

SWEATFREE TOOLKIT



How Your Community Can Help End Sweatshops

The Sweatfree Toolkit is written by Bjorn Claeson and Liana Foxvog of SweatFree Communities and Valerie Orth of Global Exchange. The Toolkit is a revised and expanded version of the July 2002 SweatFree Communities Organizing Guide. The sections on “How to Use Media,” “Working with Elected Officials,” and “Fundraising” are based on previous Global Exchange documents.

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Sweatfree Toolkit: How Your Community Can Help End Sweatshops

SweatFree Communities: A Network for Local Action Against Sweatshops, and Global Exchange: Building People to People Ties

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Welcome to the Sweatfree Purchasing Movement

Most clothing and footwear sold in this country are made under highly abusive conditions both in U.S. and overseas “sweatshop” factories. The workers are usually young women, uprooted from the countryside, and often the sole breadwinners for their children. An expendable, short-term source of labor, they face poverty wages, exhausting hours, dangerous conditions, and repression of basic human and labor rights. Workers in many other manufacturing sectors, service industries, and farm fields also struggle against sweatshop conditions.

Low-income communities, people of color, and labor groups have a long history of organizing against sweatshops. They have been organizing as workers, as well as consumers, to rid their communities of abuses in factories, service sectors, and farm fields.

In recent years, students, faith-based communities, trade unionists, and others have created an increasingly effective anti-sweatshop solidarity movement in partnership with sweatshop workers. As part of this effort, community-based anti-sweatshop groups are working to convince school districts, local governments, religious congregations and other institutional purchasers to adopt “sweat-free” purchasing policies in order to generate market demand for products that are made in humane conditions by workers who earn living wages. Seeking to remove public support for sweatshop labor, their rallying cry is: “not in our name, not with our dollars.”

Institutional demand that companies abide by fair labor standards in return for public contracts is more important than ever after the January 1, 2005, expiration of export quotas on textiles and clothing. Now that companies are free to consolidate production where labor is cheapest, many governments the world over are likely to attempt cutting wages even further and repressing worker rights in a desperate attempt to hold onto garment jobs and investment. Many garment producing countries, including the U.S., will see a wave of plant closings.

A sweatfree purchasing campaign is a way for you to take action in your local community to help humanize the global sweatshop economy. It is also a potent means to foster sustained local activism and create strong local organizations. You can build coalitions of labor, student, solidarity, peace and justice, and faith-based groups. You can attract new people to social activism, channeling their outrage about sweatshops into engagement with local institutions. You can see new movement leaders emerge as graduating high school activists take leadership roles in the university anti-sweatshop movement and other organizations. As a local issue in which elected officials have to take positions, your campaign will offer significant possibilities for press coverage and public education. Most important, you and other local activists will control the

shape and timing of your own efforts, creating the possibility for strong organizational growth.

This Sweatfree Toolkit is a co-production between SweatFree Communities and Global Exchange. Founded by local sweatfree campaigns in 2002, SweatFree Communities is the national network that supports local sweatfree activists, creates a sense of connection among them, and links local campaigns with sweatshop workers’ struggles. We assist groups in starting local campaigns and serve as a point of communication and information among groups. Our history and the constituency of our board ensure that SweatFree Communities is driven by and accountable to local organizations in communities in across the United States. To get further information or to join the network, please visit our website at www.sweatfree.org.

Global Exchange is an international human rights organization dedicated to promoting political, social and environmental justices. Since our founding in 1988, we have educated and mobilized the public around issues of global trade, corporate accountability, fair alternatives, and peace. One of our goals is to encourage both the U.S. government and private institutions to support policies that promote democratic and sustainable development. For more information or to join Global Exchange, please visit www.globalexchange.org.

The Sweatfree Toolkit is a one-stop-shop to help local groups initiate and win campaigns for effective sweatfree purchasing policies in their communities, while strengthening their organizations. The Guide explains nuts and bolts organizing steps for different types of campaigns, and provides general organizing tips, a campaign toolbox, a policy toolbox, educational resources, and a trainer’s guide. Whether you are downloading it from the web or requesting a hard copy via mail, you will be able to tailor it to the needs of your local campaign.

Please be in touch with us, tell us about your campaign, your challenges and victories. We are stronger together.

Vision

In the Short Term

Sweatfree organizing promotes the collective power of workers in sweatshops and communities of consumers. We believe that there is power in numbers, and that when we are united we can do more than any one of us can alone.

Successful sweatfree purchasing campaigns depend on community organizing that brings people together and builds power for people on a local level to make decisions about how their taxes and consumer money should be spent. Together we tell corporations that we do not want worker abuse marketed in our communities. Together we tell our elected representatives that our values of dignity and justice should shape our economy and our communities. Together we make our voices heard.

Organized communities of consumers can make sweatfree purchasing dynamic and effective. When we are organized we can support workers, at home and abroad, who are organizing, seeking to form independent unions or cooperatives, and attaining a voice over workplace policies. Rather than avoiding sweatshops and sweatshop products, we work closely with sweatshop workers to improve working conditions.

In the Long Term

By coming together we seek to humanize a corporate-driven process of globalization. We welcome a global economy created through a process that is democratic and just. We support global relations that foster economic justice and sustainability, and that allow communities to care for their most vulnerable members, and workers to meet their basic needs.

We believe that those most deeply and negatively affected by corporate-driven globalization should have a leading voice in shaping more humane global relations. These leaders are not only the sweatshop workers around the world, but also others in our own communities and elsewhere who are cast away by the same system that rewards corporations for abusing young women in sweatshops. In the long term, we strive to connect local sweatfree purchasing campaigns to domestic struggles against corporate globalization, linking the consumer-based anti-sweatshop movement to other movements that are led by low-income people, people of color, women, youth, and others excluded. The bonds and mutual support between sweatshop workers across the globe and oppressed people in our communities will create the basis for real and sustainable social change.

Sweatfree Toolkit: How Your Community Can Help End Sweatshops

Taking Action



A coalition of faith-based, labor, community and student groups joined forces to make San Francisco sweatfree. Global Exchange organizers rally citizens outside of City Hall on a day of action.

Photo by Maryam Roberts, Global Exchange.

Running a Successful Campaign: 10 Steps to a Sweatfree Community

Because political climates and organizing opportunities vary in states, cities and schools across the country, every sweatfree campaign will be different. The steps below are common to many successful campaigns so far. They are not necessarily in linear succession. The goals evolve over time, and the campaigners constantly build the coalition and educate the public, both before the policy is passed and afterwards to ensure enforcement.

1. Define Your Campaign Goal

Decide which parts of your community can become sweatfree. Look to your areas of strength. If high school students and teachers are prominent in your group, you may want to focus on a school district campaign. If you have been part of a living wage campaign and have good rapport with the city council, you may want to focus on a city purchasing policy. You can also work to pass a state government purchasing policy.

2. Build a Coalition

To ensure your message is strong and convincing, pull together a large and diverse sweatfree coalition. Think broadly. Reach out to groups that have overlapping goals with your campaign or are interested in expanding their outreach to the local community. For example:

- Local labor unions and anti-sweatshop groups
- Immigrant worker groups
- Faith-based groups and clergy
- Asian, African, Latin American solidarity groups
- Parents, teachers, and children
- High school youth groups and university student groups
- Community groups, peace and social justice committees, and human rights organizations
- Public health groups, environmental groups
- Small progressive businesses

3. Organize the Group

Find a couple of people (in addition to yourself) who can take a leadership role. Find people who will take the core responsibilities, and others who will help when needed. Set a regular meeting location and times. The clearer the expectations of everyone and the clearer the group process, the more comfortable group members will be.

4. Research: Where Does Your Money Go?

Research the major purchases of the institution you are targeting. For example, where are your city's police uniforms made? If you can identify specific companies or factories, try to learn as much as possible about them and about the regions where the uniforms are made. Also try to find alternative sweatfree sources where the uniforms could be made.

5. Evaluate the Political Climate in Your Community

Who are the members of the elected bodies that control purchasing policies for your city, town, county, or school district? Who will be supportive of your efforts, and who is the best member

Organizing Tip:

In many places, elected officials and many members of the community have no trouble agreeing that taxpayers' money should not support sweatshop abuses. In such cases, it might be wise to select an elected body as the place to start.

In other regions, activists have found that building support among local retailers to carry only sweatfree apparel goods has been a way of creating community support for the idea to subsequently be applied at the city or state level.

Research Tip:

Check out the on-line public procurement database at www.sweatfree.org. It contains information about the apparel industry supply chain related to public procurement, from factory through vendor to institutional consumer. You can go on-line to add data on the vendors and contracts of your school, city, or state, and find other major public purchasers that deal with the same vendors. Eventually, the database will help workers make contact with state and local governments in the United States and corresponding sweatfree campaigns and call attention to sweatshop abuses.

Planning Tip:

Research the timeline for passing policies in the targeted institution. Also plan for the coalition's short-term and long-term roles. This includes outreach, education, lobbying, helping to monitor contracts, researching possible code violations, and helping to resolve issues of implementation and monitoring.

to sponsor the policy? In bodies whose members represent a variety of political stripes, you might try to get cosponsors from different political parties. Also identify political leaders who oppose your efforts. Why are they opposed and how will you counter their arguments?

6. Educate

Build community support for the sweatfree purchasing policy. Offer to give a presentation on the campaign at other groups' events and meetings or in relevant classes. You can organize your own speaking events. Invite experts to speak and show educational films on sweatshops. See "Fundraising Guide" for how to host a house party, and available speakers and trainers. See "Resources" for a list of current films. Hold letter writing events and petition drives. Collecting petition signatures is a great way for lots of volunteers to get involved and talk to people face to face. (See "Sample Petition".)

7. Mobilize and Work with the Media

When appropriate, organize creative actions with your coalition and use the media to let your local officials know that you are serious about ensuring our tax dollars are not supporting sweatshops. See "How to Work with the Media". Hold a press conference with your coalition and the official policy sponsors to officially launch the campaign. Members of your coalition can get on talk radio shows, write their own letters to the editor or opinion-editorials and pitch it to local papers. The media is a great outlet to educate the public about sweatshops, and win their support for the policy.

8. Make Your Case to the Elected Body

When meeting with decision makers, remember to:

- Present the best-possible policy. It is much easier to negotiate down than to start with a not-so-good policy and try to improve it through negotiation. (See "Sample policy".)
- Bring evidence of widespread community support, for example, a list of coalition partners or endorsing organizations, petition signatures, or letters of support from allies and important political constituents.
- Anticipate challenging questions and be prepared to answer them. If possible present the decision makers with an attractive and well-organized packet of information that makes your case for the policy.
- Be sure lots of people - including workers and coalition partners - testify at public hearings.

9. Monitoring and Enforcement

The policy will be symbolic at best if it is not implemented and enforced. Once a policy has passed, work with the administrators and elected officials to develop the implementation plan. In order to enforce the policy, they should commit part of the budget to pay for independent monitors and additional local enforcement staff (see "Policy Toolbox" for details). Make sure your group stays involved monitoring contracts, researching possible code violations, and helping to resolve issues of implementation and enforcement. Consider building on your momentum to get the policy adopted by other institutions.

10. Celebrate your victories!

Celebrate when you reach your objectives, both large and small. Recognize the work of volunteers. Make it fun!

Sweatfree State and Local Governments

Governments are the largest purchasers of goods and services in the world. All levels of government have the purchasing power to influence corporate behavior. In terms of apparel, municipal governments buy police, fire department, and public works uniforms while state governments buy uniforms and other apparel for the state prison system, and the departments of public safety, transportation, conservation, and fisheries and wildlife among others.

Our tax dollars may be supporting sweatshops and child labor through purchase of apparel, and other products and services. Instead, our local governments could be part of the solution.

Towns, cities, and counties, state by state - we can create a more just, global economy.

Here are some organizing steps.

Research: Where Does Your Money Go and Who Decides?

- Find out which agencies and departments have uniform or work clothing requirements.
- Find out what products the government buys, and how the procurement process works. Is purchasing centralized or does it take place at the departmental/ agency level? Who makes purchasing decisions? Does the government have a history of giving preference to certain products? Are the unions for uniformed city or town workers involved in the procurement decisions?
- Find out if the government has rental contracts for uniforms or work clothing.
- Request copies of current government contracts for all relevant products.
- Learn as much as you can about the companies, factories, and regions where the products are made.

Evaluate the Political Climate

Find a contact person for selected members of the legislature and city council who can talk with them informally and learn about concerns they may have. When meeting with the lawmakers:

- Reassure them that sweatfree purchasing is not radical. It reflects community values and affirms community consensus.
- Appeal to civic pride. Your community can set a moral example for others to follow.
- Listen: this is your opportunity to hear their concerns so that you can build a stronger campaign.

When you know who is supportive and who is not, find sponsors of your legislation, ideally from all major political parties.

Educate, Organize, and Mobilize

In most cases the merits of your ideas are not enough to win. If you do not have money and high-level political connections on your side, you need people's power: lots of committed volunteers, a large and broad coalition of groups, powerful stories and personal testimonies, a large number of bodies at public hearings and events, and a continuous public presence. Here are a few things you can do:

- Organize a petition drive.
- Write letters to the editor and get on radio talk shows.
- Hold a press conference.
- Organize a "sweatshop fashion show," a benefit concert, or other educational events.
- Offer presentations and workshops to classes, church groups, civic organizations, and others.

Build Relationships with Elected Officials and Government Staff, and Make Your Case

Gather at least two to four people to meet with the city or town manager, the purchasing director, department heads, your legislative sponsor, or equivalent people on the state level. Present a draft of your sweatfree purchasing policy and talk about how you would like to see it implemented. Listen to their questions and concerns. Establish a process to develop a mutually acceptable policy if possible.

The stronger your community support the easier it will be to work with staff and legislators. You are probably asking a money-strapped and strained department to change the way they do business and develop a new administrative protocol. They will be



Former California State Senator Tom Hayden joins clergy, labor and other supporters of No More Sweatshops at the landmark City of Los Angeles sweatfree legislative victory, Nov. 9, 2004.

more motivated and accommodating if: 1) you have done your homework well; 2) you show that you are interested in and understand their world and the constraints they are under; and 3) above all, if they know the public is behind you and that this issue simply will not go away.

Mobilize for the Public Hearing

Spread the word in as many ways as you can. Tell your friends, family, neighbors, and co-workers. If you know supportive teachers or ministers, ask them to make announcements. Activate a phone tree if you have it, or do a mailing if you can.

Consider contacting a local newspaper or radio-station to see if they will do a story before the hearing and cover the hearing itself. Write a letter to the editor.

The hearing is a public performance. Prepare for it! A few brief and concise testimonies are usually better than longer and repetitive testimonies from lots of people. But by all means, try to fill the hearing room to the brim. Not everyone may be able to speak, but everyone can show their support by standing up or holding signs at a given point.

If possible, prepare an information package for councilors or legislators. You can include:

- Summary of the proposed policy.
- Supporting testimony from key groups and individuals and evidence of widespread community support in the form of petition signatures or newspaper articles.
- Opposition viewpoints (if any) and your responses.
- Background information on sweatshops, e.g. testimony of a sweatshop worker, testimony of local (possibly displaced) workers, and basic facts about sweatshops.



PICA Youth Adelantando Organizer Tracy Allen testifies in favor of bill to strengthen Maine's anti-sweatshop law.

Celebrate!

Make sure that you celebrate all your victories, both large and small. Recognize that you are doing groundbreaking exciting work. Make sure everyone in your group feels appreciated and takes credit for the successes.

Build on Your Successes

A new law is a movement tool. While administrators are responsible for implementing the law, your group should stay active to make sure you use this tool to win justice for workers. Monitor contracts, research possible code violations, and make sure that your institution pressures violators to correct problems and improve conditions for workers.

Finally, consider building on your momentum to get the policy adopted by other institutions. Once you have convinced one legislative body to adopt a policy, other neighboring bodies are likely to follow suit with just a little persuasion.

If you are planning to start a campaign or if your campaign is well under way, please be in touch with us at SweatFree Communities or Global Exchange. We can offer organizing assistance. We want to hear your questions, challenges, and successes. And of course, we want to hear about your victories! For a list of local governments with sweatfree policies, see www.sweatfree.org.

Sweatfree purchasing rules must be carefully crafted to ensure workers at institutional suppliers benefit. "It's not just a bureaucratic procedure; it's people's lives that are at stake," Yannick Etienne, coordinator of a Haitian worker rights organization, testified to the State of Maine on September 5, 2005. Etienne and other worker rights advocates from Central America and Maine successfully persuaded the State Purchasing Agent to draft a bill that allows workers at Maine supplier factories around the world to notify the state about human rights violations without fearing for their own safety.

Sweatfree Public Schools

Schools buy t-shirts, letter jackets, sports team uniforms, and sports equipment – just to name a few products. Many of these items are made in sweatshops. Our tax dollars are most likely supporting sweatshops and child labor through these purchases. Instead our schools could be part of the solution.

The Sweatfree Schools campaign is an exciting way for students to educate themselves and to help bring justice to the lives of workers. Here are the key steps to winning a campaign:

Define Your Campaign Goal: School or School Board?

In some places organizers have won sweatfree policies one high school at a time. In other places organizers have won school district policies. A sweatfree school district policy will influence more purchasing and will educate administrators and students at more schools. You can use the momentum from your school campaign to get a policy for the district.

Research: Where Does Your Money Go and Who Makes Decisions?

- Research the major apparel and sports equipment purchases of your school district. Does it buy athletics uniforms, school t-shirts, cheerleader outfits? What sports equipment does it buy? What else?
- Look at the labels. Learn as much as you can about the companies, factories, and regions where the products are made. Also try to find alternative sweatfree sources where the products could be made.
- How much does the district spend on its apparel and sports purchases?
- Find out who makes purchasing decisions. A particular staff person? A committee? Is there a bookstore? How sympathetic are the purchasers to your cause?

Build a Core Group

Find a couple of people (in addition to yourself) who can take a leadership role. Start with a small group. Gather students who are supportive. Find people who can take on core responsibilities, and others who will help when needed. Set regular meeting location and times. The clearer the expectations of everyone and the clearer the group process, the more comfortable group members will be.

Divide up group roles:

- Who will do research?
- Who will connect with other groups and lead the coalition building effort?

- Who will communicate with administrators and set up meetings?
- Who will organize educational events?

Build a Coalition

To make sure your message is strong and convincing, pull together a large and diverse sweatfree coalition. Think who is directly affiliated with the school:

- Students and student organizations. Get many school clubs to endorse the campaign!
- Teachers, parents, and parent-teacher associations
- School staff and administrators
- Janitors who clean the school. Are they unionized? Connect with their unions!

While building a base of support in school districts, also reach out to groups in the community who can endorse the campaign:

- Local labor unions and anti-sweatshop groups
- Immigrant worker groups
- Faith-based groups and clergy
- Asian, African, Latin American solidarity groups
- University student groups
- Community groups, peace and social justice committees, and human rights organizations
- Small progressive businesses

Educate

Organize educational events your school to build student awareness and support for the campaign. Here are some ideas:

- **Class talks.** Approach social studies teachers. Ask to present on sweatshops in their classes. Tell students how to help with the campaign. Provide social studies teachers with school curricula about sweatshops that they can use in their classes. (See www.sweatfree.org for sample curricula.)
- **Student group raps.** Ask student organizations for a few minutes at their meetings to present on your campaign and ask for their endorsements. Think broadly about which organizations to approach. Try to get support from these groups: Amnesty International, community service clubs, social justice clubs, diversity-related clubs, Asian clubs, Latino clubs, sports teams – the students who wear the products targeted by the policy.
- **Host a speaker.** Host a speaker at your school to educate about

sweatshops – during an activity day, after school, or as an optional event during class time. Talk to teachers about event possibilities.

- **Show a film.** Show a film about sweatshops. Facilitate a discussion afterwards. Provide information about how to get involved with the campaign. (See “Resources” for a list of films.)
- **Organize a house party.** Have a potluck. Show a brief film to educate about sweatshops. Using sample letters and talking points, write letters to the school board. Write articles for school newspapers and letters to community newspapers to generate publicity. Know when your next meeting is and publicize it at the party. Get people to identify how they want to help with the campaign.
- **Tabling and petition drives.** Collecting petition signatures is a great way for lots of people to get involved and chance to talk to many people face to face. Consider tabling during lunch time. Have hand-outs with sweatshop facts – use our outreach flyer or make your own. Always know your next event or organizing meeting. Publicize it so people know how to get involved.
- **Activist training.** Organize an afternoon or day-long sweatfree organizer training for students on the weekend. (See our “Trainer’s Guide” for ideas.)

Make Your Case to the School Board

At the school level, the principal or an administrative committee will probably be the ones to decide on the policy. At the district level, the school board decides.

Who will be supportive of your efforts, and who is the best school board trustee to sponsor your legislation? Who is opposed? Why are they opposed and how will you counter their arguments?

Build allies on the school board by asking people who know them who is most likely to support the policy. Meet with these trustees early on and strategize together with them. Ask your allies to talk with the other trustees. Once you have strong support in the community and once you can expect that the majority of trustees will support the policy, ask your allies to arrange a date for a presentation to the school board.

