

# **Global (Sub)Political Representation: The Clean Clothes Campaign and No Sweat Movement**

Michele Micheletti  
Department of Political Science  
Stockholm University  
Stockholm, Sweden  
[michele.micheletti@statsvet.su.se](mailto:michele.micheletti@statsvet.su.se)

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## Reconsidering Political Representation

Social science research shows that Western citizens are increasingly dissatisfied with traditional forms of political representation. Voter turnout is declining in many countries, and citizens are in one way or another less engaged with established channels for political representation. A few survey results from Scandinavia – an area generally understood as highly civic-minded, characterized by working corporatist representation, and embedded in good democratic traditions – enrich this picture of what is called a crisis of political representation and malaise redux (Norris 1995, 5). Swedes are reconsidering how they characterize model citizens. Voting in elections, involvement in civil society, and other measures of participating in representative government are losing normative appeal (Petersson et al., 1998, 130). Not only is the normative conception of good citizenship changing. Swedish citizens are now less enchanted with established forms of political representation. Fewer people are involved hands-on with political representation. Membership levels in political parties, trade unions, and other civil society organizations are waning. And, of the people who are members, fewer and fewer are actively involved in these traditional channels for political representation (Petersson et al. 1998, 57-69; Petersson et al. 2000, 66-71, SCB 2001, Table 1, 6).<sup>1</sup> Even political identity – the nuts and bolts of political representation (cf. Harrington 2002; Elliot 2002) – seems to be in trouble. For instance in Denmark, fewer citizens state that they have a party identification (Torpe 2001, 91).<sup>2</sup> Citizens are also reassessing how they view the effectiveness of different ways of participating in politics and, therefore, the effectiveness of political representation. Voting and working in parties and unions in Sweden is losing the effectiveness race. Swedes view forms of political participation not requiring a political home for representation as increasingly more effective. Now working to get media attention outranks voting as the most effective way of influencing politics, and making personal contact with influential people is closing in on voting (Petersson et al. 1998, 51-3).<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The Social Democratic Party is Sweden's largest party. In 1991 it had about 260,000 members. By 1999 the number had dropped to 164,000 (Petersson et al. 2000, 67). The other larger parties show similar trends.

<sup>2</sup> In 1971 56 percent stated that they identified with a particular party; in 1998 the number was 43 percent (Goul Andersen and Torpe, 2001, 161). Unlike Sweden the involvement levels in civil society associations have not on average decreased, but there is a drop in involvement among citizens in the category 20-29 years of age (Goul Andersen, Torpe, and Andersen 2000, 91).

<sup>3</sup> On a scale of 0 (not at all effective) to 10 (very effective) voting ranked 7.4 in 1979 and 6.3 in 1997. Media attention ranked 6.5 in 1979 and 6.9 in 1997. Personal contact with an influential person ranked 5.4 in 1979 and 5.9 in 1997. Working in a political party ranked 6.5 in 1979 and 5.3 in 1997. Working in a trading union ranked 5.9 in 1979 and 4.7 in 1997 (Petersson et al. 1998, Figure 3.1, 53).

What is worthy to note is that Scandinavians (and particularly Swedes perhaps) are not turning their back on politics, only on established forms of political representation. On average they consistently show high levels of interest in politics and their trust in the responsiveness of the political system (external political efficacy) is increasing. As individual political actors, Scandinavians are also more empowered politically: their levels of political competence or political self-confidence (internal political efficacy) increase over the years (Petersson et al. 1998, 49-53; Goul Andersen 2001, Ch. 6).

What conclusions should be drawn from these survey results? Perhaps it is the case that Scandinavian citizens are showing signs of politics avoidance (cf. Eliasoph 1998) in the sense of weariness with the routine political conflicts/party bickering of the welfare nation-state. They do not view the political system with contempt – in fact they trust it – but they seem to be reevaluating the necessity and importance of representing themselves politically in the welfare nation-state’s channels of established politics. Perhaps the social rights of citizenship – education, health care, pensions, employment, etc. – have captured traditional political representation to such an extent that other issues are smothered out of place. Can it thus be that Scandinavian citizens are beginning to believe that the important struggles over political power that require representation and participation are now taking place outside the welfare nation-state container for politics?

Other findings feed into this picture and cause scholars to wonder whether there are changing needs for representation and whether citizens are searching for new arenas for politics. Survey results are showing that citizens view the market as an arena for politics, consider corporations as carriers of political messages and important political actors – political representatives – and believe that their own consumer choices are an important form of political participation.<sup>4</sup> It seems that citizens have an urge to find new venues to express,

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<sup>4</sup> A survey result that surprised us was that 29 percent of Swedes stated that they had participated in a consumer boycott in 1997 whose purpose was societal or political development. We knew of no publicized boycott that year. The question was asked in 1987, and 15 percent stated that they had boycotted a product for this reason. Boycotting for political reasons ranked third as a form of political participation in both the 1987 and 1997 surveys, making it a more frequent form of political participating than contacting civil servants, a civil society association, politician, or media actor and allowing oneself to be represented by working in a political party and civil society association. It was outranked by signing a petition and contributing economically to a cause (Petersson et al., 1998, 55). A polling institute in Sweden has also begun to penetrate the issue of arenas for politics and channels for influence. In a survey conducted in 2001 it asked Swedish citizens “Who can influence corporate ethical behavior most: is it consumers through their choice of goods and services or is it the Swedish Parliament and Cabinet Government through laws and regulations?” Seventy one percent stated that consumers can influence corporate ethical behavior most; 23 percent stated the Parliament and Cabinet Government, and 6 were unsure or did not know. The survey also asked whether citizens believe that they can influence society by buying goods and services from companies that are ethical role models (69 percent says yes, 25 percent said no, and 6 were unsure or did not know) and whether citizens through their choice of company have a personal responsibility for societal developments when they buy goods and services (77 percent said that they had a

organize, and have their concerns represented. Perhaps citizens are beginning to believe that politics has become so routine and safe in terms of interest representation that it no longer needs to be fueled by or patrolled by traditional forms of participation and representation. Perhaps they are politically frustrated over the stretch (scope) of traditional politics and forms of political representation. Or maybe citizens are politically hungry for new forms of action and itching for new ways to express their political values and work with them in our more globalized and individualized world.

How do political scientists handle the problematic nature of political participation and representation in the Western demos today? Our standard-operating focus, which views political participation as oriented toward the political sphere (particularly the nation-state political system) and involving people who join together in various kinds of groups to make claims on government, cannot help us much. Its focus has been the crisis area of representation: interest representation (use of delegates or leaders to exercise influence over societal matters) for us (members of political parties and organizations). We have defined participation as interest articulation and representation as interest aggregation. People join membership organizations to influence politics through representatives. The survey results reported earlier, real-life events as well as empirical and theoretical studies in the social sciences on late modernity suggest that we seriously need to rethink the connection between representation and political participation (Sörbom 2000; Bang and Sørensen 1999; Halkier 2003; Inglehart 1997; Beck 1994). There is much to be reconsidered. We need to ponder the effects of globalization and individualization on representation, with one scenario being

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personal responsibility, 26 percent said no, and 7 were unsure or did not know). Another question was “Where is the future formed or made? In political parties or elsewhere?” Over half of the representative sample (55 percent) stated that it is created “elsewhere;” 28 percent in the political parties, and 17 percent either did not know or were unsure of how to answer the question. Women and people between 30 and 49 stand out as political consumers, i.e., answer that consumer choice is an important form of influence. What is interesting is that young people stand out as a group that believes to a greater degree that the Parliament and Cabinet Government can influence corporate behavior most while at the same time believing that the future is created elsewhere than the political parties (SIFO 2001).

