TRANSNATIONAL DISCURSIVE ATTRIBUTION ANALYSIS ON LABOR RIGHTS IN THE GLOBAL PRODUCTION OF TEXTILES

CODEBOOK

RESEARCH PROJECT "TRANSNATIONAL LABOUR ACTIVISM IN THE GLOBAL TEXTILE INDUSTRY"

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Introduction

This codebook presents the use of the actor-attribution analysis (AAA) in the international discourse on labor rights enforcement.

The actor attribution analysis is a novel discourse analytical approach based on content analysis tools from social movement studies, in particular protest event analysis, frame analysis and political claim analysis, in combination with analysis of responsibility attribution (Roose et al.)[1]. Attributions of responsibility are the backbone of making sense in a political contention on the right way to regulate working conditions in global supply chains.

The AAA allows to systematically explore the public attribution of responsibilities, which pave the way to future political decision-making on who should regulate what, why and how. It makes it possible to explore patterns if responsibility relationships and the emergence and structuration of transnational fields of politics.

Actor Attribution Analysis[2]

"The three core elements of the coding process are the attribution itself, reasons given for the actor attribution and the context in which an actor attribution is stated. The actor attribution is the core unit of analysis. In its basic form, it contains the information to the question: "Who makes whom publicly responsible for what?" It is the combination of an attribution sender (AS) stating the attribution, an attribution addressee (AA) to whom the attribution is directed, and the attribution issue (AI). These three parts are linked in the guiding question: Who (AS) makes whom (AA) publicly responsible for what (AI)?" This trias forms the core of an actor attribution." (Roose et al. 2014)

Attributions can be differentiated between three different kinds:

Causal attribution, request attribution and competence attribution. Each of them can be positive or negative or ambivalent

Causal attribution: Causal attributions evaluate what has already happened (diagnostic) OR what will happen (prognostic).These attributions put the focus on the origin of the misconduct or success and want to capture who has/will have had caused the situation which is being evaluated. The general pattern is that an actor A (sender) sees actor B (addressee) as responsible for an outcome or action that has already happened or that will (presumably) happen.

Request attribution: Request attributions make a statement on what an actor should or should not do, in which way he/she should (not) act. Actor A (sender) says that actor B (addressee) should act in the specified way or refrain from a specific action.

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[1] This method was developed by Jochen Roose and Juergen Gerhards at the Freie University of Berlin, modified and adapted by Jochen Roose, Maria Kousis and Moritz Sommer for the project on discursive actor attribution analysis of the Eurozone crisis debate. http://www.ggcrisi.info/about/index.html. We thank in particular Jochen Roose and Moritz Sommer for the long discussion on how to adapt and modify their method for our case.

[2] Here we refer to the definition given in the project of Roose, Kousis and Sommer (2014)

Competence attribution: Competence attributions signal who should be in charge of dealing with respective problems. Again, actor A (sender) says that actor B (addressee) should or should not do something. It is not about the cause for a success or failure but about what should be done to take care of an issue field in future. Causal attributions can be evaluated positively, negatively, or the evaluation discusses positive and negative aspects resulting in an ambivalent evaluation. The request attribution can refer to the request of an action or the abstention of an action. Competence can be demanded for an actor and the delegation of competence can be rejected for an actor implying that the respective actor should not be in charge of dealing with the issue. The attributions can be summarized in the following attribution tree:
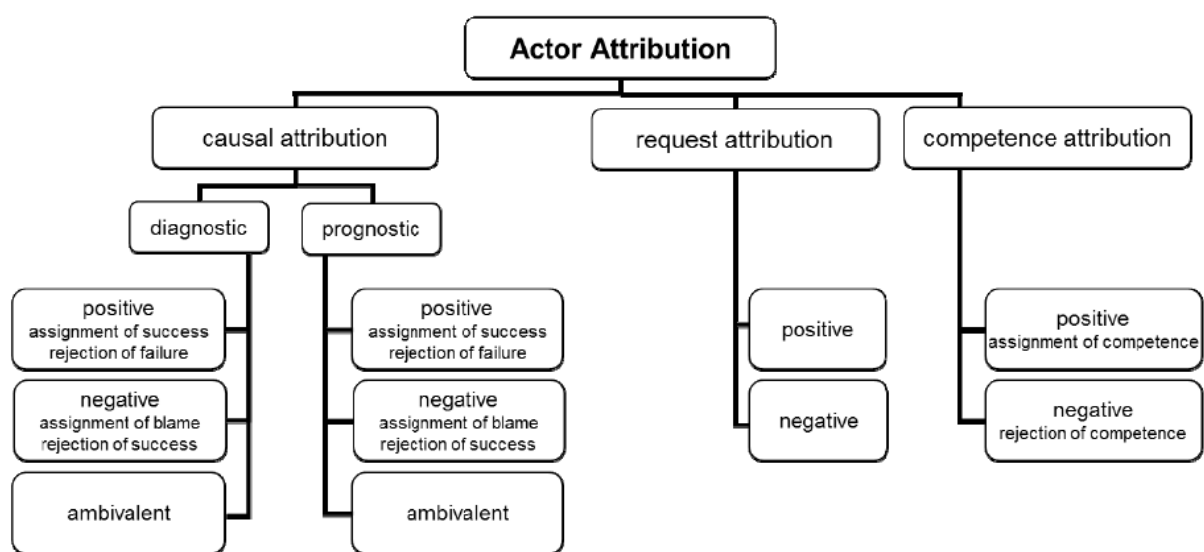

Figure 2: Attribution Tree – Overview (adapted from Gerhards, Offerhaus and Roose 2007: 116)

Table 1: Attribution Tree (Roose et al.2014): Discursive Actor Attribution Analysis: A Tool to Analyze How People Make Sense of the Crisis, Paper at the ECPR General Conference in Glasgow.

The attributions are coded to a significant degree following the coding scheme of the crisis project. Yet given that this coding scheme was developed for analyzing the crisis discourse in Europe, our coding scheme has to be modified on theoretical and empirical grounds. Of course we had to modify actors, issues and reasons for empirical issue area. But we also added two types of variables: First, we included a scope variable for each key variable (actors, addresses, issues, repertoires to be able to measure the scale of attribution making and thus the multiscalar structuration of the policy field. Second we included a measurement of the responses of the addressee and a variable which defines the relationship of one attribution towards another one. This allows us to capture if a specific attribution had any effect on the target, more specifically what kind of response strategies (partial or full acceptance, blame shifting, alternative solutions) the addressee applies. Thus an attribution analysis consists of ten key elements, for which a number of variables have been constructed for each.

Our own codebook entails over 50 different variables but the key variables (Table 2) are the location of the attribution (where was it made), the speaker, kind of attribution, the form of

attribution making (repertoire), the object of attribution making (for whom), the topic (what) and the reasons. The table examples below summarizes and gives an example of the key variables.

Where location	Sender/ Speaker	Attribut ion type	How form/ repertoire	object	At whom Adressee	What (issue)	Why (reason)
USA	Author New York Times International	Request positive	Newspaper article	workers	TNCs, Buyers	Enforce health and safety standards	Responsibility towards workers

Table 2: Example Key Variables AAA

> "Given the global nature of the garment industry, and of its shortcomings, improving workers' lot calls for a global solution. The most efficient approach is to *increase the costs to the big brands* themselves of tolerating poor working conditions. This is also the fairest approach. As the main drivers and the main beneficiaries of the global garment industry, the big brands are *ultimately responsible for the basic welfare of all the workers* who toil for their bottom line." (Welsh 2015: 8)

This attribution was made by the New York Times International Author David Welsh (Sender). He requests (Attribution) Buyers (Addressee) to pay the costs for the improvement of safety standards (Issue) for the workers (Object) in the textile industry in Bangladesh. He demands this from brands, as they represent the main beneficiaries of the global garment industry and therefore have the duty in respect of care and supervision of workers (Reason).