Bring to the school board presentation representatives from your coalition who are prepared to talk about the importance of the policy. At the meeting:

- Present the best-possible policy. It is much easier to negotiate down than to start with a not-so-good policy and try to improve it through negotiation. The policy should include a code of conduct, disclosure of factory locations, preference to purchase union-made, and affiliation with the Worker Rights Consortium for independent monitoring. (See “Core elements”.)
- Bring evidence of widespread community support, for example, a list of coalition partners or endorsing organizations, petition signatures, and letters from supportive allies.
- Present the decision makers with an attractive and well organized packet of information that makes your case for the policy.

Anticipate challenging questions and be prepared to answer them.

School board trustees may decide to forward a motion to develop a sweatfree policy. The policy will be developed after that motion is passed. Provide sample language for the policy. Request that the committee includes students, teachers, parents, and supportive community members, as well as trustees and school board staff.

Plan Ahead

Once a resolution has passed, work with trustees to develop the policy that describes how the resolution is to be implemented. Once the policy is in place, make sure your group stays involved monitoring contracts, researching possible code violations, and helping to resolve issues of implementation and enforcement. Build on your momentum to get the policy adopted by other institutions.

Celebrate your victories!

Celebrate when you reach your objectives, both large and small. Recognize the work of everyone who helps out. Make it fun!

If you are planning to start a campaign, please be in touch with us or contact United Students Against Sweatshops - www.studentsagainstsweatshops.org or 202-NO-SWEAT.

Organizing thoughts:

- Whether students or adults initiate the campaign, students should get involved early on. The sweatfree schools campaign is a great way for students to learn organizing skills and educate themselves about the global economy, while helping to improve conditions in factories supplying to the school.
- See if your friends at other schools want to start sweatfree groups. Share your campaign experiences with them.

Affiliating with the Worker Rights Consortium

Once you have passed the policy, you need to make sure it’s enforced. That’s where the Worker Rights Consortium (WRC) can help out. The WRC is a non-profit independent monitor that conducts factory investigations on behalf of affiliated schools.

To affiliate with the WRC, your school must adopt a sweatfree manufacturing code of conduct, require vendors to disclose factory locations, and pay annual affiliation fees. The fee for an individual secondary school is \$500. Fees for school districts and other public institutions are determined on a case by case basis.

Sweatfree Catholic Schools

People of faith are called to assist the oppressed and work for justice. One way to translate the mandate of faith into our everyday lives is by making sure that workers who produce student uniforms do not toil in sweatshops. The Sweatfree Catholic Schools campaign is an exciting way to educate students and to help bring justice to the lives of workers. Here are the key steps to winning a campaign:

Research: Where Does Your Money Go and Who Decides?

- Check the labels on student uniforms. Learn as much as you can about the companies, factories, and regions where the products are made.
- Find out who is responsible for uniform purchases for local Catholic schools.
- Is the Bishop or superintendent more likely to be supportive? Which principals are most supportive?

Build a Coalition

Form a committee of concerned people – including students, parents, teachers, unions, and Catholic community members – who are committed to the goal of making all Catholic schools in the Diocese sweatfree.

Educate

Education is key to all progress and helps foster ownership from the ground up. It is an ongoing process and part of each campaign step. Meet with principals, social studies teachers, parents, and students. Offer workshops, video showings, and presentations (see the Trainer's Guide for suggestions).

You may be asked questions about the production conditions of uniform items (twill pants, generic cotton shirts, etc.) sold by Wal-Mart and other major retailers and brands. These companies are notorious for sweatshop abuses. We cannot assume that they are innocent of abuses until proven guilty. Instead, we need positive proof from suppliers that student uniforms are not made in sweatshop conditions.

Make Your Case to the Bishop

Roman Catholic Dioceses are often hierarchical. Try to secure a formal endorsement from the local Bishop, and ask the Bishop to share the endorsement through Diocesan channels.

First, request a meeting with the Bishop. If it is difficult to get a meeting, identify people who the Bishop listens to and who you know. Get their support for your campaign, and ask them to help arrange the meeting.

Once you have a meeting, come prepared with several people from your campaign. Present information about sweatshops and your goal of creating sweatfree Catholic schools. Provide draft sweatfree purchasing policy language to the Bishop (see the Sample Code of Conduct and Sweatfree Purchasing Policy). Continue building support in the community, and meeting with the Bishop until he declares his support and adopts the policy. Ask the Bishop to distribute the policy to all Parish and Catholic schools in the Diocese, and urge them to comply by requiring their uniform suppliers to be sweatfree.

An inside view of the Buffalo Diocese campaign:

- After gaining support from the Bishop of the Buffalo Diocese in July 1999, the campaign worked with Catholic schools to ensure that they purchased school uniforms and apparel from factories where workers are organized and can verify working conditions, and pressured vendors to improve conditions in sweatshop factories. As a result, the schools now obtain uniforms from a unionized factory in Pennsylvania and women's sewing cooperative in Thailand, while major vendors have helped to improve conditions in contractor plants in the Dominican Republic and El Salvador.
- School principals have issued supportive statements, noting that sweatfree options are not significantly more expensive than sweatshop-made apparel.
- A good relationship with the Diocesan Superintendent has been important to the campaign. When a new vendor sought to do business with the Diocese, the Superintendent requested that all schools wait for the campaign to complete their investigation of the vendors' contractors before making any purchases or entering any contracts. After much correspondence, the company addressed problems in their El Salvador facility.

Make Your Case to the Superintendent

You may need the support of the Diocesan superintendent. This may take a series of meetings. If the superintendent is more supportive in your Diocese, approach her/him before the Bishop. If the Bishop is more supportive, approach him first. In some Dioceses, the Bishop or the Superintendent may grant the policy on their own. Others may have a committee within the Diocese that will need to approve the policy.



Youth leading the way for worker rights. At the New York State Labor-Religion Coalition "Inspired Voices in Troubled Times" conference, April 25, 2004. Photo by Marie Triller.

Make Your Case to Principals

After you have obtained official support from the Diocese, it is up to principals at the individual schools to implement it. Principals sign contracts with suppliers. Your campaign should build relationships with the principals so that they will respond to information you provide about the suppliers and working conditions at their factories.

If the Diocese does not take enough initiative in getting principals to implement the policy, your campaign will need to meet with principals one-by-one. Using the the sweatfree policy statement and any supporting letters from the Bishop and Superintendent to lend authority to your goal, you can get them to implement the policy. Principals can share their enthusiasm about sweatfree purchasing with other principals, and thus help spread the campaign.

Implementation and Monitoring

The policy approved by the Bishop or Superintendent should specify how it will be implemented. Make sure that the policy assigns responsibility to a staff person for getting individual schools to comply. Otherwise it will be your responsibility to follow up with the principal at each school and to communicate with suppliers.

A great deal has already been accomplished. No group or individual has to reinvent the sweatfree wheel! For more information about the Buffalo experience or for guidance with your own campaign, contact the New York Labor-Religion Coalition at 716-875-2641. Also please be in touch with us at SweatFree Communities or Global Exchange. We can offer organizing assistance. We want to bear your questions, challenges, and successes. And of course, we want to hear about your victories!

Sweatfree Religious Institutions (including your congregation!)

Decide where to begin

If you are part of a congregation, this is an ideal place to start. A “sweatfree congregation” can greatly influence larger religious bodies through its example. Start with an institution that you have some connection with, either directly or through a family member or friend. Here are types of faith-based institutions that make purchases:

- Camps and conference centers
- Health-related institutions (for example, nursing homes or even a hospital)
- Retirement communities and senior homes
- Educational institutions (preschools, afterschool, colleges, seminaries, etc.)
- Social service organizations (community ministries, soup kitchens, etc.)
- Denominations, middle governing bodies and conference purchasing
- Congregations (and special programs such as bible schools and mission trips)

Form a core group and seek out allies

Find people around you who see the importance of living out one’s faith in this way. A few people will likely become the core group or task force. Try to include people with diverse backgrounds, such as clergy, businesspeople and someone with a respected voice in the institution.

Discuss the connections between the institution’s faith teachings and justice for workers. Pull in clergy or theologians, if needed. Make this theological/moral framework the foundation of your efforts.

Research

Will you apply ethical purchasing to certain items and expand from there? Some campaigns have focused on the industries with the most widespread abuses, such as apparel, toys and footwear. Or does your faith compel you to create a comprehensive policy that covers all purchases? Some cities and school districts have succeeded in implementing such laws.

Identify what is purchased. Check the labels, brands and countries

of origin. Contact SweatFree Communities and/or someone in your denomination who is working on these issues to find out whether these companies and brands have violated worker rights in factories where their products are made. Become acquainted with sweatfree alternatives. Find out who makes decisions about purchases and who does the actual purchasing. Learn the decision-making process. Try to identify those you think will be supportive.

Make your case

Meet in person with the key leaders and decision-making groups. Come well prepared with answers to anticipated questions, and with reassurance that there are alternatives. This may be just the beginning of a long process. If needed, request permission to do outreach and education in the institution.

Educate

Find resources in your denomination, in this organizing guide and/or from the organizations and their websites listed in the Campaign Toolbox section. Weave responsible purchasing and sweatshop themes into sermons, organize video showings and workshops, invite knowledgeable people in to speak about the issues and their experiences. Nothing compels like real-life stories.

Create the sweatfree purchasing policy

Use the sample sweatfree policy in the Policy Toolbox as a framework and modify it to make it fit the institution. Run it by SweatFree Community staff for comments and advice. Celebrate its adoption!

Implement and monitor

Your task force will need to ensure implementation. The institution’s leaders may need support. Communication with vendors is key to implementation. Make use of SweatFree Communities and other organizations working on compliance and monitoring. As a smaller institution, you may have to rely on the compliance and monitoring of other organizations. Check out the Sources for Sweatfree Apparel in this organizing guide.

If you are planning to start a campaign or if your campaign is well under way, please be in touch with us at SweatFree Communities or Global Exchange. We can offer organizing assistance. We want to hear your questions, challenges, and successes. And of course, we want to hear about your victories!



Yadira Vallejos, member of the Fair Trade Zone, a worker-owned cooperative in Nicaragua. Photo: Melanie Hardison.

One denomination's story:

In 2001, the Presbyterian Church (USA) introduced Sweat-Free Ts to provide Presbyterian congregations, camps, conference centers and colleges with sources of non-sweatshop t-shirts. Several years prior, the Presbyterian Hunger Program had provided a grant to an economic development group in Nicaragua that helped create the COMAMNUVI women's sewing cooperative. Today the cooperative is the primary supplier of Sweat-Free Ts for the PC (USA), which created space in its distribution center to warehouse blank, ready-to-print t-shirts for easy ordering. Between 2003 and 2004, the PC (USA) imported and sold over 40,000 Sweat-Free Ts, becoming the cooperative's second largest customer. The denomination also sponsors cooperative leaders on speaking tours to the United States and global events such as the WTO Summit in Cancun, Mexico, where co-op members presented their model at the Fair Trade Expo/Symposium. The PC (USA) celebrates its role as an active partner in promotion, education and long-term support for the first worker-owned Fair Trade Zone in the world.



Sports Licensing – A Lever for Change in the Global Apparel Industry?

An area with much potential for sweatfree organizing is sports. With all the media attention and funding - both public and private - that major team sports benefit from, a movement for sweatfree sports could have a big educational impact and help improve working conditions in facilities producing sports team and fan gear.

Members of the Pittsburgh Anti-Sweatshop Community Alliance (PASCA) believe that they can convince the Pittsburgh Pirates Baseball Club to publicly advocate for all of Major League Baseball's apparel licensing agreements to be locked in the factories where the apparel is being produced now. They call it the "SweatFree Baseball Multi Fiber Freeze," a reference to the recently phased out Multifiber Agreement that limited the amount of apparel and textiles that companies could imported from each country, thus ensuring that garment producers would have to source production across the globe in nearly 200 countries not to exceed quota limits.

A production freeze in established factories is intended to stop the "race to the bottom" and the practice of abandoning production sites when workers organize a labor union, a practice known as "cut and run." "Being able to tell workers that the Major League Baseball apparel that they produce is locked into their production site is a demonstration of solidarity that will facilitate a new level of labor union organizing in free trade zones all over the world," says PASCA organizer Kenneth Miller.

The goal is "to win over public opinion on how our team will conduct [itself] in our name when it comes to making sure [Major League Baseball] adheres to human/worker rights standards" says Celeste Taylor, another PASCA organizer and SweatFree Communities board member.

PASCA expects the Pittsburgh Pirates to be responsive to testimony from workers in factories sewing Pirate apparel, and to represent the concerns of Pittsburghers at the table with other teams. PASCA's strength is that they talk to baseball fans about sweatshops, and demonstrate that Pirates fans have high expectations for worker rights.

PASCA is working towards a showdown with Major League Baseball at the 2006 All Star Game on July 11 at PNC Park in Pittsburgh. Victory, they say, depends on "major league sweatshop education" in cities across the country. If you want to organize to hold your team accountable to workers that sew their gear, please contact PASCA at nosweatshopsbucco@yahoo.com.

Sources: "2006 ALL STAR Multi Fiber Freeze" by PASCA, and "Stained Uniforms" by David Zirin, March 12, 2006, Los Angeles Times.



Working With Local Clothing Retailers and Vendors

Making contact with small, local clothing retailers and vendors can be a feasible and significant first step in starting a local anti-sweatshop campaign in some regions. Small clothing retailers can be powerful allies in the anti-sweatshop movement. They do not want their sales to contribute to anyone's suffering any more than consumers want their purchases to support sweatshops. They also share with you a common enemy: the chain stores that may threaten their very existence.

If you can win a commitment from local retailers and vendors to add sweatfree apparel to their inventory, thus ensuring local suppliers for local institutions that adopt sweatfree purchasing policies, these policies can also further local economic development. This additional benefit will make your sweatfree campaign even more attractive to the community and decision makers.

What You Can Ask Your Local Retailers and Vendors to Do

- Ask them to develop business relations with sweatfree suppliers (see Sources for Sweatfree Apparel in this Organizing Guide).
- Send letters of concern to suppliers.
- Educate staff and customers about sweatshops.
- Become a coalition partner in a sweatfree campaign.

What You Can Do For Your Retailers and Vendors

- Present evidence of a local customer-base, individuals as well as organizations, which would purchase sweatshop-free items.
- Promote them to media and your own members.
- Conduct staff workshops on sweatfree purchasing.

Organizing Tip:

Focus on “how” rather than “why.” The businesses that will work with you already know why they should do it, but they do not have time to do the necessary research. Give them a list of union factories and worker-owned cooperatives with information about pricing, delivery times, products, and contact person. If possible, show them sample products. Make it easy to go clean.

If you are planning to start a campaign or if your campaign is well under way, please be in touch with us at SweatFree Communities or Global Exchange. We can offer organizing assistance. We want to hear your questions, challenges, and successes. And of course, we want to hear about your victories!



Worker at Just Garments, a unionized sewing shop in El Salvador.

Sweatfree Toolkit: How Your Community Can Help End Sweatshops

Campaign Toolkit



Cristina Vazquez of UNITE HERE! with garment workers calling for anti-sweatshop reforms in Los Angeles.

Answers to Common Questions

What is a sweatshop?

According to the U.S. General Accounting Office, a sweatshop is an employer that violates more than one federal or state labor law governing minimum wage and overtime, child labor, industrial homework, occupational safety and health, worker's compensation, or industry regulation.

Picture a 10,000 worker factory, hidden behind concrete walls that are topped by coiled barbed wire and broken glass and patrolled by guards armed with shotguns. Alternatively, picture just a dozen workers hidden in a basement of an ordinary apartment building in a downtown garment district. Sweatshops come in all shapes and sizes. But the workers are usually young women, migrants from the countryside or immigrants from other countries. They are desperately poor and toil long hours for wages that are not enough to feed, clothe, and shelter their families. Managers deny them bathroom visits and sick leave to maintain high production quotas. They require workers to undergo pregnancy testing and to use birth control to avoid having to pay for maternity leave. Verbal and physical abuse is common. Workers' safety and health are neglected. If workers organize to improve their conditions, they are fired and blacklisted for other employment.

What do sweatshops have to do with me?

As consumers we are a vital part of the system that encourages sweatshop exploitation. If, as a mass consumer movement, we didn't put up with sweatshop conditions and bought only products made under fair conditions, companies would have to listen to us. They would need to improve conditions in order to get our money.

Consider other impacts of sweatshops:

Have workers in your community lost jobs because of sweatshop competition?

What are other economic consequences of sweatshops for your community?

What is the political and spiritual impact of sweatshops?

How would a world without sweatshops be different for you and your community?

In the end, all people hurt directly or indirectly are potentially allies in the fight against sweatshops. We have the numbers on our side. And that is real power.

Isn't a sweatshop job better than no job?

This question sets up a false dichotomy. People take sweatshop jobs out of necessity even though their health and humanity suf-

fers on the job. People everywhere want and need jobs, but they also need respect and a decent living. We are demanding that companies stay with their production factories and improve working conditions on site so that current employees can have work with dignity.

Should I buy "Made in USA?"

Many people see the Made In USA label and believe that buying the product supports fair labor practices. The truth is, sweatshops exist within the United States. According to the U.S. Department of Labor, over 50% of sewing shops in the United States meet the criteria of "sweatshop". Even worse conditions exist in U.S. territories such as American Samoa and . These sweatshop products all sport the "Made In USA" label.

Where should I buy from? Which companies should I avoid? Should I consider boycotting certain companies?

We exercise our power by influencing large-scale institutional purchasing and by pressuring companies to improve conditions when we learn about labor violations at their factories. Many of us also choose to hold our individual purchases to the same standards that we ask institutions to meet. But we only support boycotts when worker organizations explicitly call for that form of solidarity during a key moment in a labor struggle. For current labor rights campaigns, see www.campaignforlaborrights.org. For a list of sweat-free products made in worker organized facilities, see www.sweat-free.org.

Would higher wages increase the cost of clothing?

This is a common misperception. Clothing can be both affordable and made under humane conditions. Workers' wages are often less 1% of the consumer price. Raising wages does not significantly affect companies' profit margin, even if they do not pass on added costs to consumers. But suppose they did. If a company doubled the wages, causing the price of a \$20 garment to increase to \$20.20, would you be willing to pay the difference? Our public institutions should use our taxpayer money to choose clothes sold at the lowest responsible price – not at a price that can only be met by using sweatshops.

Aren't sweatshops a natural stage of economic development that every country goes through?

Manufacturing under poor conditions can be the first stage of industrialization as it was in the 19th century United States and Western Europe, and more recently in parts of Eastern Asia. In all of these places, government intervention and protection of local

textile and apparel production was key to economic development. A strong labor movement in the United States and Western Europe won today's improved conditions.

In the current age of corporate globalization, sweatshops have a distinct new character. Companies based in developed countries like the United States are taking advantage of low wages and lack of labor law enforcement in developing countries by moving their factories to new locations where they can profit by evading labor laws and exploiting workers. For example, some companies that benefit from tax-free incentives in free trade zones for the first several years, will rather close a factory and move orders to a new factory on the other side of the city, than pay taxes. The result? Massive firings, sometimes without payment of legally owed severance pay. This is just one example of the current context of the global factory.

We need a strong global movement against corporate greed that will make sweatfree purchasing, and trade agreements with enforceable labor rights, political priorities. Despite the claims of transnational corporations – and the economists that work for them – sweatshops are not a “natural” stage of economic development, nor will they automatically disappear if we abandon the economy to market forces. Like any other injustice, we rid the world of sweatshops only if we demand that they be abolished.

How does a sweatfree procurement policy work?

Schools, cities, and states can create significant market demand for good working conditions and have economic and political clout that can make a difference in workers' struggle for better working conditions.

Under a sweatfree procurement policy, companies must sign a code of conduct based on International Labor Organization standards and provide evidence of compliance, including the names and locations of factory suppliers. Companies are also required to cooperate with independent investigations when there are credible complaints of worker rights violations, and take corrective action

when the complaints are substantiated. If companies refuse or fail to take corrective action they can be fined, barred from bidding on future contracts, and contracts can be terminated.

Local sweatfree activists have an important role in holding companies accountable to the sweatfree code of conduct. Activists can educate their communities about the sweatfree procurement policy, and help workers and worker advocacy groups challenge contracts on the basis of possible violations of the code of conduct. Activists can also network with sweatfree campaigns in different areas to exchange notes on common vendors and factory suppliers.

Will a sweatfree policy really make a difference?

Sweatfree policies do make a difference. They are part of a global movement and strategy to improve labor conditions. We make a difference when we are organized together and pressure distinct points of the sweatshop system. Factory workers are best placed to organize unions. Consumers in the United States are best placed to get our organizations and local governments to adopt sweatfree policies.

After a policy is adopted we can leverage our influence to pressure suppliers to get contractors and subcontractors to change their conditions. The sweatfree policy requires companies to disclose basic information about factory conditions. If we learn that conditions do not meet standards set forth in the policy, we can work with the institution to pressure the supplier to improve its conditions. This is how we communicate a powerful message to suppliers that we will not tolerate sweatshops.

