \$10 an hour just to get to the poverty line*. Today, one in four workers in Ontario make poverty wages. Workers work really hard and deserve a wage that gives them a decent standard of living.

The minimum wage has been frozen for the since 1995.

While the costs of living, including rent and public transportation have increased, the minimum wage has been frozen at \$6.85. (Meanwhile the Tories have given themselves raises of 36.6%)

Raising the minimum wage won't kill jobs.

Raises to the minimum wage mean that more people have more money – which is good for business.

Also, studies show that increases to the minimum wage do not cause job loss. In fact, in some instances jobs have been created where the minimum wage was increased.

Often greedy bosses and shareholders want to keep all of the profit for themselves, instead of paying workers decent wages they can live on. As for small businesses, they generally rely on workers in their own communities to buy their goods and services. As workers' wages go up, spending tends to go up.

* \$10 an hour is required to bring a single person, living in a city of 500 000 or more, working 35 hours a week to the 2000 Low Income Cut Off set by Statistics Canada.

So-called 'low-skilled' jobs are vital to the economy.

In 2000, jobs in the retail, food and accommodation industries made up 18% of all jobs in Ontario.

In 2000, 24% of women earning poverty wages worked in retail and 17% worked in food and accommodation. For men, 29% worked in retail and 20% worked in food and accommodation.

Education and expertise don't guarantee a good job .

Many people come to Canada with valuable skills and training, but because of racism are often forced to take insecure, poorly paid jobs. 41% of recent immigrants make poverty wages.

Racism often results in discriminatory hiring practices and an undervaluing of the skills of people of colour. As a result people of colour are left with poorly paid jobs. 32% of people of colour in Ontario earn poverty wages.

Women are also systematically denied good jobs because of sexism. Often women are not seen to be as competent as men and their work is not seen to be as valuable. 31% of women earn poverty wages. 38% of women of colour make poverty wages.

Increasing the minimum wage is possible.

Historically, people's struggles have won major victories such as public health care, public housing, the right to unionize and improvements in working and living standards. We can win. We will win.

We deserve better!

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Contact the Ontario Coalition for Social Justice

(416) 441-3714 or ocsj@ocsj.ca

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Acknowledgement: Much of the information for this fact sheet is from Justice for Workers. E-mail justice_for_workers@yahoo.ca for more information.

Article Review: Part-Time Work and the Feminization of Poverty in

Canada
By Hala Zabaneh

The impact of Global restructuring on women in the Canadian workforce has become a focus of feminist discourse. Free Trade agreements between countries in the last 20 years have meant the creation of a global market where free flowing economic capital has altered the relationship between the economy and the state. Women all over the world are feeling the effects of social and economic restructuring and are finding themselves in increasingly impoverished situations. The Canadian workforce has undergone many changes in the last ten years since the ratification of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) and the subsequent erosion of the Keynesian welfare state. Although the gap in wages between men and women may be closing, theorists have identified the inaccuracy in viewing these advances as proof of the improving status of women workers. The increase in part-time or "flexible" jobs have been described as key components in the persistence of poverty among women and their children in Canada. In the case studies of Canada Post workers and the fisheries crisis in Newfoundland, we see how the trend toward part-time employment and social services restructuring has negatively affected women, and paints a dismal picture for the future of women's work in Canada. This paper will examine six articles within feminist discourse on the ways in which globalization has affected the shift towards part-time employment and the reduction of social spending in Canada.

The erosion of the Keynesian welfare state has seen the dismantling of one of what has been considered Canada's great strengths. British economist John Maynard Keynes identified the necessity of social services for a healthy economy, and provided the framework for the post WWII welfare state in Canada. The Welfare state model included government expenditures on services such as education, social security, health, pensions and other community and social services.¹ Women have traditionally been primary recipients of services such as family allowance and childcare subsidies, and have the most to lose with reductions in these services. Where social spending was once recognized as essential for a healthy economy, Marjorie Griffen Cohen identifies the ways in which free trade agreements such as NAFTA have encouraged the decrease in social spending, favouring privatization and out contracting, which have in turn had disastrous effects for many Canadians.

Cohen's article "New International Trade Agreements: Their Reactionary Role in Creating Markets and Retarding Social Welfare," names the role of free Trade Agreements in the decline of the welfare state and falling wages worldwide. In the last 20 years, free trade agreements such as the FTA and NAFTA have dramatically altered the relationship between the state and economic activity. These agreements guarantee special rights to corporations including tax and tariff free operations, facilitating trade between nations, enhancing capital mobility and in many instances effectively creating a single market. In this model, populations within countries no longer need to be wealthy enough to buy the goods they produce. This enables corporations to produce goods wherever boasts the cheapest production costs, driving wages down worldwide. NAFTA also

¹ Marjorie Griffen Cohen "New International Trade Agreements: Their Reactionary Role in Creating Markets and Retarding Social Welfare."

guarantees rights to private corporations in which the sale of their products can not be restricted by any one nation, encouraging the privatization of what was once considered the sole domain of public services. Cohen theorizes that the inability for nation states to control capital greatly hinders their ability to provide social services, in effect causing a social welfare retardation,² offering the example of the failure to implement universal childcare services in Canada. Canada's social and economic programs have had to adapt to the requirements of these agreements. Opening social services to the private sector has not only made them vulnerable to rising costs, but has also left the open market to decide the economic state of our country. As a result, we have seen rising costs of social services, the southward migration of the goods producing industries and lower average wages across the board.

Cohen's takes the position that these trade liberalization strategies undermine a democratic process. With increasing corporate control, any redistributive power the welfare state may have had in the past is now contradicted by corporate interests. Disadvantaged groups have traditionally located their struggles in the governmental and political level, and the shift from a social welfare agenda to more restricted services are having negative consequences for women and other disadvantaged groups. Cohen states that "when trade agreements limit the effectiveness of these state entities to respond to redistributive demands, the possibilities for democratic participation by disadvantaged groups are severely constrained."³ The democratic process is undermined where the government is now less able to confront the concerns of these groups. We have since witnessed the dismantling of social services such as the Canada Pension Plan, Unemployment Insurance and Ontario Mothers Allowance, which were all amalgamated into the Canada Health and social Transfer in 1996. The change cut millions to social services, making less money available to groups that need it.

Cohen's article successfully presents the argument that these changes are not progressive and are not in the interests of democracy or equality.⁴ Cohen demonstrates how buying and selling alone cannot meet all needs and is not invariably the most efficient way to organize production, distribution and general human welfare.⁵ Marginalized groups such as women and minorities are traditionally most vulnerable to downward structural changes, and Cohen's article demonstrates a clearly feminist analysis of the ways in which Free Trade has effected Canadian women. Cohen's analysis has been refuted by many economic institutions such as the Fraser institute, who endorse NAFTA and global restructuring, pushing for more globalization initiatives. Corporations love these policies since it enables them to profit considerably with lower wages. They deny that any negative economic ramifications are directly related to these policies, but that they are due to other factors. However if these initiatives were in fact able to meet all needs and public services were no longer required, why are so many more men and women unable to support themselves in order to afford these private services?

² Cohen p194

³ Cohen p190

⁴ Cohen p187

⁵ Cohen 189

The quest for economic security has seen many more women entering into a workforce traditionally dominated by men. Good full-time employment once most often held by men, operated on the assumption that the male would be the primary breadwinner and any women's work would be "supplementary" income, their primary role being that of the family caregiver.⁶ This male breadwinner model defended the position that women could be paid less, contributing to the poverty of many women, as well as functioning to financially tie them to their male partners to survive. With globalization, the mostly male full-time unionized workers are losing jobs to southern nation states where goods can be produced more cheaply. Women are needing to support their families and are finding it essential to enter into the workforce, encouraging the breakdown of the male breadwinner model. The problem then, as recognized by theorists such as Alice De Wolff and Pat Armstrong, is that in the face of globalization, the types of jobs available to women are insufficient to support themselves, let alone a family.

When examining the general trends in women's employment in the face of globalization, theorists have noted women's severe disadvantage. Although half the labour force in Canada is now comprised of women,⁷ women are facing a new challenge. Alice De Wolff's essay "The Face of Globalization: Women Working," and Pat Armstrong's "The Feminization of the Labour Force: Harmonizing Down in a Global Economy," both focus on the problems with the types of employment now available to women. Pat Armstrong theorizes that increased competition, privatization, and a growing service sector have not served to improve significantly Canadian women's position in recent years.⁸ Armstrong offers statistics demonstrating that employment in manufacturing and other primary industries have decreased in the years since free trade. De Wolff notes that the only kinds of employment that have grown in Canada are contracting, self-employment and temporary work in the private service sector traditionally dominated by women, and that most women who do this "new" work earn very low wages.⁹ Although the widely publicized fact that more women have jobs than in the past, 70 percent of part-time workers are women.¹⁰ Part-time employment offers no benefits and is quite insufficient to meet ones needs. Any new full time positions still more often go to men, following the thought to be deceased male breadwinner model. Both Wolff and Armstrong identify the industry labour market strategy toward part-time "flexible" work as contributing to poverty among women as well as men. It is not only women who are increasingly finding part-time employment the only option, since new market strategies drive wages down for everyone.

Pat Armstrong names what is happening to the men and women's labour force the "feminization of labour." Armstrong claims that although more part-time women's work

⁶ Pat Armstrong "The Feminization of the labour force: Harmonizing Down in a global Economy." Isabella Baker ed. ReThinking Restructuring: Gender and change in Canada University of Toronto Press 1996

⁷ Alice De Wolff "The Face of Globalization: Women Working" Canadian Woman Studies fall 2000

⁸ Armstrong p29

⁹ De Wolff p54

¹⁰ De Wolff

has been created in the market as a result of global restructuring, it has at the same time eliminated some men's jobs and altered many of the jobs traditionally done by men in ways that make them more like women's work.¹¹ Although women have been traditionally paid less than men under the male breadwinner model, we are now seeing a decreasing wage gap between wages earned for the same work. Many scholars have interpreted this data to mean that women are now earning almost as much as men, meaning that they are more able to support themselves and taking this as evidence of the successful breakdown of the male breadwinner model. However Armstrong offers statistics demonstrating that men's average wages have also been decreasing as a result of global restructuring, explaining the more similar average wages earned between men and women. Armstrong demonstrates that the position of most women has not improved, but that the position of some men has deteriorated, an angle often overlooked by economic theorists. This kind of feminization of the labour force not only affects women but has negative impacts for all Canadians.

Armstrong creates an awareness that statistics and data on women's work and wages can often be misleading. The ways in which statistics are used to declare women's advances hide the truth about the effects of globalization. Part-time employment by large corporations in the service sector such as Wall-Mart advertise themselves as being a good "flexible" job, even though it has been reported that half of its employees in the USA are eligible for food stamps. There is a larger problem here than a simple wage disparity between men and women, it is the more widespread instance poverty or near poverty in Canada. Armstrong's pointed reexamination of statistics of growth in women's wages can also be applied to statistics for economic growth nationwide. Since growth no longer need be calculated by the prosperity of the individual, but by prosperity of the global market, individual security no longer exists. Every industry, public or private, is vulnerable to the effects of global trade initiatives. But how has the feminization of labour affected industries in Canada?

The destructive impact globalization and its feminization of labour has had on employment is apparent when looking at the example of Canada's Postal workers. Marion Pollack attributes the pressures of globalization as the cause of massive changes in Canada Post over the last ten years. Pollack notes that before 1986 Canada Post Corporation had retail counters in almost every city in Canada, when today many small towns no longer have a retail outlet, but instead postal services are being delivered at drugstores, gas stations, and fish shops.¹² The change has meant the switch from the unionized Canada Post outlet to low wage, increasingly part-time and mostly female store clerks. This is a clear example of globalization's influence on the disappearance of good full time jobs and replacing them with low wage part-time employment. Pollack feels that the only way to challenge globalization should be to challenge privatization, contracting out, and the growth of the contingent labour force. This poses a problem since these are major functions of free trade agreements and are inherently at the core of their nature.

¹¹ Armstrong p30

¹² Marion Pollack "Globalization and Its Twin Sisters Hit Canada Post" Canadian Woman Studies volume 18, number 1 p445

Barbara Neis and Susan Williams' analysis of the fisheries crisis demonstrates the necessity of social assistance programs for a healthy economy. Women's vulnerability to reductions in social services as a result of globalization is exhibited in their article "The New Right, Gender and the Fisheries Crisis: Local and Global Dimensions." Neis and Williams identify the social impacts of the collapse of Atlantic Canada's fisheries. Overfishing during 80's forced fishery closures in the 90's, and a moratorium on northern cod imposed in 1992 forced more fish processing plant closures in 1993. Before the closures, 15,000 women were working in the Newfoundland and Labrador Fishery, making up about one-third of the fishery labour force.¹³ They held half of processing jobs, worked fish lines, in clerical jobs and plant management. About 12 percent of province's fishers were women. About 12,000 women lost their jobs, and the crisis also affected women doing unpaid work in their husbands' fishing enterprises. The Canadian government set up economic adjustment programs, however, although many people were accepted into these programs, those indirectly related to industry were ineligible, many of whom were women and who, if accepted followed the male breadwinner model and were offered lower average compensation rates.¹⁴

Without adequate assistance programs and no jobs, thousands of women have no means to support themselves, effecting the mass exodus from Newfoundland we have seen in recent years. How are families expected to survive when there is no longer an industry? Those in favour of free trade may argue that global economic restructuring has nothing to do with the decline in fish stocks themselves, placing over fishing and poor environmental management to blame. Indeed most people would fail to see a correlation between global economic policy and Fish stock. Neis and Williams however, propose a deeper analysis which does in fact convincingly finger globalization initiatives in the destructive mismanagement of Canada's natural resources.