Danish results show that 21 percent in 2000 had boycotted products and 45 percent had deliberately chosen certain products for political reasons. People tend to do both: among the 21 percent who had participated in a boycott, 19 percent had also deliberately chosen certain products. There was no significant increase in the use of boycotts between the two survey dates - roughly 22 percent in both 1990 and 2000 - however the authors state that there was probably a minor increase in the ten year period (Goul Andersen and Tobiasen 2003). Danes consider political consumerism a modestly effective form of effective political participation. Boycotting ranked 6 on a scale of 0 (not at all effective) to 10 (very effective) and boycotting 5. It was outranked in order by voting, media attention, working in civic associations, and political parties and outranked contacting politicians, peaceful demonstrations, influence via the Internet, and illegal protests. On the basis of statistical analysis, the authors conclude that people are much more divided about the perceived influence of political consumerism than about other mode of participation.

people representing themselves in a reflexive manner outside the traditional realm of politics. We need to consider how arenas other than the political system as the target of political participation affect our conceptions of representative government and are creating networks of representative governance.

## **Paper Theme and Its Organization**

Concerns about citizen political frustration and needs for new forms of politics characterize this paper whose topic is political consumerism and the market as an arena for politics.

*Political consumerism* is:

consumer choice of producers and products with the goal of changing objectionable institutional or market practices. It is based on attitudes and values regarding issues of justice, fairness, or non-economic issues that concern personal and family well-being and ethical or political assessment of favorable and unfavorable business and government practice. Regardless of whether political consumers act individually or collectively, their market choices reflect an understanding of material products as embedded in a complex social and normative context which may be called the politics behind products (Micheletti, Follesdal, and Stolle 2003 forthcoming).

Boycotts against Nike, Nestlé, the World Bank, Shell Oil, and French sensitive-economic products (cheese and wine) are examples of political consumerism. Other examples are eco-labeling schemes (German Blau Angel, EU-Flower, Swedish Good Environmental Choice), fair trade labels, and forest and marine stewardship certification. Appendix 1 and 2 offers a list of political consumerist examples (see also Micheletti 2003 forthcoming).

My paper discusses political consumerism as political representation in two ways. It begins with a short discussion to situate political consumerism theoretically. The paper then presents first cut preliminary findings from a case study of two political consumerist efforts, the European Clean Clothes Campaign and the North American No Sweat movement, now underway.<sup>5</sup> This case study focuses on transnational citizen engagement and political representation at both the group and individual level. The discussion below only focuses on the group level. The fourth section offers ideas on how to analyze political consumerism by discussing political representation as collective action and introduces the concept of individualized collective action. Finally, a few reflections on global subpolitical political representation are offered in the final section.

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<sup>5</sup> The research project is funded by Vetenskapsrådet, the Swedish Research Council. For information on the project please see <http://www.statsvet.su.se/micheletti.home.htm>.

## **Framing Political Consumerism Theoretically**

Political consumerism is an interesting phenomenon for political science because it concerns the impact of globalization and individualization on how we view politics and become engaged in it. In particular as illustrated in the appendices and discussed below, it highlights the mismatch between economic globalization characterized as economic boundlessness and political globalization characterized as political limitedness (Altvater 1999, 41). Fast-moving economic globalization has created and is creating a number of circumstances which citizens globally tend to find displeasing and frustrating. It is possible that citizen displeasure on these matters is decreasingly channeled through the traditional (nation-state) arenas of political representation and participation because they have been sluggish to globalize politically. Perhaps we can venture to say that citizens feel trapped in a nation-state cage that delimits their means of political expression and representation and are seeking new venues for politics.

In terms closer to the topic of the workshop, the problem is that the conventional, traditional set-up for political representation is not in place at the global level. The existing international political organizations (the UN, WTO, etc.) lack the necessary democratic nature for satisfactory political participation and political representation; Robert Dahl calls them bureaucratic bargaining systems that “lie below any reasonable threshold of democracy” (Dahl 1999, 21). Global political incapability or inertia pushes citizens individually and collectively to take matters (political representation) in their own hands and develop ways to make politics more boundless and economics more limited. Global issues like climate warming, human rights, free trade, and sustainable development challenge our traditional forms of and containers for political representation (for a discussion see Edwards and Gaventa 2001; Keck and Sikkink 1998; Delanty 2000; Holden 2000).

Citizens are seeking “trailblazers,”<sup>6</sup> new actors, identities, structures, and arenas for political representation. Of particular interest for this paper in this regard is the relationship between citizenship, individual responsibility-taking, globalization, and political representation. On different occasions, scholars in worried tones have discussed the ethics of responsibility (Weber 1946), relationship between responsibility and remedy (Loury 1994, 15), radicalization of responsibility as purposive participation (Horosz, 1975, x), and fitness to bear responsibility (Friedrich 1960, 13). Political representation has been tied together with responsibility taking through the concepts of obligation and consent (Pitkin 1965) and obligation and participation (Pateman 1979ab). Earlier we assumed that individuals could take

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<sup>6</sup> This term comes from Ulrich Beck.

responsibility through political representation – that responsibility could be delegated away to political representatives and trustees (Pitkin 1965, 996, Pateman 1979a, 239). We could also maintain the divide between how obligations are assumed publicly (as citizens) and privately (as family members and consumers).<sup>7</sup>

The current reality of political limitedness and economic boundlessness force us to reconsider this view. The phenomenon of political consumerism challenges liberal democratic theory's conception of political representation, political responsibility-taking, obligation and consent, and the public/private divide. Theories of individualization, active citizenship, and reflexivity are offering a new way of thinking on how we should conceptualize political representation. Individualization and active citizenship stress the need for people to take more responsibility for solving problems locally, nationally, and globally. This may require that citizens reflect upon what consequences their individual actions and choices have for others, that they place their own needs and wishes in a variety of other-oriented contexts (reflexivity).

A normative message found between the lines of scholarly texts is that western citizens have a special responsibility in this regard. Their well-developed civic, political, and social rights of citizenship together with the economic potentials (market choice situations) that have emerged from democracy and capitalism put western citizens in a particular position as political actors in the world today. This responsibility-taking can, of course, be accused as representing the universalization of western values, western imperialism, and neo-colonialization. It can also represent "...the question of the responsibility of the self for the other" (Delanty 2000, 3), responsibility for the responsibility (Bauman 1995), and articulated as "...individuals can feel themselves to be authors of global political acts..." (Beck and Beck-Gernsheim 2001, 45).

Current concerns about sustainable development have made it more difficult to delegate away responsibility-taking. Obligation and responsibility-taking is, therefore, becoming individualized. As scholars and citizens, we are developing a new responsibility consciousness. The metaphor "ecological footprints" expresses this idea well. It was developed to show the immediate as well as more distant consequences of actions by individuals in their role as citizens and consumers. It connects the individual in her public and private roles together and expresses the responsibility of citizens individually and collectively

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<sup>7</sup> Carole Pateman expresses this well: "Although liberal democratic theory has as its central value the free choice and decision of the individual social actor, a distinction is made in the theory between the political and the non-political or private sphere concerning the decision to assume an obligation; only outside the political sphere can the individual himself assume his obligations" (1979a, 239).

for nature, unborn generations, and people in other countries who are affected and will be affected by western policies and behaviors (Rees 1998).