Resources used: “Q & A's about Sweatshops and Us: What Consumers Should Know to Make a Difference” by Bangor Clean Clothes Campaign, and “How to Become a No Sweat School” by Maquila Solidarity Network.



“Our Sweat, Our Sale, Our Success.” Inside the sewing cooperative, a Nicaraguan garment worker holds a shirt she made.

Fact Sheet: Sweatshops are...

An international issue

- Millions of workers, mostly young women, toil in tens of thousands of sweatshops around the world.
- Brand CEOs and advertisers profit in the millions. The largest apparel companies have revenues in the billions.

At an example Nicaraguan factory¹:

- Workers have to sew one Wal-Mart shirt every 15 minutes for \$0.09.
- The base wage of \$0.29-0.34/hour is less than half the government's estimate of what is required to meet basic subsistence level needs.
- Mandatory overtime: 12-15 hour shifts. Workers are at the factory a total of 65-79 hours/week.
- Jersey shorts enter the U.S. with a total customs value of \$3.55 each, which includes all production costs, shipping, and profit to factory owners. The shorts retail for \$26 at Kohl's.

Bangladesh example:

- There are 1.8 million garment workers working in 3,780 export factories. 85% are young women.²
- None of these factories have unions with contracts.
- Sewers are paid just \$0.016 for each U.S. university cap they sew. The caps enter the U.S. with a total customs value of \$1.23. The average retail price in the U.S. is \$17.43.³

A domestic issue

- The U.S. garment industry employs less than 500,000 workers.
- In 2000, more than half of the 22,000 sewing shops in the U.S. violated minimum wage and overtime laws; 75% violated health and safety laws. Over 50% of the shops could be considered "sweatshops".⁴
- Studies conducted in 2000 found that 67% of Los Angeles garment factories and 63% of New York garment factories violated minimum wage and overtime laws. The same studies revealed that 98% of Los Angeles garment factories violated workplace health and safety standards by operating under conditions such as blocked fire exits, unsanitary bathrooms, and poor ventilation.
- In Los Angeles, nearly 70% of immigrant garment workers receive below minimum wage and are paid an average of \$7,200 a year, amounting to less than 1/3 of a living wage.
- In U.S. sweatshops, the sewing machine operators earn about 5% or less of the retail cost of goods.

- Sweatshops represent a general decline in wages and working conditions that a lot of us feel.

A woman's issue

- 85% of sweatshop workers are young women between the ages of 15-25.
- As an employment requirement, women at some Mexican and Central American plants are forced to take shots to prevent pregnancy so that companies do not have to pay maternity leave.
- If a woman becomes pregnant or refuses to submit to forced birth control, she may be fired.

An issue for all of us

- When we buy their products, our consumption support companies that use sweatshops. If on a large scale we prioritized our purchases differently, companies would have to change their practices.
- As consumers, we can play a key role in ending the race to the bottom.



1 "KB Manufacturing in Nicaragua." National Labor Committee, October 2003.

2 National Labor Committee. See information on Bangladesh at www.nlcnet.org, 2004.

3 National Labor Committee. "Bangladesh: The Role of U.S. Universities and Student Solidarity," 2001.

4 All domestic statistics, except for the last bullet point, are from U.S. Department of Labor 2000 reports available at <http://www.dol.gov/esa/garment/index.htm>. Various calls to numerous divisions at the DOL did not reveal any more recent statistics. No staff members at the DOL knew of any current government No Sweat Initiative. The previous program that produced the reports was likely discontinued at the end of the Clinton Administration

Help end tax-payer subsidies of sweatshops! Make your community sweatfree.

State and local government procurement can create a hundred billion dollar market for sweatfree products and services which would transform industries where sweatshops are pervasive. Take action in your community to help this vision come true. Organize for a sweatfree ordinance in your city, or a law in your state, that ensures your tax dollars do not subsidize sweatshop abuses. Join the growing sweatfree movement!

What's in a Sweatfree Purchasing Policy?

Protection of basic worker rights

Contractors sign a sweatfree code of conduct that binds them and subcontractors.

The code of conduct includes:

- Compliance with local labor laws
- Safe and healthy working conditions
- Non-poverty wage
- Overtime optional and compensated
- Non-discrimination, no harassment or abuse
- Ban on child labor
- Freedom of association and right to collective bargaining

How do we know if these rights are respected?

A sweatfree policy requires suppliers to disclose the names and locations of their factories, and information about wages and working conditions. Factory disclosure is essential for verification of working conditions.

The policy should also include a sweatfree procurement advisory group with representatives from worker rights organizations in your community. This could be your chance to be involved in reviewing reports about working conditions from suppliers, workers, and third-parties. In the event of a worker rights complaint, the purchasing institution must require the supplier to investigate and, if necessary, take corrective action. This could involve rehiring fired workers, paying workers overtime and severance pay, union recognition – all actions that make a big difference in workers' lives.

Independent third-party investigation of sweatshop conditions is a crucial complement to self-disclosure by companies. Get your city, state, or school district to become part of a governmental consortium to allow for cost-sharing of independent monitoring and joint purchasing from sweatfree factories. A consortium can significantly increase market demand for fair labor conditions, while reducing the cost of monitoring and investigation.

Additional Objectives of a Sweatfree Procurement Policy

You can influence the working conditions in farms and fields by including preferences for agricultural products that are certified fair trade and organic.

You can also positively influence working conditions and economic development in your own community by including a preference for products that are made locally.

Who benefits?

- Workers, both domestic and international, who toil long hours for poverty wages in unsafe and oppressive conditions, with no job security.
- Women and children who make up the majority of sweatshop workers and are the most severely oppressed.
- Businesses that respect worker rights.
- Local workers, businesses, and communities who benefit from a more just and secure global economy.

Both San Francisco and Los Angeles have allocated \$100,000 in their 2006 budget to provide funding for an additional city staff person and enforcement by a non-profit, independent monitoring agency. Los Angeles is starting a pilot project with the Worker Rights Consortium.

Get Involved!

Organize for a sweatfree policy in your community. Get your city or state to become a founding member of the new city and state sweatfree procurement consortium.

If you are campaigning or planning to start a campaign, please be in touch with SweatFree Communities or Global Exchange. We can offer organizing assistance. We want to hear your questions, challenges, and successes. And of course, we want to hear about your victories! For a list of public institutions with sweatfree policies, see www.sweatfree.org



ARE YOUR TAX DOLLARS FUNDING SWEATSHOPS?

The Problem: Worker Abuses

A sweatshop is any factory where workers' basic human rights are denied. Independent trade unions are violated, or where employees are not paid a living wage. Sweatshop workers often suffer from poor workplace environments such as health and safety hazards, lack of benefits, and arbitrary discipline. Many goods manufactured in poor nations – from Alpina socks to Wal-Mart™—are produced in sweatshops.

The Solution: Sweatshop-Free Communities

Governments are among the biggest purchasers in the world. But how are they spending our money? It's up to us to ensure that our taxpayer dollars are not supporting sweatshop abuses: through the purchase of industrial uniforms, office computers, and other government equipment. We can use the government's buying power to help build the market for sweatshop-free goods and promote labor rights.

Get Involved

To learn about how you can make your city sweatshop free, contact Global Exchange at (415) 558-6938 or sweatfree@globalexchange.org or SweatFree Communities at (413) 586-0974 or info@sweatfree.org. We can provide you with a detailed How-To guide to pass sweatshop-free policies and other resources.

SweatFree Communities

A Network for Local Action Against Sweatshops

140 Pine Street #10, Florence, MA 01062 413-586-0974 www.sweatfree.org

GLOBAL EXCHANGE

2017 Mission Street, Suite 303, San Francisco, CA 94110
1-800-497-1994 www.globalexchange.org



WHAT CAN YOU DO?

Host Chie Abad, a former CA's sweatshop worker, to invite speak in your community to activate and energize your Sweatshop Free Campaign! Contact speakers@globalexchange.org or (415) 575-5550 to put a human face on the global economy.

Educate Yourself about the sweatshop crisis. Whether you are looking for basic or detailed information about sweatshops, these are some useful resources.

United Students Against Sweatshops: www.studentsagainstsweatshops.org

Sweatshop Watch: www.sweatshopwatch.org

National Labor Committee: www.nlcnet.org

UNITE HERE!: www.unitehere.org

Join Us!

When:

Where:

What:

No Tax Dollars for Sweatshops Make Our Community Sweatfree!

We the undersigned support efforts to abolish sweatshop labor and endorse fair labor standards.

We ask the [insert name of state, county, city or school district] to implement a “sweatfree” purchasing policy to apply to all products, including uniforms, apparel, and laundering services, purchased by the [insert State, County, City, or School District] and licensed by the [insert licensing system].

Name	Signature	Address	Telephone	Email
1 _____				
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Working with Elected Officials: How to Make the System Work for We, the People

Working with elected officials is a crucial and ongoing part of passing a sweatfree purchasing policy in your community. Bringing concerns to those who represent us is how we can exercise local democracy. Government procurement is a local control issue. We do not want our tax dollars to support sweatshops, so we must hold our elected officials accountable. Passing the policy is ultimately up to the vote of our elected officials.

Democracy rests on the simple idea that elected representatives serve the interests of those who elected them. Unfortunately, this revolutionary idea doesn't always work in practice. This does not mean we should give up on the political process. Rather, it should spur us to work even harder to ensure that elected officials—the servants of the people—are following our views.

This guide offers some pointers on how we can make exercise local democracy to abolish sweatshops around the world. Included in this guide are instructions on how to prepare for and meet with elected officials, the best way to contact a legislator on issues of concern and tips on how you, as a citizen-activist, can become more politically influential.

I. Meeting with legislators

Without question, meeting with and developing long-term, productive relationships with legislators is the most effective form of grassroots lobbying. This is true for representatives at the local, state and national level. Everyone who will be meeting with the elected representative (or their aides) should be an active participant in the meeting.

1. Setting Up a Successful Meeting

Pre-appointment planning

- Gather information about your representative, including their committee assignments and their voting record.
- List your reasons for the meeting in a clear and concise manner.
- Decide who will attend the meeting. Generally the more people, the more likely it is that you will meet the legislator rather than just staff. A small representative group or a coalition of leaders may be the best bet.
- Determine how much time you will need. Fifteen to 20 minutes is generally the longest appointment with a legislator you can expect, so be concise and present only two to three points for discussion.

Call your representative's office to schedule a meeting

Organize your resources for the meeting

- Create a typed agenda for the meeting.
- Prepare materials, including specific requests, that you can leave with the legislator.
- Assign roles for the meeting, making sure to involve every partner.

Practice for the meeting

Confirm the appointment

- One week before the meeting.
- The morning of the meeting.

2. Suggested Format for the Meeting

Introductions

- Connect with the person with whom you are meeting. (Example: If it is an aide, ask what brought them to work with the representative.)
- Describe who you are and what you do in the community.
- Explain why the issue is important to you. Show that the issue is personal and communicate your concerns on a personal level.
- Give the representative (or their aides) a typed agenda and a list of your requests.
- Show that you are local—legislators pay particular attention to constituents. You need to show that your support can help this person get reelected.

Acknowledge your legislator for any previous positive actions.

Presentation of issues

- Stick to your agenda and assigned roles.
- Involve all of the participants.
- Show a video or use another creative element.
- Be honest and don't claim to know more than you do about an issue.
- Keep the lines of communication open. Give the legislator a chance to express an opinion. If he or she is supportive, don't be afraid to ask for help in advancing your issue and in contacting other like-minded legislators.
- Keep the communication positive. Never burn bridges. Even though the legislator or the staff person is rude or uncooperative never lose your cool, argue or threaten.

Make specific requests and ask for an immediate answer

- If the representative or their aides are unwilling to make a commitment, set a date for a follow up meeting.
- Carefully record any questions, objections or concerns.

After the meeting, determine your next step and plan for follow-up

- Send any materials and information you offered. Follow up on deadlines and if they are not met, set up others. Be persistent.

The next day, send a thank you letter.

II. Letters and other written communication

It is important that we tell elected officials where we stand on issues. Our input on human rights, global trade, corporate accountability, peace and reconciliation, and other issues shapes the way our representatives create and implement policy.

When you are pushing an issue or supporting or trying to defeat a bill, writing to your legislators is a very effective way of getting your message across. However, some methods of communication are more effective than others.

1. Personal letters or faxes

The absolute best thing to do is to write a personal letter. Personal letters show legislators that the author is knowledgeable, interested and committed to the matter at hand. Sending a personal letter also alerts the legislator to the fact that the author is politically active. Legislators keep close track of how their mail is running on particular issues, so your letter will have an influence whether the elected official will read it or not. Many legislators argue that one clear, logical individual letter is worth more than a petition with a thousand signatures!

Suggestions for writing personal letters

- Be Timely—Write when an issue is current. Procrastination reflects apathy, and an outdated letter is a sure way to guarantee that your voice will not be heard and that the legislators will assume you don't really care.
- Be Brief—Limit yourself to one page and to one topic. The goal is to be read and understood.
- Be Specific—Reference specific bill numbers. Include basic information like what the legislation would do and how it would affect you and other people in the legislator's district or state. Remind legislators how their actions affect your issue and your vote.
- Be Legible—Clearly sign your name and include your address in the letter itself (envelopes with return address are routinely discarded). Type your letter rather than hand write it.
- Be Supportive—Write thank you letters when a legislator supports your cause. Too often they get only "anti" or complaint letters. A thank you will make you stand out and it will help establish a more personal relationship with the legislator.
- Don't Be a Pest—Don't become a constant "pen-pal." Legislative offices track who writes and how often. Avoid being seen as a constantly writing crank or malcontent; it will dilute your message.

2. Email correspondence

Email has become a very useful tool for quickly and effectively

communicating with elected officials. Keep in mind, however, that email is easily deleted and often comes in overwhelming numbers. A personal letter will always be more effective.

3. Form Letters

"Canned" or form letters are okay, but not nearly as effective as a personal letter or email. Certainly, they are easy to produce and send in. However, they lack personal touch and conviction. Legislators are more likely to discount form letters because they may show a lack of effort, and lack of effort can be translated into lack of interest.

Nonetheless, if you are embarking on a form letter campaign, keep these two iron-clad rules in mind

- Include your address—A great number of form letters have no obvious space for you to LEGIBLY write in your address. Without an address, the legislator has just a piece of paper. He or she won't know whether you are a constituent or not.
- Give extra effort—Take an extra 30 seconds to write a 1- or 2-line personal note at the bottom of the form letter. Briefly restate your concerns. Ask for a written response. Any effort to make a form letter personal will help it be noticed.

III. Phoning your legislators

Phone calls are a relatively effective way of communicating your concerns to your legislators. Phoning is especially important when a bill is moving quickly through the legislative process and time is short. The opportunity cost is that issues need to be relatively simple to be communicated well.

- Be simple—Call about one issue at a time. If possible, refer to the bill number and what the bill will do.
- Be brief—Introduce yourself, state how you feel about a particular bill or issue and ask for the legislator's support. If the legislator is undecided, ask to be updated on his or her stance after a period of time or ask for a meeting where you can argue your position.
- Be logical—Call your own representatives before you call any others. Your local legislators are always your first priority. They owe their political fortunes to you and your neighbors.
- Be connected—Always leave your name and address, particularly if you are a constituent. To keep track of how the constituency feels on certain issues legislative offices often log phone calls. Legislative offices usually respond to phone inquiries by a mail after a brief period of time. If you phone to express an opinion but refuse to leave an address, you are wasting your breath.
- Be smart—Always say thank you. Never be abusive or threatening.

How to Use the Media to Broadcast Your Message

In order to bring new people into your sweatfree campaign, media coverage is a must. It is also a great way to pressure the targeted elected officials – no politician wants to be known as a supporter of sweatshops. Media helps make your sweatfree campaign a local issue.

Whether we like it or not, the mainstream media has a massive influence on politics in the United States. There is no question that we need to democratize our media, but as we do that we must also work with the mainstream media to broadcast the messages and values that are important to us as progressive activists. The media can be on our side. A fantastically well organized rally attended by 100 committed citizens is a beautiful thing. But if the media covers the rally, you will reach ten times that number with your message.

Telling a story or communicating a point of view to reporters and editors from mainstream publications is a special art. You have to be clear and brief and at the same time deeply thoughtful. You have to know certain tricks of the trade that will help your issue stand out from the hundreds of other interesting things happening in the world. This guide will help you get your important issues into the media's eye.

PRESS RELEASE—HOW TO

(Adapted from Salzman's "Making the News" and SPIN Project Materials)

What is a Press Release

- Informs reporters about your event, report, or issue.
- More detailed than the advisory—should tell all the information a reporter needs to write their piece.
- Envision, then write the press release as the news story YOU would want to see written.
- Sent out the morning of or the day before the event.

Elements

- **Headline.** This will make or break a news release—include the most important information in the headline, and make it punchy. The headline can be up to four lines if necessary, including a sub-head, if used, but keep it short (and remember to use a large font).
- Important information should jump off the page—most reporters will only spend 30 seconds looking at a release.
- Spend 75 percent of your time writing the headline and the first paragraph.
- Use the inverted pyramid style of news writing. Make your most important points early in the release and work your way down.

- Keep sentences and paragraphs short. No more than three sentences per paragraph.
- Include a colorful quote from a spokesperson in the second or third paragraph.
- Include a short summary of your organization in the last paragraph.
- Mention "Photo Opportunity" if there is one. Be sure to send a copy of the release to the photo desk.

Structure / Form

- In the top left corner, type "For Immediate Release."
- Below "For Immediate Release," type the date.
- **Contact Information:** In the top right corner, type names and phone numbers of two contacts. Make sure these contacts can be easily reached by phone. Include the contact's home phone number, if appropriate.
- Type "####" at the end of your release. This is how journalists mark the end of a news copy.
- Type "MORE" at the end of page 1 if your release is two pages, and put a contact phone number and short headline

in the upper-right hand corner of subsequent pages.

- Print your release on your organization's letterhead.

How to Distribute It

- A release should be sent out the morning of, or the day before your event. In some cases, you may want to send an "embargoed" copy to select reporters ahead of time, meaning that the information is confidential until the date you specify.
- Generally, send a release to only one reporter per outlet.
- If your release announces an event, send it to the "daybooks." A daybook lists news events scheduled to take place in the region on that day. Someone from each major outlet reviews the daybooks each morning.
- ALWAYS make follow up calls after you send the release. If your release is announcing an event, make the calls the morning before your event is scheduled.
- Have a copy of the release ready to be faxed when you make the calls.

PITCHING YOUR STORY

(Adapted from Salzman’s “Making the News” and SPIN Project Materials)

- Telephone calls are the most effective way to communicate with reporters. Pitch calls are essential to an effective media strategy. Reporters are on paper overload—chances are they never saw your faxed release or advisory.
- Target your reporters. Contact reporters who cover your issue, and reporters you have a relationship with. If you have to make a “cold call,” ask the general assignment editor or producer who you should speak to.
- Find a “hook” for your story. Show the reporter how your story is significant, dramatic, timely, controversial or impacts a lot of readers.
- Always pitch the story first, and then ask if they received your release or advisory. Immediately capture the interest of the reporter—they won’t wait for you to get to the point.
- Keep the pitch short and punchy. Reporters don’t have time for long pitch calls, so get to the most interesting and important information in the first 90 seconds. Don’t forget the Who, What, Where, When, and Why.
- Be enthusiastic and helpful. If you’re not excited about your story, why should the reporter be?
- Never lie to a reporter. They may not like what you have to say, but they must respect you.
- Be considerate of deadlines. Pitch calls are best made in the mid morning (9:30 to noon). If you sense a reporter is rushed or impatient, ask them if they are on deadline and offer to call back.
- Only pitch one reporter per outlet. If you do talk to more than one person (which sometimes is necessary), make sure the other reporter knows that you’ve talked with someone else.
- Close the deal. Ask the reporter if they are interested or if they are coming to the event. Most will not commit over the phone but they will think about it.
- Offer to send information. If they don’t commit to attend your event. Offer to send them information if they cannot attend. (Remember to send the information right away.)
- Don’t get frustrated. Pitch calls can be frustrating when reporters don’t bite. But remember that every phone call keeps your issue and organization on their radar screen, and is an important step in building an on-going professional relationship with reporters.

LETTER TO THE EDITOR—HOW TO

(Adapted from Salzman’s “Making the News” and SPIN Project Materials)

What is a Letter to the Editor?

- Letters to the editor (LTE’s) most often discuss a recent event/issue covered by a publication, radio station, or TV program.
- They are your chance to “sound-off” to your community about issues in the news. They are widely read—so make them an important part of your media strategy.

Elements / Hints

- It is much easier to publish a letter to the editor than it is to place an op-ed.
- Your letter has the best chance of being published if it is a reaction to a story in the paper. Respond as quickly as you can.
- Read the letters page—you will learn how to develop an effective letter-writing style, and you will see if someone has already responded with your idea.
- Keep it short and concise—150-200 words. The paper will take

the liberty to shorten your letter to suit its format; the more it has to cut, the less control you have of what gets printed. Lead with your most important information.