Neis and Williams analysis of the fisheries crisis identifies the failure of globalization tactics to support the Canadian economy and its resources. They claim that the crisis has been "mediated by new right policies, by the gendered dynamics of the crisis, and by links between local and global restructuring."¹⁵ From the perspective of the New Right, an "excess" of fishery workers is blamed on overly generous social programs and a "failure of political will."¹⁶ In fact, corporate response to fish stock decline has strained the international market, affecting stock levels to the point of global crisis. Canada has been pressuring debtor countries to exchange access to their fish resources for access to foreign exchange. Fish from these areas can be marketed cheaply, further depressing prices for northern fish, as well as depressing our global fish resources beyond sustainability. The fisheries in Newfoundland had once been considered a natural resource, falling under government regulation. Under globalization initiatives which encourage privatization, Canada is slowly selling off our resources including the fisheries to the private sector, which encourages overfishing and exploitation. Neis and Williams make the

¹³ Barbara Neis and Susan Williams "The New Right, Gender and the fisheries Crisis: Local and Global Dimensions." *Atlantis* Volume 21.2 Spring/Summer 1997

¹⁴ Neis and Williams

¹⁵ Neis and Williams

¹⁶ Neis and Williams p48

argument that the cutting of social support programs, the limiting access to and eventually privatize fishery resources, and the transferring of responsibility for research and management from government to private sector, are fueled by new right globalization initiatives.¹⁷

If so many feminist theorists blame global restructuring for the desperate economic situation for women in this country as well as worldwide, than why is it that we continue to accept globalization as the dominant ideology? In the past, political leaders promised a better life to everyone in the long run. In today's ideology, with restructuring associated with globalization, poverty and unemployment are no longer viewed as temporary, but are considered normal features of international competition. The demands of the poor now appear as greed which undermines economic success.¹⁸ How is it that in this century, the systems we worked so hard to put into place have been so easily dismantled and reformed into one that looks out for no one but corporate interests? It would seem as though corporations have replaced people in whose needs are being heard on the international as well as national political agenda. Many people have come to accept these changes as an irrevocable path of economic progress, however theorists such as Cohen present a strong argument for the opposite.

In her article "What Women Should Know About Economic Fundamentalism," Marjorie Griffin Cohen presents her position that the shift toward new right globalization policies were not inevitable because of the logic of economic forces, but were a carefully planned occurrence.¹⁹ She asserts that the ideologies of today have been favoured on behalf of the corporate elite who have lobbied hard to gain support. Within the corporate community, political economic thought from the 1930's until the mid 1980's understood the logic behind the necessity of full employment, high wages and social support systems when relying on people within a nation to purchase goods produced.²⁰ Once it was accepted that the highest profits lay in international markets, all of our previously valued economic ideals could be usurped. Cohen states that as free trade initiatives took shape, governments were pressured into presenting social services as too costly for the public sector, on the logic that people would believe that privatization is at least an alternative to under funded services. It was in this way that the slow withdrawal from the public sector began and continues to hold our acceptance of global restructuring as an inevitable economic fact. Cohen also notes organizations such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund have been extremely influential in shaping the ideology of the global political economic climate. These organizations make huge profits off of international loans, wielding power over nations in debt to conform to the free trade model.

Cohen's article reminds us that we were bullied into these policies, and that real alternatives are out there. My own position resonates with Cohen's accusations of

¹⁷ Neis and Williams

¹⁸ Marjorie Griffin Cohen "What Women Should Know About Economic Fundamentalism" Atlantis Vol 21.2 Spring/Summer p7

¹⁹ Cohen "What Women Should Know..." p6

²⁰ Cohen "What Women Should Know..."

economic foul play. I am angered when I see a 60 year old woman working part-time at a Tim-Hortons, with no prospect of ever finding full employment with benefits of any kind. She will have no pension from Timmi Ho's upon retirement. Will there be a government pension for her in the near future? Will one exist for you or me? We are already seeing promises to reverse the de-regulation of Hydro in Ontario only a few years ago. De-regulation and partial privatization has been named the cause of massive cost increases heating up the debate (if not our houses) on the issue as winter in Canada fast approaches. What a mess we have created with de-regulation of the hydro industry. What disaster could be next? Costs of health care have already increased in provinces that have privatized and contracted out parts of the system. Is there anything we can do? How can we challenge corporate control of the global market? How can we regain control of our own economic future? How do we change the dominant ideology?

In order to successfully change the dominant ideology, we must remember that these policies have been designed to make us believe there is no alternative, when in fact an infinite number of strategies and alternatives do exist. Feminist activism must challenge economic pluralism and political diversity for people of all nations. Cohen calls on feminists all over the world in rich and poor nations to join each other in recognition of the dangers of imposed economic trade conformity.²¹ As much as some activists including myself would like to "smash the state," Cohen reminds us that it is important for feminist action be focused with a deliberate redistributive vision for the future. It is true that while huge anti-globalization demonstrations in the west have functioned to create awareness, little real impact has arisen as a result. Cohen reminds us that women from poorer countries have made much more dramatic successes than those in industrialized countries. Feminists in India have made huge impacts with their actions against the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. De Wolf also makes note of a number of labour industry workers in Canada and the U.S. who are using a collective voice to change the nature of their work. Feminist groups such as Au Bas de L'Echelle and the newly formed Contingent Workers Project are beginning to hold workshops and take action around the unfair practices of the temporary and part-time service industry. We must live with the fact that globalization initiatives are in place, and we are going to have to harness any possible advantages. We must attempt to rebuild social services and the labour market under the existing system, however oppressive.

Globalization's contribution to the feminization of labour and the dismantling of the Kenesian welfare state is clearly demonstrated by these six theorists. Free trade agreements granting of freedom of corporations to move capital between states beyond regulation has altered the relationship between the state and the economy in a way which threatens the ability to provide public services and retain adequate employment. These feminist theorists have alerted us about the direction toward increased part-time or "flexible" labour in Canada, and that we must mobilize between rich and poor boarders before those boarders are no longer between nation states, but between corporations and the rest of the world. The message is clear that as long as globalization remains within dominant ideology, the future of employment and services for women in Canada and worldwide remains grim.

²¹ Cohen "New International Trade." p198

Articles

Armstrong, Pat "The Feminization of the labour force: Harmonizing Down in a global Economy." Isabella Baker ed. Rethinking Restructuring: Gender and change in Canada University of Toronto Press 1996

Cohen, Marjorie Griffin "New International Trade Agreements: Their Reactionary Role in Creating Markets and Retarding Social Welfare."

Cohen, Marjorie Griffin "What Women Should Know About Economic Fundamentalism" Atlantis Vol 21.2 Spring/Summer p7

De Wolf, Alice "The Face of Globalization: Women Working" Canadian Woman Studies fall 2000

Marion Pollack "Globalization and Its Twin Sisters Hit Canada Post" Canadian Woman Studies volume 18, number 1 p445

Barbara Neis and Susan Williams "The New Right, Gender and the fisheries Crisis: Local and Global Dimensions." Atlantis Volume 21.2 Spring/Summer 1997

Topic: Independent Monitoring and Fair Trade

Codes of conduct are only the first step in the process to improve labour standards for low wage workers around the globe. Trent's anti-sweatshop policy, signed by Trent's local suppliers, states that clothing produced for Trent University must be made under fair conditions such as a living wage for workers and rights to worker organizing as outlined by the International Labour Organization (ILO). This sounds great on paper, but the trouble begins when we try to find out if codes of conduct are actually being observed in the factories we are sourcing from, and to what extent have conditions for workers improved.

The issue:

Implementing codes of conduct is a complicated and ongoing process. One of the major provisions which makes a code of conduct implementable, is the requirement for companies to disclose the location of factories. This allows us to contact local groups and find out what kinds of practices are actually occurring in the factories we are sourcing from. Without disclosure, it would be impossible to find out if workers are aware of their rights or that a code of conduct was in effect. This is where Independent monitoring agencies take on a vital role in putting codes of conduct to work.

Why Take Action?

Larger corporations such as the Gap claim to have codes of conduct, but in fact many of their suppliers do not observe the mandates outlined in the policy.¹ It is not enough that Trent now has a code of conduct, but the code must be followed up and enforced in the factories we source from. OPIRG plans to employ a student who would be in charge of making connections and continuing the process of implementing Trent's no Sweat policy. While sweatshop free clothing at Trent is in the works, other fair trade goods such as coffee have yet to make an appearance on campus.

Fair Trade and Coffee:

Canadians consume about 15 billion cups of coffee a year.² Coffee prices are subject to the free market, and farmers in Latin America who produce it are often exploited and paid insufficient prices for their goods. Fair Trade means that farmers are paid a set minimum price for their goods and that importers and distributors adhere to monitoring criteria and standards set out by the Fairtrade Labeling Organizations International (FLO). Fair trade coffee only costs a difference of 0.004 cents more per cup.³ Independent monitoring has been successful in certifying many brands of coffee, coco, tea and sugar as Fair

¹ Magquila Solidarity Network www.magquillasolidarity.org

² The Manitoban http://www.umaniitoba.ca/manitoban/20021023/features_4.shtml

³ Transfair Canada "The cost of Fair Trade: How much extra?"



Trade. Consumer campaigns have forced many large coffee shops such as Starbucks to carry fair trade and organic alternatives.

Independent Monitoring Agencies:

Independent Monitoring Agencies have helped to put codes of conduct to work and helped provide the contacts and information necessary to improve conditions for garment factory workers. Some American universities who have passed selective purchasing agreements have joined the Workers Rights Consortium, an independent monitoring agency started by United Students Against Sweatshops, which uses its collective influence monitor their suppliers. Other agencies which monitor garment production include the Fair Labour association and COVERCO. TransFair is an independent monitoring agency which certifies fair trade coffee for Canadian consumption

Event Idea: "Fair Trade Fair"

Goals: To create awareness of the importance of buying Fair Trade, and to possibly ignite a campaign to get Fair Trade Coffee on Campus.

Trent does not yet offer fair trade coffee options on campus. Many Canadian universities such as York University and the University of Manitoba have had some successes in getting the option of fair trade coffee to be served at campus food services. Before you start a full-fledged campaign, begin by holding an info-session or "Fair Trade Fair" in order to provide background information to students on the issue. This would also function to generate interest in a possible campaign.

Your Fair could include anything you want. A good idea would be to show a film and/or host a workshop. OXFAM Canada provides an excellent downloadable Fair Trade coffee workshop guide at <http://www.oxfam.ca/campaigns/fairTrade.htm>. There are many films which can be ordered through various organizations at reasonable prices, a few options are listed below.

Your workshop should generate interests in beginning a campaign at Trent. The Canadian Council for International Co-operation (CCIC) and the World University Service of Canada (WUSC) have collaboratively put together an unbeatable handbook for beginning a fair trade campus coffee campaign. A hard copy is included in this handbook, but it can also be obtained at <http://incommon.web.ca/langlais/watch/tasse.html>

Under the old Indian Act Indians could be "enfranchised" or lose their status and band membership. When this happened, the person sometimes received an amount of money equal to one per capita share of the assets of the Band.

Under the new Indian Act status cannot be given or taken away for any reason. This includes Indian children who are placed with foster parents or when adopted. If they are entitled to be registered they do not lose their entitlement.

Band membership can be taken away under a Band's membership code. A Band can also allow the Minister to provide money to a person who has his or her Band membership taken away. In order to do this, the Band must pass a by-law which sets the amount of money to be paid out of the Band's funds. No person losing Band Membership can receive more than one per capita share of the Band's total capital moneys.

The new Indian Act also prevents some people who are reinstated to Band membership from receiving Band moneys and, depending on the action taken by Bands, may also deny reinstated Band members some programs and services. Guidebook #2 in this series will explore these rules in greater detail.

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Promotional Strategy:

Put up posters around campus inviting students to attend the film and info-session, as well as sending an email on the OPIRG and college distribution lists. A great room to book for showing films is the Bata Film Theatre. Make sure that you serve Fair Trade coffee or hot chocolate at your event. OPIRG has a large thermos which is great for hot chocolate. Also, make a list of the email addresses of are interested in beginning a campaign, and set a date for a meeting. If you decide to launch a campaign, be sure to well advertise your first meeting in the same manner.

Target Audience:

Students are the target audience since you are hoping to ignite interest in a fair trade campus campaign as well as providing information on the issues.

Estimated cost:

Colour copies of posters will run \$3-5. A can of Fair Trade hot chocolate from Dreams and Beans is about \$6. If you choose to order Fair Trade Fair in a box or one of the films listed below the cost is \$10.

Contacts:

- **Dreams and beans café** on Hunter st. carries fair trade and organic coffee, and hot chocolate. They will be able to provide either for your event at reasonable prices.
- **Oxfam Canada Toronto:** For fair coffee resources, Tel (416) 535-2335 Fax (416) 537-6435 email: tconlon@oxfam.ca Fair Trade coffee workshop guide downloadable at <http://www.oxfam.ca/fairtrade>
- **Fair Trade Fair in a Box:** A package with samples of fairly traded products, videos and display materials about fair tradeCost: \$10.00 (Reservation loan only) To order: TEN DAYS for Global Justice, Toronto, Ontario Tel: (416) 463-5312, e-mail: TENDAYS@web.net
- **Fair Trade at York campaign** <http://www.yorku.ca/ce/lac/fairtrade.html>
- **Film: "Santiago's Story"** (16 min 1999) The story of small farmers that have turned to Fair Trade for a decent living wage. Shows the tremendous impact buying fair trade can have when we choose to buy Fair Trade Coffee. Contact Global Exchange at storemaster@globalexchange.org or call 1-415-255-7296.

Do you have to be a Band Member?

Some people may wish to apply for registered status but not take automatic band membership if they are entitled to it. At present it is not clear whether the Registrar will allow this and the official application form prepared by DIAND does not provide a section to make this choice known.

Even if your name appears on a Band List, you should remember that this does not mean you have to be an active Band member, receive Band benefits, or be represented by a Band or other reserve-based Indian organization. For example, you could still be represented by one of the NCC's affiliates. It's up to you.