Newspaper Sample

For a first overview we searched at all English speaking newspapers of Asian consumer goods producing countries (China, Bangladesch, Bhutan, India, Nepal, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Indonesia, Cambodia, Laos, Malaysia, Myanmar, Philippines, Thailand, Vietnam) using "Lexis Nexis".
We intended to identify all articles which were discussing working conditions and labour relations in factories or production sites producing textiles and garments for global consumer markets. We started with the focus on working conditions in the global garment industry as this industry counts as the most contested global industry since the 1990s. To develop and text our codebook we focused on the international debate on working conditions in Bangladesh before and after Rana Plaza.
To choose the newspaper for our Bangladesh Case, we tested our searchstring (see Appendix 2) on the Bangladeshi Newspapers in Nexis (see Table 4) and finally decided for the analysis of "Financial Express" as it is highly circulated as well as it has highly more articles than the other Bangladeshi Newspapers (for more information about the selection process see appendix 1: Selection Process Newspapers). [3]

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[3]Also: the documentation of most Asian Newspapers begins not before December 2010 (as The New Nation (Bangladesh) and The Financial Express (Bangladesh)) – others later (The News Today (Bangladesh) from July 26, 2013). An exception is the Hindustan Times: which is covered since

To find articles which contain information about the discussion on the labor rights situation at the lower end of global supply chains we used a complex searchstring (see Appendix 2). With this search string we found more articles as well as more suitable ones for our case (Table 4).

Bangladesh newspapers in Nexis	Findings 2014
The Financial Express (Bangladesh)	1244
United News of Bangladesh (AsiaNet)	282
The New Nation (Bangladesh)	249
The News Today (Bangladesh)	128
Bangladesh Business News (BBN)	86
Dhaka Courier	38
Energy Bangla (Bangladesh)	15
Weekly Blitz	13
Sum	**2043**

Table 4: Findings Newspaper Articles with complex searchstring 2014

We decided to analyze articles between 2011 and 2015 of the Bangladesh "Financial Express" and the international "New York Times International". For the Financial Express, we decided to take only articles from Wednesday and Saturday. Because of the smaller amount of articles from the New York Times International, we chose to use all articles.

As these findings included also articles which deal with supply chain issues which are inherently national or mainly discusses worker's rights issues at the consumption side (e.g. US, Europe) we went through all articles manually to select only those which entail attribution-making and the attribution of responsibility on the overall topic of working conditions in factories supplying multinational companies (see table Appendix 4). This reduced the number to 342 Articles (Table 5).

	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015
Financial Express (Bangladesh)	9	29	114	90	32
New York Times International	0	11	45	9	3

Table 5: Newspaper articles 2011-2015

September 2004 (excepted December 2010, February 2011, March 2011 and January 2012; only sporadic update on December 2011).

Variables

A) GENERAL INFORMATION

Variable CODER

Coder information

Open

Enter your initials.

Variable CODAT

Date of coding

DD.MM.YY

B) ARTICLE INFORMATION

Variable ARID

Article ID

Open

Variable NEW

Name of newspaper

1	The Financial Express (Bangladesh)
2	The New Nation (Bangladesh)
3	The News Today (Bangladesh)
4	New York Times International

Variable NEWCOU

Country of newspaper

1	Bangladesh
2	USA
9	other
99	'unknown/unclassifiable'

Variable AYEAR

Year article

YY

Variable ADATE

Date article

DD.MM.YY

Variable ADAY

Day article

1	Monday
2	Tuesday
3	Wednesday
4	Thursday
5	Friday
6	Saturday
7	Sunday
8	unclear

Variable WOR

Words/ length

1	under 500
2	500-1000
3	over 1000
4	no own reporting

Variable ARTITLE

Short title of article

Open

C) TRANSNATIONAL POLITICAL ATTRIBUTION ANALYSIS

I ATTRIBUTION INFORMATION

Variable ATID

Identification number of the attribution

Open

Identification number of the attribution is based on the article number and attribution number: E.g.: 005_01 (first Attribution in the fifth Article). Articles from a Bangladesh Newspaper contain a "B" in front. Example: B010_03.

Please code the attributions in order of importance: Most important are attributions in which we get the core information of the article concerning labour rights in garment industry.

Similar attributions are not coded. If you find an attribution with same core variables (sender/issue/addressee) only add information to the existing one. Pleas add a comment to the Article Document ("same as ATID XX"- XX information added) as well as in the Colum "Comment" in SPSS.

Variable ATTITLE

Short Attribution title

Open

The short attribution title contains the core attribution: 1) sender (who?) 2) issue and issueform (what?) 3) addressee (to whom).

Example: State and Labor Departments blame Bangladesh government for not improving labour rights sufficiently.

Variable ATDATE

Date of attribution making

DD.MM.YY

II MAIN PLACE(S) OF ATTRIBUTION MAKING

Variable ATCOUN

Main country/region of attribution making

1	Malaysia
2	India
3	Bangladesh
4	China
5	Bhutan
6	Nepal

7	Pakistan
8	Sri Lanka
9	Indonesia
10	Cambodia
11	Laos
12	Myanmar
13	The Philippines
14	Thailand
15	Vietnam
17	EU/ country in EU
18	USA
19	Other countries
20	Local in Asia
21	Regional Asia
22	Western
98	other
99	'unknown/unclassifiable'

If there is no concrete information about the place of attribution making try to find out what would be logical: where is the speaker located? Does the article contain any information about an event location where the attribution could be made? A Bangladeshi newspaper would rather interview people in Bangladesh.

Variable ATCITY

Main city or region of attribution making

Open

Variable ATEVELOC

Location or event in which attribution making takes place

1	meeting general
2	stakeholder meeting
3	shareholder meeting
4	demonstration
5	business conference
6	ministerial event
99	'unknown/unclassifiable'

Variable ATEVELOCOPEN

Addition to attribution location or event

Open

Only code this if you cannot find a convenient code in ATEVELOC. *Try to find a generalized direction so it can also be used for other attributions.*

III ATTRIBUTION SENDER

Variable SEND

Type of sender

State actors
1 Bangladesh government
2 Bangladesh state executive agencies
3 Bangladesh parliament
4 Bangladesh political parties
5 Bangladesh politician (if unspecified and unclear whether referring to government, parliament or parties)
6 U.S. government
7 U.S. state executive agencies
8 U.S. senate/congress
9 European Union
10 other governments
11 other parliaments

15 engineers

Social Movement actors and civil society institutions
20 unions (officially recognized)
21 labour rights organizations
22 unorganized employees
23 trade unions networks
24 Alliance
25 Accord
26 Multi stakeholder organization general/mixed

30 human rights organizations and groups
31 fair trade/ ethical consumer organizations and groups
32 migrant organizations and groups
33 women's organizations and groups
34 students' organizations
35 other social movement organizations

40 welfare/ charity organizations
41 churches and religious organizations
42 political foundations
43 scientific and research professionals and institutions

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Business-Organizations
50      employers' organizations
51      other business associations
52      foreign owned factories, producing firms' and managers
53      TNCs, Buyers
54      independent (local) factories, producing firms' and managers (not
integrated in global production networks)
55      (1.tier direct) supplier factories, producing firms' and managers (code this,
when order of supply chain unclear)
56      sub-contractor factory of 1.tier supplier, suppliers further down the chain
57      economists and financial experts
58      business foundations
59      shareholders/investors

International- Organizations
60      UN
61      International Monetary Fund (IMF)
62      International Labor Organization (ILO)
63      World Bank
64      World Trade Organization (WTO)

80      journalist

89      'the general public' (e.g., 'citizens', 'the population', 'taxpayers'; only if
explicitly mentioned!)
99      'unknown/unspecified actors'
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If an attribution has multiple senders we are following the priority of the Codebook of Koopmans[4]: "1) actors mentioned in the article as 'leaders', 'organizers', 'spokespersons', etc. have priority, unless, of course, they do not make any attributions; 2) active actors or speakers have priority over passive audiences/rank-and-file participants [...] 3) If there are several actors or no actor at all who have priority according to these three criteria, the order in which they are mentioned in the article decides [...]. If of one physical actor two functions are mentioned, the highest level capacity in terms of the scope variable [...]" (Koopmans 2002, p. 24).