- Focus on one main point and make a compelling case.
- Write in short paragraphs, with no more than three sentences per paragraph.
- Don’t write too often. Once every three months is about as often as you should write.
- Avoid personal attacks.
- Put your full name, address and phone number at the top of the page and sign the letter at the bottom. You must include a phone number for verification purposes.
- Follow up to see if the letter was received.

FUNDAMENTAL TIPS FOR INTERVIEWS

- Discipline your message! Use your slogan or message as much as possible.
- Familiarize yourself with three soundbites (with backup information). Write them down.
- Always turn the question back to your message.
- Anticipate questions.
- Know the opposing points.
- Practice—even people who speak all the time practice.
- An interview is never over even if the tape stops rolling. Everything you say to a journalist is on the record.
- Don't get frustrated by difficult questions—just stick to your messages.
- If you slip up, don't worry. Just ask the reporter to start again (unless it's live).
- If you need more time to think, ask the reporter to repeat the question or ask a clarifying question—or simply pause and think before answering.
- If you don't know an answer to a question, don't force it. Try to return to your message. If it's an interview for print media, tell the reporter you'll track down the answer later and call them back.
- Tell the reporter you have more to add if he or she overlooks something you think is important.

Holding a Media Event

(Adapted from Salzman's "Making the News" and SPIN Project Materials)

What is a Media Event?

- An activity intended to generate news coverage. They often involve gimmicky visuals, playful stunts, props, etc.

Hints

- Determine if your event is newsworthy. The more of the following characteristics it has, the more likely it will get coverage:

Novelty

Conflict

New data, symbol of a trend

Simplicity

Humor

Prominent figure involved

Action

Bright props and images

Local impact

Holidays, anniversaries.

- Build your media event—site, speakers, visuals—around your message and slogan.

- Make it fun. If you don't look like you want to be there, why should the press?

- Don't be afraid to employ stunts. Sexy and trendy events take precedence over long range things with the media.

- Consider timing. Is your event competing with other things? It is best to stage an event Monday through Thursday, 10 A.M. through 2 P.M.

- Find an effective location. Consider the following questions when choosing a location:

- Is the site convenient? Reporters are busy and won't travel far for an event.

- Is your site too commonly used for media events? Try to find a unique location, if possible.

- If your event is outdoors, do you have a backup location? A little rain or bad

weather won't ruin an event, but severe conditions will. Also consider if it is possible to postpone it if the weather is very bad.

- Do you need a permit? Check with the local police department.

- Arrange to have photographers take pictures of your event.

- Display a large banner or sign with your organization's logo.

- The event should last 15 to 45 minutes.

- Distribute information about your issue and organization at the event.

- Remember equipment. Will you need a megaphone, podium, or portable microphone?

- Have spokespersons ready to be interviewed.

- Find out which reporters attended the event. Follow up with the no-shows.

Making News

LOCAL NEWS

SPOTLIGHT Stillwater Area High School

Girls' commitment to cause prompts school board action

Resolution bars district from buying sweatshop products

Top brands work, too, to improve conditions for the employees.

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
MARCH 22, 2004
3:37 PM

CONTACT: SweatFree Committee
Upam Chawla 201-282-7277

Schools, Cities, States Unite to Fight Sweatshops

Resolution bars district from buying sweatshop products

City purchasers urged to clean up their act

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The New York Times

Latin Sweatshops Pressed by U.S. Campus Power

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'sweat-free'

No Sweatshops, Bucco!

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Fundraising

Here are some ways you can fundraise for your efforts to end sweatshops while you increase awareness, build a stronger organization, and have fun.

A. Host a House Party

A house party is one of the simplest ways to educate people about and fundraise for your sweatfree campaign. The idea is bring people together—old friends, new friends, friends of friends, relatives, and neighbors—to talk with them about your work in an informal atmosphere. House parties are a good venue to explain a complicated issue to many people at once, allowing them ask questions and get more information.

It can also be a place for a group of people to meet someone famous or interesting. You or your selected speaker tells your story to an audience that is then moved to do something to support your cause, including giving money.

1. Find a Host

The host of a house party has many important duties to fulfill, and they do not just include providing the house and some food. The host, with the help of co-organizers, invites those who they think might be interested in sweatfree campaigns. An ideal host is somebody who understands the campaign, can easily discuss it, and is not afraid to ask their friends, or those present, for money.

2. Show an anti-sweatshop film or bring a speaker

There are numerous films on sweatshops and alternatives, such as “The Hidden Face of Globalization” (30 min, 2003), “Sweating for a T-shirt” (1998) or “Sweat” (2005). See the list of resources in this organizing guide for more information.

You can also ask someone from your group, a community member who has been involved with sweatfree campaigns, or a well-known person familiar with the issue to give a presentation. Feel free to contact Global Exchange or SweatFree Communities for suggestions of speakers.

3. Prepare the List of People to Invite

Invite four times as many people as you want to attend. The most effective way to get good attendance is to mail out invitations, and follow up a week later with a personal phone call. Five to seven days before the party, make a second reminder call. It will greatly increase the attendance at your party. Begin by inviting the host’s friends and neighbors. Do not forget the people who you know are interested in the issue, but focus on expanding your base of supporters. That way you increase your numbers... and your budget.

4. Design the Invitation

An invitation does not have to be fancy and can be easily printed at a copy shop, so expenses should not be an issue. If you have access to desktop publishing computer programs, attractive invitations can be produced without much difficulty or cost. The

invitation should reflect something about the host, the guest speaker and your sweatfree campaign.

Remember to include the following:

- An RSVP asking invitees how many people will be coming.
- A clear statement that people will be asked to make a monetary contribution, for example, “Bring your questions, your enthusiasm and your checkbook.”
- A way for people to support your work even if they cannot come to the party. A reference on the RSVP such as, “I can’t come, but I’m enclosing a donation and/or would like to get involved” is suitable.
- Directions to the house and the host’s telephone number.
- A request for guests to bring potluck dishes, if you want to do this.

5. Choreograph the Event

Parties sometimes fail because of disorganization. Because the idea is to ask people for money, make the party easy; cater to your guests as much as possible without overdoing it. Do what you can to make it easy for them to find parking, find the house, find the bathroom, get to the food, relax and have a good time. In other words, help them to help you. It is also a good idea to have a guest book where guests can provide their contact information. This is useful in keeping track of supporters. Although it may sound obvious, remember that a party is a party. It supposed to be fun, so make it fun. Food, music and refreshments all contribute to creating a friendly atmosphere that will help inspire guests to contribute to your cause. The presentation (film and/or speaker) should move the audience to discuss the issue and commit to taking action and giving money.

6. Orchestrate the Pitch

Everything at the house party should be built around the pitch. Time the pitch about one hour into the party to make sure everyone is present when it happens. The host calls for everyone’s

attention, introduces him or herself and welcomes everyone. If there is a presentation, the host introduces the presenter. After the presentation, the host should be make the pitch. You may also want to station “decoys”—a few pre-selected people who agree to quickly contribute after the host makes the pitch. They break the ice and generally make people feel more comfortable about giving money by being the first to do so. Also, decide ahead of time how people can contribute. Choose beforehand whether people should place donations in a basket, or designate people to go around and collect the contributions.

It is very important to not hurry the pitch. Give people time to

write checks, give cash, whatever. Do not just carry on quickly into the party. If the host starts to party then everyone else will follow...and forget to contribute. Obviously, this is not a desired result.

7. Evaluate and Follow Up

After a house party, evaluate what went well and what could have been done better. When doing this keep in mind the previous points, with special attention to the presentation and pitch. Send thank you notes to everyone who gave money. Add the guests' information to your or your organization's records for later use.

B. Pass the Hat

Even outside of a houseparty, such as at meetings and other events, you can make an announcement about the sweatfree campaign and why it is important to have funding to keep the campaign going. Then, pass the hat and ask people to donate \$5 to \$20 or even write a check for more. Create a culture of giving!

C. Fair Trade Chocolate Fundraiser

Many schools and other institutions sell candy and chocolate to raise money. These chocolate fundraisers are big business for companies and are one of the major ways kids get “hooked on” certain companies, often the companies that abuse workers' rights on the cocoa farms. You can raise funds and awareness about labor rights by holding a Fair Trade chocolate fundraiser.

You can order Fair Trade chocolate in bulk from a variety of chocolate companies (see www.globalexchange.org/campaigns/fair-trade/cocoa/retailers.html for a list) and then sell them for a bit more as a fundraiser. Some companies may even donate some or all the chocolate – just ask! For a detailed Fair Trade Chocolate Fundraiser guide, please visit www.globalexchange.org/cocoa.

D. Fair Trade Crafts Sale

Raise awareness, support artisan cooperatives, and fundraise for your student organization all at once! Visit www.worldofgood.org/partners/edu/ for fundraising kits of fair trade gifts and accessories.

E. Individual and Organizational Requests

As a sweatfree campaign you can build a strong base of support from supportive community members, both individuals and organizations. The key to successful fundraising from individuals is an accurate and up-to-date database of members and potential supporters. Always pass around a sign-up list at meetings and events. Enter the information immediately in your database. People move frequently so be sure to update addresses regularly.

Once or twice a year send a fundraising mailing to everyone in your database. Make the letter brief and to the point, and include a return envelope to make it as easy as possible for people to donate. About two weeks after the mailing, organize a phone bank to follow up on the letter. Few people like calling others for money, but without the phone calls you will get at most a half or a third of what you could get otherwise. Remember that the phone calls are not just about raising money; they are a way for you to get to know your membership base and build relationships. They can be a lot of fun!

There are probably a number of organizations in your community that can and should support your work, especially those that are part of your coalition. Consider reaching out to local unions, congregations, peace and justice groups, and social and environmental justice organizations. Send them some information about your campaign, then call them, talk about your work and theirs, establish common ground, and ask if you can make a brief presentation at a meeting. At the presentation you can ask for them to support your work in different ways, including a monetary contribution. You should also consider how your group can support their cause.

F. RAFFLE

Ask local businesses to donate a product or service to support your sweatfree campaign for a raffle at a sweatfree event. You can return the support by advertising for that business on the outreach flyer or at the event.

Challenging oppression through our organizing

Labor exploitation is directly linked to other systems of oppression, such as classism, sexism, and racism. Mostly young women of color labor in sweatshops. We can see clear race lines in the U.S., where sweatshop workers are mostly immigrants of color from poor countries. Issues of citizenship, migration, and mobility factor into who has dead-end factory jobs and whether they feel comfortable speaking out. Organizing for a fair global economy as an ally of sweatshop workers is a way to challenge these systems of oppression.

Dynamics having to do with race, class, gender, and sexual orientation factor into our organizing work. Social justice organizers are trying to create systems geared toward equality, democracy, and humanity, that do not perpetuate exploitation and oppression. But conditioned to act in an economy and culture that often operates under different values, organizers need to consciously work to challenge oppression. Without lending awareness to this crucial aspect of bringing people together and movement building, oppressive dynamics can carry over into our organizing styles and dynamics – both organizational and interpersonal.

By becoming aware of our own biases and cultural background, and how these affect our organizing, we can build connections across barriers to build true relationships of solidarity.

A few thoughts for organizers to consider:

- It is important to distinguish between different forms of oppression – i.e. racism, classism, sexism, homophobia, etc. - and to talk about them as separate things.
- It is important for organizations to have a clear, overt commitment to being anti-racist, anti-classist, anti-sexist, etc., and to have a collective understanding of what that means to them.
- A question commonly heard in activist groups led by white people is: “Why are there hardly any people of color here?” Important for people who raise the question to consider is: Are they aware of local struggles that people of color are involved in? Have they participated in this work? Do relationships exist between these communities? Organizing has its basis in relationship. Nothing can be more important in coalition building than connecting with people in your home community who directly experience social and economic injustices. These relationships need to be built for the purpose of relationship and true solidarity, not because adding a group name to a letterhead will make your coalition look stronger.
- Avoid tokenism, for example feeling you have fulfilled a quota requirement for diversity by having such and such people on board.

These issues and many others play out in group dynamics. During meetings, step back and look at who is talking – and who is not. Is more than personality at play? What role do younger people have at the meeting? How about men and women? When issues related to oppression arise – whether institutional or individual – does anyone dominate the conversation? Is anyone silenced?

Be clear about what your goals are in wanting to create a culture of organizing that challenges institutionally and culturally perpetuated forms of oppression. Be open to hearing the perspectives of others, and be open to being challenged.

SweatFree Communities and Global Exchange are glad to discuss with you how these dynamics affect your organizations, and how to build representative and diverse coalitions based in relationships of solidarity.

Sweatfree Toolkit: How Your Community Can Help End Sweatshops

Sweatfree Policy Toolkit



Signatures in support of State of Connecticut sweatfree law collected at press conference. Photo: Danielle Albert.



Chie Abad, a former Saipan sweatshop worker, rallies in support of the San Francisco sweatfree purchasing policy for San Francisco. Photo: Global Exchange.

Core Elements of a Sweatfree Procurement Policy

Introduction

An institutional sweatfree procurement policy is a movement-building tool, supporting a solidarity strategy between organized consumers and organized workers. The higher the standards in the policy, and the stronger the enforcement mechanisms, the better the tool it is. Better policies can contribute to stronger movements, while stronger movements always make the policies more effective, ultimately creating better working conditions, higher wages, and more power for workers to influence workplace policies.

In order to win the best possible policies we need strong local campaigns nurtured through grassroots organizing, education, and coalition building. But we also need to be aware of other sweatfree campaigns, other policies, advances made in one place, challenges in another. If one campaign breaks new ground, we should try to hold that up as a model elsewhere while being aware of different local political realities and the need for local flexibility.

This outline of core elements in sweatfree procurement policies represents the latest local innovations and the best thinking to date on how to craft a policy that works for all parties involved, from factory workers to policy administrators.¹ Please treat it as a working document. If you are able to win higher standards or better enforcement tools, we want to know so that standards everywhere can spiral up.

Purpose

The “whereas clauses” that express a legislative body’s “findings” and purpose in the beginning of a sweatfree purchasing law are not without significance. They can become important in a court case when determining whether or not the implementation of the law has gone beyond its original purpose.

Claim the Public’s Right to Know About Working Conditions

This is the basis for requiring public reporting and public disclosure of factory locations, key to policy enforcement. If it is established that the public has a right to know, it is difficult for companies to argue, as they often try, that this information is proprietary.

Act as a Market Participant

The procuring institution is acting as a regular consumer, a market participant, not as a regulator. State and local governments are not allowed to regulate in the area of labor relations and labor standards; this is an area preserved for the federal government and regulated through the National Labor Relations Act and the Fair Labor Standards Act. However, under the market participant exemption in the Interstate Commerce Clause, state and local governments have as wide discretion as private consumers in setting conditions for purchasing.

Claim Self-Interest

States and local governments also are not allowed to regulate commerce beyond their own borders, another area preserved for the federal government under the foreign commerce clause of the Constitution. If the standards established in a sweatfree purchasing policy are higher than those required by local law or treaty obligations (e.g. requiring compliance with non-poverty wages rather than the legal minimum wage), a court could rule that the law violates the foreign commerce clause. This was the ruling of the First Circuit Court of Appeals when it struck down a Massachusetts law that barred companies doing business in Burma from receiving state contracts. However, the court also recognized that states are allowed to impose limits on public purchasing if those limits *serve a legitimate local interest* and also act as a market participant.²

There are several ways of claiming that a sweatfree purchasing policy serves a legitimate local interest. For example, you can legitimately claim that avoiding sweatshop abusers helps to even the playing field for local law-abiding suppliers by creating conditions of fair competition, or that sweatfree purchasing reflects the expressed interests of local citizens who do not wish for their tax dollars to subsidize sweatshop and abusive child labor.

There are several ways of claiming that a sweatfree purchasing policy serves a legitimate local interest. For example, you can legitimately

ly claim that avoiding sweatshop abusers helps to even the playing field for local law-abiding suppliers by creating conditions of fair competition, or that sweatfree purchasing reflects the expressed interests of local citizens who do not wish for their tax dollars to subsidize sweatshop and abusive child labor.

While the Supreme Court upheld the First Circuit ruling against Massachusetts' Burma law, it did so on very narrow grounds. According to analysts David Naftzger: "Clearly, the Supreme Court could have issued a sweeping opinion against Massachusetts based on broad preemption doctrine that would have prevented states from imposing sanctions on firms doing business in certain rogue nations. Rather, the Court ruled, in a narrow ruling based on the Constitution's Supremacy clause, that Congress had preempted the Massachusetts statute when it adopted federal sanctions on Burma. ... Because the Court's decision rests on a single preemptive act of Congress rather than broader constitutional grounds, state sanctions were not ruled to be unconstitutional per se ("A Future for State Legislatures in 'Foreign Affairs?' Supreme Court Leaves More Questions than Answers with Ruling Against 'Massachusetts Burma Law,'" National Conference of State Legislatures, September, 2000).

Scope

The policy should be comprehensive, applying to procurement of both products and services because everything an institution buys may originate in a sweatshop. Practically speaking, however, most politicians want to see evidence of problems before committing administrative and financial resources. Apparel, footwear, and laundry services are a good place to start, along with a commitment of gradual expansion based on research and evidence gathered by the responsible administrator. The sweatfree procurement laws of Los Angeles and San Francisco are good examples of policies with comprehensive scope that will be implemented incrementally.

In order to avoid federal preemption issues (see above), you may want to set procurement conditions exclusively for facilities and workers that manufacture products or provide services procured by your institution. Some courts, though not all, have held that procurement conditions must be related to the supplier's performance of its contractual obligations to the procuring entity. If you want to target the supplier as a whole – all of its operations and all of its workers – you might argue that the procuring entity (state, city, or school for example) and its tax payers have a valid moral and public interest in not dealing with sweatshop suppliers, whether or not the sweatshop conditions affect the supplier's contractual obligations to the procuring institution.

Standards – Code of Conduct

The following standards are very basic. Perfect enforcement would make no worker rich, but it would ensure a measure of dignity and respect at the workplace, and enable workers and their families to escape the most abject poverty. If you think you can win higher standards we encourage you to campaign for them. The institution should encourage suppliers to exceed these standards.

Fundamental International Labor Organization Standards

The United Nation's International Labor Organization (ILO) has identified eight conventions as fundamental to the rights of human beings at work, irrespective of countries' levels of development. The conventions cover the areas of:

- Freedom of association and the right to collective bargaining;
- The elimination of forced and compulsory labor;
- The abolition of child labor, and;
- The elimination of discrimination in the workplace.

According to the ILO, these measures "set the basis for social justice in the workplace and provide a framework to ensure that people fairly share in the wealth that they have helped generate."

Applicable Local Laws

These are the laws of the country where the manufacturing of the product takes place. The laws cover wages and non-wage benefits; working hour limitations and overtime rules; health, labor, and environmental conditions; legal guarantees of freedom of association; child labor restrictions; regulations on home-based work; building and fire codes; and discrimination in hiring, promotion or compensation on the basis of race, disability, national origin, gender, sexual orientation or affiliation with any political, nongovernmental or civic group.

Non-Poverty Wage

In most countries, the legal minimum wage is a poverty wage that does not provide workers with enough income to pay for the cost of food, shelter, clothing, medicine, and other basic needs for their families. Our public institutions should not be complicit with the impoverishment of the workers that make the products they buy, but should require companies pay a more dignified wage. Because wages amount to such a small fraction of the total retail price of products, even doubling workers' wages would result in very small price increases. According to research conducted by the Worker Rights Consortium for the City of Los Angeles, a non-poverty wage requirement could increase procurement costs by 0.8% to 2.2%.

We recommend the following formula for a “non-poverty wage” in the U.S.: *the level of wages required for a full-time worker to produce an annual income equal to or greater than the United States Department of Health and Human Services' most recent poverty guideline for a family of three plus an additional 20% of the wage level paid either as hourly wages or health benefits.* Outside the United States, a non-poverty wage is a comparable nationwide wage and benefit level, adjusted to reflect that country's level of economic development using a factor such as the relative national standard of living index in order to raise a family of three out of poverty.

You can download a table of non-poverty wages in garment producing countries worldwide here: www.sweatfree.org/nonpoverty-wages. Please note that the table of wages is not meant as a definitive statement on non-poverty or appropriate wages for workers around the world. Rather, it is a tool to help sweatfree activists hold companies accountable and for workers to drive a tougher bargain for higher wages.

You can also calculate a higher U.S. living wage level using the Universal Living Wage formula (see: www.universallivingwage.org), which is based on fair market rent guidelines developed by the Department of Housing and Urban Development (www.hud.gov). To calculate living wages for other countries, see www.dol.gov/ilab/media/reports/oiea/wagestudy.

The Cities of Milwaukee, Los Angeles, San Francisco, and Madison, the Los Angeles Unified School District, and the states of California, Illinois, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania have adopted the non-poverty wage standard.

Right to Organize and Collective Bargaining

Workers' right to freely form and join unions for the promotion and defense of their workplace interests is a basic human right. It is a basis of democratic representation and governance. Workers need to be able to influence workplace policies that impact their lives. An independent worker organization offers workers the best chance that they will have an effective voice in determining their wages and working conditions.