The term citizen-consumer does likewise (see Micheletti 2003 forthcoming). The fair trade economist Simon Zadek discusses how consumer choice can be a transnational or global act. He uses the term “lent consumer power” – a global interest representation – to explain how “usually international, collective action involving, through consumption, both poorer producers and workers, and those wealthier communities” can “have influence over production and trade by virtue of their vast purchasing power” (Zadek 1998, 7). Scholars of supolitics, global citizen action and transnational advocacy groups articulate a similar idea (Holzer and Sørensen 2001; Edwards and Gaventa 2001; Kech and Sikkini 1998) which, for the purpose of this paper and the theme of the ECPR workshop, can be seen as an interesting manifestation of political representation as idea and form.

### **Clean Clothes Campaign and No Sweat Movement**

Two words – responsible and ethical – are now used as important modifiers associated with consumer choices and marketplace behavior. Various groups encourage consumers to identify themselves as responsible (coffee) drinkers and ethical consumers, and they urge companies to become socially responsible. The Clean Clothes Campaign (CCC) and No Sweat (anti-sweatshop movement) are situated in this movement of ethical responsibility-taking in the marketplace. Many other groups and networks not discussed here are also involved in this global movement, which possibly can be viewed as an emerging international regime for global ethical trade.

The CCC and No Sweat emerged in the 1990s after a series of disclosures about the labor conditions in the global garment industry and particularly in the offshore and outscorced factories used by brand name multinational clothing manufacturers like Nike and The Gap. The CCC started in 1990 in the Netherlands and then in 1994 spread to other European countries. No Sweat is a looser network that coalesced in the mid-1990s. The networks were developed to create and channel a moral outrage about what concerned citizen-consumers consider to be the injustices created by uncontrolled economic globalization and a lack of civil rights of citizenship (e.g., ability to start unions and engage in collective bargaining) on the part of garment workers in developing countries. They urge transnational corporate enterprises to assume more responsibility for the laborers in their employ and consumers to



look behind the label and think about the politics of the products before they make purchases at the marketplace.

Both groups fit general characteristics of transnational advocacy networks (Keck and Sikkink 1998, 2-4, 8). They are networks because they bring together a variety of actor categories (ad hoc groups, corporations, interest organizations, social movements, policy institutes, academics, consumers, journalists, etc.) and work in a voluntary, reciprocal, and horizontal pattern of communication and exchange for a particular cause (advocacy). They are transnational because they are involved with global issues in a cross-boundary fashion and link up groups from different geographical places in a variety of ways. They have come into being as advocates to promote a focused cause (unfair labor conditions in the garment industry) and argue their case in the basis of principled ideas and norms: labor, citizen, and human rights. Also, transnational advocacy networks “*often* involve individuals advocating policy changes that cannot be easily linked to a rationalist understanding of their ‘interests’” (Keck and Sikkink 1998, 9, my emphasis). Many transnational advocacy networks work in part subpolitically: they seek arenas for politics that are beyond and beneath the political apparatus of the nation-state, do not rely on political parties for representation of their cause, and most importantly are characterized by a kind of individualized reflexive representation (Holzer and Sørensen 2002).

The CCC and No Sweat also carry out their mission globally. They have two local settings: the western marketplace and factories in development countries. Western local settings involve consumers and groups as political actors. The everyday behavior of western consumers is central because the choices they make daily while shopping can have political importance. Factory settings in developing countries are the focus of network action and testimonials from them confer authenticity to the networks’ mission. The networks interact with individual garment workers and organizations in countries where garments and sportswear are produced for western consumption. They support unionization efforts, conduct inspections, send delegations to different garment plants around the world, and together with factory workers engage in global collective action.

The CCC is a European network found in twelve European countries.<sup>8</sup> It involves a variety of civil society groups and organizations. Over two hundred NGOs are involved in its European network (CCC home page 2002). They include national trade unions, consumer groups and organizations, human rights and women rights organizations, international

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<sup>8</sup> The countries are The Netherlands, Belgium (Flanders and Walonia), France, United Kingdom, Germany, Italy, Spain, Sweden, Portugal, Austria, Switzerland, and Bulgaria.

humanitarian organizations, church groups, youth movements, worldshops, solidarity, and fair trade groups. Other involved actors are researchers, journalists, celebrities, and policy institutes. Each national branch sets up its own operation, which means organizational differences and varying mixtures of NGOs nationally, and they work independently of each other. They do not even have the same name. For instance, the UK network is a member-based organization called Labour Behind the Label.<sup>9</sup> Development Education and Development Cooperation (CIDAC), earlier called Anticolonial Information and Documentation Centre, is the Portuguese network. What unites these individual national efforts is a common core of values mirrored in annual global campaigns. Finances come from different sources: aid agencies, membership fees, the European Commission, etc. The networks rely considerably on voluntarism.

The CCC presents its goal as aiming “to improve the working conditions in the garment industry worldwide” (CCC home page, 2003). It wants to create consumer awareness, mobilize individuals to use individual consumer choice as consumer power, and improve the garment industry’s corporate policy and practices. Officially it does not support boycotts. Rather it encourages consumers and campaign volunteers to enter a dialogue with corporate actors. The Internet, more traditional channels of participation, culture jamming, and spectacular event-makings are its mode of action.

The CCC works to realize its general goals in three separate but related ways. It acts both “politically” in the political sphere and “subpolitically” by using the market as an arena for action. It lobbies government and corporations to regulate the global garment industry, uses legal means to compel corporations to respect workers’ rights, and appeals to consumers to use their consumer power to pressure corporations to change their policies and routines. An important activity is its effort to convince companies to adopt a non-company specific code of conduct and agree for monitoring of its implementation by an independent unit aptly called DressCode (Andersson 2001). It uses advocacy campaigns to foster consumer and public awareness of problems in the garment industry worldwide and to put pressure on clothing manufacturers globally. At present it has five campaigns ongoing. The “Living Wage Campaign” began in 1999 and concerns the relation between wages paid to garment workers and consumer prices. While stressing that multinationals must listen to workers’ demands

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<sup>9</sup> Its members include AEKTA, CAFOD, Central American Women's Network, Ethical Consumer Magazine, GMB, Homenet, KFAT (Knitwear, Footwear & Apparel Trades), National Group on Homeworking, NEAD (Norfolk Education Action and Development), Oasis Trust, OXFAM, TGWU (Transport & General Workers Union), Traidcraft, War on Want, and Women Working Worldwide. See [http://www.labourbehindthelabel.org/about\\_lbl/lbl\\_members.htm](http://www.labourbehindthelabel.org/about_lbl/lbl_members.htm).

regarding a living wage, it also acknowledges that workers cannot always speak for themselves and, therefore, are in need of transnational or global political representation: “Workers of course can only do that where they are free to speak – which is why the struggle for a living wage is inseparable from the struggle for the freedom to organize” (CCC, Living Wage Campaign, 2003). It argues further that multinationals must assume financial responsibility for a living wage and not pass off costs to offshore supplier companies. Corporations and consumers are the target groups for this campaign. Other current campaigns target political actors at the EU level for an EU policy on corporate social responsibility and political actors at the local level to create Clean Clothes Communities. The Informal Employment and Homeworkers campaign uses legal and consumer action to urge multinationals to sign codes of practice/conduct. The Direct Solidarity Campaign focuses on the labor practices of specific multinationals and governments for their treatment of labor organizers. It also offers support to and answers calls for support for workers seeking to organize themselves in unions (CCC home page, campaigns, 2003).