Example: (1) The short title of the attribution "US, Europe and workers rights groups want Bangladesh to enforce freedom of association" shows that there are three senders: US government, European government and workers' rights groups. When we do not find more information about who is leading this process or who is more active the US government would be the sender – as it is mentioned first.

If one actor A is citing another actor B who is criticizing actor C please code actor B as sender and actor C as addressee and do not include actor A.

Example: In the article a human rights activist (A) refers to a Bangladesh union leader (B) who criticizes a factory manager (C) for trade union oppression. In this case please code the Bangladesh union leader (B) as sender and the factory manager (C) as addressee. As the human rights activist (A) is only citing he will not be coded.

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[4] *Koopmans, Ruud (2002). Codebook for the analysis of political mobilization and communication in European public spheres. http://europub.wzb.eu/Data/Codebooks%20questionnaires/D2-1-claims-codebook.pdf*

Please note: As we are interested in coalitions of actors also take note of "trade union network" (23)!

Example: At the attribution "Labour Unions (and consumer groups) push apparel retailers to create independent monitoring" we are able to code more than one sender as we have the value "trade union networks" (23)

SenderKat1

For the empirical analysis we categorized the different actors into the following groups:

1   *Bangladesh state actors*

Codes: Bangladesh government, Bangladesh state executive agencies, Bangladesh parliament, Bangladesh political parties, Bangladesh politician

2   *Other countries state actors*

Codes: U.S. government, U.S. state executive agencies, U.S. senate/congress, European Union, other governments, other parliaments

3   *Labour actors*

Codes: unions, labour rights organizations, unorganized employees, trade union networks

4   *MSIs*

Codes: Alliance, Accord, Multi-Stakeholder organizations genereal/mixed

5   *Civil society organizations*

Codes: human rights organizations, fair trade/ethical consumer organizations and groups, migrant organizations and groups, women's organizations and groups, student's organizations, other social movement organizations, welfare/charity organizations, churches and religious organizations, political foundation

6   *Scientists*

Codes: scientific and research professionals and institutions, economists and financial experts

7   Employer/Business organizations

Codes: employer organizations, other business organizations, business foundations, shareholders/investors

8   Factory management

Codes: Foreign owned factories, producing firms and managers, independent (local) factories, producing firms' and managers (not integrated in global production networks), (1.tier direct) supplier factories, producing firms' and managers (code this, when order of supply chain unclear), sub-contractor factory of 1.tier supplier, suppliers further down the chain

9   *TNCs/Buyers*

Codes: TNCs, Buyers

10   *International organizations*

Codes: UN, International Monetary Fund (IMF), International Labor Organization (ILO), World Bank, World Trade Organization (WTO)

11   *General Public*

Codes: Journalist, General public

12   *Inspectors*

Codes: inspectors/engineers

13   *Other actors*

Codes: unknown/unspecified actors

Variable SENDNAME

Institution or name of organizational sender

alpha-numeric

Enter full name of the spokesperson for an organization or institution.

Variable SENDCOUNT

Country of sender

1	Malaysia
2	India
3	Bangladesh
4	China
5	Bhutan
6	Nepal
7	Pakistan
8	Sri Lanka
9	Indonesia
10	Cambodia
11	Laos
12	Myanmar
13	The Philippines
14	Thailand
15	Vietnam
20	EU
21	Belgium
22	Switzerland
23	Germany
24	UK
25	France
26	Italy
27	Spain

28	Sweden
29	The Netherlands
30	Finland
31	Turkey
32	Other European country
40	USA
41	Canada
60	international organizations
98	other
99	'unknown/unclassifiable'

Code the country where the organization is registered. For example for the attribution "Accord criticizes factories for not having high enough sprinkler systems in factory". The Accord is registered in Amsterdam/ Netherlands the SENDCOUNT would be EU.

Please note: Only code 20 (EU) or 40 (international organization) if the organization is only organized at sub-national level.

Variable SENDCITY

Main city of sender

Open

Variable SENDSCOPE

Scope of organization of sender

1	local
2	nationwide
3	regional Asia
4	international (ILO, WTO)
30	multilateral (without other information)/ transnational

Multilateral Out: headquarter <u>outside</u> the country of sender (location of headquarter)

40	Multilateral Out: HQ in North American country
41	Multilateral Out: HQ in European country
42	Multilateral Out: HQ in (another) Asian country

Multilateral In: headquarter <u>inside</u> the country of sender

50	Multilateral In: North American and Asian/other country
51	Multilateral In: European and Asian/other country
52	Multilateral In: North American and European country
53	Multilateral In: North American, Asian and European country
54	Multilateral In: Inter-Asian

55	Multilateral In: Other
98	other
99	'unknown/unclassifiable'

When an actor has a headquarter in only one country, this would be coded as "national" – e.g. "Azim Group" is a global selling company, but it is based in Bangladesh/Dhaka as it has its headquarter in Bangladesh. So the scope would be "national". Use "local" when the scope is smaller than the national level, e.g. for a specific factory owner at a special factory.

Examples:

(1) American Universities told brands they work with to join Accord

SEND: scientific and research professionals and institutions

SENDCOUNT: USA

SENDSCOPE: nationwide

(2) Labour Unions (and consumer groups) push apparel retailers to create independent monitoring

SEND: trade union networks

SENDCOUNT: Western (not specified)

SENDSCOPE: International/international

To code the differentiated scope for multilateral scope (40-55) you first have to answer if the headquarter of the multilateral sender is located outside (code 2nd the location of headquarter with 40-42) or inside (then code 2nd the involved countries with 50-55) the country of sender.

Example:

(1) Accord criticizes factories for not having high enough sprinkler systems in factory
SEND: Accord

SENDCOUNT: EU

SENDSCOPE: Multilateral Out: HQ in European country

Variable SENDREP

Repertoires and tactics of sender

Verbal and written statements	
10	presentation of survey/poll result
11	non-specified statement
12	press conference/release
13	interview
14	public speech
15	(public) letter
16	newspaper article
17	web based statement (Blog/twitter)
18	other publication (book, research report, leaflet, etc.)

19   complaint/ resolution

Meetings
20   state-political meeting (e.g., summits, state visits)
21   other conferences
21   public assembly
23   multistakeholder meeting
24   activist network meeting

Juridical action and quasi-judicial action
30   lawsuit
31   non-legal complaint
32   Quasi-judicial action (e.g. self-organization of a tribunal)
33   investigation (private)

Referendum/signature
40   (parliamentary) election
41   launching of referendum
42   vote on referendum
43   petition/signature collection
44   letter campaign
45   online signature collection

Protest (note: is this is codes also code protest event analysis at the end)
50   march, demonstration (legal and non-violent)
51   illegal demonstration (if non-violent)
52   boycott
53   strike
54   wildcat strike
55   self-mutilation (e.g., hunger strike, suicide)
56   blockade/ occupation
57   disturbance of meetings
58   symbolic confrontation (e.g., farmers dumping animal dung in front of a
government building; flashmob)
59   other protest

Private party political decision
70   subcontracting
71   ending contract (stop sourcing from a specific factory)
72   introduction of new regulation
73   becoming member of MSI
74   introducing of new enforcement mechanism (e.g. increase in inspections)
75   capacity building
76   remediation
77   compensation payments
78   threat of ending of contract/ order
State and public political decisions'
90   legislation (proposal)
91   ruling (courts)
92   parliamentary vote
93   state enforcement of private rules
94   resolution (political parties)

95	personal decisions (resignation/dismissal from/appointment to office)
96	(threat of) ending trade relations/ order
98	other
99	unknown/ unclassifiable

Code the dominant repertoires of the sender. This could be e.g. a special power resource. Sometimes you have to read the whole article to find the repertoire.