Furthermore, organized workers play a vital monitoring role, letting us know if employers are shifting back toward sweatshop strategies. Consumers and anti-sweatshop organizations can then bring pressure to bear on those employers to get them back on the sweat-free track.

Finally, organized workers are a vital force for expanding the share of total production that is sweatfree. They do this in two basic ways: first, by organizing more unions in their sector and helping more workers to increase their economic power; and second, by providing a critical part of the political base that will encourage their governments to pursue more worker-friendly economic and social policies.

No Termination Without Just Cause

When workers try to organize a union to gain protection and power to improve working conditions, the sweatshop employer's most common anti-union tactic is firing union supporters. This sends a chilling message to coworkers: keep quiet or you will lose your job. Employers may also threaten to close a factory and shift production to some other country if workers organize a union, a tactic called “cut-and-run.” By including “no termination without just cause” provisions in the sweatfree purchasing policy an institution signals that it will not do business with companies that suppress workers' right to organize by terminating union supporters.

Based on model policy developed by the UNITE HERE union and adopted by States of New Jersey and Illinois, and City of Milwaukee.

Additional Union-Friendly Procurement Provisions

The following provisions have not yet been included in sweatfree purchasing laws. Courts may invalidate the provisions if they think local or state governments are trying to regulate labor relations. This is an area of law reserved for the federal government and preempted by the federal National Labor Relations Act. However, federal preemption law is unsettled. You may want to assess your strength and the local political environment to determine if you want to include these provisions in your sweatfree purchasing policy. Because of the legal uncertainties we have not included the provisions in the SweatFree Communities model procurement policy.

Union-Made

The best way to support workers' right to organize and join unions is to direct the public's purchasing power toward suppliers where workers have acted on this right and won a legitimate democratic union. Buying from union suppliers expands the market for union made goods and creates incentives for non-union companies to not oppose union organizing attempts by their workers. If you include a requirement that all purchased goods must be union-made (and have the union label), it is also important to develop implementation mechanisms that can distinguish between genuinely democratic unions that represent workers and unions that are controlled by the company or the state. Initially the union-made requirement may shift purchasing dollars to North American companies since democratic unions are rare in the developing world. However, over time it may also create an incentive for companies to source production from unionized workplaces outside North America.

Union Neutrality and Card Check

These are two concepts that are slightly different but work together. "Union neutrality" means that the employer formally agrees to remain neutral in a union organizing drive, to advocate neither for nor against the union. The employer cannot hold captive audience meetings, fire anyone for union activity, or threaten that the plant will close if the workers unionize. Neutrality could also include additional provisions that make it easier for unions to organize, such as providing union organizers with access to the facility to speak with workers or a worker contact list so that they can visit workers away from work to discuss the union.

"Card check" is a procedure for union recognition where the employer formally agrees to recognize the union when a majority of the workers sign union authorization cards, either during

a set or open-ended period of time. By contrast, if workers are required to use an election to decide whether or not to recognize a union, employers often take advantage of the election period to harass and intimidate workers. Therefore, workers have much greater organizing success with the card check method combined with a union neutrality agreement than they do with an election.

Labor Peace Agreements

Typically done on construction projects, a labor peace agreement commits the employer and union to have "labor peace:" the union agrees not to picket or interfere with construction, and the employer generally agrees to neutrality and card check recognition. Courts have upheld these types of agreements in case-by-case circumstances to avoid labor disruption on a particular construction project where the government has a proprietary interest (e.g., the government owns the land or has lent funds for the project). This provision would be new for apparel procurement laws. As a purchaser of apparel goods, the government clearly has a proprietary interest. Since all procurement should be eligible for labor peace, this would be the most comprehensive approach. A more limited approach would be to single out specific cases where the government has a vital interest in getting its products without labor disruption (e.g., fire turnout gear for firefighters).

Alternatively, labor peace could cover apparel procurement services only, such as laundry services, where there is a danger of labor disruption to an ongoing service. The extent of labor peace coverage should be determined in part by the specific political situation in the jurisdiction. In any case, to preserve the proprietary, and not regulatory, nature of this provision, it may be important to give the procurement agency the ability to decide on a case by case basis which products should be governed by labor peace.

Organic and Fair Trade Preference

Most consumers concerned with sweatshop labor practices in the garment industry also care about cotton farm workers and would support purchasing policies that minimize cotton workers' exposure to dangerous pesticides. Conventionally grown cotton is one of the most intensely sprayed crops in the world, accounting for more than 10% of pesticides and almost 25% of insecticides used worldwide. These synthetic materials may poison farm workers, drift into neighboring communities, contaminate ground and surface water, and kill beneficial insects and microorganisms. The Environmental Protection Agency considers seven of the top 15 pesticides used on cotton in 2000 in the United States to be "possible," "likely," "probable," or "known" human carcinogens.

Organic cotton, on the other hand, is grown with methods and materials that have a low impact on the environment, such as beneficial insects, crop rotation, and precision tillage. Organic production reduces the use of toxic pesticides, insecticides, and fertilizers. When a company is "certified organic" it means that an independent organization has verified that the company meets or exceeds defined organic standards. Organic cotton is grown in 12 countries, but represents less than 0.1% of global cotton production.

At the time of writing, some forward-looking sweatfree campaigns are combining sweatfree and organic purchasing provisions; the City of Vancouver is the first in North America to adopt both concepts.

Consider a provision such as: “This body shall procure certified organic food and apparel when available and feasible.” Organic is defined in Title XXI of the Food, Agriculture, Conservation, and Trade Act of 1990. The Act was amended 2004. For more information, contact the Organic Consumers Association: www.organicconsumers.org.

You may also consider a fair trade preference for agricultural products that are fair trade certified (currently coffee, tea, cocoa, and fruit). Fair trade certification guarantees fair prices for family farmers and fair wages for farm workers, environmentally friendly production practices, and International Labor Organization standards regarding child and forced labor, freedom of association, collective bargaining, and anti-discrimination. For more information, contact TransFair USA: www.transfairusa.org. The standards for all fair trade certified products can be found at the Fairtrade Labelling Organization website: www.fairtrade.net

Compliance Tools

Contractor and Subcontractor Responsibility

Bidders should be required to sign an affidavit affirming that they and their subcontractors will comply with the standards established in the Code of Conduct.

Public Disclosure of Factory Locations and Wage Rates

Bidders should also be required to publicly disclose the names and addresses of factories where the products they propose to sell to the institution are made, and the wages paid to the workers making those products.

Most corporations hide their factories behind walls of secrecy. Tearing down those walls by requiring government suppliers to report the names and locations of factories where the products they sell to the institution are made should be the first requirement of a sweatfree purchasing policy. Without public disclosure independent groups cannot verify factory conditions, and workers rights violations will not come to the attention of the institution. In short, without disclosure the policy is unenforceable. On the other hand, when companies do make factory names and locations publicly available, workers can register complaints and independent human rights organizations can investigate conditions, report problems, and help to correct violations. Similarly, public disclosure of wage rates ensures transparency and is an important step towards holding companies accountable for the wages they pay and making sure that those wages are at least non-poverty wages.

Companies may complain that names and addresses of factories is “proprietary information” and that disclosure would put them at a disadvantage by exposing “trade secrets” to their competition. They may offer to provide such information to the institution on a confidential basis only. However, the larger companies often source from the same factories as their competition; they already know where their competitors produce. After many years of publicly disclosing factory locations to the Worker Rights Consortium (WRC) in order to comply with college and university licensee codes of conduct, companies have not yet alleged any deleterious impact on their competitive ability.

Regular Public Reports from the Contractor

By requiring suppliers to provide annual reports on their progress in achieving and maintaining compliance with the sweatfree purchasing policy, the institution signals that code compliance is always a process, and that working conditions can and should always improve. A public reporting requirement promotes manufacturer responsibility and transparency.

Reports should include information on internal monitoring programs and their results, external audits if available, problems discovered, and corrective action plans.

Based on model policy developed by the Maquila Solidarity Network.

Certified Payroll

Companies are responsible for complying with wage standards, and for providing verifiable wage reports. By requiring a certified payroll, institutions can make sure that the employer maintains verifiable records for each worker documenting the number of hours worked in a pay period, the pay rate, the deductions, and the actual pay. By requiring workers to receive an itemized wage statement, institutions help empower workers themselves to report violations of wage standards.

Based on recommendation by the Pittsburgh Anti-Sweatshop Community Alliance.

Sweatfree Advisory Group Consisting of Administrators, Activist Groups, and Labor Organizations

This group supports the administrators responsible for implementation and enforcement by monitoring contracts, educating administrators, networking with other local and national anti-sweatshop efforts, and receiving and assessing evidence of supplier non-compliance from workers, labor unions, governments, non-governmental organizations, or human rights organizations. Given the experimental nature of sweatfree procurement, it is difficult to anticipate all situations that will arise. An advisory working group provides expertise and resources to resolve unforeseen issues of implementation and enforcement. The State of New Jersey, for example, has established an “Apparel Procurement Board” to receive complaints and recommend investigations. The Board includes representatives of uniformed unions of employees of the State and state agencies that employ uniformed personnel.

The sweatfree advisory group can also research and recommend additional products and services to include in the sweatfree procurement policy. In addition, this group can play an important role establishing relationships with other institutions that have adopted sweatfree purchasing policies in order to share information about suppliers, develop best practices guidelines, and cooperate in the enforcement of sweatfree procurement policies.

Based on Los Angeles, San Francisco, Madison and New Jersey policies, and the experience of the Milwaukee Clean Clothes Campaign and the Bangor Clean Clothes Campaign.

Enforcement Mechanisms

These mechanisms enable you to have a direct impact on particular factories. Without enforcement a policy becomes a feel-good measure, undesirable to advocates and most legislators alike.

Independent Monitoring of Factories and Investigations of Worker Rights Complaints

Sweatfree procurement policies are based on institutional leverage with suppliers to compel corrective action when an independent monitoring organization substantiates allegations of worker rights violations at supplier factories. Complaints are integral to the success of the sweatfree policies, because it is through the process of complaints – investigations – corrective action that working conditions improve.

In order to enforce complaints-driven policies, public institutions need an affordable and effective system of independent monitoring to investigate allegations of sweatshop abuses, and develop and monitor a program of corrective action that brings factories into compliance with institutional requirements. Given overlap in supply chains, cities, states, counties, and school districts can pool resources for monitoring, investigation, and compliance services in order to minimize the cost for each entity and maximize leverage with companies.

In response to inquiries from youth anti-sweatshop organizations for help with enforcement of their schools’ sweatfree purchasing policies, the Worker Rights Organization (WRC), a non-profit independent monitoring organization that helps universities enforce licensee codes of conduct, created an affiliation category for individual secondary schools in 2004. The WRC has also resolved to work with individual states, cities, and school districts on a temporary and experimental basis to conduct independent monitoring pilot projects and to advise these institutions on the creation of a consortium of public institutions that pool resources for code compliance services.³

In the independent monitoring pilot projects, public institutions and the WRC will work in partnership to enforce codes of conduct based on a shared commitment to certain principles and methodology, including:

- Public disclosure of factory locations.
- Public disclosure of results of factory investigations.
- Emphasis on continuous improvement with the understanding that improving conditions is not a one-time action.
- An understanding that codes are only effective if they are used to press for improved conditions.
- Contracts with vendors and factories should not be severed except as a last resort.

The City of Los Angeles is the first public institution to pilot an independent monitoring project with the Worker Rights Consortium.

By participating in joint WRC pilot projects with other public institutions that have adopted, or agreed to adopt, codes of conduct for suppliers of goods and services schools, cities and states can significantly increase market demand for fair labor conditions, while reducing the cost of monitoring and investigation to each entity. For a combined \$50,000 the WRC will consult with Purchasing

Agents to review state disclosure information; study the vendor supply chains in order to determine potential areas of concern; monitor factories in order to identify potential violations of the Code of Conduct; and conduct two investigations of allegations of worker rights violations. In addition, the WRC will consult with public institutions on creating a consortium to enforce sweatfree procurement policies.

This consortium can also consider collective purchasing in order to consolidate purchasing power with a limited number of suppliers and factories. By concentrating purchasing power, sweatfree schools, cities and states can ensure that their purchasing practices are fair, and that factories receive sufficient orders from sweatfree purchasers that agree to terms of payment and delivery schedules that ensure factories can lift standards for workers.

Remediation

The first goal of a sweatfree purchasing policy should always be achieving and maintaining compliance with the Code of Conduct, ensuring that working conditions improve and workers maintain good jobs. When receiving a credible allegation of a violation of the Code of Conduct, the institution and supplier should consult for the purpose of agreeing to a remediation plan and correct the violation. Termination of the relationship should be a last-resort if the supplier or its subcontractor is unwilling or unable to remedy the situation.

- The steps of remediation should include:
- A violation notice from the institution to the supplier, describing the violation and the requirements for responding to the notice.
- Information from the supplier with evidence that the violation did not occur, or a detailed plan for corrective action. Corrective action includes all steps necessary to correct violations, including, but not limited to, paying back wages to workers who made products supplied to the institution, reinstating any worker who has been unlawfully dismissed, and worker rights education for managers and workers.
- An independent investigation, followed by a public report, verifying that the violation did or did not occur, and, if it did, that corrective action has or has not been effective.

Based on model policy developed by the Maquila Solidarity Network and State of Maine practices.

Sanctions

If a supplier knew or should have known about Code of Conduct violations, fails to respond in a timely fashion to notices of violations, refuses or fails to cooperate with an independent investigation, or refuses or fails to take corrective action in a timely manner, an institution should be able to impose any of the following sanctions:

- Terminate the contract without notice and without liability for unpaid amounts that would otherwise have been payable.
- Assess a penalty.
- Bar the supplier from the bidder's list for a specified period of time.

Based on model policy developed by Maquila Solidarity Network

1 We would like to acknowledge the innovations and contributions from the following organizations (listed alphabetically): the Bangor Clean Clothes Campaign, Global Exchange, the Maquila Solidarity Network, the Milwaukee Clean Clothes Campaign, No More Sweatshops, Pittsburgh Anti-Sweatshop Community Alliance (PASCA), the Sweatfree Madison Campaign, United Students Against Sweatshops, and UNITE HERE.

2 While the Supreme Court upheld the First Circuit ruling against Massachusetts' Burma law, it did so on very narrow grounds. According to analysts David Naftzger: "Clearly, the Supreme Court could have issued a sweeping opinion against Massachusetts based on broad preemption doctrine that would have prevented states from imposing sanctions on firms doing business in certain rogue nations. Rather, the Court ruled, in a narrow ruling based on the Constitution's Supremacy clause, that Congress had preempted the Massachusetts statute when it adopted federal sanctions on Burma. . . . Because the Court's decision rests on a single preemptive act of Congress rather than broader constitutional grounds, state sanctions were not ruled to be unconstitutional per se" ("A Future for State Legislatures in 'Foreign Affairs?' Supreme Court Leaves More Questions than Answers with Ruling Against 'Massachusetts Burma Law,'" National Conference of State Legislatures, September, 2000). Certainly the Supreme Court decision should have no negative impact on sweatfree procurement legislation that do not target any particular countries, but requires fair labor standards on a non-discriminatory basis.

3 Because the Worker Rights Consortium operates independently of the apparel industry (it has no funding from the manufacturers and its board of directors have no financial stake in the industries that produce collegiate merchandise), it has better access to and trust of workers and is able to ascertain information other monitors cannot obtain. Independence enhances the credibility of WRC reports.

Sample Code of Conduct and Sweatfree Purchasing Policy for U.S. Institutions

I. Purpose

The _____ finds that:

A. The _____ spends _____ in public funds on garments, uniforms, materials, and other equipment, materials, and supplies provided by private vendors and manufacturers.

B. The _____ recognizes a public interest in avoiding subsidies to vendors and contractors who maintain sweatshop working conditions, including below-subsistence wages; excessively long working hours; unhealthy and unsafe working environments; child, indentured, and prison labor; disregard for local and international labor laws and workplace regulations; disregard for fundamental women's rights; and repression of workers' rights to assemble and bargain collectively.

C. In its role as a market participant, the _____ seeks to assure that the integrity of the procurement process is not undermined by vendors and contractors who engage in sweatshop practices. Contractors who use sweatshop labor are able to underbid responsible contractors who pay fair wages and maintain humane work environments and conditions. Such practices place responsible contractors at a competitive disadvantage, which may dissuade them from participating in the _____ procurement process.

D. _____ must be cognizant of the working conditions it may support by its actions as a major market participant. Better working conditions assure consistently better quality goods for the _____, by assuring fewer disruptions in the workplace due to workers' grievances, fewer absences due to illnesses, less fatigue and fewer workplace injuries, less turnover of workers, and greater incentive to perform.

E. The _____ recognizes the rights of its citizens to information about working conditions and choice with regard to the expenditure of its tax money.

F. As a participant in the marketplace, _____ seeks to protect the interests of local citizens, workers, and businesses by exercising its sovereignty to establish a "sweatfree" procurement policy and code of conduct that ensures that items of apparel, garments and corresponding accessories, and other equipment, materials, and supplies procured by _____, its agencies, or its employees through contracts, purchase orders, or uniform allowances or voucher programs, be produced in workplaces free of sweatshop conditions.

II. Scope

This policy applies to the procurement and laundering of apparel, garments and corresponding accessories, and the procurement of equipment, materials, and other supplies for _____. Procurement includes contract, purchase, rental, lease, or allowance and voucher programs.

III. Definition

A. "Contractor" or "vendor" means a person or entity from whom the _____ has a current procurement relationship, or who is bidding or proposing to provide products to the _____.

B. "Independent monitor" means a non-profit organization with expertise in monitoring factory working conditions that is neither funded nor controlled, in whole or in part, by a corporation that is engaged in production of apparel, footwear, or textiles.

C. "Non-poverty wage" in the U.S. is the level of wages required for a full-time worker to produce an annual income equal to or greater than the United States Department of Health and Human Services' most recent poverty guideline for a family of three plus an additional 20% of the wage level paid either as hourly wages or health benefits. Outside the United States, a non-poverty wage is a comparable nationwide wage and benefit level, adjusted to reflect that country's level of economic development using a factor such as the relative national standard of living index in order to raise a family of three out of poverty.

D. "Production" means the manufacture (including cutting and assembly by weaving, sewing, knitting or felting), finishing, warehouse distribution and laundering (where applicable) of apparel and other products.

E. “Subcontractor” means a person, partnership, corporation or other entity that enters into a contract with a contractor or vendor for performance of all or some of the work for _____ procurement.

IV. Prohibition of Sweatshop Conditions

Vendors and contractors shall adhere to or exceed the following sweatfree code of conduct and require subcontractors to do the same.

A. Legal Requirements. Contractors shall comply with all applicable local laws and workplace regulations, including those regarding wages and benefits, workplace health and safety, environmental safety and freedom of association, and the fundamental conventions of the International Labor Organization, including those regarding forced and child labor and freedom of association.

B. Wages and Benefits. Contractors shall pay wages that meet the higher standard of (a) the legal minimum wage; (b) the prevailing wage in the industry in the country of production; or (c) a non-poverty wage as defined in Section III C.

C. Wage and Hour Records. Contractors shall maintain verifiable wage and hour records for each production worker. Such records shall include the following for each production worker: (a) name and job classification; (b) a general description of the work the worker performed each day and the rate of pay (including rates of contributions for, or costs assumed to provide fringe benefits); and (c) the daily and weekly number of hours worked, deductions made; and (d) actual wages paid.

D. Working Hours. Contractors shall not require hourly and quota-based employees to work more than 48 hours per week or the limits on regular hours allowed by the law of the country of manufacture, whichever is lower. In addition, contractors shall provide at least one day off in every seven-day period, as well as holidays and vacations.

E. Overtime Compensation. Contractors shall ensure that workers work overtime hours only voluntarily. In addition to their compensation for regular hours of work, hourly and quota-based employees shall be compensated for overtime hours at such a premium rate as is legally required in the country of manufacture or, in those locations where such laws do not exist, at a rate at least one-and-one-half their regular hourly compensation rate.

F. Discrimination. Contractors shall not discriminate in employment - including in hiring, salary, benefits, advancement, discipline, termination, or retirement - on the basis of gender, race, religion, age, disability, sexual orientation, nationality, political opinion, or social or ethnic origin.

G. Harassment and Abuse. Contractors shall not harass or abuse workers sexually, psychologically, or verbally, or use corporal punishment.

H. Women’s Rights. Contractors shall not require pregnancy tests as a condition of employment, nor demand pregnancy tests of employees. Women workers shall receive equal remuneration, including equal pay, benefits, treatment, and opportunity to fill positions open to male workers.

I. Just Cause Termination. Contractors shall not terminate employees without just cause. Contractors shall provide for a mediation or grievance process to resolve workplace disputes. For production in the United States such disputes are limited to those not regulated by the National Labor Relations Board.

J. Cut and Run. Contractors and subcontractors shall not shut down or reduce orders to a production facility in order to deny workers their right to freely associate or bargain collectively or in order to escape their responsibilities to take corrective action following the determination of a violation of the sweatfree code of conduct.