The CCC states that it is above all a consumer campaign because “its strength comes from consumer power” (CCC home page, campaigns, 2003). How is support mobilized for the campaigns, and what role do individual consumers play? National networks work through their associates and members, and they seek support of individual consumers for volunteer campaign work. The CCC homepages are an important resource for activating individuals as consumer advocates. A few examples of mobilizing activities are postcard campaigns, alternative fashion shows, e-mails to retailers and corporations, consumer pledges in the form of electronic footprints, demonstrations, e-newsletters, on-line distribution of research reports, on-the-spot fair trade evaluations in retail stores, educational programs, and appeals to students to write theses on fair trade. Individuals are encouraged to take courses offered by the CCC to become network information spokespeople. A course given in Sweden while we meet at the Joint Sessions ends with each participant planning her own public action day to be implemented in the participant’s home town later this spring (Rena Kläder 2003). E-mail activism involves consumers voicing displeasure with corporate or procurement policy or requesting information on corporate and retailer positions on fair trade. In particular, consumers are encouraged to target sports clubs locally and nationally because they are large consumers of brand name products. Draft letters to be sent to corporate actors can be downloaded from the network’s homepage. In some cases, these letters can be likened to petitions because they are circulated through personal networks to be signed and sent collectively to particular corporate actors.

The postcard campaign is interesting because it uses culture jamming as a method of influence and persuasion. Culture jamming/adbusting is "a strategy that turns corporate power against itself by co-opting, hacking, mocking, and re-contextualizing meaning" (Peretti 2001). It involves activities generally categorized as extra-parliamentary and unconventional and, therefore, subpolitical like media hacking, information warfare, terror-art, guerrilla semiotics (Dery 1993). Appendix 3 offers a few examples of postcards that can be sent electronically by any person who accesses the CCC home page. You choose the card you want to send, write a message in the appropriate textbox, choose your addressee, and then send it off. The CCC estimates that over 100,000 individuals have sent postcards in some European countries (CCC home page, 2003, campaigns). Alternative fashion shows create public spectacles and fit well with research on the information politics of transnational advocacy networks whose purpose is issue reframing (Keck and Sikkini 1998, 18-22). They question the politics of fashion products and, because of their alternative nature, are picked up by the media in various countries.

Many young people find these activities appealing. It gives them a way of representing their global concerns and offers them immediate, counter-culture involvement with causes that research shows interest the youth. The CCC puts considerable effort in attracting young people to its causes. It focuses on sporting events and organizes rallies and demonstrations for young people. The CCC homepages allow for Internet activism, and the campaign Clean Clothes Communities is opening up space for local hands-on involvement. It is modeled after Agenda 21.

Compared to the CCC, No Sweat is more diversified in nature. It lacks a general organizational or representational coordinator or casing as the CCC. It is also a network without a specific set of established goals. However, network activists, groups, and users share the same core values and norms, which represent a belief that "workers should be earning a living wage in a safe and decent working environment, and that those who benefit the most from the exploitation of sweatshop workers must be held accountable" (Sweatshop Watch 2002). Like the CCC, it includes a variety of groups – established unions, fringe networks, fair trade networks, civil rights and women's groups, religious organizations, and young people – but these groups are not represented by a coordinating group similar to the CCC international.

Several commentators consider No Sweat the new student movement because it mobilizes considerable strength on American college campuses (Ross 1999; Featherstone 2000). Students critical of university procurement policies for sportswear and university logo

apparel established their own organization in 1998, United Students Against Sweatshops (USAS), now present on over two hundred campuses (USAS 2002; Featherstone and USAS 2002). Student activism on garment sweatshop issues has often been contentious and involved sit-ins, spectacular events-making, and problems with the police. In comparison to the CCC, unions play a more prominent role in the No Sweat network. An important reason is the network's focus on domestic sweatshop conditions in North America and its criticism of corporate decisions to move production offshore. Thus, there is a protectionist trade policy and anti-globalization element in the network, as witnessed by the writings of Naomi Klein (2000), not found in the CCC. Some observers view this "hidden protectionist" streak as a moral weakness because it represents the network as a traditional special interest and tarnishes its reputation as a authentic transnational advocacy network (Mandle 2000, 97ff) that, as stated earlier, often do not mix self-interest rational action in their global struggles.

Because of its fragmented nature, No Sweat is more difficult to characterize, but it can be said to use a broader spectrum of tactics and tends to be more contentious (see Unite 2002, AFL-CIO 2002, Global Economy 2002). However, I see from primary source documentation collected over the past two years that the two networks are beginning to converge or agree on the action repertoire necessary for goal attainment. The CCC is becoming bolder in terms of spectrum of tactics (more focus on litigation, demonstrations, and culture jamming) and No Sweat is becoming less confrontational. It is toning down its anti-corporate stance somewhat and modulating its favorable position on boycotts. Today No Sweat has a divided stance on the use of boycotts as a method of action. It condones more than outright favors boycotts as a legitimate form of action. Perhaps there is more concern these days about how the message is represented in corporate circles and the media. Boycotts tend to inhibit dialogue among stakeholders (Friedman 2003).

How does No Sweat engage people in its cause? Its network groups organize protest demonstrations. An example is the "March of Shame" organized by the Garment Workers Center in Santa Monica, California (February 1, 2003) to focus attention on sweatshops in Los Angeles and globally (Garment Workers Center 2003). Network groups also have newsletters that anyone can access and subscribe to electronically, and a chat site "Friends of Sweatshop Watch" that anyone can join is run by Sweatshop Watch, a California-based network that mobilizes voluntarism to fight sweatshop conditions for garment workers in California and abroad (Sweatshop Watch 2003). Because an important focus of this North American network is domestic sweatshops, many of the groups ask people to help them hands-on and locally with teaching labor rights to garment workers, conducting research on

local factory conditions, managing individual cases, translating from and to Spanish, Vietnamese, English, etc., and working with media contacts and web site support (Sweatshop Watch, volunteer for us, 2003).

Global efforts include joint lawsuits filed in American courts by a variety of network groups and individual offshore garment workers, individual western consumer lawsuits against multinational clothing manufacturers for false advertisement (e.g., *Kasky v. Nike, Inc.* 2002), consumer awareness activities, the Nike Email Exchange culture jam (Peretti with Micheletti 2003), and suggestions for individual involvement. Consumer awareness activities involve testimonials from offshore garment workers and pictures of their housing and workplaces that are accessible via Internet (U.S. Retailers 2003), information materials in the form of reports, posters, and pictures.