Examples:

(1) Article: *"[...] United States and Europe, with workers' advocacy groups, have been pressuring Bangladesh and its garment industry to improve factory safety and to guarantee that workers are free to unionize if the country wants some trade preferences restored. The Obama administration suspended Bangladesh's trade privileges last year, after the Rana Plaza factory building in Bangladesh collapsed (...)"* *Here the sender (US government) has the power to threat with the end of trade relations (96) to force the addressee (Bangladesh government) to improve factory safety.*

(2) American Universities told brands they work with to join Accord

SENDREP: non specified statement

(3) Accord criticizes factories for not having high enough sprinkler systems in factory

SENDREP: investigation (private)

Please note: concerning private party political decision: Only code if a relation to regulation and compliance exists, do not code when only economic strategy. Relocation of production or sub-contracting can be both, depending on the context and argument about the change in behavior.

Variable SENDREPOPEN

Additional repertoires sender

Open

Only code this if you cannot find a convenient code in SENDREP. Try to find a generalized direction so it can be also used for other attributions.

Variable SENDREPSCOPE

Scope of repertoire of sender

1	local
2	nationwide
3	regional Asia
4	international
99	unknown

Usually interviews and public statements in the Bangladeshi newspaper have a national scope and statements published in the NYT International usually have an international scope.

IV ATTRIBUTION TYPE

Variable ATTR

Attribution type

11	causal diagnostic attribution - positive
12	causal diagnostic attribution - negative
13	causal diagnostic attribution - ambivalent
21	causal prognostic attribution - positive
22	causal prognostic attribution - negative
23	causal prognostic attribution - ambivalent
30	request attribution - positive
31	request attribution - negative
32	request attribution - ambivalent
40	competence attribution - positive
41	competence attribution - negative
42	competence attribution - ambivalent
99	'unknown/unclassifiable'

Please find the differentiation of the attribution types in the introduction of thiscodebook.

Examples:

(1) Causal Diagnostic pos./neg/ambiv.: someone is responsible for a good/bad/ambivalent result

*Accord **criticizes** factories for not having high enough sprinkler systems in factory. (neg.)*

*Kevin Gardner, Wal-Mart, **lauds** Walmart for transparency in inspections. (pos.)*

*Experts see US suspension of trade relations **ambivalent**. (ambivalent)*

(2) Causal Prognostic pos./neg/ambiv: someone did something which will have a pos./neg./ ambivalent consequence in the future

Bang. Garment manuf. blame Disney for possible future relocation of garment. (neg.)

*Author appreciates that Accord could improve working conditions for Bangladesh workers**. (pos.)***

(3) Request positive/negative/ambivalent: someone should/ should not/ not clear if should or should not do sth.

Western retailers (and brands) push Bangladesh factories to improve safety. (pos)

*State department requests U.S. government not to revoke trade status with Bangladesh**. (neg.)***

(4) Competence pos./neg/ ambivalent: Someone should/ should not/ unclear be in charge of a subject in General/get the responsibility for something

Labour union leader thinks brands should be in charge of guaranteeing workers' rights. (pos)

*U.S. officials are conflicted over U.S. gov. responsibility to improve **labour conditions in Bangladesh.** (ambivalent)*

V ISSUES

To understand the full issue we need min. twovariables: the variable "issue" (or/and isueopen), which is the subject, and the variable "issuedirection", which indicated the direction of the issue.

For example with the attribution "Inspectors of accord call factory to install health and safety fixes" we have the subject "health and safety fixes" (which would be the issue "Health and safety issues"). To understand the content of the attribution we have to know what should happen with the "health and safety fixes". Therefor we code the direction, which would be "installation" (coded by "introducing") in this case.

Variable ISSUE

Issue of attribution

Labour rights	
1	labor rights in general
2	collective agreement
3	wage payments
4	trade union registration
5	minimum wage
6	health and safety issues
7	freedom of speech
8	freedom of Association/assembly
9	freedom for imprisoned workers/trade unionists
10	death of workers
11	repression of rights
12	worker participation
13	informal worker participation
14	threats/verbal repression against trade unionists/ labour activists
15	violent attacks against trade unionists/ labour activists
16	capacity building
17	child labour
18	protests
19	empowerment of women
State Law & Regulation processes	
20	new/ additional law (additional rules)
21	negotiation of government
22	specification/modification of law

23	sanction mechanisms
24	independent control/ inspection of labor conditions (state)
25	transparency: Information on Inspection of labor conditions
26	political transparency
27	regulation (state) of private regulation
28	corruption

Economy general

40	export strategy (of whole/national economy)
41	economic growth/ industry growth
42	international position of whole/ national economy
43	economic downsizing/relocation of production
44	size/ power of companies

Economic and social policy

50	trade policy
51	poverty
52	wealth
53	standard of living
54	political stability
55	infrastructure
56	social policy / welfare
57	deregulation of trade
58	regulation of trade
59	tax for companies

Business and private politics

70	production structure of specific business
71	risky factories
72	independent monitoring/ inspections (private)
73	transparency of private politics
74	corporate social responsibility
75	prices for goods
76	productivity
77	compensation
78	cooperation (with workers, state agency)
79	communication/ PR
80	MSI
81	Accord membership
82	Alliance membership
98	others
99	'unknown/unclassifiable'

Issues were constructed bottom up. A problem or subject can be explicit labor rights changes but also other issues directly related to labor rights (e.g. social insurance etc.) if it is made explicit.

Please note: Code content before process (20-27)!

Please choose an existing code which is closest to the issue. If it is very different to existing issues please code also the variable "Issue open".

Examples:

(1) Attribution: Alliance has to make better PR

ISSUE: communication/PR

(2) Attribution: Inspectors of accord call factory to install aut. Sprinkler system and other health and safety fixes

ISSUE: Health and safety issues

ISSUEOPEN: sprinkler systems and others

(3) Attribution: Author calls government to conduct a fair and speedy trial

ISSUE: Sanction mechanisms

ISSUEOPEN: Trial

Variable Issuekat

For the empirical analysis we categorized the issues the following way:

1   *Labour rights*

Codes: labor rights in general, collective agreement, wage payments, trade union registration, living wage (above minimum), health and safety issues, freedom of speech, worker participation, informal worker participation, capacity building, child labour, protests, empowerment of women

2   *Worker, union repression*

Codes: freedom for imprisoned workers/trade unionists, death of workers, repression of rights, freedom of Association/assembly, threats/verbal repression against trade unionists/ labour activists, violent attacks against trade unionists/ labour activists

3   *State regulation*

Codes: new/ additional law (additional rules), negotiation of government, specification/modification of law, sanction mechanisms, independent control/ inspection of labor conditions (state), transparency: Information on Inspection of labor conditions, political transparency, regulation (state) of private regulation, corruption, deregulation of trade, regulation of trade, tax for companies

4   *Societal consequences*

Codes: trade policy, poverty, wealth, standard of living, political stability, infrastructure, social policy/welfare

5   *Economic consequences*

Codes: export strategy (of whole/national economy), economic growth/ industry growth, international position of whole/ national economy, economic downsizing/relocation of production, size/ power of companies

6   *Private regulation*

Codes: production structure of specific business, risky factories, independent monitoring/ inspections (private), transparency of private politics, corporate social responsibility, prices for goods, productivity, compensation, cooperation (with workers, state agency), communication/ PR

7   *MSI*

Codes: MSI, Accord membership, Alliance membership

Variable ISSUEOPEN

Additional issue of attribution

Open

Only code this if you cannot find a convenient code in ISSUE. Try to find a generalized direction so it can be also used for other attributions.