If you wish, you can write a note attached to your application form indicating that while you wish to be registered you do not want to be placed on a Band List. However, you should remember that if the Registrar allows you to refuse Band membership, the ability of your children to get Band membership may be affected, depending on the kind of Band membership code adopted by the Band concerned.

8. Residency On Reserve (S.18.1 8 81 p.1 and p.2)

Dependent children who are not Band members can reside on the reserve with their parents. "Dependent children" includes any child who is in the legal care of an adult Band member, whether or not that child is financially or physically dependent on that adult. This usually means any child under the age of 18 years old.

Spouses (husbands or wives, including "custom" or "common-law" spouses) who are not Band members do not have a guaranteed right to reside on a reserve. Band councils can regulate the residency of all individuals on reserve by passing by-laws, although Bands must apply residency rules fairly and Bands must allow a resident Band member's dependent children to reside on reserve.

9. The "No-Opting-Out" Rule (S.4 (2))

Before Bill C-31 was passed, the federal government allowed some Bands to suspend certain sections of the Indian Act, including membership clauses such as section 12 (1)(b). This "opting-out" allowed Indian women who married non-status Indian men to retain their status. Bill C-31 has now confirmed that when Bands "opted-out" of 12 (1)(b) or other sections, this was legal.

Under the revised Act the government can no longer exempt a Band from the new status and membership clauses which allow for reinstatement. A Band cannot choose to exempt itself from the new registration and membership provisions. Under the new Indian Act no one, not even the Minister or the Governor in Council (the Cabinet), can exempt a Band from these provisions.

10. Loss of Status or Membership (S.10. S.64 (2) & S.81 (p.3))

- **Film: "Coffee with a taste of fairness"** (20min) uses the example of a Nicaraguan cooperative to present the issues surrounding coffee cultivation and trade. The video comes with an activity sheet aimed at educators wanting to explore these issues in greater depth with their students. \$10.00 To order: Equiterre, Montréal, Québec Tel: (514) 522-2000, e-mail: info@equiterre.qc.ca

Information and Resources:

- *Workers Rights Consortium* <http://www.workersrights.org/>

A non-profit organization created by American college and university administrators, student groups and labour experts. Assist in the enforcement of manufacturing codes of conduct adopted by colleges and universities. This site offers information on independent monitoring strategies and factory assessment programs.

- *TransFair* www.transfair.ca

Canada's only independent certification organization for fair trade coffee, tea, cocoa and sugar. The Fair Trade Certified logo is an independent certification that adheres to monitoring criteria and standards set out by the Fairtrade Labeling Organization International (FLO)

- *Global Exchange* www.globalexchange.org

The global exchange website is a great source for information on fair-trade coffee info and links. Global Exchange is a non-profit research, education, and action center dedicated to promoting people-to-people ties around the world.

- *OXFAM Canada* www.oxfam.ca

OXFAM provides and excellent fairtrade coffee workshop and facilitators guide. Oxfam Canada is a non-profit international development organization that supports community programs in food security, health, nutrition and democratic development with an emphasis on working with women. One of the 12 Oxfam organizations around the world that form Oxfam International.

- Refer to the *No Sweat Binder* for info on the process of passing a purchasing agreement at Trent

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combined with our contemporary understanding of systems ecology. Nevertheless, since what seems to have been over-exploitation to the ethnohistorian was not usually interpreted as such by most Indians in the fur trade who lacked this concept until after the fact, this portion of the Indian ideological system must be replaced by Western knowledge. The acceptance of the latter, however, does not rule out the former. Thus, rather than looking elsewhere for spiritual inspiration, the troubled ecologist should attempt to understand the Indian meaning of nature, especially as it applied to the fur trade context. Perhaps Martin should also make further attempts to do the same.



Note

I wish to thank my wife, M. Estelle Smith, for carefully reading this paper and for making suggestions to improve it. She cannot, however, be held responsible for any errors or the particular views expressed here. I wish also to express my gratitude to the Governor and Committee of the Hudson's Bay Company for permission to view their extensive archival materials, from which many of the ideas expressed in this paper were formed.



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A few academic resources:

- "*Dealing With And In The Global Economy, Fairer Trade in Latin America*", Pauline Tiffen and Simon Zadek Sustainable Agriculture and Development Experiences, Kumarian Press, 1998
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- *BROWN, Michael B. 1993. Fair Trade: Reform and Realities in the International Trading System.* Zed Books, London.
- Refer to the Annotated Bibliography for additional information.

have been attempting to survive according to traditional methods which under altering environmental conditions were no longer viable.

The view that the aboriginal Indian was a functional conservationist because he feared reprisal from animal spirits—if in fact this was really the case—may simply have been a metaphorical expression of an implicit view that waste was bad. Martin himself states that Indians had "a clear injunction against wasting game" (p. 83*n*). Further, even though this metaphor may have been phrased in terms of reprisal, it does not mean that Indians did not simultaneously love nature, whatever that may imply. Although the Indian view of nature was "an alien ideology of land-use" (p. 188) when compared to the Western view, I suggest that a key difference between the two systems was an absence in the former of a more general concept of animal population dynamics. And just as it is possible to practice conservation without "respecting" game, so it is possible to respect animals and simultaneously and perhaps unawaredly hunt them to extinction if the motives and means for obtaining them are present. What appears to Westerners as waste may not have been construed as such by Indians, and so it cannot simply be assumed that certain forms of behavior reflect something as vaguely defined as despiritualization. For example, is it necessarily wasteful for Indians to kill caribou for the hides only when they need winter clothing while the meat, which they do not require, is left to rot? (See Shepard Krech's argument in Chapter 5 for an elaboration on this point.)

If the traditional Indian did indeed "love" nature rather than fear it, or even if he both loved and feared it simultaneously, then he was more than a functional conservationist and so he may have something to tell the troubled ecologist. So might the historical Indian, whose survival strategies came to involve operating within bounded tracts of land and with deliberate conservation practices. The northeastern Indian view of nature, at least that part of it stressing the evils of waste, might be successfully employed by the ecology movement, especially when

rived information that Indians were obligated to limit their kills in order to prevent a decline in animal populations was indeed of recent origin," a case of white-induced conservationism" (p. 83*n*) and a diagnostic feature of the family hunting territory system. It may be true, though, that the integration of traditional beliefs with a new form of land tenure functioned to preserve both the belief system in a modified form as well as the animal population. But preservation is not the same as revitalization, since Indian beliefs seemingly did not languish during the period of heavy exploitation. The Indian belief system seems simply to have incorporated a concept of overkill. Thus, an inability to acquire game could be explained as being the result of a breach of a taboo involving animals as in former times, or a scarcity of animals due to overhunting, or certain natural factors such as snow conditions, temperature, and so on. The reason given by Indians would depend upon the particular circumstances. Among the possibilities was the new awareness that previous hunting practices could deplete game and affect future success or failure.

Furthermore, if Indians lacked a concept of overkill, one which must be based upon the notion that resources are finite, then it is also conceivable that some Pleistocene extinctions had human agents, a view Martin rejects. While the Pleistocene overkill hypothesis may be somewhat exaggerated, the apparent ease with which Paleo Indians could have killed animals by employing certain hunting techniques, combined with general environmental changes, could easily have led to the extermination of some species. But these extinctions probably did not occur within the space of a few years, or even decades, nor is it likely that prehistoric Indians were aware that they were happening. My archival data (1978) clearly indicate that it was not until the Northern Ojibwa had suffered extreme deprivation coupled with the repeated advice of sympathetic fur traders to alter their subsistence strategies that Indians gave up attempts to survive on the almost exterminated large animals. Thus, both Paleo Indians and the nineteenth-century Ojibwa appear to

(Sample) Fair Trade Purchasing Policy for University Suppliers and Retailers at Trent University

It is preferred that all coffee sold by retailers at Trent meets the Fair Trade standard. At a minimum, each retailer shall provide its customers with a choice between coffee that meets "fair trade" standards and coffee that does not. In addition to retail coffee supplied directly by Aramark, this policy shall apply to all new retail coffee contracts at Trent. Certified Fair Trade coffee is coffee, sold by coffee retailers and roasters, that meets the standards set by TransFair Canada, a non profit monitoring organization that is a member of the Fairtrade Labeling Associations (FLO) headquartered in Europe. TransFair Canada's basic guidelines for fair trade coffee are:

1. Coffee importers agree to purchase from the small farmers included in the FLO Fairtrade Coffee Register. The farmers listed in the register meet various criteria related to democratic organization, organic farming strategies, and commitment to a high quality product.
2. Farmers are guaranteed a minimum "fair trade price" for their coffee. (As of December 2001, this price was \$1.26 U.S./pound of coffee FOB). If the world price rises above this floor price, farmers will be paid a small premium above market price (As of April 28, 2000, this premium was \$0.05 US/pound).
3. Coffee importers provide a certain amount of credit to farmers against future sales, helping farmers to stay out of debt to local coffee 'middlemen' who may charge usurious rates of interest.
4. Importers and roasters agree to develop direct, long-term trade relationships with producer groups, thereby cutting out 'middlemen' and bringing greater commercial stability to an extremely unstable market. A list of Canadian coffee importers and roaster/retailers that meet the TransFair Canada criteria is available from TransFair Canada, 323 Chapel St., 2nd floor, Ottawa, Ontario K1N 7Z2 (email: fairtrade@transfair.ca ; web: www.transfair.ca).

The coffee that meets "fair trade" standards shall be:

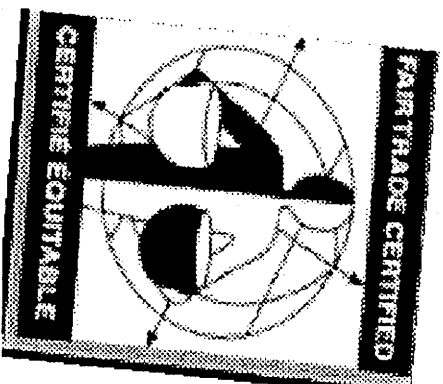
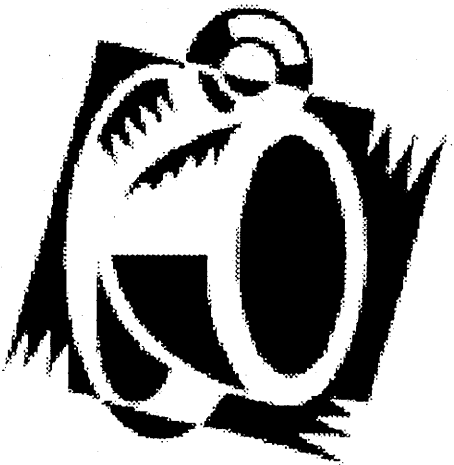
1. Clearly marked so that customers are aware of the "certified fair trade" standard that the coffee meets.
2. Available for sale by Aramark cafeteria. In other words, customers will have a choice.
3. Priced such that cost alone will not be an overriding factor in consumer selection.

II Administration

A student advisory committee shall advise the University on issues related to the *Fair Trade Purchasing Policy for University Suppliers and Retailers*, including its administration. It is intended that over time this purchasing policy will be extended to other "fair trade" commodities (e.g. cocoa, tea) where this becomes feasible.

Do you want to see

Fair Trade Coffee on Campus?



**Fair Trade coffee costs retailers 0.004 cents
more per cup, but gives farmers who produced it
a decent wage.**

**WANT TO LEARN MORE ABOUT FAIR
TRADE?**

COME TO THE FAIR TRADE FAIR!

An film and info session on Fair Trade hosted by Students Against Sweatshops

Date: Time: Place:

Fair Trade hot chocolate and refreshments will be
served

For more information contact OPIRG@pipcom.com



The Cost of Fair Trade: How much extra?

Consumers and coffee/supermarket buyers will want to know just how much extra fairly traded coffee will cost. The extra cost of course depends on the fair price compared to the world price, which varies greatly.

The table below shows the **differences** between the world price of green, washed mild arabica beans (New York C market) and the fair trade label price in Canadian dollars.

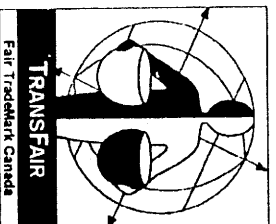
These figures are based on an exchange rate of C\$1.35/US\$, on a Fair TradeMark Canada/TransFair minimum price of US\$1.26/lb FOB and a premium of US\$0.05/lb. If the world price is greater than US\$1.26. Also included are licence fees of C\$0.13 per pound.

The per cup cost is based on using 7 grams of coffee per 8 ounce cup (standard coffee industry cupping standards).