Suggestions for individual global involvement include drafts of letters to be sent to clothing corporations accessible from no sweat websites (e.g., Sweatshop Watch, Stop...2003), downloadable information material for individualized actions (e.g., holding one's own "Stop Gap Sweatshops" action locally initiated by Behind the Label, activism, 2003), culture jamming (see Appendix 4 for two examples), and an e-accessible petition to the President of the United States and Congress to end child labor and sweatshop abuses (CASCL 2003). BehindTheLabel.org, a campaign project of the North American Union of Needletrades, Industrial and Textile Employees (UNITE), is a multimedia news magazine and on-line community that in a video accessible on its website encourages people to "take action now." The statements accompanying the slide show are "The Gap uses sweatshop labor, if you buy Gap you do to. Make a difference. Be the generation that stops sweatshops. Tell your family and friends: Don't buy me GAP this holiday season." The pictures of GAP clothing and working conditions fed into a now expired alert or advocacy campaign during the Christmas season (BehindTheLabel, campaigns, 2003). Several No Sweat groups also promote involvement in SweatFree Communities, which are a glocal initiative similar to the CCC's Clean Community Campaign. The promoters explain the effort in the following fashion:

SweatFree Communities broadens the anti-sweatshop movement. It allows local activists to control the shape and timing of their own organizing efforts, which is important for building and maintaining local anti-sweatshop activism. As a local issue, a campaign offers possibilities for greater press coverage and public education than most leafleting-at-the-mall type actions. And because most localities include multiple entities that purchase apparel goods - for example, a city, its suburbs, its county, the school district(s), the state - and may house many places where workers endure sweatshop conditions, one successful campaign can provide momentum for another (BehindTheLabel, sfc, 2003)

The CCC and No Sweat are concerned with the effects of economic globalization on people who have difficulty in expressing and defending their rights as workers. Both networks call for consumer and corporate responsibility-taking. They engage in market-based political efforts that aim at influencing corporate and political institutions and transnational advocacy of the claims of less-fortunate and oppressed peoples. They also use traditional politics – lobbying, lawsuits, and petitions – to attain their goals. They are political consumerist representatives and ask consumers to take political and subpolitical action. They urge consumers to inform themselves about the issues involved in the global rag trade, engage in dialogue with other activists and corporate actors, create consumer awareness, and find ways of shaping the tools and information available to them for hands-on local involvement and individualized responsibility-taking.

### **Political Representation as Responsibility-Taking Collective Action**

Political science assumes a close relationship between interest articulation/aggregation and political representation. Representation is often seen as “acting for” and “acting in the interests of others in a manner responsive to them” in institutional settings (Pitkin 1969, 1-23). This implies that political representation is collective action or cooperative efforts toward a common goal (Elster 1989; Olson 1975). What kind of political representation is political consumerism? Some scholars go so far as to argue that political representation is not conceptually viable or practical as an approach to the power relations and responsibilities which are emerging in the context of globalization because it lacks a proper institutional setting. Instead they speak of political responsibility towards others (Jordan and Van Tuijl 2000, 2051). This section focuses on responsibility-taking in the form of *individualized collective action*, a concept I am developing to understand the political consumers and other unconventional or subpolitical forms of political engagement as well as capture the essence of this form of citizen engagement that combines public and private aspects of selfness and, therefore, self-interest and the general good.

The three words, individualized collection action, are carefully chosen. With them I want to make a clear theoretical distinction between citizen-prompted, citizen-created action involving people taking charge of matters that they themselves deem important in a variety of arenas (individualized collective action) and conventional definitions of political engagement meaning taking part of structured behavior that is already in existence and that is oriented toward the political system per se (political representation and participation). While

individualized collective action occurs in a variety of settings and more spontaneously, political representation and participation is involvement that takes place in a given arena and in accordance with a given mode of activity and agenda. New citizen engagement can take place all over the place in a variety of settings.

The concept of individualized collective action reflects the political landscape changes of postmodernization, risk society, individualization, and globalization. These landscape changes are forcing us to develop a new sense of responsibility and new forms of representation. Politics is, in a nutshell, a task that people must deal with on an increasingly individual basis. It is not laid out as in the first modernity (industrial society and nation-state dominance) where citizens define (identify) themselves more directly in terms of established institutions and social positions (Lash 2001, 2; Beck and Beck-Gernsheim 2001, Ch. 4).

My *working definition of individualized collective action* acknowledges the importance of social changes and processes on our view of politics, political representation, and political involvement.

Individualized collective action is the practice of responsibility-taking for common well-being through the creation of concrete, everyday arenas on the part of citizens alone or together with others to deal with problems which they believe are affecting what they identify as the good life. Individualized collective action involves a variety of different methods for practicing responsibility-taking including traditional and unconventional political tools.

The ideas used to develop the concept of individualized collective action come from scholarship on subpolitics, reflexivity, everyday-makers, new citizenship, and serial identity. The concepts also inform us theoretically about how the public/private divide is opening up and creating new levels for citizens to take responsibility in life generally. This theoretical approach implies a reconcretization of politics and democracy, and a revision of the roles of citizen and politician, i.e., of follower and leader and political representation (Sørensen 1997, 96). This section develops the concept by contrasting the theoretical construct of individualized collective action with the conventional view of political representation and participation, here called collectivist collection action. The concept of collectivist collective action is based on general summary of empirical works of quantitative and qualitative nature on political participation and representation concerning civil society and citizen contact with the political system per se. In Figure 1, the theoretical constructs of collectivist and individualized collective action are formulated as ideal types, which following Weber are abstract descriptions, constructs, or models of social actors, social situations, or social processes that cannot in their entirety be found in real life (Blaikie 2000, 180-1). The key



theoretical aspects of the concepts are given in italics in the figure and focused on explicitly in this section.

**Figure 1. The Ideal Types of Collectivist and Individualized Collective Action**

<b>Collectivist collective action</b>	<b>Individualized collective action</b>
<i>First modernity</i> collective action: identity with structures and social positions, <i>unitary identity</i> that follows life paths, role models	<i>Late-modern</i> collective action: identity and social position not taken for granted, map out your own life path, be your own role model, <i>serial identity</i>
Participation in <i>established political homes</i> like membership-based interest groups and political parties	<i>Use of established political homes as base and point of departure</i> to decide own preferences and priorities and create and develop individualized political homes, e.g., home pages
Participation in <i>territorial-based</i> physical structures focusing on the <i>political system</i>	Involvement in networks of a variety of kinds that are not based in any single physical territorial level or structure, <i>subpolitics</i>
Participation that is channeled through <i>grand or semi-grand ideological narratives</i> (traditional political ideology)	Involvement based on self-authored individualized narratives ( <i>self-reflexivity</i> )
Participation in <i>representative democratic</i> structures.	<i>Self-assertive</i> and direct involvement in concrete actions and settings
<i>Delegation</i> of responsibility to leaders and officials	Responsibility is not delegated to leaders and officials. It is taken <u>personally and jointly</u> . <i>Self-actualization</i>
Member interests and identity filtered, adapted, molded to political preferences of these <i>interest articulating and aggregating</i> institutions. <i>Socialization</i>	Dedication and commitment to <i>urgent causes</i> rather than loyalty to organizational norms, values, standard operating procedures, etc.
<i>Loyalty to established structures</i> , acceptance of organizational norms, values, standard operating procedures, etc.	<i>Responsibility-taking</i> for urgent causes, <i>active subpolitics</i>
<i>High thresholds</i> for active participation in established organizations. <i>High costs</i> for active involvement in terms of time, seniority, socialization, and other resources.	<i>Everyday activism</i> in variety of settings. <i>Low thresholds</i> for involvement. Urgent involvement may be <i>high cost</i> in terms of being time-consuming and requiring considerable effort on the part of individuals.