Examples:

(1) Attribution: Inspectors of accord call factory to install automatic. Sprinkler system and other health and safety fixes
ISSUE: Health and safety issues

ISSUEOPEN: sprinkler systems and others

(2) Attribution: Author calls government to conduct a fair and speedy trial
ISSUE: Sanction mechanisms

ISSUEOPEN: Trial

Variable ISSUEDIR

Direction of issue

1	introducing new law/ regulation
2	improvement of enforcement; (too) strong
3	increase of/ more enforcement; (too) much/many
4	changing from state to private
5	changing form private to state
6	weaker regulation, lesser enforcement; (too) weak
7	decrease/ less of/ cuts of enforcement; (too) little/low
8	stop/ eliminate/ close
9	lack of/ absence
10	accordance with
11	non-compliance/ violation
89	no direction (status quo/existence)
90	unknown

The "issuedirection" is part of the full issue. It completes the variable "issue" by indicating what should happen/happened with the issue.

Please choose an existing code which is closest to the "issuedirection". If it is very different to existing issues please code also the variable "Issuediropen".

Examples:

(1) Attribution: Factory owner criticizes Accord for rudeness in cooperation

ISSUE: cooperation (with workers/ state agency)

ISSUEDIR: no direction (status quo/existence)

(2) Attribution: Alliance has to make better PR

ISSUE: communication/PR

ISSUEDIR: improvement (of enforcement)

(3) Attribution: Author calls government to conduct a fair and speedy trial

ISSUE: Sanction mechanisms

ISSUEDIR: introducing (new law/regulation)

(3) Attribution: VF says they have obligation to ensure general workers rights

ISSUE: Labor rights in general

ISSUEDIR: accordance with

Variable ISSUEDIROPEN

Additional form of issue

Open

Only code this if you cannot find a convenient code in ISSUEDIR.

After an amount of codings we will revise this variable to see if we should add some codes to the ISSUEDIR. So try to find a generalized direction so it can be also used for other attributions.

Example:

Attribution: Factory owner criticizes Accord for rudeness in cooperation)

ISSUE: cooperation (with workers/ state agency)

ISSUEDIR: no direction (status quo/existence)

ISSUEDIROPEN: rudeness (bad/negative)

Variable ISSCOP

Scope of the issue

1	local
2	nationwide
3	regional Asia
4	international
99	unknown

As scope of the issue we code the geographical or political level of the issue. Issue scope is in principle independent from the scope of the subject actor, addressee, and/or object actor. For example, the installation of an automatic sprinkler system will be done at a local scope while the implementation of a new labour law will be at national level and the negotiation of the Accord with global brands and labour networks indicates an international level.

VI ADDRESSEE

Variable ADRS

Addressee of attribution

State Actors
1   Bangladesh government
2   Bangladesh state executive agencies
3   Bangladesh parliament
4   Bangladesh political parties
5   Bangladesh politician (if unspecified and unclear whether referring to government, parliament or parties)
6   U.S. government
7   U.S. state executive agencies
8   U.S. senate/congress
9   European Union
10   other governments
11   other parliaments

15   engineers

Social Movement actors and civil society institutions
20   unions (officially recognized)
21   labour rights organizations
22   unorganized employees
23   trade unions networks

24	Alliance
25	Accord
26	Multi stakeholder organization general/mixed
30	human rights organizations and groups
31	fair trade/ ethical consumer organizations and groups
32	migrant organizations and groups
33	women's organizations and groups
34	students' organizations
35	other social movement organizations
40	welfare/ charity organizations
41	churches and religious organizations
42	political foundations
43	scientific and research professionals and institutions

Business-Organizations

50	employers' organizations
51	other business associations
52	Foreign owned factories, producing firms' and managers
53	TNCs, Buyers
54	independent (local) factories, producing firms' and managers (not integrated in global production networks)
55	(1.tier direct) supplier factories, producing firms' and managers (code this, when order of supply chain unclear)
56	sub-contractor factory of 1.tier supplier, suppliers further down the chain
57	economists and financial experts
58	business foundations
59	shareholders/investors

International-Organizations

60	UN
61	International Monetary Fund (IMF)
62	International Labor Organization (ILO)
63	World Bank
64	World Trade Organization (WTO)
80	Journalist
89	'the general public' (e.g., 'citizens', 'the population', 'taxpayers'; only if explicitly mentioned!)
99	'unknown/unspecified actors'

The addressee is the actor who is made responsible for the issue. Usually the article gives us the name of the addressee, which is coded above, but here we have to find out the type of the addressee. Please code the closest possible from the list and code the ADRSOPEN only if this is not convenient.

Only code more than one addressee if the addressee is a) called in the same way and b) totally different to the 1st. For example, if the president and the general secretary of the same country who represent a similar interest are addressed only code the more important one (president). But if a state actor, a business actor and a union are addressed at the same time please code three actors.

Example:

Attribution: Union leader blames managers for repression of trade union

ADRS: (1.tier direct) supplier factories, producing firms' managers

AdresseeKat1

For the empirical analysis we categorized the different actors into the following groups:

1   *Bangladesh state actors*

Codes: Bangladesh government, Bangladesh state executive agencies, Bangladesh parliament, Bangladesh political parties, Bangladesh politician

2   *Other countries state actors*

Codes: U.S. government, U.S. state executive agencies, U.S. senate/congress, European Union, other governments, other parliaments

3   *Labour actors*

Codes: unions, labour rights organizations, unorganized employees, trade union networks

4   *MSIs*

Codes: Alliance, Accord, Multi-Stakeholder organizations genereal/mixed

5   *Civil society organizations*

Codes: human rights organizations, fair trade/ethical consumer organizations and groups, migrant organizations and groups, women's organizations and groups, student's organizations, other social movement organizations, welfare/charity organizations, churches and religious organizations, political foundation

6   *Scientists*

Codes: scientific and research professionals and institutions, economists and financial experts

7   *Employer/Business organizations*

Codes: employer organizations, other business organizations, business foundations, shareholders/investors

8   *Factory management*

Codes: Foreign owned factories, producing firms and managers, independent (local) factories, producing firms' and managers (not integrated in global production networks), (1.tier direct) supplier factories, producing firms' and managers (code this, when order of supply chain unclear), sub-contractor factory of 1.tier supplier, suppliers further down the chain

9   *TNCs/Buyers*

Codes: TNCs, Buyers

10   *International organizations*

Codes: UN, International Monetary Fund (IMF), International Labor Organization (ILO), World Bank, World Trade Organization (WTO)

11   *General Public*

Codes: Journalist, General public

12   *Inspectors*

Codes: inspectors/engineers

13   *Other actors*

Codes: unknown/unspecified actors

Variable ADRSOPEN

Additional to addressee of attribution

Open

Only code this if there are additional information to variable ADR or if the type of the addressee is not listed in ADRS.

Example:

(1) Attribution: Walmart lauds Walmart's inspections (comprehensive)

ADRS: TNCs, Buyers

ADRS Open: Walmart

(2) Attribution: Accord criticizes Alliance for not rigorous inspections

ADRS: Multi Stakeholder Organization business-driven (business as dominant actors e.g. Alliance)

ADRS Open: Alliance

(3)Attribution: Union leader (and investigators) blame managers and anti-union workers for repression of trade union

ADRS: (1.tier direct) supplier factories, producing firms' managers (code this, when order of supply chain unclear)

ADRS: unorganized employees

ADRS Open: Managers

ADRS Open: Anti-Union Workers

Variable ADRSCOP

Scope of addressee

1	local
2	nationwide
3	regional Asia
4	international
99	unknown

Examples:

(1) Attribution: Walmart lauds Walmart's inspections (comprehensive)

ADRS: TNCs, Buyers

ADRS Open: Walmart

ADRSCOP: International

(2)

Attribution: Accord criticizes Alliance for not rigorous inspections

ADRS: Multi Stakeholder Organization business-driven (business as dominant actors e.g. Alliance)

ADRS Open: Alliance

ADRSCOP: International

(3)

Attribution: Union leader (and investigators) blame managers and anti-union workers for repression of trade union

ADRS: (1.tier direct) supplier factories, producing firms' managers (code this, when order of supply chain unclear)

ADRS: unorganized employees

ADRS Open: Managers

ADRS Open: Anti-Union Workers

ADRSCOP: Local

ADRSCOP 2: Local

(4)

Attribution: Author calls government to conduct a fair and speedy trial

ADRS: government

ADRSCOP: nationwide

(5)

Attribution: IndustriALL lauds transparency in Accords reports

ADRS: Mult Stakeholder Organization societal-driven (NGOs, trade unions as main drivers e.g. Accord)

ADRS Open: Accord

ADRSCOP: International

VII OBJECT

Concerning the object we code whom the attribution is about and who is affected the most by the attribution.