World Price US\$/lb	TransFair Cdn\$/ Per lb	Per pound	Differences (in Canadian Dollars)		
			Per Cup	Per 300 gm	Per 100 lb bag
0.60	1.83	1.02	0.020	0.843	102.10
0.65	1.83	0.95	0.018	0.788	95.35
0.70	1.83	0.89	0.017	0.732	88.60
0.75	1.83	0.82	0.016	0.676	81.85
0.80	1.83	0.75	0.014	0.620	75.10
0.85	1.83	0.68	0.013	0.565	68.35
0.90	1.83	0.62	0.012	0.509	61.60
0.95	1.83	0.55	0.011	0.453	54.85
1.00	1.83	0.48	0.009	0.397	48.10
1.05	1.83	0.41	0.008	0.342	41.35
1.10	1.83	0.35	0.007	0.286	34.60
1.15	1.83	0.28	0.005	0.230	27.85
1.20	1.83	0.21	0.004	0.174	21.10
1.25	1.83	0.14	0.003	0.119	14.35
1.30	1.95	0.20	0.004	0.163	19.75
1.35	2.02	0.20	0.004	0.163	19.75
1.40	2.09	0.20	0.004	0.163	19.75
1.45	2.16	0.20	0.004	0.163	19.75
1.50	2.22	0.20	0.004	0.163	19.75
1.55	2.29	0.20	0.004	0.163	19.75
1.60	2.36	0.20	0.004	0.163	19.75
1.65	2.43	0.20	0.004	0.163	19.75
1.70	2.49	0.20	0.004	0.163	19.75
1.75	2.56	0.20	0.004	0.163	19.75
1.80	2.63	0.20	0.004	0.163	19.75
1.85	2.70	0.20	0.004	0.163	19.75
1.90	2.76	0.20	0.004	0.163	19.75
1.95	2.83	0.20	0.004	0.163	19.75
2.00	2.90	0.20	0.004	0.163	19.75
2.05	2.97	0.20	0.004	0.163	19.75
2.10	3.03	0.20	0.004	0.163	19.75
2.15	3.10	0.20	0.004	0.163	19.75
2.20	3.17	0.20	0.004	0.163	19.75
2.25	3.24	0.20	0.004	0.163	19.75
2.30	3.30	0.20	0.004	0.163	19.75
2.35	3.37	0.20	0.004	0.163	19.75
2.40	3.44	0.20	0.004	0.163	19.75
2.45	3.51	0.20	0.004	0.163	19.75
2.50	3.57	0.20	0.004	0.163	19.75
2.55	3.64	0.20	0.004	0.163	19.75
2.60	3.71	0.20	0.004	0.163	19.75
2.65	3.78	0.20	0.004	0.163	19.75
2.70	3.84	0.20	0.004	0.163	19.75
2.75	3.91	0.20	0.004	0.163	19.75

1989-94
price
range

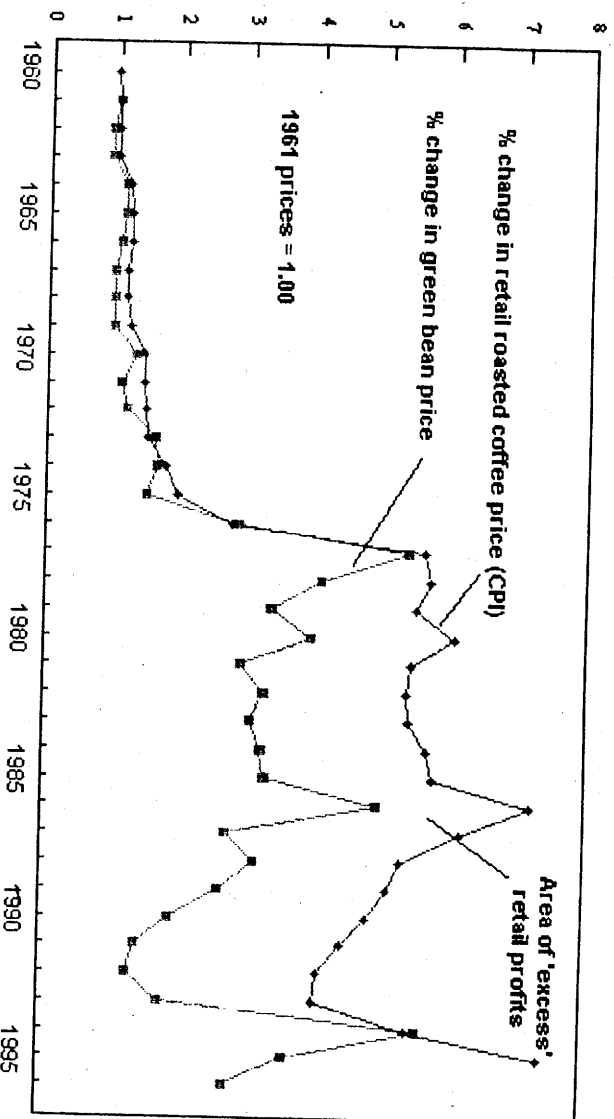
Current
world
price
level



These costs are for the raw material or green beans only. Some buyers may charge extra to cover the costs of buying from new (to them), small producers, for quality or organic differentials or for extra promotional costs needed to open a new fair trade market.

UNEQUAL TERMS OF TRADE

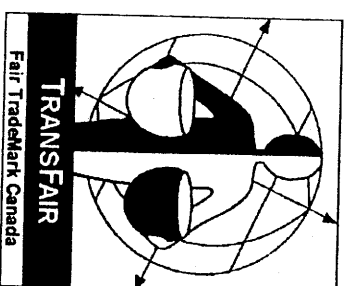
This graph vividly demonstrates the plight of Latin American and African coffee producers from 1977 until the present. Between 1960 and 1977, retail coffee prices generally moved in tandem with the green coffee prices paid to coffee farmers. After 1977, as can be seen below, retail prices remained high, although farmers got less for their beans!



Sources: Green coffee prices: FAO Agrostat data base for 1960-90 data and International Coffee Organization data for 1990-96.
Retail coffee prices: Statistics Canada Consumer Price Index Publication 62-010
Roasted coffee 1960-1996

Coffee Price Movements - Green beans and retail prices

Year	Green's (Agrostat) 1961=100	CPI (adj) 1961=100	% change Green's	% change CPI
1960	98.01	100.00	1.00	0.98
1961	100.00	101.78	0.93	1.00
1962	100.05	100.05	0.91	1.02
1963	120.31	121.73	1.13	1.00
1964	0.4658	1.21.73	1.12	1.20
1965	0.4469	122.83	1.08	1.22
1966	0.4008	117.80	0.97	1.23
1967	0.4042	116.50	0.98	1.18
1968	0.4023	121.40	0.98	1.18
1969	0.4587	143.60	1.32	1.21
1970	0.5435	143.60	1.11	1.44
1971	0.4896	146.00	1.21	1.44
1972	0.6898	151.20	1.62	1.46
1973	0.6881	177.90	1.67	1.51
1974	0.6251	195.34	1.52	1.78
1975	1.1850	278.33	2.87	1.95
1976	2.2204	560.01	5.38	2.78
1977	1.6820	570.61	4.08	2.78
1978	1.3883	548.52	3.36	5.60
1979	1.6257	607.39	3.94	5.71
1980	1.2074	541.69	2.93	5.49
1981	1.3515	535.88	3.28	6.07
1982	1.2691	540.21	3.08	5.42
1983	1.3392	567.78	3.25	5.36
1984	1.3556	577.52	3.29	5.36
1985	2.0375	719.73	4.94	5.68
1986	1.1340	618.61	2.75	5.78
1987	1.3136	529.39	3.18	7.20
1988	1.1019	512.63	2.67	6.19
1989	0.7925	480.59	1.92	5.29
1990	0.6000	446.62	1.45	5.13
1991	0.5500	411.94	1.33	4.81
1992	0.7500	406.28	1.82	4.47
1993	2.3000	542.17	5.57	4.12
1994	1.5000	736.96	3.64	4.06
1995	1.1500			5.42
1996				7.37
1997				2.79



How to Get Fair Trade Coffee on Your Campus

A Handbook for the Campus Coffee Break Campaign

This handbook was produced collaboratively by the Canadian Council for International Co-operation (CCIC) and the World University Service of Canada (WUSC). It is designed as a work-in-progress to help students educate themselves and others about fair trade issues, and inspire them to undertake a campaign to make fair trade coffee (and possibly other fairly traded products) available on campus. It includes case studies and lists resources – communication and organizing tools, information and organizations – that you could use to make your campaign more effective.

For practical reasons, we are sending you an edited version of the handbook. You can download the longer version from the WUSC website later in the Fall.

This handbook contains a set of guidelines distilled from the experience of people working on fair trade issues and information from the Centre for Campus Organizing. Since every situation is different, your campaign will be shaped by the nature of your campus and campus group. We would love to hear about your campaign ideas and experiences. We would like to know how CCIC and WUSC could best support your work of bringing the fair trade issue to your campus.

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WUSC Local Committees Campaigns

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Introduction - Why Campaign for Fair Trade Coffee on Campus ?

Fair trade coffee is one of the Developing World's most important exports, yet the farmers who grow it generally receive less than ten cents of every dollar we pay for our coffee. Fairtrade coffee, on the

other hand, pays farmers 28 cents of every dollar spent by consumers. Four multinationals buy more than 70% of raw coffee exports. It is companies such as Cargill and Nestle that set the price for coffee beans, a price that is advantageous for their shareholders, not the sharecroppers.

Fair trade coffee is available in Canada. Switching to fair trade coffee is a small step that can make a big difference for small producers in the South. Fair trade coffee assures a fixed, fair price to farmers and protects them from price fluctuations on the global market, it is bought directly from democratically run co-ops, it is a high quality product grown mostly using environment friendly farming practices. Fair trade encourages and builds healthy, justice-oriented, sustainable, farming communities and trading practices. Worldwide fair trade coffee sales have reached \$400 million, providing a source of fair income to some 500,000 growers and coffee workers in developing countries.

Advocating for fair trade coffee on campus will also help students to put a human face on globalization and send a strong message about the increasing corporatization of Canadian campuses. Fair trade coffee is a good tool for raising critical questions about mainstream economics and politics, and debating the ethics, necessity and feasibility of the global justice movement that encompasses alternative socio-economic and environmental practices.

Campus is a critical place for campaigning on social and economic justice issues such as fair trade coffee. Whereas the fair trade coffee movement works to change off-campus conditions, our colleges and universities are themselves political institutions whose internal contradictions mirror those in the larger society. Engaging in a campaign for fair trade coffee on campus will provide valuable insight about the power dynamics that tend to preserve the status quo and the effort and skills required for building a more democratic and just society.

Step 1: Educate Yourself

Before embarking on a campaign to get fair trade coffee on campus, it is important to learn as much as you can about the issue. You can go online and print material to distribute to your group. This handbook contains a resource list. And there are materials in this kit that you can copy for distribution.

Identify resource people who can come and speak at your campus. Check the TransFair Canada website for a full list of fair trade coffee suppliers in your area. CCIC has presentation materials for a 15 minute "*in common* coffee break." If a CCIC person is not available to give this presentation on your campus, appoint someone in your group to educate themselves and give it. (The content of the presentation can be downloaded from CCIC's *in common* website www.incommonweb.net.)

Alternatively you can show a video. Talk to your library to see how you can obtain a copy of a video on fair trade coffee. (Some titles are listed in the resources section.)

Holding an educational event like showing a video or bringing in a speaker will help you to identify people who want to get involved with a fair trade coffee campaign on campus. You may want to

invite a smaller group of people to your first meeting, while the second could be an "open house" in a more mainstream venue like a cultural or sporting event, that attracts broader participation and brings the issue to the general public.

Step 2: Research

To get fair trade coffee on your campus, you need to figure out the who, what, where of coffee supply and demand, and of campus decision-making. The answers to these questions are critical for defining your objectives and determining your best strategy.

Assessing the current coffee situation

- Where is coffee served on campus?
- Who owns the shops where the coffee is served? You may want to get a map of campus and mark in different colours the university/college, student or privately owned places that sell coffee to get a clear visual picture.
- What are the volumes of coffee sold from each supply location?
- Who supplies the shop? These will be coffee roasters or grocery suppliers.
- Does the shop have a contract with the coffee or grocery supplier? How long is it for, is there an exit clause/penalty? Does it involve the supply of equipment and maintenance or only coffee?

Knowing the alternatives

- Which fair trade coffee supplier in your area can provide the volumes and equipment/maintenance needed?
- What other institutions are serving fair trade coffee? Are there other public institutions or universities that have switched to fair trade coffee that your campus could draw on or use as peer pressure?

Understanding the decision-making tree

- Which department of the university or college is in charge of cafeteria procurement?
- Are contracts approved by the campus administration? The Board of Directors?
- How do student-owned coffee supply places make decisions on procurement?
- If there is a privately owned cafe on campus, is it individually owned, or is it owned by a far-off headquarter?

To find the answers to these questions, visit the shop and speak to the manager. Call the campus administration to identify the person who knows the details of the current coffee supply contracts. Set up a meeting with the President's office to learn about how decisions are made on campus. If you are having difficulty getting the information you need from the people who have it, seek out the campus ombudsperson. As universities and colleges in Canada are still publicly owned, the information you need should be publicly accessible.

Step 3: Define Objectives

Based on the above research, your group needs to decide on the objectives for a fair trade coffee campaign on campus. Getting more money in the hands of small coffee producers in the South or raising awareness of development and social justice through a focus on a consumer item are broad goals. Choosing specific objectives will focus your efforts, allow you to engage appropriate partners and assist you to evaluate your actions.

Each objective will require different strategies. It is for this reason that it is important to define objectives at the beginning of the campaign. Objectives should be specific, attainable, prioritized and measurable.

Possible objectives

- To ensure that fair trade coffee is offered at student-owned shops within the year.
- To ensure that student-owned shops make the switch to serving only fair trade coffee within two years.
- To ensure that the university supplies fair trade coffee at all of its cafeterias within the year.
- To ensure that the university makes the switch to serving only fair trade coffee on campus.
- To make your campus a fair trade coffee zone within two years.

Step 4: Build Alliances

There are many reasons to build alliances. You may want to have strength in numbers. You may want to use the fair trade coffee campaign to strengthen your group's relationships with particular groups on campus. You may need allies to gain access to resources that your group does not have, whether it is funding, equipment, off-campus networks or access to decision-making bodies.

Other like-minded organizations on campus can help you implement your campaign and coalition-building can help strengthen your organization. Like-minded groups might be the undergraduate and graduate students association, a Public Interest Research Group, an environment, development or human rights organization, an anti-corporate campus group or a Central and Latin-American, South Asian or African solidarity group. Share with them the information or knowledge on the issue your group has collected and discuss your objectives. Depending on your allies, you may want to revisit your objectives. For example, your allies may bring resources or information that allows your group to take-on a more ambitious objective.