As shown in Figure 1, the prerequisites for collectivist collective action are established structures and procedures that individual citizens can enter to find a home to represent, channel, and mold their political voice or identify their societal interests. Involvement in *membership-based* interest groups, civic associations, and political parties are examples of such established political homes. The theoretical basis of this kind of collective action is liberal, representative democracy (see Teorell 2001). Membership in the interest articulating and aggregating structures implies that individual citizens find an institutional home through which their political voice and identity is filtered and adapted to the political preferences and priorities of these representative structures. Thus their political voice and responsibility is *delegated* to representational and organizational leaders. Individual citizens are, therefore, encouraged and perhaps even pressured to craft and construct their political preferences to these structures. They become *socialized* in these organized settings.

Studies show that it is not uncommon that citizens are forced to compromise their preferences and interests to fit the issue frames that characterize *interest articulating and aggregating structures*. At times, new members burning with enthusiasm to work together on current problems find that they must conform to organizational time frames, put their priority issues on hold, and instead work on matters that they do not consider the most important for the organizational cause. They represent the organization rather than it representing them, so to speak. They must do so because their urgent issues are not given organizational priority (Micheletti, 1995, 21). Political involvement of this kind tends to be hierarchically-organized and based in the *representative democratic structures* that characterized traditional civil society associations. It signifies that citizens who become members accept the norms, values, and rules that structure collective action. Collectivist collective action thus requires that citizens join associations and support the association's politics. While, this kind of collective action seems to have worked well for a considerable part of the 20th century labeled the *first modernity* in Figure 1, studies in social science of the past few decades show that it easily leads to a passive membership, responsibility-avoiding behavior, free riders, and difficulty for the association to renew itself due to problems with inflexibility and organization maintenance (Olson 1975; Micheletti 1995; Micheletti 1985).

The concept of *individualized collective action* is grounded in a different theoretical point of departure. Individual citizens do not seek a prefabricated political home for representation of their interests by organizational leaders. Rather, they *create their own political home* by framing their own aims and channels for political action. This can be done by using established political housing as a base to work with their own preferences and priorities or through the creation of their own political homes (e.g., networks) as a self-assertive responsibility-taking response, for example as Jonah Peretti did with his Nike email exchange and its relevant home pages (See Appendix 4; Peretti with Micheletti 2003).

An important difference between this logic and the traditional one is that individual citizens do not need to join and show loyalty toward interest articulating and aggregating structures to play a part (be represented) in what they deem are urgent issues of politics and society. They can become involved outside these structures by showing commitment to causes and assuming responsibility in a more hands-on way. *The physical and territorially-based structures* of the earlier part of the 20<sup>th</sup> century with their *grand or semi-grand ideological narratives* (first modernity and collectivist collective action) are not necessary for citizens to achieve strength in numbers in the 21<sup>st</sup> century or *late modernity* in Figure 1. Sufficient knowledge about problems can be achieved outside traditional political channels and on a

more individualized basis. These citizens may use established government, private, civil society, and Internet institutions as information sources as well as engage in chat sites to gain perspective on the information produced by these sources. They may achieve political strength or influence by joining consumer networks, using checklists developed by homepages for on-the-spot street-level monitoring, and act politically in very specific and time-delimited settings (Halkier 1999). These activities are characterized by *everyday activism* involving contact with store managers about their assortment and contact with other everyday activists via home pages. They represent responsibility-taking in loose networks in geographically close settings. In short, people do not need collectivism for collective action, which explains my choice of the word individualized for the new conception of political involvement here called individualized collective action.

*Subpolitics* has developed from work on risk society (for a good overview of the concept of subpolitics see Holzer and Sørensen 2001). Risks are defined broadly in this literature and include such concerns as environmental pollution, food risks, personal problems with the welfare state, and worries about multiculturalism. Subpolitics signifies politics emerging in places other than formal politics (parliamentary arena), the site of the conventional political science definition of politics and political participation. It is politics emerging from below. Subpolitics is occurring for different reasons, among them are globalization and such political landscape changes as citizens' perceptions that government's inability to understand and control the new uncertainties and risks created by public and corporate policy. A responsibility vacuum is being filled by *active subpolitics* (Holzer and Sørensen 2001) which involves responsibility-taking by citizens in their everyday, individual-oriented life arena that cuts across the public and private spheres. The point that needs emphasizing is that this development should not solely be analyzed as flight from politics, cocooning, retreat from public concerns, or defense for a purely self-oriented and self-interested private life. Rather, it is quite possible that the self-orientation or individualization apparent in subpolitics is responsibility-taking for the well-being of oneself and others by means that differ considerably from those of conventional political representation and participation. The differences concern the need to take personal responsibility for choices traditionally seen as unproblematic politically (cf. Giddens's life politics), the role that privately-oriented virtues (duty to oneself) play publicly and the importance of a feeling of self-fulfillment from energy exerted in hand-on involvement for public issues (duty to others). This is a new form of political representation, which perhaps can be termed reflexive political representation.

The theoretical argument is that individual citizens act increasingly politically in their daily private lives and, as a consequence, they need to represent themselves politically in everyday settings. The reason is the interconnectedness of private and public acts, as exemplified by the footprint metaphor. The important point for this paper is that political representation, when seen as the need for collective action to provide for our common well-being, is moving away from traditional political channels and into other spheres like the everyday life one. Citizens are seen as the key actors in forming new democratic and representative structures. They are becoming their own political representatives. For postmodern scholars like Ulrich Beck "(t)he 'political entrepreneur' of the future is not an elected representative..." (Beck 1994, 129). This implies that we cannot delegate away political responsibility and that what we do (choose) as individual citizens can have global political significance. This view of politics gives citizens a central role in the *responsibility-taking* for our common future and couples together the public and private sphere in a way unfamiliar in traditional politics and political representation.

The concept of everyday-making (*hverdagsmager*) developed by Danish political scientists to understand local citizen initiative fits this understanding of politics as hand-on, local action well (Bang and Sørensen 1999). *Everyday-makers* are citizens characterized by governance and the values of postmodernization (Kristensen 1999). They become involved with issues in a very local and specific way. Everyday-makers may work alone or in ad hoc networks organized outside the formal system of politics and across traditional political ideological boundaries. They organize subpolitically. Danish research shows that everyday-maker issues include local health care, park improvements, or locations and relocations of government services. In line with this, we can view everyday-makers as street-level political entrepreneurs who seek solutions for very concrete or local problems concerning the welfare state. It seems clear that issues of globalization, consumption, and even concrete consumer goods as coffee, jeans, toilet paper, and tropical wood should be considered as everyday-maker concerns. These concerned consumers also function as street-level auditors of government and corporate performance who either want to keep service up to standard or make service conform to a level of standard that goes beyond compliance to regulatory rules and practices that have global ramifications. Like subpoliticians, everyday-makers are contributing to a newer understanding of democracy that takes its point of departure in individualization and globally contextualized self-interest, self-organization and self-responsibility (Beck and Beck-Gernsheim 2001). They put democratic values to practice daily and in so doing make democracy tangible (Sørensen 1994, 96).