K. Freedom of Association. Contractors shall respect employees' rights to freedom of association and collective bargaining. No employee shall be subject to harassment, intimidation or retaliation as a result of their efforts to freely associate or bargain collectively. Contractors shall allow union organizers free access to employees and shall recognize the union of the employees' choice. Contractors shall demonstrate their commitment to freedom of association by taking steps such as:

1. Providing clear channels through which workers can voice their complaints regarding working conditions, and addressing such complaints in a prompt and effective manner;
2. Ensuring that workers have a representative voice in workplace decisions;
3. Negotiating with the workers in good faith.

V. Phase-In Period

During the first full fiscal year of the _____ after the effective date of this Chapter, the _____ shall target for enforce-

ment only purchases and contracts for apparel, garments and corresponding accessories, materials, supplies or equipment, and laundry services. Agreements for other goods and services shall be targeted for enforcement in accordance with the procedure set forth in Section VII E 4.

VI. Requirements – Contractor Affidavits, Public Records and Reporting

A. _____ shall procure goods covered by this policy from contractors that adhere to the sweatfree code of conduct as defined in Section IV

B. Affidavits. For every bid and contract for production of goods or provision of services covered by this policy, each bidder or contractor must submit affidavits that include the information set forth in Sections VI 1., 2., 3., 4. and 5. to the _____. To ensure public access and confidence, this information shall be accessible to the public through the _____'s Website as soon as possible, but in no case less than 14 days before a decision is made to award a contract to a particular bidder. The information shall include:

1. The country of production, the names, addresses, and phone numbers of each facility involved in the production of goods or provision of services covered by this policy in both English and in the principal language of the country of production.

2. The names, business addresses, and phone numbers of the principal officers of each facility involved in the production of goods or provision of services covered by this policy.

3. The minimum base hourly wage of non-supervisory production employees, percent of wage level paid as health benefit, other benefits, regular deductions from paychecks, normal working hours per day and week, actual working hours per day and week over the last three months, and overtime policy.

4. A sworn statement that each of the proposed suppliers, including any subcontractors, adheres to the sweatfree code of conduct as defined in Section IV; that the bidder has furnished a copy of the sweatfree code of conduct to each such supplier, including any subcontractors; and that the bidder has required each supplier to:

a) Inform the bidder of whether the supplier is in compliance with the sweatfree code of conduct;

b) Furnish a copy of the code of conduct, in the workers' language, to each worker, and post a copy, in the workers' language, in a visible and accessible location in the factory; and,

c) Conduct a training session, attended by all workers, to inform the workers of their rights under the sweatfree code of conduct.

5. Any other information deemed necessary by the _____ for the administration and enforcement of this policy.

C. Updated Information. If any information provided by the contractor or subcontractor pursuant to this section changes during the specified time period of the contract, the contractor shall submit or cause to be submitted to the _____ affidavits with the updated information.

D. Monitoring Reports. The contractor shall submit or cause to be submitted annual public reports documenting internal working condition monitoring programs and their results, external audits if available, problems discovered, and corrective action plans. Contractors shall provide access to the _____ and the _____'s independent monitoring agency, if any, to archived and contemporary inspection and monitoring reports for all facilities producing goods or providing services for the contract in question and shall require their subcontractors to allow the same access.

E. Certified Payroll Records. Each contractor and subcontractor shall maintain weekly certified payroll records for submission to _____ upon demand. The contractor shall be responsible for submitting the payroll records of its subcontractors, although subcontractors shall submit such records directly to the _____ upon request. All certified payroll records shall be accompanied by a statement signed by the contractor, or subcontractor if requested by the _____ to submit the records, stating that the records are complete and correct.

VII. Verification and Compliance

A. It shall be the responsibility of contractors to ensure compliance with the sweatfree code of conduct in their own production facilities and in those of their suppliers, including all subcontractors.

B. _____ shall enter into an agreement with an independent monitor for assistance in monitoring the compliance of contractors. The purpose of such arrangement is to receive complaints and provide monitoring, inspection, investigation, and remediation services at facilities producing goods or providing services for _____. Refusal of an entity to permit independent monitoring

shall result in disqualification for bidding.

C. Each contractor and subcontractor shall cooperate fully with any investigation of the _____, including without limitation any independent monitor, and other _____ employees and agents authorized to assist in the implementation, administration or enforcement of this Chapter. Such persons or entities shall, in the performance of their duties, have the right to engage in random inspections of any worksite where the contract or any subcontract is performed and have access to any worker or any record required to be maintained in Section VI.

D. _____ shall also explore mechanisms employed by other governmental entities to ensure that businesses that contract with this _____ are in compliance with this Chapter and any regulations or requirements promulgated in conformance with this Chapter. The mechanisms explored shall include, but not be limited to:

1. Establishing working relationships with other public agencies that have enacted sweatfree procurement laws.
2. Establishing working relationships with advocacy groups, labor organizations and other appropriate entities to share information regarding manufacturers, vendors, and suppliers.
3. Developing a sweatfree consortium with other states, cities, school boards, or public entities for the purpose of collaborating in the enforcement of sweatfree codes of conduct, including sharing the cost of monitoring and inspection activities by an independent monitor, and consolidating purchasing power.

E. The _____ will establish a Sweatfree Procurement Advisory Group to address implementation and enforcement issues. The Sweatfree Procurement Advisory Group shall consist of advocates for garment workers and other workers experiencing sweatshop working conditions, uniformed unions of employees of the _____, representatives of agencies that employ uniformed personnel, administrators responsible for implementing this law, and other interested parties. The purpose of the Sweatfree Procurement Advisory Group shall be to:

1. Receive and assess evidence of bidders' and contractors' non-compliance with the Sweatfree Code of Conduct from workers, labor unions, governments, businesses, non-government organizations, and human rights advocates.
2. Provide advice on bidding guidelines, dissemination of information to workers, and collaboration with other public entities.
3. Evaluate the implementation of this Chapter.
4. Evaluate industries engaged in manufacture and sale of goods other than apparel and garments to determine whether procurement of goods, in addition to apparel and garments, should be subject to this Chapter. To determine whether a particular good shall be targeted for enforcement, the factors that the Sweatfree Advisory Group shall consider shall include, but not be limited to: (a) the amount the _____ has spent and anticipates spending for such good; (b) evidence of sweatshop labor or other conditions prohibited by this Chapter in the manufacturing, assemblage or distribution of such good; and (c) any financial impact that targeting the good for enforcement will have on the _____.

VIII. Violations and Enforcement

A. Complaints. Any person may complain that the sweatfree code of conduct of this Chapter is being violated. The _____ and/or any independent monitoring agency acting on behalf of the _____ shall receive complaints and investigate the merits of such complaints.

B. Request for Information. After receiving a complaint alleging noncompliance with the sweatfree code of conduct, the _____ must contact in a timely manner, in writing and by certified letter, the contractor that is the subject of the complaint or whose subcontractor is the subject of the complaint. The _____ shall describe the alleged violation and the requirements for responding to the notice. The contractor must respond in a timely manner with evidence that the violation did not occur, or a detailed plan for corrective action.

C. Access to Factories. Any contractor or subcontractor shall provide the _____ and agents authorized to assist in the administration and enforcement of this Chapter immediate access to the facility or operation where the violation has occurred for an inspection of the facility or operation and records, and interviews with workers.

D. Independent Audit. The _____ may require an independent audit by an independent monitor, at the expense of the contractor or its subcontractor, followed by a public report, verifying that the violation did or did not occur, and, if it did, that corrective action has or has not been effective.

E. Remediation. Upon determination of a violation of the sweatfree code of conduct at a production facility of a contractor or its supplier, including all subcontractors, the _____ and the contractor shall consult for the purpose of agreeing to a remediation plan. The intention is for the situation to be corrected in order to comply with the sweatfree code of conduct. Corrective action includes all steps necessary to correct the violations, including, but not limited to:

1. Paying back wages to workers who made manufactured products or provided services supplied to the _____.
2. Reinstating any worker who has been unlawfully dismissed.
3. Training on worker rights and best practices education for managers and workers at the facility or operation where the violation occurred to ensure future compliance. Any such training and education shall be at the expense of the contractor or subcontractor. Upon request by the _____, the contractor or subcontractor shall submit such materials for training and education for the _____'s review and approval prior to distribution to managers and employees.

F. Report. The _____ may require the contractor or subcontractor to provide a written summary of the steps taken to remedy the noncompliance with the sweatfree code of conduct and any difficulties encountered in correcting the noncompliance. The request may require the response to be submitted under penalty of perjury. The contractor or subcontractor shall provide the written summary within the time period specified by the _____.

G. Sanctions. Sanctions will be used as a last-resort if the contractor knowingly provides misinformation under Section VI, or if the contractor, one of its suppliers, including subcontractors, refuses to remedy a violation in a timely manner. Sanctions can include termination of a contract without notice and without liability for unpaid amounts that otherwise would have been payable, a financial penalty, or removal of the contractor from the bidder's list for a period of _____.

IX. Preemption

Nothing in this Chapter shall be interpreted or applied so as to create any power or duty in conflict with any federal law. Nothing in this Chapter shall be interpreted to preempt any law of a political subdivision of the _____.

X. Severability

If any part or provision of this Chapter, or the application of this Chapter to any person or circumstance, is held invalid, the remainder of this Chapter, including the application of such part or provisions to other persons or circumstances, shall not be affected by such holding and shall continue in full force and effect. To this end, the provisions of this Chapter are severable.

Sweatfree Policy Enforcement

Summary

As major purchasers of apparel and other products that often are made in sweatshop conditions, schools, cities, and states can play a vital role helping to end the scourge of sweatshops by creating significant market demand for products made by workers in humane conditions. Over seventy states, cities, counties, and school districts across the United States have already enacted “sweatfree” procurement laws, establishing fair labor standards, or codes of conduct, for state suppliers. While the laws have helped increase transparency in the apparel industry, these public institutions have lacked capacity for monitoring supplier factories and investigating allegations of sweatshop violations. Without monitoring and investigations the sweatfree procurement laws are unenforceable. However, because there is a critical number of procurement entities engaged with sweatfree procurement at some level, it is now possible for a consortium of public institutions to pool resources for monitoring of common suppliers. Your school, city, or state can take the lead in a ground-breaking collaborative project, by participating in joint independent monitoring projects with the Worker Rights Consortium, a non-profit organization that helps universities and colleges enforce manufacturing codes of conduct.

Background

Similar to individual consumers who seek to avoid sweatshop products in the marketplace, a large number of cities, states, counties, and school districts have passed sweatfree procurement laws over the last few years in order not to subsidize sweatshop abuses with tax dollars. In most cases these laws are the outcome of broad-based grassroots movements that include labor, religious communities, students, youth, small businesses, and concerned citizens representing a wide political spectrum.

Sweatfree procurement policies take advantage of institutional leverage to support worker struggles for better working conditions. The policies require suppliers to meet international fair labor standards, disclose factory locations, provide evidence of compliance, cooperate with investigations when there are credible complaints, and implement corrective action when the violations are substantiated. If companies fail to take corrective action they can be fined, barred from bidding on future contracts, and contracts can be terminated. Thus, complaints are integral to the success of the sweatfree policies, because it is through the process of complaints – investigations – corrective action that working conditions improve.

In order to enforce complaints-driven policies, public institutions need an affordable and effective system of independent monitor-

ing to investigate allegations of sweatshop abuses, and develop and monitor a program of corrective action that brings factories into compliance with institutional requirements. Given overlap in supply chains, a consortium of cities, states, counties, and school districts can pool resources for monitoring, investigation, and compliance services in order to minimize the cost for each entity and maximize leverage with companies.

The Worker Rights Consortium

The Worker Rights Consortium (WRC) is a non-profit organization created by college and university administrations, students and labor rights experts to help enforce manufacturing Codes of Conduct adopted by colleges and universities designed to protect the rights of workers producing goods with university names and logos. Currently over 150 colleges and universities are affiliated with the WRC.

In response to inquiries from youth anti-sweatshop organizations for help with enforcement of their schools’ sweatfree purchasing policies, the WRC created an affiliation category for individual secondary schools in 2004. The WRC has also resolved to work with individual states, cities, and school districts on a temporary and experimental basis to conduct independent monitoring pilot projects and to advise these institutions on the creation of a consortium of public institutions that pool resources for code compliance services.

In the independent monitoring pilot projects, public institutions and the WRC will work in partnership to enforce codes of conduct based on a shared commitment to certain principles and methodology, including:

- Public disclosure of factory locations.
- Public disclosure of results of factory investigations.
- Emphasis on continuous improvement with the understanding that improving conditions is not a one-time action.
- An understanding that codes are only effective if they are used to press for improved conditions.
- Contracts with vendors and factories should not be severed except as a last resort.

The WRC will provide to public institutions the following compliance services:

- Study of vendor supply chains in order to identify potential areas of concern with respect to code of conduct compliance and to determine priorities for monitoring and enforcement based on the

level of risk of violations in countries with the heaviest concentration of supplier factories.

- Education and outreach to workers and worker-allied organizations in the United States and in other countries where there is a substantial concentration of factories supplying institutional vendors in order to inform workers of the requirements of the sweat-free procurement laws and the means through which they can make complaints about violations of the laws in their workplace.
- Independent monitoring of institutional supplier factories in order to identify potential violations of the policy. The primary method of monitoring is confidential interviews with workers, conducted away from the factory, under conditions that make it possible for workers to speak candidly without fear of retaliation. Monitoring also includes factory visits, interviews with factory managers, and collection of documentary evidence pertaining to potential violations of the policy.
- Investigations of allegations of worker rights violations at institutional supplier factories. Each investigation includes an initial review of allegations to determine whether an investigation is warranted; extensive evidence gathering through off-site worker interviews, interviews with factory managers and supervisors, and review of documentary material; if warranted, recommendations for corrective action in close consultation with workers and their representatives; consultations with the vendor and/or factory to develop and implement the corrective action plan; and a detailed public report on investigative findings, including the recommended corrective actions, and the extent to which these recommendations have been implemented.

Requirements of Public Institutions

In order to participate in an independent monitoring pilot project with the Worker Rights Consortium, public institutions should have taken, or agree to pursue the following steps:

- Adopt a manufacturing code of conduct and incorporate it in applicable vendor contracts. The code of conduct should provide basic protections for workers in the following areas: wages, hours of work and overtime compensation, freedom of association, workplace health and safety, women's rights, child labor and forced labor, harassment and abuse in the workplace, non-discrimination, and compliance with local law.
- Require vendors to publicly disclose the names and locations of all factories involved in the production of the products to be monitored.
- Advise vendors about their obligations under the sweatfree purchasing policy; the methods through which they and their factory suppliers can ensure compliance with the policy; the methods used by the independent monitoring organization for investigating complaints and rectifying worker rights violations; and expectations of vendors and factory suppliers in the event of a worker rights complaint.

- In the event of a worker rights complaint, consult with the independent monitor to determine the validity of the complaint, appropriate steps of corrective action, and the adequacy of vendor and factory responses. The institution should work with the vendor, the supplier factory, and the independent monitor to ensure any worker rights violations are corrected.
- Establish a Sweatfree Advisory Committee in order to discuss and evaluate the use of independent monitoring for code of conduct enforcement and the benefits and limitations of collaborating with other public entities.
- Contribute to the cost of the independent monitoring project, approximately 1% of the procurement budget for the items being monitored.

Local Monitoring and Activism

Public education is integral to complaints-based sweatfree procurement policies because public visibility can provide critical incentive for brands to comply with a code of conduct. Local sweatfree campaigns can educate their community about the code of conduct requirements adopted by local institutions, the major companies that benefit from public contracts and have adopted the code of conduct, and how sweatshop workers can use the code of conduct to obtain better working conditions. Local campaigns can also establish direct relations with workers that produce for their institutions, and help to bring them (or at least their voices) to the local community to create strong and lasting relations of solidarity. Finally, local campaigns can work in partnership with the local Sweatfree Advisory Committee or institutional purchasing staff to ensure that the institution is implementing the policy according to the law. Specific roles for a local sweatfree campaign can include:

- Monitoring contracts to ensure that there are no obvious inaccuracies and omissions in the disclosure information.
- Challenging contracts if workers or worker-advocacy organizations allege worker rights violations.
- Participating in speaking tours for workers producing for local institutions.

Joint Pilot Projects with the Worker Rights Consortium

The City of Los Angeles is the first public institution to pilot an independent monitoring project with the Worker Rights Consortium. The City of San Francisco is also expected to contract with the WRC to help enforce its recent sweatfree procurement ordinance. Each pilot project costs \$50,000.

By participating in joint WRC pilot projects with other public institutions that have adopted, or agreed to adopt, codes of conduct for suppliers of goods and services schools, cities and states can significantly increase market demand for fair labor conditions, while reducing the cost of monitoring and investigation to each entity. For a combined \$50,000 the WRC will consult with Purchasing Agents to review state disclosure information; study the vendor supply chains in order to determine potential areas of concern; monitor factories in order to identify potential violations of the Code of Conduct; and conduct two investigations of allegations of worker rights violations. In addition, the WRC will consult with public institutions on creating a consortium to enforce sweatfree procurement policies.

This consortium can also consider collective purchasing in order to consolidate purchasing power with a limited number of suppliers and factories. By concentrating purchasing power, sweat-free schools, cities and states can ensure that their purchasing practices are fair, and that factories receive sufficient orders from sweatfree purchasers that agree to terms of payment and delivery schedules that ensure factories can lift standards for workers.

Leading the Struggle Against Sweatshops

Creating market demand for fair labor standards is an increasingly important strategy in the anti-sweatshop movement. Surveys as well as behavioral studies demonstrate consumer preference for sweatfree products even if they are more expensive. Increasing numbers of universities, colleges, civic organizations, small businesses, religious organizations, and public purchasers seek to purchase only products made in humane conditions. Retail and manufacturing entrepreneurs in the United States and overseas are marketing to conscientious consumers by guaranteeing fair labor standards. Ultimately, ending the scourge of sweatshops will require individuals, civic organizations, businesses, and state and local governments coming together to demand justice and dignity in the workplace. The pilot programs in independent monitoring represent an opportunity for your school, city or state to take the lead in the fight against sweatshops.

For more information:

Worker Rights Consortium
www.workersrights.org
202-387-4884

To take action in your community, contact SweatFree Communities or Global Exchange.

Ontario Activists Win Independent Monitoring in Catholic School Districts

After three years of campaigning led by Toronto catholic school students, the Toronto Catholic District School Board (TCDSB) passed a "Sweatshop-Free Uniform Policy" February 8th which sets minimum standards for suppliers of apparel to area schools.

TCDSB voted unanimously to revise its policy to apply to all apparel purchased by the Board and to require full public disclosure of factory locations. In addition, the TCDSB voted to join eight other Ontario catholic school boards in a two-year pilot project with the Worker Rights Consortium to verify conditions in supplier factories.

Trustees repeatedly cited the student leadership and dedication to the issue as the main reason for adopting the revised policy.

For more information: www.maquilasolidarity.org

Sweatfree Purchasing and Trade Rules: Implications for State and Local Governments

Until recently, we could assume that the system of government purchasing was a matter of national or local prerogative, maybe contested in legislatures, but not questioned as an issue of sovereign right of democratically elected governments to determine. However, the U.S. is the prime mover in the initiative to subject government purchasing to trade rules designed to open lucrative government procurement markets to transnational corporations. While these rules address legitimate concerns about corruption and lack of transparency in decision-making, they also would require that:

- Government purchasing is "non-discriminatory;" that is, that like goods are treated in a like manner, no matter who made them or in what human rights or working conditions.
- Foreign companies are treated at least as well as domestic ones, even if a local government wants to promote local business for economic development reasons.
- Companies from every country receive the best treatment that other countries get, no matter their human rights records.
- Supplier qualifications are limited to those necessary to ensure product quality, and do not include issues related to methods of production.

In short, it had to abide by trade rules for government procurement, a government could not easily apply purchasing criteria other than cost and performance.

So, do the trade rules on government purchasing bind state and local governments?

First, as a general principle, sub-national governments are only covered in the procurement deals if they voluntarily offer their government procurement markets in particular trade agreements. The United States Trade Representative office (USTR) usually asks each state for their consent, before binding them to the trade rules. Even though USTR only consults with the Governor's office, anti-sweatshop activists can insert themselves in this process either by getting the ear of the Governor, or by demanding that the Governor only consents to the trade rules following a decision by the Legislature.

Second, the procurement rules in trade agreements thus far do not apply to U.S. cities, school districts, counties, or other public entities. By contrast, the Central America Free Trade Agreement's (CAFTA) government procurement rules do cover Central American cities and other public institutions.

Third, NAFTA's Chapter on Government Procurement only applies to federal government entities. The World Trade Organization's Government Procurement Agreement only covers 26 mostly wealthy countries, and does not apply to production taking place in most developing countries. Thirty-seven states

have committed to the rules of this WTO agreement, and only 21 states are bound by the government procurement rules of CAFTA. Some states are also bound by government procurement rules in bilateral trade agreements, including agreements with Chile, Singapore, and Australia.