Variable OBJ

Object of attribution

10	workers (unclassified)
11	women workers
12	child workers
13	non-contracted and homework
14	trade unionist/labor activist
15	unqualified
16	temporary
17	migrant
18	unemployed
19	multi stakeholder organization
20	economy
21	companies
22	textile industries
23	other industries
24	Buyers
30	society
31	political parties
32	consumer
33	environment
34	community
35	family
90	'the general public'
99	unknown/unclassifiable

The object could be the same as the attribution sender – e.g. when workers claim better working conditions. The object may also be identical with the addressee, e.g. when a social movement network calls a factory to close.

Please note: If there is more than one code the last concerned of chain.

Sometimes it is difficult to identify one object. For example an article says: "[...] United States and Europe, with workers' advocacy groups, have been pressuring Bangladesh and its garment industry to

improve factory safety and to guarantee that workers are free to unionize if the country wants some trade preferences restored. The Obama administration suspended Bangladesh's trade privileges last year, after the Rana Plaza factory building in Bangladesh collapsed, killing more than 1,100 apparel workers."
Here we have several attributions. Concerning the attribution "US, Europe and workers' rights groups want Bangladesh to improve factory safety" (req +) with the SendRep "End trade Relations" you have to ask: who is affected the most by the request to improve factory safety? Here the sender repertoire tells us the garment industry would be affected strongly by the end of trade relations – at the same time workers would be affected mostly by the improvement of factory safety. Regarding the rule "code the last one of the chain" workers should be coded.

Another example would be the following article: "The bottom line is the vast majority of factory owners have been absolutely cooperative throughout," said Mr. Roberts, the Accord official. "They see this as a benefit to their industry, as opposed to the Bangladesh Garment Manufacturers and Exporters Association, which thought the industry would be decimated by this." By the diagnostic negative attribution "BGMEA criticizes Accord for decimating industry." the Accord is criticized, so they are affected by this. But we would argue that in this case the attribution contains the affection of the industry as prior object. Therefor "economy" should be coded.

Examples:
*   (1) Attribution: American Universities told brands they work with to join Accord)*
OBJ: Buyers

*   (2) Attribution: Apparel Investigation blames Azim factory management for trade union attack*
OBJ: trade unionist/ labor activist

*   (3) Attribution: Mr. Roberts, Accord, lauds factory owners for good cooperation*
OBJ: Factory owner

*   (4) Attribution: Accord criticizes factories for not having high enough sprinkler systems in factory*
OBJ: workers

*   (5) Attribution: US, Europe and workers' rights groups want Bangladesh to enforce freedom of association*
OBJ: textile industry

Variable OBJOPEN

Additional to object of attribution

Open

Only code this if there are additional information to the variable OBJ or if the type of the addressee is not listed in OBJ. In the second case, try to find a generalized direction so it can be also used for other attributions.

Examples:

   (1) Attribution: American Universities told brands they work with to join Accord
OBJ: Buyers

OBJOPEN: brands producing for university

   (2) Attribution: Apparel Investigation blames Azim factory management for trade union attack OBJ:
     trade unionist/ labor activist
OBJOPEN: women trade unionist

VIII REASONS

The reason is the argument of the speaker for his attribution making.

Variable REASON1, REASON2

Description of the reason

Open

Describe the reason based on the article. Please keep the description short and clear.

Note: Do only code reasons which you can explain/justify! Only code "Reason 2" if there is a different reason to the first.

Depending on the attribution type you ask:

Why is the addressee responsible for the negatively/positively evaluated issue? Or: Why is the issue negatively/positively evaluated? (Causal)

Why should the addressee act? (Request)

Why should this actor be in charge?(Comp.)

Example:
(1) Article: "Mr. Nova said the compensation the Azim Group provided did not cover all Ms. Boashak's medical bills and was inadequate. Photographs of her wounds show a long, open, bright red gash in her skull after the Aug. 26 attack."

Attribution: Scott Nova blames Azim Group for too little compensation.

Why is the compensation too little?

REASON1: payment did not cover medical bills

To identify the reason you have to look at the context and sometimes read the previous or following paragraph of the article.

Examples:

(2) Article: "Director of global strategy for Workers United blames managers for anti-union repression. He has evidence that ' some managers and anti-union workers had arrived early and were strategically placed when buses stopped outside the factory [...] and when the union people arrived, they were dragged and pushed off camera where we were told they were assaulted severely."

Attribution: Director of global strategy for Workers United blames managers for anti-union repression.

Why are the managers responsible for the attack?

REASON1: Evidence for attack

(3) Attribution: Factory owners call western brands to help paying salaries

Why should brands act?

REASON1: Brands closed factories because of safety reasons

(4) Attribution: Alliance criticizes that Accord did not pay compensation

Why is the Accord responsible for not paying compensation?

REASON1: Accord closed the factory

REASON2: Alliance pays wages in such cases

Variable REASONTYP1, REASONTYP2

Kind of argument

1	legal argument Law& Regulation
2	economic argument Economy
3	moral, normative argument Normative
4	mixed
99	unknown

Based on which kind of argument is the attribution?

Examples:

(1) Article: "Director of global strategy for Workers United blames managers for anti-union repression. He has evidence that ' some managers and anti-union workers had arrived early and were strategically

placed when buses stopped outside the factory [...] and when the union people arrived, they were dragged and pushed off camera where we were told they were assaulted severely."

Attribution: Director of global strategy for Workers United blames managers for anti-union repression.

Reason: Evidence for attack

Which kind of argument? Evidence as legal argument as it can proof the attacks.

ReasonType1: legal argument Law& Regulation

(2) Attribution: Alliance criticizes that Accord did not pay compensation

REASON1: Accord closed the factory

Which kind of argument? As the Accord is attributed as the committer of closing the factory it would be responsible for the legally binding compensation.

ReasonType1*: legal argument Law & regulation*

REASON2: Alliance pays wages in such cases

Which kind of argument? With this argument the sender puts moral pressure on the Accord.

ReasonType2*: moral, normative argument Normative*

(3) Attribution: Public blames brands for lack of health and safety
..

REASON2: Brand push hard to keep costs down in global supply chain

Which kind of argument? **Although this is about money this is NOT an economic ARGUMENT. With this argument the sender argues that brands act against moral values.**

ReasonType2*: moral, normative argument Normative*

(4)

Attribution: Factory owners call western brands to help paying salaries

REASON1: Brands closed factories because of safety reasons

Here we have a mixed argument because brands are responsible in a legal way, but here we also have an economic context.

ReasonType1: mixed

Variable REASONDIR1, REASONDIR2

Direction of reason

1	positive
2	negative
99	unknown/unspecified

With the direction we code which impact the coded reason(s) have on the ReasonType.

Examples:

(1) Article: "Mr. Nova said the compensation the Azim Group provided did not cover all Ms. Boashak's medical bills and was inadequate. Photographs of her wounds show a long, open, bright red gash in her skull after the Aug. 26 attack."

Attribution: Scott Nova blames Azim Group for too little compensation.

Reason: payment did not cover medical bills.

ReasonType1: legal argument Law& Regulation

REASONDIR1: negative (object: wounded worker)

(2) Article: "Director of global strategy for Workers United blames managers for anti-union repression. He has evidence that ' some managers and anti-union workers had arrived early and were strategically placed when buses stopped outside the factory [...] and when the union people arrived, they were dragged and pushed off camera where we were told they were assaulted severely."

Attribution: Director of global strategy for Workers United blames managers for anti-union repression.