To understand the role of self-interest, self-organization, and self-responsibility as a mobilizing and representational force we need to consider political identity formation (cf. Delanty 2000). Identity is an important aspect of political representation. It forms an essential part of the concept of collective action. However, political identity in collectivist and individualized collective action differs considerably from one another. Traditionally we have understood *political identity as a unitary notion* created by belonging to well-established representative institutions oriented to the *political system* – political parties, unions, etc. This means that you identify yourself as a democrat, social democrat, republican, or member of the working class, and you are politically represented on the basis of these categories. Political identity is, thus, not so much a matter of active, individual choice as it is defined by one's position in society. The implication is that people in the same position in society have the same political identity because they have common experiences and share the same social, political, and economic interests. This is the basis for descriptive political representation (Pitkin 1969, 11, 1972, 60ff). Scholarship on class identity illustrates how we have lumped together people in one social class because they are born into it and associated with it through their position in the means of production. Research over the past decades finds that changes in the political landscape force us to reconsider our view of political identity formation. A good starting point for understanding this development is theoretical work on seriality, which implies that our political identities are not fixed but flexible and embedded in concrete situations rather than social structures. Seriality means that we move among and in and out of various identities (Young 1994).

Iris Marion Young reintroduced the concept of seriality and serial identity to research on political participation and representation to understand why women do not identify themselves with organizations representing women's interests by becoming members. Her main point is that it is wrong to consider political identity as based on "a collection of persons who recognize themselves and one another as in a unified relation with one another" (Young 1994, 723). This is what I characterize *first modernity* collective action. Her theoretical alternative is to understand identity as fragmented rather than homogenous and contextual rather than structural, i.e., not a given but social constructions, and characteristic of late modernity collective action. She calls this *serial identity*, which develops from feelings of commonness with others in the same context or situation as ourselves: "To be said to be part of the same series it is not necessary to identify a set of common attributes that every member has, because their membership is defined not by something they are but rather by the fact that in their diverse existences and actions they are oriented around the same objects..." (Young

1994, 728). Thus, depending on the situation and mind-set of people on a particular day, they can identify themselves as taxpayers, bike riders, political consumers, dog owners, political scientists, or local citizens irritated with the municipal service. Each of these identities can lead to solidarity with others in the same situation and spark individuals into collective action. Citizens can craft or self-author their own personalized, individualized political narratives and adapt their political involvement thereafter. This is the meaning of *self-reflexivity*. We can decide for ourselves on a more individual basis which events, issues, and phenomena will politicize us and how we want to represent our standpoints on them. People with opposing views, experiences, and interests may even find that they in certain contexts have common ground for collective action because they strive to solve concrete problems rather than allowing established political institutions and ideologies to position them politically. We can also change political identity rapidly over time. Identities may, therefore, be temporary, fragmented, and highly contextual. We craft our personalized, individualized political identity and adapt our political involvement thereafter. We can even hold seemingly conflicting political identities, thus making traditional political representation difficult if not impossible. This is possible because our identities, as expressed by another theorist, are an articulation of an ensemble of subject positions that are "constructed within specific discourses and always precariously and temporarily sutured at the intersection of those subject positions" (Mouffe, 1991, 80).

The concept of serialized political identity, subpolitics, and self-assertiveness is implicit in new citizenship theories, which argue that the idea of citizenship should not be restricted to the relationship between people and the state. Rather, citizenship is a relationship to institutions regardless of sphere. It is commitment to working with institutions – to defend, improve, and reform them (Soltan 1999, 18). *Self-assertiveness* on the part of citizens is active involvement and entails civic or political competence – attitudes and skills – necessary to create an institutional context for responsibility-taking through collective action. These ideas reflect an understanding of the impact of changes in the political landscape, which show how contemporary citizens are demanding more arenas for self-expression and *self-actualization* as well as more opportunities for involvement that allow them to take both individual and collective responsibility for their own needs and interests (Trend 1996, 15; Van Gunsteren 1998, 29).

Ideas about responsibility and *responsibility-taking* are central for the theoretical discussion used to develop my concept of individualized collective action. They are also central for our discussion on political representation and political consumerism.

Responsibility-taking goes beyond citizen obligations and rights and the civic republican demand that citizens participate in their territorially-based community and political system. It is part of the normative theory of cosmopolitan citizenship that considers citizens as embedded in wider issues of responsibility for nature, unborn generations, and in a variety of settings representing a diversity of private and public spheres.

New citizenship and serial identity theories help explain what triggers today's citizens to act as, for instance, political consumers. Scholarship on subpolitics and everyday-making explain the arenas for this kind of citizen activism and establish the market as a venue for politics. Together the concepts help craft the concept of individualized collective action. They stress how individual citizens adapt their involvement so that it is appropriate for the problem and responsibility-taking at hand. A multitude of identities and contact with sites for involvement help citizens develop the necessary competence to assess which venues and kinds of action are best for solving complex contemporary problems. Gone are the ideas of solving political problems solely through representation in the parliamentary political system and mobilizing for action on the basis of established political identities, ideologies, and organizational settings. Flexible thinking, flexible involvement, and flexible representation are part of individualized collective action.

An important implication of the concept of individualized collective action is that political problems need not solely be dealt with in the political system, by established political actors and channels, and through mobilizing for action on the basis of established political identities, ideologies, and organizational settings. Rather the market, the home, and other seemingly private or non-political arenas are also appropriate venues for general responsibility-taking and new forms of political representation. A second implication is that citizen activism crosses the public and private divide that has determined our conception of political participation and politics. Finally, this new form of citizen activism implies that responsibility for problem-solving cannot be delegated to other actors and spheres and the actors and institutions of representative democracy. It must be taken by each individual who leaves footprints after her actions and choices.

Subpolitics, everyday-making, serial identity, and new citizenship are concepts that help us recognize how structural changes in the political landscape can be understood at the level of individual actors. Structural and actor-oriented political landscape changes briefly discussed in this paper imply a need for renewal of the political community to fit our contemporary needs. A political community that functions well not only includes procedures for solving collective action problems. It also educates its members in the values of

involvement and encourages them to renew their involvement and institutions through deliberative feedback. Today citizens are creating new ways to understand, channel, and safeguard their interests. They are inventing new forms of political involvement and new forms of political representation.

### **Global (Sub)Political Reflexive Representation**

Studies on civil society, political involvement, and social capital show that citizens are tending to view politics, political representation, and political participation in a different light than in the past. As discussed in the beginning of this paper, citizens in the western world are moving away from many traditional forms of political participation focusing on the political system per se. Scholars of late modernity make an important point when they argue that citizen engagements must be understood as embedded in political, social, and structural processes of change. For political science, this means that we need theoretically and empirically to relate political representation and collective action to ongoing processes of change that are restructuring politics, society, and the economy. Political representation and collective action cannot, therefore, be simply viewed from a strict actor's perspective as the behavior of actors uninfluenced by the mood of the time or character and structure of the political, economic, and private spheres of action.

Rather it seems wise to understand contemporary political representation and collective action as ongoing processes peopled by citizens questioning standard operating ways of doing politics and establishing power relations and searching for new arenas to develop political identities, make informed political choices, and exercise political power in order to "choose paths for a more rewarding life" (Elliot 2002, 298). This means conceptualizing political representation and collective action as reflexive (self-confrontational, self-critical, and self-assessing) and globally subpolitical (focusing on new political issues emerging from beneath and beyond the nation-state and outside representative democracy). When viewed in this way, the malaise redux repented in political science circles is not really a threat or crisis of representation at all. Rather it is process of readjustment, reorientation, relocation, rethinking, and reflection about the meaning of politics and its place in our lives.