Fourth, the procurement thresholds in the trade agreements are generally very high, excluding all but the most lucrative contracts.

Fifth, no trade agreement automatically invalidates a local or state law. While it is very likely that the USTR will continue to push aggressively to expand the scope of the procurement rules in the trade agreements, a state or local sweatfree procurement measure can only be invalidated if it is successfully challenged as a "non-tariff barrier to trade" in a WTO or regional trade tribunal. This is a very long and complicated process, and potentially costly – in political terms – for the challenging party.

Imagine if a foreign country or corporation tried to tell your city or state that it would have to accept sweatshop products despite the democratically adopted sweatfree purchasing law. Can you hear the outcry of dismay from all corners of your community and from members of all political stripes concerned not just with human rights and worker abuse, but also with this threat to local sovereignty? Such a challenge could galvanize a much stronger movement against unfair trade rules.

Local activists should continue demanding products made with dignity. The more towns, cities, and states across the U.S. adopt sweatfree purchasing policies, the more likely it is that government purchasing will remain an area of national and local sovereignty, subject to democratic decision-making, and not to trade rules authored by transnational corporations.

To learn more about government procurement rules in the trade agreements, and to work together with other groups to stop unfair trade deals, contact Public Citizen's Global Trade Watch: gwinfo@citizen.org or 202-454-5193.

Sweatfree Toolkit: How Your Community Can Help End Sweatshops

Trainers Guide



Workers at Just Garments, a unionized factory in El Salvador, attend a workshop offered by a labor education project.



Volunteers model sweatfree clothing at a fashion show organized by CUSO and Oxfam Canada in Calgary, Alberta.

Workshop Overview

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Closing and Evaluation

- Summarize main points
- Pass out literature
- Publicize upcoming events, meetings, actions

Resources consulted in developing this packet:

“CWS Workshop Guidelines” by Challenging White Supremacy Workshop.

“FTAA for Beginners: Trainers Guide” (2001) by United for a Fair Economy.

National Labor Committee, www.nlcnet.org.

“Outsourcing: The Fair Globalization Solution” (2004) by United for a Fair Economy. Rethinking Globalization (2002) by Rethinking Schools.

“Stop Sweatshops Educator's Handbook” (2000) by Maquila Solidarity Network.

The Checking the Label activity is widely known. Trade Rules Behind the Scenes was developed by Sara Johnson of Public Citizen. The other activities in this workshop guide were developed by Liana Foxvog of SweatFree Communities.

Designing the agenda

This packet includes many activities to choose from in creating a workshop. The activities you choose should depend on time allotted and the audience. For a group of high school students, who are not yet working on a campaign, a 2 hour workshop might include: Checking the Label, Sweatshops Brainstorm, Stakeholders in the Garment Industry, Crunching the Numbers, and Action Brainstorm.

For a group of people (youth and adults alike) who are dedicated to working on a sweatfree campaign, a 2-3 hour workshop might include: Answering Difficult Questions, The Nitty Gritty of a Sweatfree Campaign (Parts 1 and 2), and What is in a Sweatfree Policy?

In order to lead “What is in a Sweatfree Policy?” the facilitator should be familiar with the Sample Sweatfree Code & Policy and have some familiarity with a few policies that have been adopted. These resources are available online at www.sweatfree.org. To lead “Trade Rules Behind the Scenes” the facilitator should be comfortable talking about international trade agreements and rules on government procurement that are in the negotiating process.

During the workshop, it is helpful for the facilitator to provide examples of current sweatfree campaigns and how institutions with sweatfree policies have played a key role in successful international solidarity campaigns.

With any activity, it is important for the facilitator to be able to openly acknowledge it when they do not know the answer to a question. Identifying unanswered questions gives us our “to do” list. Bring contact information for resource organizations to point people to who want to learn more.

Advance preparation

Having answers to these questions in advance will help you prepare.

What is the space like? Is there room to move around? Movable chairs so small groups can gather? Is amplified sound needed? With a small or medium size group, it is nice to sit in a circle.

How many people? The design of the activities is different depending on numbers – In a large group, it may make sense to lecture more and to have a co-facilitator to help with the interactive parts.

Who is the audience? Age? Constituency – students, union members, social justice organizers, faith-based, unemployed, outsourced workers? Current involvement in a sweatfree campaign or in other social justice work? Do they know each other already?

At the workshop: In the beginning of the workshop, give a few minutes for a quick go around, in which each participant to shares their name, group, and current involvement in sweatfree organizing. This will give you idea of who is in the room, and how to target your message.

Popular education

We strive to use the popular education method in our workshops. This includes:

- Challenging unequal power relations and drawing on people's experience by recognizing that everyone – participants and facilitator alike – can share, teach, and learn.
- Orienting people toward a cycle of action and reflection by providing organizing tools.

Creating Anti-Racist Group Dynamics

As facilitator, you set the tone of the workshop. Actively working to build an anti-racist and anti-sexist dynamic in the group will help create a comfortable environment where people are heard and where learning and creative discovery takes place.

In our economic justice work, we seek to challenge oppression and injustice in our society. One small and yet profound way to do this in our own groups is by challenging educational models and

group dynamics that value some voices more than others. These are facilitation practices that can help create an equitable group dynamic and comfortable learning environment:

- In a workshop where people do not know each other, and especially with a diverse group of people, a good practice is to post the workshop guidelines below on the wall and review them in the beginning. Even if you do not post them on the wall, in your introduction to the workshop, it is useful to state your intention for group dynamics.
- When people raise their hands to speak, first call on people who have not spoken before. Prioritize the voices of people who are part of social groups that are traditionally silenced—people of color, youth, women, people with disabilities, openly LGBT people.
- In the beginning of the workshop, it is good to mention that you hope to engage everyone's participation and that you recognize that everyone brings experience and questions to the room. Later on, if someone is dominating the discussion, you can remind the group of the intention established in the beginning.
- When a number of people want to talk at once, it is useful to call “stack”. Give each of them a number – giving numbers 1 and 2 to people who have been heard less – and then call through the numbers. If the point was already made, encourage participants to pass when it is their turn.

Workshop Guidelines:

- Speak from your heart and experience. Use “I” statements.
- We are not here to judge each other, put each other down or compete.
- Listen to the wisdom everyone brings to the group.
- Give each person the time and space to speak.
- Practice active listening. Respect the person. Challenge the behavior.
- Prioritize voices of youth, women, people of color, quiet people.
- Step up if you are often quiet. Step back if you find yourself speaking a lot.

Checking the Label (10-30 minutes)

Materials: world map taped on wall, post-its

This hands-on and participatory activity is widely used by anti-sweatshop educators. It works well as an opening activity and as a way to get to deeper conversation about the sweatshop economy. Depending on the group you are working with, it may be wise to survey the group to see if they have done the activity before.

Pass out post-its, one per person. Ask the participants to pair up and check one label on each other's shirt or shoes, write the brand name and the country of manufacture on the post-it, and pin it to the world map. Variation: If the audience is large, participants can shout out the countries and volunteers mark the map.

Talking point before the exercise:

- We are looking to identify what countries our clothing comes from. This is not about judging anyone due to where their clothes are made. In fact, most major brands make most of their clothes in sweatshops.

Debrief questions and talking points (depending on time, choose a couple or go through all):

- **Corporate profit:** What parts of the world are the brands based in? Companies put much more of their money into advertising and trying to “brand” us than they do into worker wages. In fact, garment worker wages are often only 1% of the store price.
- **Race to the bottom:** What parts of the world were most of the clothes made in? Why these countries? The race to the bottom refers to corporations seeking cheaper and cheaper places to produce their goods.
- **Sweatshop conditions:** Imagine the person who made your clothes. What do you think their working conditions are like?
- **Made in USA:** Whose clothes are made in the USA? Does anyone's label say “Union Made”? Made In USA does not equal sweatshop-free. The overwhelming majority of garment workers in the U.S. are immigrant women. In fact, the Department of Labor estimates that more than 50% of the garment factories in the U.S. are sweatshops. Also, many clothes marked “Made In USA” are sewn in U.S. territories in conditions of indentured servitude. Sweatfree sources of clothing are currently few, but they do exist both in the U.S. and abroad, and we can build the numbers by organizing. When we buy products made by worker owned or unionized workplaces we know that workers have a voice on the job, even if they are in the midst of struggling to improve conditions.
- **The global system:** The map gives us a glimpse at the global production system. What rules and conditions have to be in place for a global production system like this to work?

Sweatshops and Us Bingo (10-15 minutes)²

Materials: Copies of Sweatshops and Us Bingo Card.

This is a great interactive ice-breaker, especially in a group where participants do not know each other. Participants wander around and introduce themselves to each other while collecting signatures from people for whom the statements are true. Encourage participants to move on to another person after one or two questions. Depending on time and number of participants, make the goal either who can complete their card first or who can complete a row first.

The Bingo Card is included on the next page.

A few answers to the points on the card:

Places that have achieved sweatfree policies are listed at www.sweatfree.org

Triangle Shirtwaist Factory fire: On March 26, 1911, 146 workers, mostly young women, died in the fire that was one of the greatest industrial tragedies in U.S. history.

ILO: International Labor Organization.

Three brands: Any major brands that are not known as union-only, are using sweatshops.

Union in US: UNITE HERE organizes garment workers (and other industries) in the US.

Travel: Remember, the U.S. also counts as a country with sweatshops.

WRC: Worker Rights Consortium, an independent monitoring organization started by the U.S. student anti-sweatshop movement. See www.workerrights.org for more info.

Key policy elements: Some key elements are: no child labor, right to unionize, ILO standards and local laws, factory disclosure, non-poverty wage, compliance for contractors and subcontractors, independent monitoring, etc. For more detail, see SweatFree Communities Sample Code & Policy.

Debrief: Any surprises? Any questions?

² Ideas for "Sweatshops and Us Bingo" borrowed from "Stop Sweatshops Educator's Handbook" by Maquila Solidarity Network (2000), and "Outsourcing: The Fair Globalization Solution – Participant Handout Packet" (2004) by United for a Fair Economy.

Sweatshops and Us Bingo Card

I know one source of sweat-free clothes	I know of a city or school where organizers have achieved a sweat-free policy	I know someone whose job was outsourced	I buy second hand clothes	I do not have health insurance
I am a union member	I have written a letter to a company that uses sweatshops	I have bought university apparel with a logo	I can name an anti-sweatshop organization	I have heard of the Triangle Shirtwaist Factory fire
I know what ILO means	I am wearing a shirt made in another country	I know what a "maquila" is	I have invested in a company that out-sources	I can name three brands that use sweatshops
I know what union in the U.S. organizes garment workers	I want to be active in a sweatfree campaign	I speak more than one language	I know someone who has worked in a sweatshop	I have spent time in a country that has sweatshops
I can name 5 countries that have sweatshops	I don't have health insurance	I know what the WRC is	I have chosen to not buy a particular brand because of their labor practices	I know the key elements of a sweat-free purchasing policy

Sweatshops Brainstorm (10-15 minutes)

This activity will bring out knowledge and experience that participants bring to the room, and give them an opportunity to see each other as resources. It should help you as facilitator determine what information is important to cover during the session. Use only with small or medium size groups.

Ask the following two questions of each participant, going around the room:

- What is one thing you know about sweatshops?
- What is one question you have?

Write up responses on the board, including inaccurate information.

Points to make after the go-around:

- As we can see from this quick survey of information in the room, we already have a lot of collective knowledge and experience.
- During the workshop, let's keep these questions in mind, and please raise them again if they are not addressed during the course of the workshop.

Before moving on to the next activity, take a moment to correct any inaccurate information that was given during the brainstorm and see if there are any pressing questions that cannot wait.

Answering Difficult Questions (20-30 minutes)

Opening: "Have you ever been stumped by a challenging question when talking with a friend about sweatshops? In this exercise we will identify some of the myths about the sweatshop economy and learn how to respond to common questions that we hear as organizers. First, let's brainstorm together..."

I. Brainstorm:

What are some myths or challenging questions about anti-sweatshop work that you've heard?

Some examples that we have heard:

Workers take the jobs, so they must be fine, right?

A sweatshop job is better than nothing

Sweatshop workers are already paid enough by the standards of the country where they work

Do not boycotts hurt workers, so what's the point?

Sweatfree costs too much

My shirt says Made in U.S., so that's good, right?

Sweatshops are a natural stage of economic development

Some of these questions, such as those about cost and Made In U.S., stem from misinformation. It is important to provide the group facts that will give them the information to be able to respond to these questions in an educational way.

Some of the common questions show a lack of understanding about organizing strategy. For example, the anti-sweatshop movement rarely calls for boycotts and only as a last resort as part of a larger strategy. Organizing is focused on leveraging consumer and political power to pressure companies to work toward fair labor conditions. Many common questions come out of an individual-

ist, rather than a collective, approach. Rather than spending workshop time discussing where each of us individually should buy from, it is important to emphasize that where we make a difference is through collective organizing, and keep the focus on education about sweatfree purchasing policies and the difference they can make.

See the attached sheet titled "Answering Difficult Questions" for some ways to respond to these questions and further resources. If necessary, after the brainstorm, go through the questions with the group, and discuss ways to respond.

II. Roleplay

After the brainstorm and ensuing discussion, divide the group into pairs. Person A is a sweatfree organizer. Person B is a skeptical but curious friend, who will ask some of the common questions. Ask them to roleplay for a few minutes. Then call time and have partners switch roles, again for a few minutes. If participants are not very familiar with anti-sweatshop organizing, it works well to divide people into four person discussion groups, with two as organizers and two as skeptical friends.

III. Debrief

After the roleplay, bring the group together for a debrief discussion. What questions were the hardest to answer? Why? What additional information do you need to be an informed and articulate sweatfree advocate? If you did not already discuss the questions one by one in the large group, this is a good point to do it, so that unfamiliar students can catch up to more advanced students. To finish, pass out copies of the "Answering Difficult Questions" handout.

Crunching the Numbers (10 minutes)

A little bit of sweatshop economy math can be illuminating for the group. Facilitators will see eyes widen during this activity.

I. Many sweatshop workers earn the minimum wage for their country.

In many countries, the minimum wage is only a percentage of the estimated living wage. Workers are not asking for much. They want to be treated with dignity and earn enough to feed their children. What if we doubled the worker wage – what would be the new price of the item?

Example: In 2003, workers at a Honduras factory who sewed for rapper Sean John “P. Diddy” Combs earned a total of \$0.15 per shirt. The same t-shirts were sold in the U.S. for \$40. If the wage of Honduran workers was doubled and all other costs remained the same, what would be the new store price?

Answer: The new store price is \$40.15. In many groups, one of the first answers we hear is often \$80 – when these participants are corrected they are usually amazed at how little the price goes up and wonder why companies do not have the heart to pay higher wages. In this example, the wage of garment workers is less than half a percent of the store price of shirts they sew.

(Anyone still stumped by the calculation can look here: Of the original \$40 store price, \$0.15 went to workers. So \$39.85 went to other costs and profits. To double the worker wage, we add another \$0.15 to the price. $\$40 + \$0.15 = \$40.15$.)

"Get workers involved in making the Code of Conduct. Pay a living wage, about \$102 (per month for the basic wage), and improve health and safety standards (gloves and masks, ergonomic chairs, end sexual harassment)."

– Antoni Silo, Indonesian labor organizer on what Nike needs to do

II. Who profits from sweatshops?

Present these numbers to students and have a discussion about the wide inequality gaps. You can ask the group to guess the numbers. After one guess, write down the actual number.

- In 2004,⁴ golfer Tiger Woods won a \$100 million endorsement deal from Nike.
- Nike CEO Phil Knight earned a total compensation of \$4.2 million in 2004.
- In 2003, Phil Knight ranked 31st richest person in the U.S. with a worth of \$5.8 billion.⁵
- The hourly wage of Indonesian Nike workers: \$0.17.⁶
- Their annual wage is \$444.⁷
- In 1999, it was estimated that there are 80,000 Nike workers in Indonesia.⁸

It would cost \$35.5 million to double the yearly wage of Nike Indonesia workers.

Do you think Nike can afford that?

Why does not Nike pay workers more? What can we do to change that?

³ The Sean John data is from the National Labor Committee, www.nlcnet.org/campaigns/setisa

⁴ "Nike endorsements up to \$1.7B" CNN Money. August, 2, 2004. http://money.cnn.com/2004/08/02/news/fortune500/nike_endorsements/ (Tiger Woods and Phil Knight compensation data.)

⁵ Rankin, Deborah. "Trust Raises Millions from Nike Stock Sale." Portland Tribune. November 25, 2003. In the end of 2004, Phil Knight retired from his CEO position.

⁶ Research conducted by Educating for Justice in 2000. <http://www.educatingforjustice.org/nikewages/workerswages.html>

⁷ Taking monthly wage provided by Educating for Justice: $\$37 \times 12 \text{ months} = \444 per year.

⁸ "Behind the Swoosh: Facts About Nike," by the Victoria International Development Education Association (VIDEA), www.vida.ca

Stakeholders in the Garment Industry

(10–20 minutes)

Draw a table on the board. Title the sections: Brand CEO, Workers in poor country, US consumers, US factory workers. Ask participants what they think the interests of each of these different groups are. Write in bulleted key points. Below is an example of what the table might end up looking like.

<p>Brand CEO</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • maximize profits • minimize costs • build brand loyalty 	<p>US consumers</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • cheap goods • good quality • cool brands • (fair labor conditions?)
<p>Workers in poor country</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • decent treatment and dignity on job • receive full wages that are owed • ability to afford food, housing, healthcare • ability to organize union without repression 	<p>US factory workers</p> <p>same basic needs as poor country workers + higher expectations of benefits, etc.</p>

Questions and discussion:

- Once the brainstorm is over, we often add “fair labor conditions?” in the US consumers category. Why did not anyone list this during the brainstorm? Do you think that many consumers buy with a conscience? Why not?
- Are there any conflicting interests between these stakeholders? Give anyone who raises their hand a marker and ask them to come to the board to mark conflicting interests and provide a brief explanation to the rest of the group.
- Dismal working conditions are a direct result of company interests in maximizing profits and minimizing costs. The way to interrupt the race to the bottom is to organize large purchasers to not tolerate sweatshop-made goods and build a market for fair labor standards.
- Notice that the interests of garment workers in poor countries and in the United States are mostly the same. We need to overcome protectionist inclinations imposed on us by the corporate media. Everyone has a right to a decent job. By building labor solidarity alliances across borders we can show that it comes down to the interests of the people vs. the interests of the corporations, and that the people's interests are universal. What are some examples of global solidarity work?
- What laws and regulations protect these stakeholder interests? Examples: ILO rules protect workers' right to unionize and to collective bargaining. In many places local laws also protect union rights and set limits on work day length. The rules of the World Trade Organization and bilateral and regional free trade agreements support company interests of maximizing profits: Their laws do not include enforceable worker rights provisions. Furthermore, they provide international tribunals where companies can challenge environmental and labor laws that might be seen as a “barrier to trade”.

Trade Rules Behind the Scenes (30-45 minutes)

This activity should be led by a facilitator who has a working familiarity with trade agreements and rules related to government procurement. Ideally, there would be two facilitators, one to partner with each group.

Divide half the group into CEOs and half the group into citizens. Hand roles to CEOs (different companies: General Motors CEO, Gap CEO, Nike CEO, Monsanto CEO, etc.) and to citizens (auto factory worker, garment worker, farmer, schoolteacher, union organizer, etc.).

Give each group 10-15 minutes. The CEOs should come up with five rules to govern global trade based on their self interests. The citizens should come up with five purchasing policies for their state to help protect their self interests and social justice beliefs.

Here is an example of what the group might come up with:

Purchasing policies

All products purchased should meet SweatFree Communities Sample Policy

Mandatory preference for products and services produced in the state

Mandatory preference for organic products

Mandatory preference for “green” products, i.e. recycled content, renewable energy

(Mandatory preference = state has to buy it if it is available)

Trade rules

Investor rights without restrictions for businesses

Free movement of goods and services (no tariffs)

Preferential purchasing policies are illegal

Right to get a redress for unfair treatment in the marketplace

Voluntary codes of conduct and self monitoring

Follow the exercise with a presentation about what exists in current trade agreements and information about agreements in the negotiation process. Provide information about key clauses in the SweatFree Communities Sample Policy.

This activity is based on a workshop Sara Johnson of Public Citizen led at SweatFree Communities' May 2003 conference. For more information about trade rules related to government procurement, consult www.citizen.org or contact Public Citizen at 202-588-1000.

For more educational activities about free trade, see United for a Fair Economy's workshops available through www.faireconomy.org: “Globalization for Beginners” and “FTAA for Beginners”.

What is in a Sweatfree Policy? (30-45 minutes)

Materials: Copies of Core Elements of a Sweatfree Procurement Policy and Sample Code & Policy, both produced by SweatFree Communities, and available at www.sweatfree.org and in the SweatFree Communities Organizing Guide.

Often in workshops the goal is to inspire people to dedicate themselves to learning more and taking action. With that kind of group, this activity is not appropriate. Other groups will already be building a sweatfree campaign and are interested in more specific technical information, and for them this is a useful activity.