Reason: Evidence for attack

ReasonType1: legal argument Law& Regulation

REASONDIR1: positive

(3) Attribution: Alliance criticizes that Accord did not pay compensation

REASON1: Accord closed the factory

REASONCON1: legal argument Law & regulation

REASONDIR1: negative

REASON2: Alliance pays wages in such cases

REASONCON2: moral, normative argument Normative

REASONDIR2: negative

XI EVENT HORIZON / REFERENCE EVENT

This can be identical to the location of attribution making. However, in most cases the location of attribution making and the location of the source of the conflict (e.g. location of labor rights violation like Rana Plaza) are different.

Variable EVLOC

Location of event

1	Malaysia
2	India
3	Bangladesh
4	China
5	Bhutan
6	Nepal
7	Pakistan
8	Sri Lanka
9	Indonesia
10	Cambodia
11	Laos
12	Myanmar
13	The Philippines
14	Thailand
15	Vietnam
17	Country in EU
18	Country in USA
19	Other countries
20	Local in Asia
21	Regional Asia
98	other
99	'unknown/unclassifiable'

Variable EVTYPE

Type of event

1	Stakeholder meeting
2	Business-related Actors meeting
3	Employees-related Actors Meeting
4	State-related Actors Meeting
5	Protest Event
6	Factory Accident/ Abuse of workers' rights
7	Change in trade arena
8	Change in political arena

9	Violation of workers
10	Factory closure
99	'unknown/unclassifiable'

Variable EVTYPEOPEN

Additional to type of event

Open

Only code this if you cannot find a convenient code in EVTYPE. Try to find a generalized direction so it can be also used for other attributions.

X RELATIONSHIP TO OTHER ATTRIBUTIONS

Only code if there is a direct response to the coded attribution making!

Variable RELAT 1, 2

Relationship to coded attribution

Open

Enter number of related attribution

Variable TRELAT 1, 2

Type of relationship to other attribution

10	support
20	acceptance
30	partial acceptance, partial/selective responses
40	acceptance but alternative solution
50	responsibility shifting
60	rejection of attribution
99	'unknown/unclassifiable'

Note: We are mainly interested if there is an acceptance or rejection - so please code 10-40 or 60 with priority before "responsibility shifting" (50).

Variable TRELATOPEN 1, 2

Additional to type of relationship to other attribution

Open

Only code this if you cannot find a convenient code in *TRELAT*. Try to find a generalized direction so it can be also used for other attributions.

XII PROTEST EVENT ANALYSIS

Code only if attribution is done in context of a <u>protest</u> (!) event and if there is information about Variable EVELOC.

Variable NPART

Number of participants in protest

Open

Note: multi-digit number up to 6 digits; 999999=missing; if more than 999997 code 999998. If different numbers are given: mean

Variable AFFAC

Amount of by protest affected factories

Open

Note: multi-digit number up to 6 digits; 999999=missing; if more than 999997 code 999998. If different numbers are given: mean

Variable WOUND

Number of people wounded in protest event

Open

Note: multi-digit number up to 6 digits; 999999=missing; if more than 999997 code 999998. If different numbers are given: mean

Variable ARREST

Number of people arrested in protest event

Open

Note: multi-digit number up to 6 digits; 999999=missing; if more than 999997 code 999998. If different numbers are given: mean

Variable RESPREP

Repressive responses to protest event

Open

Other state or business responses to protest such as imprisonment of organizers, physical assault by police or by hired gangsters, threats, firing of organizers, shut down of worker center etc.

Variable MOBISCOPE

Mobilization area of participants in protest

1	local
2	nationwide
3	regional Asia
4	international
99	unknown

Variable ORGEV

Organizers of the protest event

10	political parties

Social Movement actors and civil society institutions
20	official unions
21	labour rights organizations
22	unorganized employees
23	Social movement and trade unions networks
24	multi stakeholder organization business-driven (business as dominant actors e.g. Alliance)
25	multi stakeholder organization societal-driven (NGOs, trade unions as main drivers e.g. Accord)
26	multi stakeholder organization general/mixed (unclear if business-or societal driven)
30	human rights organizations and groups
31	fair trade/ ethical consumer organizations and groups
32	migrant organizations and groups
33	women's organizations and groups
34	students' organizations
35	other social movement organizations
40	welfare/ charity organizations
41	churches and religious organizations
42	political foundations
43	scientific and research professionals and institutions
89	'the general public' (e.g., 'citizens', the population', 'taxpayers'; only if explicitly mentioned!)
99	'unknown/unspecified actors'

Variable ORGEVOPEN

Additional organizers of the event

Open

Variable ORGSCOPE

Scope of organizers of the event

1	local
2	nationwide
3	regional Asia
4	international
99	unknown

Code country where negotiations take place.

APPENDIX 1: Selection Process Newspapers

To select the most important newspapers for our research, we first selected the highest circulated newspapers, chose the English speaking ones and checked if they are listed in Nexis. We have got a list of possible newspapers for the analysis (see Table Appendix 1).

Country	Highest circulated newspapers
India	Times of India
	Hindustan Time
	The Hindu
Pakistan	Business Recorder
	Dawn
	The Daily Times
China	China Daily
	Global Times
	Shanghai Daily
	Bejing Today
Bangladesh	The News Today (Bangladesh)
	The New Nation (Bangladesh)
	The Financial Express (Bangladesh)
	Dhaka Courier
Bhutan	Bhutan Observer
	Business Bhutan
Nepal	My Republica
	The Himalayan Times
	Nepali Times
Sri Lanka	The Sunday Times
	Daily News
	Daily Mirror
Indonesian	Bali Times
Cambodia	The Phnom Penh Post

	Cambodian Business Review
Laos	none
Malaysia	The Malaysian Reserve
	The Edge Malaysia
	New Straits Times (Malaysia)
	Malaysia Economic News
	Malaysia General News
Myanmar	Mizzima
Philippines	Business Mirror
	BusinessWorld
Thailand	Bangkok Post
	The Nation
Vietnam	none

Table Appendix 1: Highest circulated newspapers for Nexis-listed Asian Newspapers. Source: World Association of Newspapers and News Publishers

To choose the newspaper for our Bangladesh Case, we tested our searchstring (see Appendix 2) on the Bangladeshi Newspapers in Nexis (see Table Appendix 2) and finally decided for the analysis of "Financial Express" as it is highly circulated as well as it has highly more articles than the other Bangladeshi Newspapers.

Bangladesh newspapers in Nexis	Findings 2014
The Financial Express (Bangladesh)	1244
United News of Bangladesh (AsiaNet)	282
The New Nation (Bangladesh)	249
The News Today (Bangladesh)	128
Bangladesh Business News (BBN)	86
Dhaka Courier	38

Table Appendix 2: Findings searchstring on Bangladeshi newspaper articles 2014

We decided to analyze articles between 2011 and 2015 of the Bangladesh "Financial Express" and the international "New York Times International", taking every article of the New York Times, yet only articles from Wednesday and Saturday for the Financial Express to reduce the numbers (Table Appendix 3).

	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015
Financial Express (Bangladesh)	26	39	163	140	94
New York Times International	1	7	19	9	3

Table Appendix 3: Newspaper articles 2011-2115

As these findings included also articles which deal with supply chain issues which are inherently national or mainly discusses worker's rights issues at the consumption side (e.g. US, Europe) we went through all 497 articles manually to select only those which entail attribution-making and the attribution of responsibility on the overall topic of working conditions in factories supplying multinational companies (see table Appendix 4).

	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015
Financial Express (Bangladesh)	9	29	114	90	32
New York Times International	0	11	45	9	3

Table Appendix 4: Final amount of selected Articles

APPENDIX 2: Searchstring

To find articles which contain information about the discussion on the labor rights situation at the lower end of global supply chains we used a complex searchstring. With this searchstring we found more articles as well as more suitable ones for our case (Table 4).