To help you define potential allies:

- Do a SWOT analysis. What are the strengths and weaknesses of your organization? What are the opportunities and threats to the success of your campaign?
- Who are the groups, on and off campus, that have strengths in the areas your group is weak? Who can help you maximize the opportunities and minimize the threats? For example, if a large student body is an opportunity, who can help you mobilize for it? If your group's low profile or recent beginnings is a threat to credibility and could result in a lack of influence, who has good relations with campus administration or a solid reputation?
- Who has access to the decision-makers you want to be able to reach? Identify student representatives on these bodies, and progressive or possibly sympathetic faculty and community-oriented Board members. Gaining faculty and community support will strengthen your movement.

Building an Inclusive Campaign:

Many groups and coalitions are started by people from similar backgrounds, and unknowingly may exclude many people. Consult with a range of groups (for example, an anti-racist or feminist group) on campus to make your campaign as inclusive as you can.

Step 5: Develop Strategy

Thinking and planning strategically can make the difference between ho-hum campaigns that get no attention and dynamic, creative campaigns that excite people, build your organization, and create real change. Whereas the objective of your campaign focuses on the supply of fair trade coffee, it is important to remember that you must also develop strategy to increase demand for this product.

Some questions to assist in the development of a strategy include:

How to dialogue with and influence decision-makers?

How to build and demonstrate demand?

The answers will give you insight into the kind of activities that could make up your campaign.

Dialogue with decision-makers:

- Write a letter asking for a meeting. If there is someone, a faculty member for example, or a particular group with good relations, it is this person or group that should make the initial request. When you ask for a meeting, remember to specify the length of time you want the meeting to last (no longer than half an hour for an initial meeting is best) and who would be attending. Be clear about what you want to talk about and relate the issue to the decision-maker, if possible.
- Ask student representatives or sympathetic faculty to put the issue of fair trade coffee on the Board or administration agenda.

Building demand:

- Hold educational events on campus, using videos or speakers. Distribute posters, leaflets or flyers.
- Develop a performance piece and act out spontaneously or as an event. (Ten Days for Global Justice has a script for a play on fair trade coffee which could be adapted. Contact information is in the resource section of this handbook.)
- Arrange for a fair trade coffee supplier to give out free samples at campus events.
- Have a display with photographs and storyboards. Both CCIC and Equiterre, a Montreal-based NGO, have materials for display.
- Speak in classrooms. Ask professors for two minutes at the beginning of class to let people know what your group or coalition is doing, why and what you want them to do.
- Hold a coffeehouse with music or theatre or poetry. Music or other fun attractions can bring people together. The message about fair trade coffee can be made through the introduction, with posters or in the displays.
- Advertise or write a story for the campus newspaper.
- Do a radio show on the campus radio.

Demonstrating demand:

- Get students to sign a petition declaring that they would buy fair trade coffee.
- Have students send postcards or comment cards to the cafeteria and campus administration.
- Get students to ask for the cafeteria or shop manager and ask him or her why there is no fair trade coffee available, or why they have not made the shift.

Influencing decision-makers:

All the activities under demonstrating demand can influence decision-makers. It is important to remember that your campus is part of a broader community; outreach to off-campus media can also have an impact.

Anticipate negative reactions from students and decision-makers. Hold a strategy session where you role play the resistance you may encounter and how you could overcome it. Prepare a list of antagonistic questions and neutrally phrased, but convincing answers which you could use as a 'script' at meetings or develop into a FAQ – Frequently Asked Questions – factsheet. (See www.globalexchange.org/economy/coffee/coffeeFAQ.html for ideas.) Think critically about your campaign. Identify weaknesses and adjust your own strategy.

Once you have brainstormed on possible tactics, it is critical to think of an appropriate timeline and sequence for your activities. For example, you do not want to move to influencing decision-makers, particularly through the media, before you attempt to talk to them. An attempt to learn from the decision-makers what the constraints are will assist you in channeling your tactics to remove these constraints. You may need to demonstrate demand before you will be able to get fair trade coffee as an agenda item.

Ideally, this planning should take place early in the first semester, as orientation week for example can be a great time to educate people about the campaign. Most campuses have an activities fair or orientation week where groups can set up tables to recruit new members.

Sometimes there is disagreement about tactics, particularly if there are different groups involved in a campaign. It is difficult to work collectively if an agreement cannot be reached after much discussion. For example, one group may want to portray poor coffee farmers as pathetic in an attempt to manipulate the broader campus population to readily give support to the campaign. Other groups may want to show poor coffee farmers as dynamic individuals caught in an unfair trading system. Alternatively, one group may want to blockade a cafeteria until fair trade coffee is served. Others may prefer soft pressure and dialogue. It is OK to ask groups to step out of a coalition if there is no consensus.

Once you have your strategy and a timeline developed, it is important to prepare a budget and develop a fundraising plan. Always consult your student activity office for advice and guidelines for seeking funding. There may also be off-campus funding support for a fair trade coffee campaign. Speak to labour unions or churches about providing small funds for photocopying, for example.

Step 6 – Campaigning

Thanks to the Centre for Campus Organizing for much of this section. You can check out their website directly at www.cco.org.

Campaigning is about implementing strategy. Once the timeline and strategy are developed, meet with your entire group and delegate tasks, projects, and responsibilities among your members. Make sure that someone records everything on paper so that people confirm what he or she signed up to do. As the campaign progresses, strategy and timelines will have to be continually revisited.

An essential aspect of a campaign is developing messages:

Messages are the two or three things you want people to remember, be they students, decision-makers or the media. A message cannot and is not intended to reflect all the dimensions of a problem or its solution. Good messages are easy to understand and remember, relevant, and provide a basis for the audience to take concrete action, e.g. providing a list of coffee shops and retailers selling fair trade coffee in your city.

Keeping your objectives in mind, you should extract from the available information one or two points that you want to get across. In the case of fair trade coffee, a message might be simply: "Stop drinking coffee that exploits millions. There are alternatives." Whatever the words you decide on, your message should be consistent, clear and accurate.

The more you understand your campaign targets, the easier it is to develop effective messages. It is important to have members from the target groups participate or review materials and messages.

Events and media outreach:

Public events are one way that you can raise consciousness around a specific issue, encourage discussion of your issue on campus, broadcast opposition to a government or corporate policy, or attract new recruits. While there are many kinds of events – panel discussions, film screenings, outdoor rallies, benefit concerts, plays and skits, speakers, informational pickets, etc. – they all demand the same general principles of planning and execution.

Ideas for publicizing your campaign and events:

Personal contact/word of mouth, creating and displaying posters for maximum impact, leafletting, newspapers, radio Public Service Announcements (PSAs) and interviews, phone trees; chalking – chalking on the sidewalks is as visible as spray painting; and it washes right off; information tables, press releases, getting media attention for your event.

Know the regulations:

Most schools have designated areas where you can post things and procedures governing where you can set up tables. Know the regulations and penalties. Some schools impose heavy fines for violations and may even rescind funding or official recognition. If you post off-campus, the local community's laws apply. This is not to say that you must always accept such rules. If the rules are so draconian that they infringe on your freedom of expression, you may want to start a campaign to challenge them.

Step 7: Evaluation

This step is sometimes skipped because of exhaustion, but it is important for the core organizers to sit down and engage in analysis: What did we do right? What could we do better? What worked and why? This will build the cohesiveness of your group and allow you to improve your campaigns.

Look back at your goals, tactics, and timeline and do a thorough group evaluation. Get written comments from everyone who was involved and even from some observers. Save this evaluation and the charts. Review them when you plan a new campaign. An organization that doesn't learn from its past strategies keeps on making the same mistakes.

Evaluating your campaign will help you to:

- determine whether you have met your objectives
- demonstrate success to yourself and to others
- identify the strengths and weaknesses in your planning and implementation
- share lessons learnt.

An important aspect of this campaign effort involves the active sharing of information, best practices and lessons learned. Please do share your experiences with WUSC and CCIC so that others in the fair trade campus movement can learn from your experience and seek feedback. Please forward information to your WUSC Student Liaison officer or via the WUSC membership listserve at wuscnet@wusc.ca.

Listening in on WUSC Local Committees

1. A Report from Carleton University, Ottawa

Campaign Objectives:

- To get fair trade coffee served at one or more venues on campus. Specific targets: the two student union-run pubs.
- Raise awareness of fair trade issues.
- Get university departments to buy and serve FTC (possibly through a campus-run co-operative or collective).
- Lobby Cara Foods and Second Cup on campus to offer FTC.

Action:

In late Fall 1999, the WUSC Carleton Local Committee members and supporters started by educating ourselves mainly using internet resources from sources like the Fairtrade Labelling Organization (FLO) and the European fair trade movement resources; TransFair Canada and Bridgehead, OXFAM.

The first phase of the campaign ran from January to March 2000. The timing was good as the contract for the undergraduate student union's coffee supplier was coming up for review in May. We set up all-day information tables, 4-5 times, in Unicentre, the student services building to provide information, free coffee samples and to sell fair trade coffee. We also made and distributed posters. We participated in an all-night, student, sit-in protest about tuition fees. We served free fair trade coffee here and had a speaker talk about the fair trade issue. We also served fair trade coffee during other campus activities like fairs, and events featuring speakers.

We went for and got the support of several unions and clubs on campus. We asked students to sign a petition asking for fair trade coffee to be served at coffee-serving venues on campus. We took the petitions to the managers of these venues and also talked with them. We arranged for a contact person from Bridgehead, OXFAM, to meet with the undergraduate student union. We presented the fair trade issue, and our objectives, to the undergraduate student council and the new university government. We were interviewed on campus radio and wrote stories in the campus newspaper about FTC.

Overall strategic achievements:

Informed ourselves; built support; produced marketing tools; had info. tables; gained media attention; "piggy backed" on other issues; pursued the political angle.

Immediate results:

We managed to generate a lot of student support and possibly some genuine understanding about this issue in the first phase of the campaign. The student union said that they were on board and asked for quotes from one fair trade supplier - Bridgehead. The union said that Bridgehead never submitted a quote. Another fair trade coffee company did submit a quote, but possibly it was not considered. Price remained a major concern.

This was a fulfilling issue to work on because it is tangible and allows one to feel like a global citizen with a voice, rather than like an impotent, privileged do-gooder.

And finally:

Roosters, the on-campus coffee shop, sells one brand of fair trade coffee that they buy from Take a Break, a store that sells both regular and fair trade coffee. The Graduate Student bar – Mike's Place – sells a brand of FTC from Global Exchange, an U.S. based non-profit organization working on fair trade issues. (It is listed in the Resources section of this handbook.)

Interest in the issue remains high. A *Fair Trade Fair* will be held on campus on September 15, 2000, featuring free samples of fairly traded coffee, tea and chocolate; videos, information about fair trade issues and a presentation by two, visiting coffee farmers from Guatemala, who grow fair trade coffee. CCIC, the WUSC Local Committee, OPIRG-Carleton, and other supporters on and off campus, are sponsoring the event. It will feature a petition directed at Cara Foods, Second Cup and the University Administration.

For more information contact Faisal Moosa; Phone: (613) 719-2923;

E-mail: fmoosa@chat.carleton.ca.

2. A Report from the University of Alberta

The U of A WUSC fair trade campaign came to life in September 1999 at the first general meeting of the year. There were many of us who were frustrated with campaigns that said not to buy certain brands of goods, yet did not provide positive alternatives for consumers. We decided that we wanted to change this on campus and in the broader community and so began our fair trade voyage!

Research:

We started our fair trade campaign by seeking out all the information we could find on fair trade. Our main sources of information were some great websites of organisations involved in the fair trade movement such as TransFair Canada, Ten Days for Global Justice, the Maquila Solidarity Network and Equal Exchange. We also found some great articles in the New Internationalist. The wealth of information on fair trade made us realise that we would have to choose a few key products/industries to focus our energy on and so we decided to highlight the coffee and clothing industries.

Working with other organisations:

We were very fortunate to team up with local members of the organisation Ten Days for Global Justice early on in our campaign. Ten Days has been educating people about fair trade for a few years now and they have some great pamphlets and campaign materials. Members of Ten Days have provided us with great suggestions, feedback, ideas and materials and we have joined with them to hold a number of events.

International Week:

In February 2000, we presented an interactive Fair Trade Workshop as part of the U of A's International Week (an annual series of lectures, workshops and activities held on campus).

Our presentation included:

- a "label check" where everyone at the workshop had to yell out where their clothing had been made (to show the international nature of the apparel industry).
- a sweatshop simulation game where workshop participants became factory workers and owners. (We can provide a detailed outline of the game.)
- group discussion following the game.
- skit "Rockin' Red Riding Hood". (Script available.)
- guest speaker from Ten Thousand Villages.

Some learning's from the event:

- This was a fun and fulfilling way to educate both ourselves and others.
- By emphasizing that we were still learning, we received a lot of helpful feedback.
- People seemed to be strongly motivated by the emphasis on how they could make a positive change.
- Events which help recruit new people to volunteer with the group are really helpful.
- It is a good idea to have a detailed talk with your speaker beforehand to discuss specifically what and for how long they will present, so you can minimize unfortunate surprises. It is good to choose individual speakers with care.
- Discussion throughout the presentation led to positive learning experiences for everyone.

A WUSC Guide to Fair Trade:

A group member developed a pamphlet which outlines local fair trade alternatives, fair trade resources on the web and suggestions for how to become a more conscientious consumer. We distributed this brochure at events throughout the year. (Available with us.)

Store Visits:

In March, Ten Days held a workshop to enable people to rehearse visits to meet with managers of grocery stores and retail clothing outlets. This was a great activity as it helped us to anticipate possible responses of managers and challenged us to explain ourselves clearly and remain firm, but polite, in our requests. At this meeting, volunteers from Ten Days and WUSC paired up and scheduled visits to various retail outlets around the city.

School Presentations:

In Spring, one of the volunteers with Ten Days was asked by a local junior high school teacher to come to her classroom to lead a presentation and set of interactive activities on fair trade and labour conditions around the world. Some WUSC members joined Ten Days volunteers in visiting the grade nine classroom. We played the sweatshop simulation game with the students, discussed labour conditions and encouraged students to be conscientious consumers. The discussions and participation of the students were really encouraging.

