

**Table 1.1 Comparing Transnational Processes**

	Specific Aim	Larger Campaign	Organized Consumer Pressure	Role of Exporting State	Role of Importing State
Sullivan, 1977 to 1994	Workplace integration and affirmative action	Anti-apartheid, anti-racism	U.S. churches, students, and pension funds	South African state (during apartheid) viewed as enforcing discrimination	Explicit threat of increased sanctions against South Africa
Rugmark, 1992–94 to the present	To monitor looms, rescue children from carpet industry	Anti-child labor	German churches, UNICEF, and other child groups; U.S. churches and politicians	Indian state viewed by activists as complicit in permitting child labor	Explicit threat of market closure against carpets made with child labor
COVERCO, 1996 to the present	To improve working conditions across Guatemala, including maquilas	Central American human rights concerns <i>and</i> globalization of U.S. apparel industry	U.S. student groups and universities	Guatemalan state viewed as non-enforcing, possibly complicit in permitting labor law violations	Explicit threat of market closure if labor law reform not enacted

Source: Author's compilation.

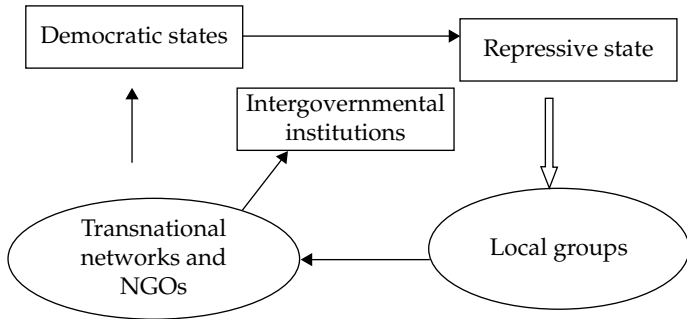
**Table 1.2 Comparing Monitoring Schemes**

	Monitoring Agency	Funding Source	Local Relations	Alternative Codes
Sullivan, 1977 to 1994	Arthur D. Little, accounting firm	Corporations seeking monitoring of subsidiaries and affiliates	Tensions with unions and anti-apartheid activists	Not for American firms
Rugmark, 1992–94 to the present	Independent NGO	Exporters paying for monitoring subcontractors	Tensions with unions and child labor activists	Several, both private and state-run
COVERCO, 1996 to the present	Independent NGO	Brands paying for monitoring subcontractors; U.S. government programs and labor rights groups	Some tensions with unions; close working relations with human rights groups; now working with Ministry of Labor	Several, both private and through industry coordinating council

*Source:* Author's compilation.

**Figure 2.1 Human Rights “Boomerang”**

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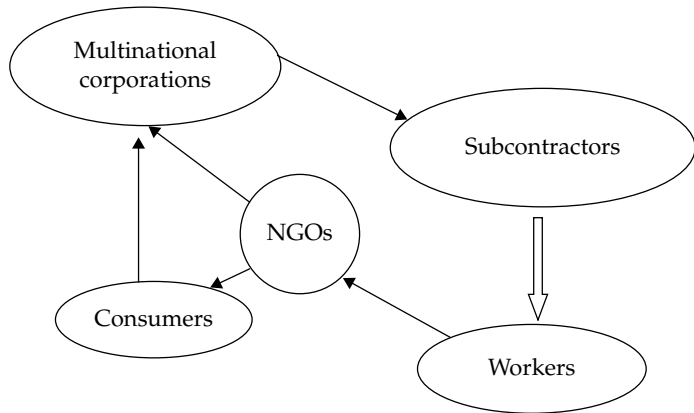


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*Source:* Adapted from Keck and Sikkink (1998).

**Figure 2.2 Stateless Consumer-Based Regulatory Vision**

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*Source: Author's calculations.*