Finally used searchstring:

(transnational OR global OR worldwide OR international OR multinational OR foreign)
AND
((RMG OR textile OR garment OR spinning OR weaving OR knitting OR dyeing OR footwear OR apparel OR shoe OR clothing) w/10 (export OR export! OR company OR company! OR companie! OR retai! OR busines! OR producing OR brand OR brand! OR firm OR firm! OR trade OR trade! OR seller OR sellers OR manufactur! OR productio! OR fabricatio! OR factory OR factory! OR factorie! OR supplier! OR supplier))
AND
(((rights organizatio! OR rights organisatio! OR rights group OR rights groups OR trade union OR labor unio! OR labour unio! OR unionists OR conflict OR demonstration OR manifestation OR rally OR strike OR walkout) w/20 (exploitatio! OR wage OR wage! OR salary OR pay OR payment OR safety OR accident OR work place))
OR ((labor OR labour OR work OR workers) w/10 (conditio! OR regulatio! OR abuse OR abuse! OR right OR rights OR violatio! OR law OR exploitatio! OR safety OR accident OR wage OR wage! OR salary OR pay OR payment))
OR ((wage OR wage! OR salary OR pay OR payment OR safety OR accident OR work place OR overtime) w/5 (minimum OR low OR lower OR basic OR increase OR high OR higher OR rise OR rising OR conditio! OR regulatio! OR ratification OR control OR adjustment OR violatio! OR law OR rights OR right OR improvement OR reform OR enhancement OR correction OR agreement))
OR ((trade union OR trade unions OR labour unions OR labor union OR labor unions OR labour unions OR unionists) w/5 (firing OR withholding OR banning OR abuse OR abuse! OR repression OR freedom of association OR prison OR arrest OR arrest! OR repression OR registration))
OR (sweatshop OR sweatshop! OR collective agreement))
AND NOT paypal

Selection Process of search string:

We selected 5 categories we wanted to include in the seachstring:

1. Transnational Industry

((transnational OR global OR worldwide OR international OR multinational OR foreign OR export OR exports) i/10 (company OR company! OR companie! OR retai! OR busines! OR producing OR brand OR brand! OR seller OR sellers OR manufactur! OR factory OR factory! OR factorie! OR supplier! OR supplier OR investor OR investor!))

2a. Production lines

(RMG OR textile OR garment OR spinning OR weaving OR knitting OR dyeing OR footwear OR apparel OR shoe OR clothing)

2b. International Production Lines

((RMG OR textile OR garment OR spinning OR weaving OR knitting OR dyeing OR footwear OR apparel OR shoe OR clothing) i/10 (export OR export! OR company OR company! OR companie! OR retai! OR busines! OR producing OR brand OR brand! OR firm OR firm! OR trade OR trade! OR seller OR sellers OR manufactur! OR productio! OR fabricatio! OR factory OR factory! OR factorie! OR supplier! OR supplier))

3. Brands

((Nike OR Adidas OR New Balance OR Puma OR Asics OR Reebok OR The Just Group OR Pacific Brands OR Fila OR Mizuno OR Umbro OR Old Navy OR Reiss OR Zara OR Debenhams OR Hobbs OR Jane Norman OR La Senza OR Paul Smith OR Peacocks OR Superdry OR Fat Face OR French Connection OR River Island OR White Stuff OR Arcadia OR Asda George OR Aurora OR Burberry OR H&M OR Levi's OR Matalan OR New Look OR Primark OR Sainsbury's OR Tesco OR Marks & Spencer OR Monsoon OR Aeropostale OR Alvanon OR American Apparel OR American Eagle Outfitters OR Arcadia OR Benetton OR Buckle OR Cato Corporation OR Fast Retailing Foot Locker OR Gerry Weber OR H&M OR Hampshire Group OR Hugo Boss OR John Lewis OR Kenneth Cole Productions OR Marks & Spencer OR N Brown Group OR Perry Ellis OR Primark OR Stein Mart OR Target Corporation OR TJX Companies OR Urban Outfitters OR VF Corporation OR Zumiez) OR ((GAP OR Republic OR Next) AND (company OR company! OR companie! OR retai! OR busines! OR producing OR brand OR brand! OR firm OR firm! OR seller OR sellers OR manufactur! OR productio! OR fabricatio! OR factory OR factory! OR factorie! OR sector OR sector! OR supplier! OR supplier)))

4. Working conditions

((sweatshop OR sweatshop! OR labor conditions OR labour conditions OR working conditions OR minimum wage OR low wage OR basic wage OR minimum salary OR low salary OR basic salary OR minimum pay OR low pay OR basic pay OR labor law OR labour law OR work safety OR workplace accident OR accident! OR labor safety OR labour safety OR rights abuses OR abuse of rights OR rights violations) OR (labor OR labour OR worker OR workers OR workplace OR work OR working OR wage OR salary OR pay OR trade union OR trade unions OR labour unions OR labor union OR labor unions OR labour unions OR unionists OR safety OR wage OR salary OR human rights) i/10 (abuse OR abuses OR violations OR violation OR discrimination OR firing OR withholding OR banning OR overtime OR exploitation OR flexiblization OR flexibilisation))

5a. Protest

(trade union OR trade unions OR labour unions OR labor union OR labor unions OR labour unions OR rights organization OR rights groups OR civil rights groups OR unionists)

5b. Specified Protest

(((trade union OR trade unions OR labour unions OR labor union OR labor unions OR labour unions OR rights organization OR rights groups OR civil rights groups OR unionists) OR (conflict, demonstration OR manifestation OR march OR rally OR strike OR walkout OR stoppage OR organisation OR organization)) AND ((sweatshop OR sweatshop! OR labor conditions OR labour conditions OR working conditions OR minimum wage OR low wage OR basic wage OR minimum salary OR low salary OR basic salary OR minimum pay OR low pay OR basic pay OR labor law OR labour law OR work safety OR workplace accidents OR labor safety OR labour safety OR rights abuses OR abuse of rights OR rights violations) OR (labor OR labour OR worker OR workers OR workplace OR work OR working OR wage OR salary OR pay OR trade union OR trade unions OR labour unions OR labor union OR labor unions OR labour unions OR unionists OR safety OR wage OR salary OR human rights)))

With these categories we tested different searching combinations:

The first possibility is to combine words linked to *international production* with words linked to *working conditions* or *protest*:

        String 1: 1 AND 2 AND 4 AND 5
        String 2: 1 AND 2 AND 4 OR 5b
        String 3: 1 OR 2b AND 4 AND 5
        String 4: 1 OR 2b AND 4 OR 5b

The second possibility is to combine words linked to *Brands* with those linked to *working conditions* or *protest*:

        String 5: 1 AND 3 AND 4 AND 5
        String 6: 1 AND 3 AND 4 OR 5b
        String 7: 3 AND 2b AND 4 AND 5
        String 8: 3 AND 2b AND 4 OR 5b

Table Appendix 5 shows the testing of the different searchstrings. The Searchstrings 1, 3, 5 and 7 were sorted out as the selection of "protest AND working conditions" was too strong, searchstring 6 found too many Articles which did not suit to our case. Searchstring 4 found all of 2 and 8, which were complement, but was at the same time too broad.
We developed a ninth, and finally chose, searchstring to combine the two possibilities above with the following combination: String 9: ((1 AND 2) OR (3 AND 2b)) AND (4 OR 5b)

Findings all newspapers	Search string	Newspaper (findings)
Search period: 2014 (1.1.2014-31.12.2014)		
771	9	The Financial Express (630) The New Nation (112)
1493	4	The Financial Express (Bangladesh) (1244) The New Nation (Bangladesh) (249)
505	2	The Financial Express (Bangladesh) (438) The New Nation (Bangladesh) (67)
261	8	The Financial Express (Bangladesh) (240) The New Nation (Bangladesh) (21)
64	3	The Financial Express (Bangladesh) (51) The New Nation (Bangladesh) (13)
32	1	The Financial Express (Bangladesh) (27) The New Nation (Bangladesh) (5)
17	7	The Financial Express (Bangladesh) (16) The New Nation (Bangladesh) (1)
12	5	
568	6	

Table Appendix 5: Test of searchstrings