Fair Trade Sales:

In the spring we began selling fair trade coffee, cocoa and hot chocolate on campus. At the time of the last day of classes, we held a fair trade bake sale with brownies and cake made with fair trade cocoa. While walking around campus selling our goodies we were able to educate people about the concept of fair trade and distribute information about where fair trade products are available. To celebrate Fair Trade Day in May we also helped Ten Days to set up a table at the Old Strathcona Farmers Market to sell fair trade coffee, cocoa and hot chocolate. This was a great opportunity to educate people at the market about the concept of fair trade.

Fair Trade Coffee-house:

To celebrate Fair Trade Day in May, Ten Days for Global Justice and WUSC collaborated to organise a coffeehouse at a local coffee shop, which has recently started selling 100% fairly traded coffee. A number of different local musicians came to play at the coffeeshop and we set up a fair trade display. This was good publicity and encouragement for the Bagel Tree Café which had just taken the step to serve only fair trade coffee.

Plans for 2000-2001:

We are very excited about the coming year and the activities we have planned. Some projects:

- making a fair trade information package to be distributed to media around Edmonton.
- developing a number of interactive games and presentations to use during visits to junior high schools, and high school classrooms.
- more fair trade coffee and cocoa sales on campus.
- actively working to educate people who are unfamiliar with fair trade about the importance of the issue. We have found that people who are already somewhat familiar with the issue often attend presentations, videos and coffeehouses. It will take an extra effort to reach those who haven't heard of fair trade before, such as going to sporting and cultural events and working with the media.
- more visits to local coffeeshops to encourage them to offer a fair trade alternative.
- a skill-building workshop to improve our communication and media relations efforts.

For more information contact Genevieve Burdett; Ph: (780) 438-3872;

E-mail: geebbs@hotmail.com.

Resources

- **Web sites of Interest:**
- *in common:* www.incommon.web.net
- TransFair Canada: www.web.net/fairtrade
- Equiterre: www.cam.org/~equiter
- Ten Days: www.web.net/~tendays/
- Fair Trade Foundation: www.fairtrade.org.uk/spilling1.htm

- Fairtrade Labelling Organization: www.fairtrade.net/
- www.globalexchange.org/economy/coffee

Other Resources:

- *Farmer Friendly Earth Friendly Coffee*

A 3-page overview of Fairtrade coffee from the Canadian affiliate of the Fairtrade Labelling Organization, a 17-nation, international monitoring and certification body.

To order: Call 1-888-663-FAIR. Free.

- *A Choice for Justice*– handout flyer

An 11" by 17" poster illustrating the difference between Fairtrade and "regular" coffee, and the difference fair trade makes for farmers, the earth, and coffee drinkers.

To order: TEN DAYS for Global Justice, Toronto, Ontario Tel: (416) 463-5312, E-mail: TENDAYS@web.net. FREE for 1 flyer.

- *Fair Trade Fair in a Box*

A package with samples of fairly traded products, videos and display materials about fair trade. Includes suggestions for holding a "Fair Trade Fair" in your church, community group or home. Cost: \$10.00 (RESERVATION LOAN ONLY)

To order: TEN DAYS for Global Justice, Toronto, Ontario Tel: (416) 463-5312, E-mail: TENDAYS@web.net.

- *Ten Things you Can Do for Fair Trade Coffee*

This list from the Global Exchange Coffee Campaign includes sample media letters, campaign "how to" tips, Action Flyers, postcard and petition templates, and a way to join the their fairtrade list serve to keep abreast of the issues as they happen.

- *Coffee with A Cause* - Book

From the coffee tree to your cup, this book traces the route coffee takes in conventional production and in the fair trade alternative. Cost: \$10.00

To order: Équiterre, Montréal, Québec Tel: (514) 522-2000, E-mail: Equiterre@cam.org.

- *Maria: The seed of a revolution* – Comic Book

The story sets out the predicament of southern producers and describes the steps they take to start up their own co-operative and market their coffee through the fair trade network.

Cost: \$6.00

To order: Équiterre, Montréal, Québec Tel: (514) 522-2000, E-mail: Equiterre@cam.org.

- ***Factsheets to help you understand the core issues***

- A number of excellent information sheets are available via <http://www.globalexchange.org/economy/coffee/coffeeFAQ.html> to assist you in understanding coffee's role in the global economy; it's relation to production, labour, the environment; the history of the coffee fair trade movement; and what's involved in the certification of fair trade coffee (criteria and monitoring).

- Two information sheets will help you understand the essential issues of the coffee trade: the conventional route compared with the alternative route. Three activity sheets will show you how you can most effectively direct your efforts. They explain how to prepare arguments to put pressure on the manager or owner of your favourite store. Cost: \$3.00 for a package of 5.

To order: Équiterre, Montréal, Québec Tel: (514) 522-2000, E-mail: Equiterre@cam.org.

- ***Poster***

A 16" x20" poster featuring a coffee farmer walking among coffee trees. Cost: \$2.00

To order: Équiterre, Montréal, Québec Tel: (514) 522-2000, E-mail: Equiterre@cam.org.

- ***Photo Exhibit***

Exhibition of unique and beautiful photographs from coffee producing countries by Éric St-Pierre titled "Visages Café – Coffee Faces, for Fairtrade".

It can be rented from: Le Biodôme de Montréal, Tel.: (514) 868-3000,

E-mail: biodome@ville.montreal.qc.ca.

Video Material:

- ***"Santiago's Story"*** (16 minutes, 1999)

"Santiago's Story" is the story of over 500,000 small farmers all over the world that have turned to Fair Trade for a decent living wage. It is a powerful tool for education, showing us the tremendous impact we can have in the lives of people like Santiago when we choose to buy Fair Trade coffee. To order: Contact Global Exchange at storemaster@globalexchange.org or call 1-415-255-7296.

- ***"Coffee with a taste of fairness"*** – Video and activity sheet

This 20-minute video uses the example of a Nicaraguan co-operative to present the issues surrounding coffee cultivation and trade. The video comes with an activity sheet aimed at teachers and other educators wanting to explore these issues in greater depth with their students. Cost: \$10.00

To order: Équiterre, Montréal, Québec Tel: (514) 522-2000, E-mail: Equiterre@cam.org.

- **"Common Grounds: The Story of Coffee"** (60 minutes, 1998)

A look at the journey of our morning cup of coffee, and how fair trade is making a difference in the lives of producers and consumers from Chiapas in Mexico to Nova Scotia. VHS Video – Cost: \$24.95

To order: VisionTV, Toronto, Ontario, Tel.: 1-877-843-9371, Web site: www.vision.ca.

- **"Java Jive"**

A look at the culture of coffee consumption, the conditions of coffee production and the links between the two. "Java Jive" mixes the serious with the silly, the entertaining with the informative and underscores how some of our most routine daily rituals are connected to larger issues. Cost: \$39.95

For information contact: National Film Board, Tel.: 1-800-267-7710,

Web site: www.nfb.ca.

No Sweat at Trent – The Ongoing Process

The issue

The purpose of codes of conduct are to enable factory workers worldwide to assert their rights to organize, and to fair wages as outlined by the International Labour Organization, however in practice these codes mean little or nothing if they are not enforced. Many international clothing retailers claim to have codes of conduct which apply their overseas clothing suppliers, however as we have seen with the GAP Incorporated, these codes are rarely enforced. Garment workers for The GAP and Nike continue to speak out against the gross human rights abuses such as withholding of pay and inhuman conditions in factories sourcing to these companies despite their codes of conduct.¹ Enforcing codes of conduct include posting policies in the local language so workers know their rights, as well as contacting independent monitoring agencies who are able to report on the actual conditions for workers.

Why get involved

Ensuring clothing at Trent is sweat free is an ongoing process which requires continuing activism from Students Against Sweatshops (SAS). As of December 2002, Trent adopted the *Fair Trade Purchasing Agreement for Apparel at Trent University* which is effective immediately. However, without further SAS intervention, there will be no continued monitoring to ensure the rights of workers who make Trent clothing are being observed, and Trent clothing will certainly not be sweat free.

Enforcing codes of conduct

After adopting a No Sweat policy, universities are left with the difficult and complicated task of putting the policy to work. There is no strategy set in stone for implementing anti-sweatshop policies. The University of Toronto and MacMaster University which have passed codes of conduct, are both struggling with the process of implementation. The first step in an effective code of conduct is disclosure of factory locations which supply clothing to Trent. This enables independent monitoring agencies to track the factories and report back the conditions. Many Universities have joined the *Workers Rights Consortium*, (WRC) an independent monitoring agency created by United Students Against Sweatshops and labour activists. For additional information on independent monitoring agencies, see the action on *independent monitoring and Fair Trade coffee* in this kit. Also consult the [handbook available at OPIRG titled "No Sweat Campaigns Across the Country: Advances and Challenges"](#) by Tanya Roberts-Davis, updating on the current situations of no sweat policies at other Canadian universities.

¹ Film "Behind the Label: Garment workers on U.S. Saipan" Produced by Tina Lessin for WITNESS, program coordinator, Sam Gregory, 2001

The Trent Administration

It is intended that the administration negotiate a job description for an OPIRG workstudy position for a student who's chief duties would include following up on the selective purchasing agreement. The administration proposed a position which was largely oriented toward a purchasing assistant and not primarily focused on monitoring the provisions in the policy. The SAS proposal was rejected, and as it stands at the end of the 2003 spring semester, adequate provisions for follow up in 2003-2004 academic year have not yet been decided. Consult with OPIG on the current follow up situation. It is imperative that SAS continue negotiations with the administration and/or work with the "Research and Outreach" coordinator to enforce the policy. See preceding proposals, and consult the handbook "Is Trent Committed to Becoming a No-Sweat Campus?" by Tanya Roberts-Davis available at OPIRG, for details on the position of the administration regarding the policy.

Event Idea Campaign to enforce Trent's No Sweat Mandate and/or public awareness campaign on the progress of the policy.

Purpose To lobby the administration to provide adequate provisions to ensure follow up on Trent's No Sweat Policy and/or to educate members of the Trent community on the current situation of Trent's code of Conduct.

If the administration is not willing to provide adequate support for Trent's No Sweat policy, then it will have been little more than a public relations move much like that of international clothing retailers such as the GAP and Nike. Students Against Sweatshops (SAS) must continue negotiations with the administration during the 2003-2004 academic year. If an agreement is not reached which meets SAS standards, SAS must consider launching a large scale action against the administration to force them to implement Trent's no Sweat mandate. If a "Research and Outreach Coordinator" is active, it is imperative that SAS continue public awareness campaigns on the progress of the policy each year in order to ensure adequate continued monitoring.

Promotional Strategy

An Arthur article updating on the current situation is the best way to give widespread attention to the issue. Arthur staff are very helpful with tips on how to write articles. Make sure you set a date for a SAS meeting inviting anyone who is interested to attend.

Pamphlets, when approved by OPIRG can be distributed at the bookstore telling students who purchases clothing about the current situation of the policy. A sample pamphlet is included in this kit. There are also a number of "No Sweat at Trent" stickers included.

A wide range of options are available. In order to pass the policy, SAS employed various tactics to gain publicity, including information sessions, posters, petitions, support letters and anti-sweatshop fashion shows. Publicity has proven to be the most effective tool in gaining support and awareness of the issue. Be sure to consult the *No Sweat Binder* on the SAS campaign to adopt the policy, which documents successful and useful actions and contacts.

Target Audience

All members of the Trent community will be interested in the progress of the policy. It is important to gain support from faculty and students groups as well as the student body. Direct your campaign toward all members of the Trent community.

Information and Resources

- Tanya Roberts-Davis, *No Sweat binder and Annotated bibliography*

The *No Sweat binder* documents the Campaign to adopt the *Fair Trade Purchasing Policy for Apparel at Trent University*. It includes past petitions and letters of support. This binder includes the full list of names and contacts for anyone involved in the policy, including Trent's clothing suppliers. Available at OPIRG

- Tanya Roberts-Davis "*Is Trent Committed to Becoming a No Sweat Campus?*"

This leaflet documents the position of the administration regarding the Code of conduct. Use this leaflet as a background to continuing negotiations regarding the "research and outreach coordinator" with the administration. Available at OPIRG.

- Tanya Robert-Davis, "*No Sweat Campaigns Across the Country.*"

This leaflet updates on the current state of No Sweat policies at universities in Canada. MacMaster and the University of Toronto are both in the similar situations as Trent with the complicated process of putting their codes of conduct to work. Available at OPIRG.

- *Maquila Solidarity Network* www.maquilasolidarity.org

The *Maquila Solidarity Network (MSN)* is a Canadian network promoting solidarity with groups in Mexico, Central America, and Asia organizing in maquiladora factories and export processing zones to improve conditions and

win a living wage. Get in touch with MSN throughout the process of your campaign, and update them on the progress of the code at Trent. They are very helpful and they will be able to answer questions and provide support throughout the campaign. You can contact the Maquila Solidarity Network at info@maquillasolidarity.org or by phone in Toronto at (416)532-8584.

- *Workers Rights Consortium* www.workersrights.org

Assists in the enforcement of manufacturing codes of conduct adopted by colleges and universities. The Workers Rights Consortium (WRC) offers information on independent monitoring strategies and factory assessment programs. Encouraging Trent to join the WRC should also be part of the campaign in the future.

JOB DESCRIPTION AS PROPOSED BY THE ADMINISTRATION

Draft

Job Description

Outreach Coordinator – Fair Trade Purchasing Policy for Apparel

The Outreach Coordinator – Fair Trade Purchasing Policy will provide support to the University's Purchasing Office to implement the Fair Trade Purchasing Policy for Apparel at Trent University. This student position reports directly to the Manager of Purchasing and is responsible for tracking and monitoring the on-going implementation of the policy and reporting by suppliers to the University.