After doing a quick Sweatshops Brainstorm, go into these following discussion questions. If some members of the group are familiar with the information, draw out their expertise. In other groups, you may only get limited responses to the questions from the audience. Nonetheless, ask the questions – it is how you identify knowledge in the group. Then proceed to give short presentations on each question where needed.

Questions for discussion and presentation:

What rules currently govern manufacturing and trade? (ILO, local laws, international trade agreements)

What can we achieve with sweatfree purchasing policies?

What are the key elements of a sweatfree purchasing policy? What is the reasoning behind them? **Activity options:**

- Pick a few elements to focus on in your presentation.
- Pass out Core Elements of a Sweatfree Procurement Policy (short version). Give participants 10 minutes to read it. Ask for clarifying questions and base your presentation off the questions.
- Divide the group into smaller groups and give each group one section of the Core Elements of a Sweatfree Procurement Policy to study and discuss. After 10 minutes, ask each group to give a brief presentation on their section to the larger group. Between presentations, add in clarifying information and answer outstanding questions.

Allow time for further discussion on what we can achieve with sweatfree policies.

(For an exercise on how to achieve a sweatfree policy, see The Nitty Gritty of a Sweatfree Campaign.)

The Nitty Gritty of a Sweatfree Campaign (1 hour)

PART 1: Sweatfree campaign overview (30 minutes)

Review the goal of a sweatfree purchasing policy:

An institutional sweatfree procurement policy is, in large part, a movement-building tool, supporting a solidarity strategy between organized consumers and organized workers. The higher the standards in the policy, and the stronger the enforcement mechanisms, the better the tool it is. Better policies can contribute to stronger movements, while stronger movements make the policies more effective, ultimately creating more humane working conditions, higher wages, and more power for workers over workplace policies.

Present a brief overview of campaign steps.

Divide the large group into four small groups:

Group A- Research

Group B- Build a Coalition, Organize the Group

Group C- Educate, Work with the Media

Group D- Evaluate the Political Climate, Make Your Case to the Elected Body

Group D- Implementation and Monitoring

Pass out copies of the Organizing Guide or copies of “Running a Successful Campaign” to each participant. If all participants will be working on a public schools campaign or a city council campaign, then also provide that hand-out from the organizing guide. Ask participants to discuss the key elements of the campaign step together.

After 10 minutes, bring the large group together, and ask for a report back from each group.

PART 2: Making an action plan for your community (20 minutes)

During this activity, participants make a plan for building a sweatfree campaign or developing their current campaign. By taking workshop time to make an initial plan, participants are more likely to get moving with it after the workshop. Refer to campaign outlines in the organizing guide.

Divide participants into small groups. If there are people who will be organizing together have them form a group. Give groups 10-15 minutes to build a plan for how they will apply the organizing steps to their own campaign. Ask participants to write down their plan.

In the break-out, people interested in starting a sweatfree campaign should consider questions such as:

- Identifying the campaign goal
- Identifying who are their natural allies: Write down names of specific groups and individuals. Identify where relationships need to be built and who will contact who.
- Making a plan for an initial planning meeting: Identify agenda, invitees, when, where, and publicity plan.

People who have achieved a sweatfree policy, but are working toward implementation, can either advise other groups or build a plan for enforcing the policy.

Action Brainstorm (10-15 minutes)

Any workshop related to organizing should conclude with solid information in response to the question that is always bound to come up: “What can we do?” If the group is too new to the issue of sweatshops or is not yet committed to organizing a campaign, “The Nitty Gritty of a Sweatfree Campaign” will not be relevant. In that case this is a simple activity to squeeze into the end of an informational workshop that can take as little as 10 minutes.

I. Brainstorm: What can we do about sweatshops?

Write answers on the board as the group calls them out. Order them in two columns based on whether they are individual or collective activities. For example, “write a letter to a company” goes in the individual category whereas “run a letter writing campaign targeting a company in support of a worker struggle” goes in the collective column. Do not title the columns yet.

II. Provide action ideas and information about sweatfree campaigning

After brainstorming for a few minutes, title the columns “individual”, “collective”, and add a third column “do nothing” for laughs. About the “individual” column explain: While many of us choose to do these things because it feels ethical, we have more power when we exercise our conscience collectively. Direct the conversation to briefly provide information about successful corporate campaigns. Make sure to explain why the sweatfree approach is making a difference and point people who want to get active to resources.

Ask people who want to be in touch about sweatfree campaigning to provide their contact information. Provide resources for people who want to get more involved: Organizing Guide copies, the SweatFree Communities website – www.sweatfree.org, and any informational hand-outs.

Some people may want to talk about how it is hard to find sweatfree goods to buy or will want to be acknowledged because they can only afford Wal-Mart prices. Acknowledge these feelings and direct the conversation toward collective action.

Examples of bridging:

- “It is hard to find sweatfree goods unless we shop on the Internet or know where to look; that's why we're working with our public and private institutions to build large-scale demand for sweatfree.”
- “That's why we're focused on institutional purchasing – it is where we can make a difference. Even if you cannot afford to shop at places other than Wal-Mart, our public and private institutions can. And actually price of sweatfree is not that much more than sweatshop-made. Shouldn't we be demanding that our tax payer money goes to the lowest responsible bidder rather than to bids that can only be met with sweatshop labor?”

Sweatfree Toolkit: How Your Community Can Help End Sweatshops

Resources



"Just Do It, With Justice! Support Fair Trade." Worker-owners from Fair Trade Zone, a Nicaraguan sewing cooperative visit the New York State Labor-Religion Coalition in Albany, New York.

How Do I Find Sweatfree Apparel?

We know that there are places where workers have jobs with dignity, but how do we identify sweatfree clothes on store shelves?

The "made in the U.S.A." label is not a reliable sweat-free indicator. The U.S. Department of Labor estimates that two-thirds of garment shops in New York and southern California are sweatshops. No major brand-name can be certified "sweatfree" because production facilities, and even the conditions within individual factories, change rapidly.

In the long term, sweatfree purchasing campaigns aim to create market demand for a reliable sweatfree labeling system. But at this point there is no independent third party certification system for sweatfree apparel.

For the immediate future, there are a number of good Internet sources for sweatfree apparel. Some of the sweatfree products on the Internet may also be available in your local stores, and if they are not, you can ask local stores to add them to their inventory (see "Working With Local Clothing Retailers and Vendors").

Internet Sweatfree Resources

Here are some websites that will help you find sweatfree retailers and products:

www.sweatfree.org/shopping List of retailers that sell apparel made by workers organized in democratic unions or worker-owned cooperatives.

www.cleanclothesconnection.org Searchable database for sweat-free apparel, footwear, and textile retailers and wholesalers with drop down menus for clothing categories.

www.shopunionmade.org Searchable database of large range of union-made products and services.

www.unitehere.org/buyunion List of suppliers of products made by the UNITE HERE union members.

www.organicconsumers.org List of organic cotton, hemp, and recycled products.

Sweatfree Labels

Labels that indicate workers are treated with dignity and respect include:



This label means that workers belong to the UNITE HERE union, have a voice on the job, and can bargain collectively for fair wages and benefits.

This label means that workers belong to the United Food and Commercial Workers Union, home to many apparel and footwear workers in the U.S. Similar to the UNITE label, it indicates that workers have a voice and can exercise their right to collective bargaining.



If you are in the market for carpets, this label tells you that the products are child-labor free.



This label tells you that the company is a member of the Fair Trade Federation and committed to a sustainable economic and ecological relationship with small producers.

Books, Films, Organizing Guides

Books

Can We Put an End to Sweatshops? Archon Fun, Dara O'Rourke, and Charles Sabel. Beacon Press, 2001. www.beacon.org

Globalization and Cross-border Labor Solidarity in the Americas: The Anti-sweatshop Movement and the Struggle for Social Justice. Ralph Armbruster-Sandoval. 2005. www.americas.org

Insurrection: Citizen Challenges to Corporate Power. Kevin Danaher and Jason Mark. Routledge, 2003. www.globalexchangestore.org

Monitoring Sweatshops: Workers, Consumers, and the Global Apparel Industry. Jill Esbenshade. 2004. www.americas.org

No Logo: Taking Aim at the Brand Bullies. Naomi Klein. St Martin's/Picador, 2000. www.nologo.org

No Sweat: Fashion, Free Trade, and the Rights of Garment Workers. Andrew Ross. 1997. www.americas.org

Rethinking Globalization: Teaching for Justice in an Unjust World. Ed. Bill Bigelow and Bob Peterson. www.rethinkingschools.org

Slaves to Fashion: Poverty and Abuse in the New Sweatshops. Robert J. S. Ross. University of Michigan Press, 2004. www.slavestofashion.com

Still Waiting For Nike To Do It. Tim Connor. 2001. www.globalexchangestore.org

Students Against Sweatshops. Lisa Featherstone. Verso 2002. www.globalexchangestore.org

Sweatshop USA: The American Sweatshop in Historical and Global Perspective. David E. Bender. 2003. www.americas.org

Sweatshop Warriors: Immigrant Women Workers Take on the Global Factory. Miriam Ching Yoon Louie. South End Press, 2001. www.southendpress.org

Teaching for Justice in the Social Studies Classroom: Millions of Intricate Moves. Andra Makler and Ruth Hubbard. Heinemann, 2000. www.heinemann.com

The Hidden Assembly Line: Gender Dynamics of Subcontracted Work in Global Economy. Radhika Balakrishnan. Kumarian Press, 2002. www.kpbooks.com

Threads: Gender, Labor, and Power in the Global Apparel Industry. Jane L. Collins. 2003. www.press.uchicago.edu

Films

Behind the Labels: Garment Workers on U.S. Saipan (45 min, 2001). Powerful hidden camera footage, along with the garment workers' personal stories. 718-783-2000 or www.witness.org

Made in LA (forthcoming 2006) The history of the garment industry in the US starting from abuses during the industrial revolution. Portrays the personal evolution of five Latina women working at modern day LA sweatshops. www.madeinla.com

Maquilapolis (forthcoming 2006) A documentary about (and by) workers in Tijuana's maquiladoras. The collaborative storytelling process allows the characters in the film to have a voice in their own representation. www.maquilapolis.com

Something to Hide (25 min, 1999). Filmed during the 1999 NLC/USAS delegation to El Salvador, this video explores factories and demands transparency, independent verification, and respect for worker and human rights. 212-242-3002 or www.nlc.vesana.com/shop

Sweating for a T-shirt (23 min, 1998) Follow the journey of a UCLA freshman through the garment industry of Honduras as she seeks to find out how her school t-shirt was made. 800-505-4410 or www.globalexchangestore.org

The Hidden Face of Globalization (30 min, 2003) Documents the lives and working conditions of the Bangladeshi factory workers producing apparel for the Walt Disney Company. Discusses the economic conditions of corporate globalization. 212-242-3002 or www.nlc.vesana.com/shop

Organizing Guides

Colours of Resistance. An excellent resource for articles about integrating an anti-oppression framework and analysis into our organizing work. www.colours.mahost.org

Guide to Campus Organizing. United Students Against Sweatshops. www.studentsagainstsweatshops.org

How To Become a NO SWEAT City: A Guide to winning and enforcing a municipal anti-sweatshop purchasing policy. Maquila Solidarity Network. www.maquilasolidarity.org

Not With Their Sweat, Not With Our Dollars!: A Guide to "Sweatfree" Procurement Laws. No More Sweatshops! www.sweatfree.org

Local Sweatfree Campaigns

See www.sweatfree.org for the most up-to-date contact information for local campaigns.

CALIFORNIA

Global Exchange
Contact: Valerie Orth
2017 Mission St. #303, San Francisco CA 94110
415-558-6938
sweatfree@globalexchange.org
Global Exchange built the coalition that won the San Francisco sweatfree policy and serves as a resource to campaigns on the West Coast.

No More Sweatshops
Contact: Tom Hayden
tomhayden@earthlink.net
Spearheaded successful campaigns to persuade the State of California, the City of Los Angeles, and the Los Angeles Unified School District to adopt sweatfree purchasing policies.

Progressive Jewish Alliance
Contact: Sarah Church
5870 West Olympic Boulevard, Los Angeles, CA, 90036
323-761-8350
schurch@pjalliance.org
A coalition partner in Los Angeles, Santa Monica, San Francisco, and State of California campaigns. Promotes sweat-free purchasing in Jewish congregations and Jewish organizations nationally.

COLORADO

Ethical Trade Action Group
Contact: Mu Son Chi
198 S. Clarkson St. #102, Denver CO 80209
720-570-4908
musonchi@gmail.com
Community coalition with initial campaign focus to achieve a sweatfree policy in Denver Public Schools.

CONNECTICUT

No Sweat Connecticut
Contact: Greater Hartford Labor Council
860-727-8785
greater.hartford@sbcglobal.net
Coalition of labor unions, students, and social justice groups organizing for a State of Connecticut sweatfree purchasing policy.

MAINE

Bangor Clean Clothes Campaign
Contact: Sean Donahue
170 Park St., Bangor ME 04401
207-947-4203
sean@pica.ws
Community-based anti-sweatshop campaign active since 1996. Has won sweatfree purchasing policies for the City of Bangor, the State of Maine, and other public and private institutions.

Clean Clothes Campaign of Southern Maine
Contact: Pauline Michaud
2 Scottow Way, Scarborough ME 04074
207-883-0156
CCCSoMe@maine.rr.com
Faith-based campaign has persuaded the City of Scarborough to pass a sweatfree purchasing policy. The campaign is working on policy implementation, and community education.

MASSACHUSETTS

Jewish Alliance for Law and Social Action
Contact: Sheila Decter
18 Tremont Street, Suite 320, Boston MA 02108
617-227-3000
sheila@jewishalliance.org
Working for workplace disclosure and monitoring purchasing law in Massachusetts legislature.

MINNESOTA

Resource Center of the Americas
Contact: Octavio Ruiz
3019 Minnehaha Avenue, Minneapolis MN 55406-1931
612-276-0788 x19
oruiz@americas.org
Led campaign to achieve Minneapolis city policy. A project of the Resource Center of the Americas, Youth Organizers (YO!) mobilizes youth to fight sweatshops and has convinced large public school districts to pass sweatfree purchasing resolutions.

NEW JERSEY

Archdiocese of Newark, Office of Human Concerns
Contact: Kay Furlani
171 Clifton Avenue, Newark NJ 07104-0500
973-497-4000 x4341
furlanca@rcan.org
Has adopted sweatfree school uniform purchasing policy for Newark Archdiocese and works with the New Jersey and U.S. Department of Labor to enforce the policy.

NEW YORK

New York State Labor-Religion Coalition
Contact: Brian O'Shaughnessy
800 Troy Schenectady Road, Latham, NY 12110-2455
518-213-6000 x6294
briano@labor-religion.org
An alliance of unions, religious institutions, and youth groups, the Coalition leads delegations to the maquiladoras along the Mexico border, promotes youth-led organizing, and has campaigned successfully for two New York State anti-sweatshop laws: Sweatfree Sports Equipment Bill, March 2003 and New York State Anti-Sweatshop Law, June 2002.

NY State Labor-Religion Coalition
Contact: Joan Malone
225 Brighton Road, Tonawanda NY 14150
716-875-2641
pruejo@earthlink.com
Leadership Conference of Women Religious' sweatfree committee has persuaded the Buffalo Diocese to adopt a sweatfree purchasing policy, and has identified both domestic and international sweatfree sources for school uniforms and t-shirts.

Central New York Labor Religion Coalition
Contact: Pete Ludden
4983 Brittonfield Parkway, PO Box 247, East Syracuse, NY 13057
315-431-4040
pludden@nysutmail.org
An alliance of unions, religious institutions and activists working for justice in employment. The coalition has participated with school districts and universities in the Central New York area in the adoption of sweatfree policies.

OHIO

InterReligious Task Force on Central America
Contact: Brian Stefan Szittai
3606 Bridge Ave, Cleveland, OH 44113
216-961-0003
irtf@igc.org
Educates in the Cleveland community about sweatshops and provides information on sweatfree purchasing.

OREGON

Portland Central America Solidarity Committee
Contact: Dan Denvir
616 E. Burnside, Portland OR 97214
503-236-7916
info@pcasc.net
Sweatfree city campaign in initial coalition building phase.

PENNSYLVANIA

Pittsburgh Anti-Sweatshop Community Alliance
Contact: Celeste Taylor
c/o Thomas Merton Center/AHI
5125 Penn Ave, Pittsburgh PA 15224
412-628-7867
pascaceleste@yahoo.com
Contact: Kenneth Miller
nosweatshopsbucco@yahoo.com
PASCA organizes for the implementation of the City of Pittsburgh and State of Connecticut sweatfree policies. Their sweatfree baseball campaign aims "community collective bargaining" with the Pittsburgh Pirates.

Philadelphia sweatfree campaign
Contact: Ricardo Hernandez, American Friends Service Committee
1501 Cherry Street, Philadelphia PA 19102
215-241-7000
rhernandez@afsc.org
Campaign for sweatfree policy in Philadelphia in initial research phase. AFSC is a key contact for groups starting to work on it.

TEXAS

Texas Fair Trade Coalition
Contact: Lesley Ramsey
1405 Montopolis Drive, Austin, TX 78741
512-472-1915
lesley@texasfairtrade.org
Coalition that organizes on trade policy in Texas. Part of an emerging coalition working toward a sweatfree city policy in Austin.

VERMONT

Child Labor Education and Action Project
Contact changes every year. See www.sweatfree.org for current contact information.
Partnership between the School for International Training and Brattleboro Union High School. Has developed child labor education curriculum adopted by over 80 Vermont schools and is pursuing a sweatfree campaign at the high school.

WASHINGTON

Community Alliance for Global Justice

Contact: Blase Bonpane

606 Maynard Ave. S. #252, Seattle, WA 98104

206-405-4600

info@seattleglobaljustice.org

Campaign for Seattle sweatfree policy in coalition building phase.

South Sound Clean Clothes Campaign

Contact: Dick Meyer, 360-705-2819,

dick@traditionsfairtrade.com

Has passed City of Olympia sweatfree purchasing resolution which is implemented in phases based on a sweatfree manufacturing list.

WISCONSIN

Madison sweatfree campaign

Contact: Liana Dalton

liana@usasnet.org

Campaign that passed Madison city sweatfree policy in fall 2005, building on student activism at University of Wisconsin.

Milwaukee Clean Clothes Campaign

Contact: Mike Howden

414-342-5284

mikejudyhowden@sbcglobal.net

Have passed sweatfree policies in Milwaukee on the city, county, and school district levels.

Anti-Sweatshop Organizations

Sweatfree Campaigns

Clean Clothes Campaign

European network of national networks against sweatshops.
www.cleanclothes.org

Coalition québécoise contre les ateliers de misère

Québec anti-sweatshop coalition based in Montréal.
514-383-2266
www.ciso.qc.ca/ateliersdemisere

Global Exchange

SweatFree, Fair Trade, and peace campaigns, speakers, global economy education.
415-558-6938
www.globalexchange.org

Musicians Against Sweatshops

Musicians and fans who are intent on driving sweatshops out of the music business.
877-992-7827
www.nosweatshop.org

Maquila Solidarity Network

Canadian anti-sweatshop network.
416-532-8584
www.maquilasolidarity.org

Presbyterian Hunger Program, PC (USA)

Educates people about sweatshops and where to purchase “sweatshop free” clothes.
800-334-0434
www.pcusa.org/pcusa/wmd/sweatfree

Progressive Jewish Alliance

Inter-generational membership organization fighting locally against sweatshops.
323-761-8350
www.pjalliance.org

SweatFree Communities

Nationwide network for local action against sweatshops.
207-262-7277 and 413-586-0974
www.sweatfree.org

UNITE HERE!

Teaching resources on sweatshops, child labor, and anti-sweatshop legislation.
212-265-7000
www.unitehere.org

United Students Against Sweatshops

Network of student activists on over 200 campuses organizing for sweatfree licensing policies.
202-NO-SWEAT
www.studentsagainstsweatshops.org

Worker Rights Consortium

Assists in the enforcement of institutional sweatfree codes of conduct.
202-387-4884
www.workersrights.org

Other Anti-Sweatshop Organizations

Americas

AFL-CIO Solidarity Center

Assists workers around the world struggling to build democratic and independent trade unions.
202-778-4500
www.solidaritycenter.org

Campaign for Labor Rights

Mobilizing grassroots support to promote economic and social justice.
202-544-9355
www.campaignforlaborrights.org

Coalition for Justice in the Maquiladoras

Supporting struggles for social, economic and environmental justice in the maquilas.
210-732-8957
www.coalitionforjustice.net

Co-op America

Empowering consumers and investors to call for an end to sweatshops.
800-58-GREEN
www.coopamerica.org and www.sweatshops.org

Educating for Justice, Inc.

Develops, produces and distributes social justice-oriented programming to educational marketplace.
732-988-7322
www.educatingforjustice.org

International Labor Rights Fund

Advocacy organization dedicated to achieving just and humane treatment for workers.
202-347-4100
www.laborrights.org