Of course, this redoing can come as a shock to established political representative actors and institutions because it may undermine their existence. One serious threat is research results showing that traditional forms of political representation and participation are



frequently viewed as time-consuming, limiting in terms of individual expression, and lacking a sense of urgency (Wollebäck and Selle 2002; Petersson et al. 1998; Norris 1999; Micheletti 1995; Putnam 2000). Citizens are increasingly attracted to less bureaucratic, hierarchical kinds of involvement characterized by a more loosely, egalitarian, and informal structures that allows them to express themselves more individually and experience the thrills of participation (Castells 1997; Lowndes 2000; Wuthnow 1998). Citizens with these kinds of political needs are in growing number. They are seeking issues and arenas for involvement that are more flexible, network-oriented, hands-on and that let them combine their daily lives with local to global political causes. This kind of involvement, as illustrated briefly in preliminary results from my case study, may actually take more time and effort than traditional forms of political representation and participation, but citizens are willing to invest their resources as long as it fulfills them personally. They view their involvement as time well-spent because it gives them a venue to vent their political frustration and put their ideas to work politically. Individualization (self-assertive responsibility-taking) characterizes this kind of involvement. It also refers to a merging of the need for representation to take care of one's own self, as exemplified by the search for ethically accountable consumer choices and self-interest attempts to prevent domestic sweatshops, and to take care of the well-being of others, through the exercise of "lent consumer power" to improve the situation for global garment industry workers. The newer forms of political representation discussed in this paper thus also reflect a cross-over of the public/private divide. As shown in the case study and my other work on political consumerism, shopping can be individualized, reflexive globalized political and subpolitical representational acts.

*Appendix 1: Examples of Contemporary Boycott Action and Networks*

<b>Boycott Name</b>	<b>Boycott Target</b>	<b>Why Boycott?</b>
Say No To Monopolies	Microsoft products	Microsoft's anticompetitive practices
Boycott French Products	French government	France's decision to resume nuclear weapons' testing
Change Your Brands! Blood on Your Hands! P&G Kills	Procter & Gable products	P & G's animal testing policies are considered cruel and lethal
Just Do It!	Nike products	Labor abuses in Nike factories
Divest Now from Israel	University-owned stocks in companies with significant operations in Israel	Human rights abuses against Palestinians by Israeli government, continued military occupation and colonization of Palestinian territory by Israeli armed forces and settlers
Stop Bottle Baby Deaths – Boycott Nestlé	All Nestlé products	Nestlé is violating the International Code of Marketing of Breastmilk Substitutes
Starbucks/ Frankenbucks\$ Global Days of Action	All Starbucks products	Starbuck's allowance of recombinant Bovine Growth Hormone and other GMO ingredients in its products
Global Days of Action	Monsanto Roundup Ready Soybeans, Ciba-Geigy Maximizer BT Corn	Monsanto and Ciba-Geigy engage in forced commercialization of unlabeled, untested gene-altered food products
World Bank Bonds Boycott	World Bank Bonds	Debt cancellation, end structural adjustment programs and other environmentally and socially destructive World Bank policies
Give Swordfish A Break	Swordfish	Swordfish is a popular fish emblematic of the problems facing marine fish.
Don't Buy ESSO	Esso/ExxonMobil Corporation	Esso/Exxon deny reality of global warming, do not invest in alternatives to fossil fuels, sabotaging global environmental action

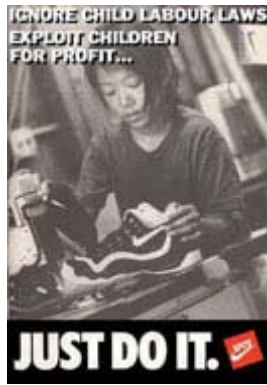
Adapted from Micheletti 2003 forthcoming.

## *Appendix 2: Political Consumerist New Regulatory Tools*

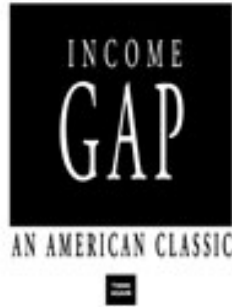
<b>Types</b>	<b>Goals</b>	<b>Product Focus</b>
Eco-labels	Life cycle identification of products and services as less harmful to the environment than others	Household chemicals, shampoos, paper, office furniture & equipment, batteries, white goods, paint
Fair trade labels	Fair production conditions for producers from 3 <sup>rd</sup> World Countries; empowerment of producers & workers	Coffee, chocolate, bananas, cocoa, tea, honey, textiles
Organic food labels	Food produced by farmers using renewable resources; food free of antibiotics, growth hormones, and commercial pesticides.	Eggs, milk, meats, fruits, vegetables, bread, meats, canned goods, cheese, soft drinks , farm input products,
Forest certification	Sustainable forest management; improvement of the quality of life and relief of poverty for forest dependent people and workers	Wood products, furniture
Marine certification	Chain of custody well-managed and sustainable fishery; no over-fishing or depletion of exploited populations	Fish, fish products, shellfish
Socially responsible investing	Integration of personal values and societal concerns with investment decisions	Not a labeling scheme. Advice on investment placements

Adapted from Micheletti 2003 forthcoming.

Appendix 3: Examples of Culture Jamming Postcards from the CCC Collection



IN 1996, THE U.S. REVOKED THE RIGHTS OF IMMIGRANTS, REVOKED WELFARE, AND KICKED ONE MILLION CHILDREN INTO POVERTY. IN THE SAME YEAR, THE WEAALTHIEST 1% OF AMERICANS OWNED OVER 70% OF THE NATION'S WEALTH.



#### *Appendix 4. No Sweat Culture Jamming Examples*

**The Nike Email Exchange – excerpt** (see Peretti with Micheletti 2003).

From: Nike  
TO: Jonah Peretti

Your Nike iD order was cancelled for one or more of the following reasons:

- another party's trademark
- the name of an athlete we cannot use
- blank
- profanity, inappropriate slang,

From: Peretti  
To: Nike

Dear NIKE iD,

Thank you for your quick response to my inquiry about my custom ZOOM XC USA running shoes. Although I commend you for your prompt customer service, I disagree with the claim that my personal iD was inappropriate slang. After consulting Webster's Dictionary, I discovered that "sweatshop" is in fact part of standard English, and not slang. The word means: "a shop or factory in which workers are employed for long hours at low wages and under unhealthy conditions" and its origin dates from 1892. So my personal iD does meet the criteria detailed in your first email.

Your web site advertises that the NIKE iD program is "about freedom to choose and freedom to express who you are." I share Nike's love of freedom and personal expression. The site also says that "If you want it done right...build it yourself." I was thrilled to be able to build my own shoes, and my personal iD was offered as a small token of appreciation for the sweatshop workers poised to help me realize my vision. I hope that you will value my freedom of expression and reconsider your decision to reject my order.

Thank you,  
Jonah Peretti

From: Nike  
To: Peretti

Other personal iD contain material we consider inappropriate or simply do not want to place on our products

From: Peretti  
To: Nike

I decided to order the shoes with a different iD but could you send me a color snapshot of the ten-year-old Vietnamese girl who makes my shoes?

## From BehindTheLabel, 2003, Gap Activists Get Creative

Nils Vik learned that the Gap was holding a Gap model search, offering anyone who was interested a chance to appear in a Gap ad. Mr. Vik used this opportunity to send his photo, with the words at left, and a strong message to the Gap. When the Gap submission form asked him to explain, in 25 words or less, his personal style, here is what he said: "My personal style is: not exploiting countries, people, or violating labor laws in order to make an extra buck. Come on, grow up... please.



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