Duties

At the direction of the Manager of Purchasing, the Coordinator will assume lead responsibility for sharing information with prospective suppliers about the expectations contained in the University's policy, collect reports from suppliers to track suppliers' compliance, and initiate on-going public information campaigns to educate the Trent University community and apparel suppliers about the policy's intent. The Coordinator will prepare work plans as requested by the Manager of Purchasing and will play a vital role to ensure the successful implementation of the policy.

Requirements

- Strong written, verbal, report writing and presentation skills
- Knowledge of small business issues and an ability to serve as a resource to the business community
- Knowledge and ability to present a balanced perspective on the range of issues affecting a Fair Trade Purchasing Policy for Apparel
- Awareness of and interest in apparel industry trends
- Proven research skills and ability to synthesize large amounts of information concisely and professionally
- Cost accounting skills an asset
- Basic knowledge of Word and spreadsheet software, and HTML to create and manage a web page
- Ability to plan and execute special events
- Experience preparing communication plans and work plans to achieve stated goals
- Ability to consult with a wide range of groups including those with differing views
- Demonstrated ability to work independently and to take direction, a self starter who is diplomatic and flexible with strong interpersonal skills
- Other duties as assigned by the Manager of Purchasing

This position will work from the Ontario Public Interest Research Group (OPIRG) office and will be paid at the current rate provided to an OWSP student. The position is a limited term appointment from

September 1, 2003 to April 30, 2004.

MODIFIED(PRO-LABOUR) JOB DESCRIPTION

Draft

Job Description

Research and Outreach Coordinator for the Fair Trade Purchasing Policy For Apparel

The Research and Outreach Co-ordinator will provide support to the University's Purchasing Office to implement the Fair Trade Purchasing Policy for Apparel at Trent University. This student position reports jointly to the Manager of Purchasing and the Trent Ontario Public Interest Research Group (OPIRG). She/He is responsible for tracking and monitoring the on-going implementation of the policy and reporting by suppliers to the University as well as for communication to the Trent community about the policy.

Responsibilities

At the joint direction of OPIRG and the Manager of Purchasing, the Co-ordinator will assume lead responsibility for sharing information with prospective and current suppliers about the expectations contained in the University's policy, collect factory disclosure forms and reports from suppliers to track their compliance, research and investigate suppliers' labour practices through communication with knowledgeable groups (both in Canada and in other countries) and initiate an on-going public awareness campaign to educate the Trent University community and apparel suppliers about the policy's requirements. The Co-ordinator will be responsible for database management and data entry for the website. She/He will play a vital role to ensure the successful implementation of the policy and will be in contact with students at universities where similar policies have been passed to help facilitate the development of an inter-university consortium for joint-monitoring purposes.

Requirements

- Ability to integrate an anti-oppression analysis into all aspects of work
- Knowledge of the Fair Trade Purchasing Policy for Apparel at Trent University
- Commitment to advancing the goal of increasing respect for workers' rights
- Knowledge of ILO and UN conventions as well as Ontario labour laws
- Sensitive to the issues surrounding offering solidarity with sweatshop workers/warriors
- Knowledge of and a keen interest in the working conditions of garment sewers in Canada and internationally, particular challenges to unionizing facing these workers and fair trade issues
- Awareness of the global apparel industry pyramid and the implications of free trade agreements for worker's rights, particularly in the garment industry

- Strong written, verbal, report writing and presentation skills
- Proven research skills and ability to synthesize information concisely and professionally
- Basic knowledge of Word and spreadsheet software, and HTML to create and manage a database on Trent's web page
- Willingness to consult and communicate with a wide range of groups, both on and off campus, with a recognition that differing viewpoints are unavoidable and will need to be taken into account when developing outreach materials
- Ability to plan and execute special events for awareness raising purposes
- Willingness to serve as a contact point with Peterborough businesses for issues pertaining to the policy
- Experience preparing work plans to achieve stated goals
- Demonstrated ability to work independently and to take direction, a self starter who is diplomatic and flexible with strong interpersonal skills

This position will work from the Ontario Public Interest Research Group (OPIRG) office and will be paid at the current rate provided to an OWSP student. The position is a limited term appointment from September 1, 2003 to April 30, 2004, but is to be renewed for at least two years, pending funding. Women and students of colour are encouraged to apply.

DETAILED OUTLINE OF TASKS

TASK

Factory Disclosure

-Post factory locations on database on the website, make hard copies available in the OPIRG office, the Trent University Bookstore and the TCSA office

-Contact suppliers that have not complied with the disclosure requirements-warning letters and phone calls

Research

-Conduct research about relevant companies, keeping updated about their labour practices (e.g. Gildan, Fruit of the Loom, Russel, etc.), and campaigns for solidarity with workers making these clothes

-Conduct preliminary research about factories by contacting local groups/unions/NGOs

-Key organizations to consult: Maquila Solidarity Network, Union of Needletrades and Industrial Textile Employees, Worker Rights Consortium

-Key Listservs to watch: Maquila Solidarity Network, Students Against Sweatshops-Canada

Communication and Outreach

-Raise awareness on campus about the policy through developing and distributing materials that are relevant to the needs of different groups (students, teams, unions, etc.)

-Communication with suppliers to ensure their understanding of the policy

-Advise the TCSA and college cabinets about which companies are compliant, which are not

-Help to organize teach-ins, movie nights and workshops on sweatshop issues

-if suppliers are not complying, have discretion to educate student body and encourage them to put pressure on specific suppliers

Networking

-Ongoing consultation with the Toronto-based Maquila Solidarity Network in order to remain updated on current labour situation in different countries; by different companies

-Communication with the Worker Rights Consortium in order to remain updated on current labour situation in different countries, by different companies--particularly with regards to companies supplying clothing to the Follett-owned University Bookstore

-Communication with other Canadian universities (administrators and students at U of T, McMaster, Memorial University, Simon Fraser University) to find out where they are in implementation process, their strategies

-Through this communication with other universities, help facilitate/push for the launching of an inter-university consortium for joint monitoring purposes

Annual Reports

-Post reports on website, make hardcopies available in the OPIRG office, the Trent University Bookstore and the TCSA office

-Read reports with critical eye for discrepancies, lack of clarity and with policy requirements in mind

-Respond to companies and request clarifications if necessary

-Facilitate remediation process if serious and consistent violations of workers' rights uncovered by first bringing findings to the Ad Hoc Committee and then possibly requesting an investigation by labour inspectors (if in Canada) or a local group capable of responding

*** Ad Hoc Advisory Committee**

To meet once a month (approx) to discuss procedures for implementation

-student

-Don Cumming

-Barbara Reeves

-Lorraine Hayes

-Others?

OPIRG Activist Toolbox Workshop:

Planning and Implementing a Successful and Inclusive Event

Event Considerations

Although each event will have its own requirements in terms of organization and set up, consider:

Goals

What do you want to achieve with the event? Does this event fit in with a larger project of anti-oppression? What kind of follow-up or action component should it have? (For example, will people be invited to another event or to an action/working group meeting?)

Have you opened up your event to be a space for "marginalized" voices?

Target Audience

Who do you want to reach? Are you trying attract a new audience and not the same crowd? Films and prominent speakers are often a good way to reach a broad audience that may not necessarily know your group beforehand. Fundraisers don't need to be targeted at activists. Lesser known speakers may have excellent information and are a good way to keep your group informed and to reach out to other like-minded activists. "Preaching to the converted" is not necessarily a bad thing, depending on your goals.

Privilege and Oppression

How can we ensure that this event contributes to a larger project of anti-oppression? How can we make this event accessible?(wheelchair, child care, accessible by public transportation...) Will this event create space for "marginalized" viewpoints or reinforce privileged viewpoints?

Timing

Is it timely? Does it conflict with the plans of other groups? Are students in the middle of exams? Is there a holiday or long weekend that might interfere?(OPIRG has access to a multi-cultural holiday calendar)

Duplication

Have there been similar events on the same issue? Would another event be repetitive? Could another event provide another take on the other events that was marginalized or excluded?

Format

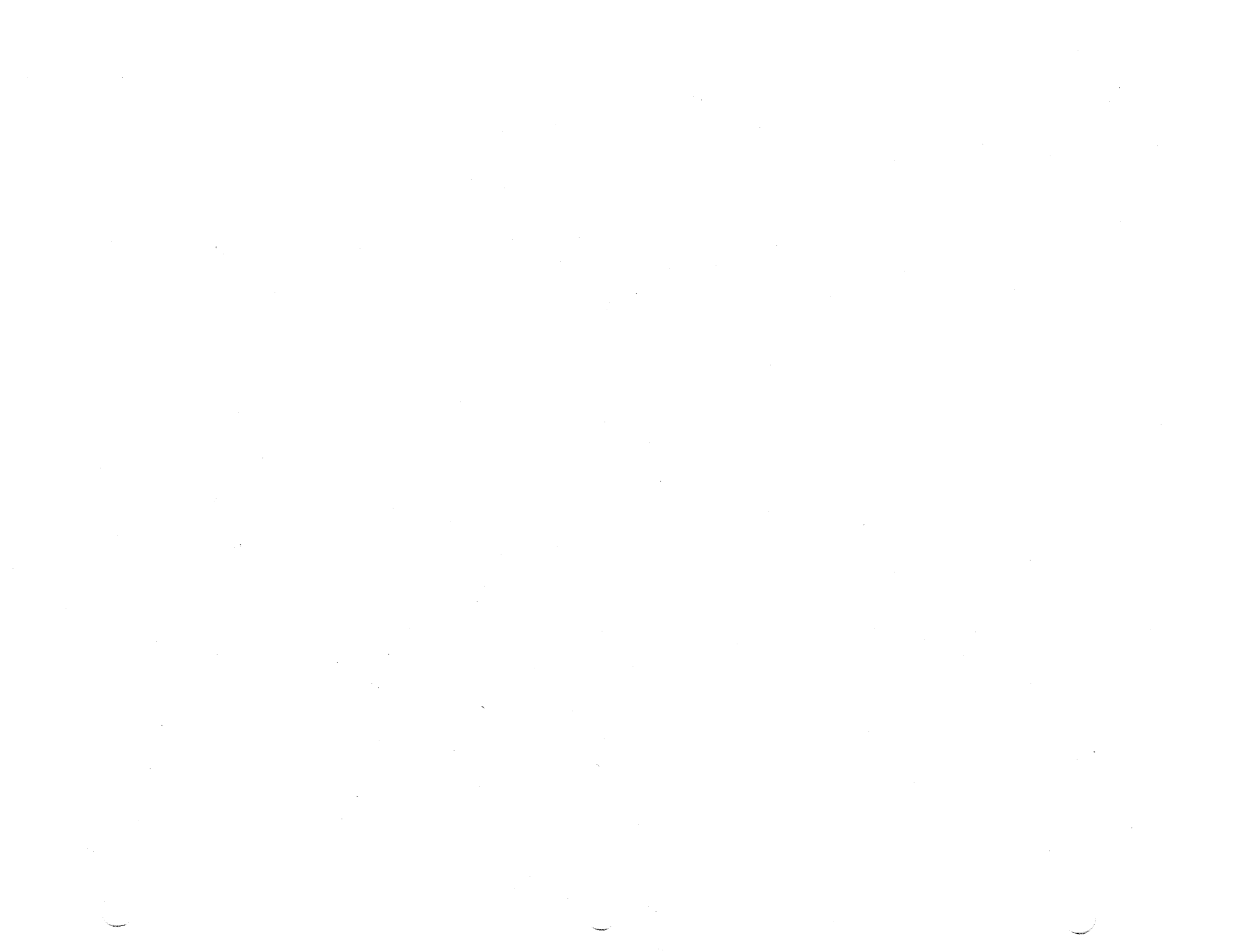
What form will the event take to best accomplish your goals...:panel, film, debate, street theatre, etc.

Budget

How much will it cost? Will it be worth what it costs?

General Event Checklist

- Have you informed and/or involved staff or board members in the planning of your event?
- Have you sought co-sponsors?(See: Seeking co-sponsors for details)
- Do panels represent the diversity of your community? Are speakers being included only as "tokens" or is there presence also central to the event? Do you have an experienced moderator?
- Have speakers, venue and equipment been confirmed?
- Are you providing services that will make the event more accessible? Child care, sign language interpretation...
- Have you planned for a PIRG information table at the door? Are there other groups you could invite to put up displays?
- Can the event be recorded? (OPIRG has a weekly radio show on Trent Radio)



Venue & Equipment Checklist

- Is the venue affordable, accessible, well-known?
- Do you require sound or video equipment that is not provided at the venue and will it be delivered or does it require pick-up?
- Who is responsible for setting up the equipment?
- Are chairs, tables, podium, water and microphones provided at the booked venue?
- Will the venue be open, or do you have to pick up a key prior to the event?
- Do you have a back up plan if your equipment fails?

Booking Space in Peterborough

Trent

There are two ways of booking rooms at Trent

Roombookings -Books the academic spaces at all of the colleges

Email: roombookings@trentu.ca Call: 748-1623

College Offices - Book the non-academic spaces at each of the colleges, like common rooms

Peter Robinson 748-1743

Traill 748-1736

Champlain 748-1237

Otonabee 748-1342

Lady Eaton 748-1322

Community

There are not a lot of affordable spaces to book in downtown Peterborough. Most community groups rely on the churches for space. These spaces do cost money, and the quality of the spaces varies. Many of the church spaces are wheelchair accessible but it is always good to ask about the particular room you are renting

Other available downtown spaces:

-PCVS highschool - an expensive but very large space, you can get this space for free in the evenings if a group at the school co-sponsors it

-Market Hall - is a very large space, it is fairly expensive... so, it would be best to book this for an event you will be selling tickets to

-Peterborough Lions Club Community Centre - fits about 100 people... also, fairly expensive to rent, located just over the Hunter Street bridge in East City,

-Peterborough Public Library - the library has board rooms and a large meeting room (could fit about 150 at full capacity), the library charges per hour... about \$30/hour, this is a very accessible space, wheelchair accessible, a well known spot by all in the community

Can OPIRG Board of staff provide assistance/
feedback to your group? Just ask!

Seeking Co-Sponsors

Co-sponsors essentially do three things: defer costs, increase attendance and provide more ideas to create a more effective and inclusive event. Co-sponsors potentially can help to build a coalition by involving more people, but it can mean giving up complete control (but that's ok). The more credibility your project has, the greater your chances of finding co-sponsors. In your request provide as much detail as you can.

Before approaching potential co-sponsors you may want to consider:

- What role the co-sponsoring group is expected to play. Do the co-sponsors work independently on a particular aspect? Do they deal with the media independently? Do they participate fully in the entire planning process?
- At what stage do you invite co-sponsors to be involved? Will your event be more inclusive/anti-oppressive if other groups are integrated into the entire planning process? Or are you just looking for money and prefer to do the work and set the goals yourselves?
- Have a budget prepared, with a list of the funding sources you are approaching.
- Let them know what other groups are involved, are interested, or are being approached.
- Know what your project or event is meant to accomplish, and how this will benefit the group you are approaching.
- Acknowledge all co-sponsors on event publicity and at the event if possible! Send a thank you note and invite them to any celebratory occasions planned.

Promotion & Media Checklist

- Who are you targeting as an audience, and are you advertising in the most effective ways and places to reach them?
- Are you making false assumptions about who might be interested in the event? An example of making false assumptions: Choosing to publicize an event about racism only to "multi-cultural," anti-racist and cultural groups and not queer or feminist organizations.
- Is there another event or activity you can "piggy back" on to gain more exposure and interest?
- Have you prepared and distributed effective posters? Does your poster/publicity material follow the OPIRG graphics policy? (copy of graphics policy is posted in the office or in the "Provincial Policy" binder)
- Have you sent posters/promotional materials to your co-sponsors?
- Have you issued a news release? Does it contain the 5 Ws (Who, What, When, Where, Why)? Is it on letterhead and recycled paper? (Details about news releases available in the "Action for Change" booklet & letterhead available in the OPIRG office)
- Are spokespeople available for interviews during and after the event?
- Have you sent out a Public Service Announcement (PSA) to those media which offer the service?
- Have you posted a copy of your event poster and news release in the OPIRG office?

For more info about media relations ask in the OPIRG office for "Making the News: A Media Relations Manual for Non-Profit Organizations" by John Longhurst

Choosing & Booking Speakers

Arranging a speaker can be a simple matter of a couple of phone calls and providing directions, or it can be a major production involving negotiation of fees, accomodation and time schedules.

Here are a few things to keep in mind:

- Can your event be an opportunity to include speakers who might not always have the privilege, power or resources to speak to your audience or to speak publicly? Are speakers being asked only as "tokens" or is their participation also central to the event?
- Is your event going to be a safe environment for the speaker/s? How can you change the environment to make it more safe?
- Whenever possible, have one person act as the contact with the speaker or the speaker's agent. When more than one person gets involved, communication gets more complicated which may lead to confusion and frustration for everyone involved.
- Be clear about the purpose of the event, other speakers involved, and who is organizing it.
- What is the speakers fee? Does the fee include transportation and accomodations, if necessary, or are they extra?
- Does the speaker need to be picked up at the airport/bus/train station? If they are getting there themselves do they have clear directions and a number to call in case they get lost?
- Is the speaker willing to be billeted or is a hotel required? If billeted, are there any special requirements (i.e. pet allergies, diet, accessibility, etc.)?

Event Follow-Up Checklist

- Evaluation. It's important after every event to evaluate the planning and organizational processes. Take notes on the strong points and the areas that need work for next time.
- Send letters of thanks to speakers and any other groups or individuals who went out of their way to help make your event happen.
- Clip or videotape media coverage and file in the OPIRG office.
- Make notes on sympathetic reporters, organizations, etc.

Template of event evaluation is available in the OPIRG office

Sources:

"Action for Change" published by Ontario PIRG

"Campus Activist Kit" published by OPIRG-Carleton

O.P.I.R.G.

Ontario Public Interest Research Group
Stratton House, Trent University
748-1767 opirg@trentu.ca

What is consensus decision-making?

Consensus is a group decision-making process where all members are heard and the group works toward reaching a decision that is acceptable to everyone. The consensus process attempts to constructively deal with the range of opinion which naturally exists within any group.

Consensus will only work when participants make a serious commitment to using consensus, are respectful and supportive of each other and are like-minded (serious division of opinion on fundamental issues destroys the essential cohesiveness of a group).

Consensus is not unanimity. Reservations or differences on a particular issue may still exist within the group - individuals may prefer a solution other than the one that is adopted. Consensus is reached if everyone in the group is willing to accept a decision and they feel it is the best possible decision which can be achieved under the circumstances.

Advantages of using consensus

- ▶ It provides an equal opportunity for everyone to contribute information and have their opinions recognized.
- ▶ It decides without voting, so there is no "losing" and "winning" side.
- ▶ It results in a stronger decision because everyone can willingly give assent to an idea and therefore participate more fully in its implementation.
- ▶ People get a chance to has things over and as a result often develop better proposals. A quick vote leaves a lot of creative ideas in the dust.
- ▶ It discourages backroom politics and encourages openness.
- ▶ It attempts to break down traditional power structures that generally ignore people from marginalised groups.

Conditions that support consensus

1. Unity of purpose
2. Equal access to power for all members(see: Dealing with Power in Consensus Handout)
3. Time
4. A willingness to attend to process
5. A willingness to attend to attitudes
6. A willingness to practice skills

Ingredients for an effective meeting:

- ▶ The meeting is necessary and the purpose is clear.
- ▶ The meeting is held in a comfortable setting.
- ▶ An agenda is prepared.
- ▶ The meeting starts and ends on time.
- ▶ Members feel that their input was encouraged and feel good about being a member of the group.
- ▶ Following the meeting, people feel satisfied with the outcomes or productivity level of the meeting.
- ▶ The meeting norms are clear (ie. At OPRG, we share responsibilities among members and use consensus decision-making).
- ▶ The meeting is fun...remember to help people to stay focussed by stretching, doing group-building activities and maybe some snacks.



Roles for Consensus

(Rotated among members)

- ▶ **Minute taker:** Always take minutes at your meetings. Minutes must include: who attended the meeting, what role everyone had, an outline of each item, the details of each decision made, a list of who volunteered to do which tasks.
- ▶ **Facilitator:** The facilitator fills a role similar to that of a 'chairperson' but never directs the group without its consent. She helps the members of a group decide what they want to accomplish in a meeting and helps them carry it out. She takes responsibility for preparing the agenda, reminding the group its task, tests for consensus, and in general makes sure that the other roles are filled. Rotating the task of facilitating helps everyone building up their consensus skills. At the end of each meeting, decide who will be responsible for facilitating the next meeting.
- ▶ **Timekeeper:** As a time limit is appointed to each agenda item, it is the timekeeper's responsibility to announce when the time is running out. Meetings should start and end on time.
- ▶ **Moodminder:** This person watches the emotions of the group and checks for fatigue, hunger, tension, etc. They have the power to call for unscheduled breaks. The point of this role is to have someone acknowledge that everyone in the group has feelings as well as issues that come into play in the group dynamic.

Expressing Objections in Consensus

There are several ways to express objections if your group is on the verge of a decision and you can't get complete agreement:

- Non-Support:** "I don't see the need for this, but I'll go along"
- Reservations:** "I think this may be a mistake, but I can live with it."
- Standing Aside:** "I personally cannot do this, but I won't stop others from doing it." You can disagree with something without blocking consensus. Often people will stand aside if they have a conflict of interest or if they will not have to work on that particular item in the future, if their views are recorded in the minutes, if it does not set a precedent, or if a trial period and evaluation date is set.
- Blocking:** Blocking consensus should only be done for principled objections. "I cannot support this or allow the group to support this. It is immoral."
- Withdrawing from the group:** If one member's views are so different from the views of the entire group, withdrawing from the group may become necessary since consensus is based on the group having a common purpose.

Resources on Consensus, Effective Meetings, Group Process:

Coover, Virginia. et. al. *Resource Manual for a Living Revolution*. New Society Publishers: 1985.
Doris Marshall Institute. *Educating for Change*. Between the Lines: Toronto, 1991.
Action for Change: A guide to activism with Public Interest Research Groups. WPIRG: Waterloo

Confronting Power and Oppression in Consensus:

Just working with consensus instead of a voting system does not eliminate problems of power and oppression within a group. The group must be aware of and confront issues of power and oppression that exist.

It is not enough, however, to identify problems of oppression just at the table. Instead the group must look at who is not at the table and how the structures of the organization and the actions of individual members keep those people away.

The facilitator can play a role in examining power within the group by keeping track of who is and who isn't participating in discussion. The facilitator can help to even out contributions by suggesting that everyone in the group "GO Around" and give their input. The facilitator can also direct participation by keeping a list of who has spoken and use that list to point out who takes up the most discussion time in meetings.

It is also important to rotate roles within a group to ensure that the power held with those positions (including knowledge and skill development) are not held by only a few members of the group.

Here are some questions/techniques that facilitators can use to help increase participation:

Questions

- ✓ Now that we have heard from a number of our members, would others who have not spoken like to add their ideas?
- ✓ How do the ideas presented thus far to those of you who have been thinking about them?

Techniques

- ★ Go Around - This is where the facilitator asks the group to go in a circle and have each person express their views.
- ★ 10 Second Rule - If certain members of the group are always speaking before others you may ask the group to do this exercise. They should wait 10 seconds before they speak.
- ★ Be suspicious of decisions made too easily!!! This may indicate that not everyone is participating. Ask for a positive affirmation of a decision, like a thumbs up or a "yes" from everyone, this should help make sure that there is room for objections.

Questions Facilitators can ask themselves:

- ✗ Are people following and understanding what is going on?
- ✗ Has everyone had an opportunity to participate?
- ✗ Are some people lost? Did everyone have access to the information/background needed to make this decision?
- ✗ Have I checked to make sure that I am summing up people's points correctly?
- ✗ Am I ensuring that all ideas are being examined thoroughly, not just the most popular and convenient ones? Give total and complete attention to each contribution to try to discover relevance, even if it seems obscure and try to integrate all contributions
- ✗ Am I ensuring that discussion does not continue between 2 people only?

There are a number of questions that you can use to help a group identify the power that they or others might hold in group.

- Is the humanity, intelligence, sensitivity, and contribution of each person respected?
- Am I taking up more or less time than others?
- Do I interrupt others?
- Do I censor myself?
- Are people dismissed for making mistakes or supported in changing?
- Are differences minimized or is pride encouraged in each of our struggles?
- Are decisions about the use of resources shared?
- Is there an awareness of the differences in our access to resources?
- What are the assumptions motivating activity?
- Do I make judgements based on principle or do I respond to personalities?
- Are distinctions drawn between where someone comes from and what he/she stands for?
- Do the existing relationships of power in the group have a historical context?

Evaluating the Group Process/Consensus

Doing an evaluation of your meetings is an important way to identify power and oppression within your group. It may be important to do a lengthy evaluation of your group and especially the underlying structures of your organization. It may also be helpful to evaluate the process of your meetings at the end of each meeting, a Check Out. During these few minutes each person in the group has the chance to reflect back on the process of the meeting. It is important that people do not re-hash decisions but instead focus on the process.

Looking for more resources on confronting power & oppression?

OPIRG-Peterborough. *Anti-Racism Workbook: Structural change for grassroots organizations.* Peterborough 2000.

Kivel, Paul. *Uprooting Racism: How white people can work for racial justice.* New Society Publishers 1996.

Rafiq, Fauzia. *Developing an Anti-Racism Action Plan.* WWWW & CCCC 1992.



This workshop was created by:
Emily van der Meulen (OPIRG Kingston)
&
Marnie Eves (OPIRG Peterborough)



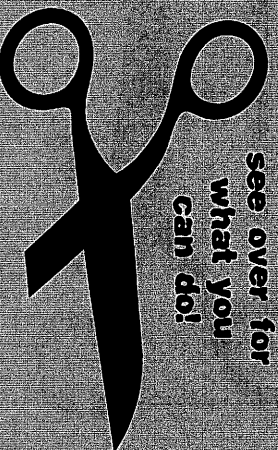
Cut it out

Say you're watching the news and you hear about labour abuses at a particular clothing factory in Indonesia. You're upset about it and want to know which companies are producing clothing at that factory. You're worried the clothes you wear may be made under unfair labour conditions. But when you try to find out, no one will tell you who's producing clothing at that factory.

Keeping abuses secret

As a rule, apparel companies do not disclose where their clothing is made. Sure, the country is listed on the label - it may say "MADE IN INDONESIA", but retailers do not tell consumers which factories produce which of their products. And we know that the country of manufacture is no sure guide to good labour practices: items bearing a "MADE IN CANADA" label may just as easily have been made under "sweatshop" conditions.

see over for
what you
can do!



We are asking the Government of Canada – specifically the Industry Minister – to make a small change to the Textile Labelling Regulations requiring apparel companies to publicly disclose the names and addresses of the contractors and subcontractors who produce their clothing. This small change will mean that the information on your clothing label will allow you to find out exactly where that product was made. It will prevent companies from keeping sweatshop abuses secret.

You can help

- **by signing our petition to the Industry Minister**
- **by cutting the labels off your clothes and giving them to us. We want to deliver bags full of these labels to the Minister so that he knows that these labels aren't telling us what we need to know.**
- **by getting involved in the Ethical Trading Action Group's "No Sweat" campaign – there's all sorts of ways you can help stop sweatshop abuses. Please visit this web site to learn more about the campaign: www.maquiasolidarity.org/nosweat**

You can deliver your labels to:

Maquila Solidarity Network
606 Shaw St, Toronto, ON M6G 3L6
or the nearest Oxfam Canada office

