

BEYOND THE PRODUCTION OF GARMENTS:

A Critical Study of the Representation of Social Actors and Social Events in the information Disclosure of Four Apparel Companies.

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MASTER'S DISSERTATION

Master's Degree in English Applied Linguistics,
New Applications and International Communication

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1. INTRODUCTION

Language and communication are commonly used by almost any individual on a more or less frequent basis. Generally speaking, a person is exposed to a myriad of communicative events such as media, daily interaction with classmates or co-workers. Language therefore comes in different forms, from the products we consume to the relationships we establish with our surroundings. In this way, it can be said that subjects are capable of tailoring language and communication to their needs and aims. As language and communication create interaction, they can be assumed to possess specific strategies which may target a given purpose. Consequently, language and communication and their aims are increasingly being understood as a phenomenon which allows empirical investigation, social and organizational research (Alvesson and Kärreman 2000:1126).

In the light of this fact, it should be acknowledged that not all communication entails by nature the exchange of information. Since language serves the needs of its users, there may be specific discursive operations that its users employ for a given purpose. Language may as well imply persuasion to targeted addressees (Brennan and Merkl-Davies 2012; Coupland 2005; van Dijk 2008), and not all its purposes have the same aims. For the intentions which underlie this study, it is the upcoming 'turn to language' in which the social sciences have become increasingly involved that inspires a critical approach to the discursive operations employed in the field of Organizational Studies.

The Textile and Clothing industry has become one of the largest and most important in the economies of developing regions (Shadab and Koshy 2012). In their study of the working conditions in Tamil Nadu in India, Shadab and Koshy (2012:2) point out that the textile industry provides foreign exchange earnings and employment for unskilled

collectivities in underdeveloped areas. However, quality of employment and profits in the supply chains of transnational businesses have become a controversial subject in recent years. As an illustration, it is common knowledge that the majority of garments manufactured for the Western World are produced in areas where wages and working conditions represent minor costs for large industries. Several garment and textile industries have consequently outsourced their manufacturing activities overseas in order to cut costs and maximize gains (Gaskill-Fox 2010:51; Emmehainz and Adams 1999). Even though the profitability of such undertakings implies significant earnings for apparel corporations, it is often the case that the conditions in which the manufacturing processes are undergone reflect harmful and perilous practices for workers employed in the supply chains of those underdeveloped areas. As a communicative and marketing strategy for the falsehood of such claims, organizations disclose Corporate Responsibility reports which reflect their concern and active accountability of the complete procedures employed in the manufacturing processes of their garments (Belal 2008).

However, in spite of their claimed engagement and concern in the good labor conditions of workers employed in their manufacturing processes, it is relevant to remark that external accusations with regards to the unfair labor practices of top corporations' subcontracted manufactures are not uncommon¹. Therefore, it can be seen that the current business activities of transnational organizations in the apparel sector bear a heavy social issue which should be under careful consideration. Even though the deregulation of labor markets nowadays represents an unprecedented success for several organizations, there is an increasing concern that a considerable number of collectivities are at a disadvantage as a result of these practices. This deregulation of markets, the increasing competition, and the

¹ For an overview of the current campaigns demanding fairer labor practices see *Stichting Onderzoek Multinationale Ondernemingen* SOMO, Clean Clothes Campaign, or the Observatory of Corporate Social Responsibility

engagement of different groups in the operations of transnational business activities has made the discourse of corporations become significantly complex (see Burchell and Cook 2006; Chiappello and Fairclough 2002). Consequently, the nature of this research focuses on how the non-corporate eye can look further into this controversial practice and unravel the discursive strategies organizations employ to background their liability in the (allegedly) negligent behavior of the manufacturing process.

From the premise that Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) addresses social issues (van Dijk 1993, 2008; Fairclough 1997, 2003), this study assumes that the discursive strategies utilized by apparel companies are an important matter to be accounted for in the discipline of Critical Studies (Barren and Merkl-Davies 2012; Gaskill-Fox 2010; Wodak and Koller 2010; Fairclough 2003; 2005; Coupland 2005). As the scope of this paper does not allow a more extensive critical approach to Corporate Responsibility discourse, the data compiled for this study cover a specific research area. Specifically, I shall focus on the responses that four garment and textile corporations have disclosed against the accusations released by external stakeholders on specific CSR scandals. These accusations focus on the labor practices of those manufacturing parties in the organizations' supply chains. The four companies chosen for this study are *Adidas*, *Eastman Exports*, *Inditex*, and *H&M*.

As mentioned in earlier paragraphs, this study arises from the need to analyze the discourse of corporations from a non-corporate point of view. As Koller (2010:155) has pointed out, the discipline of Critical Discourse Analysis has a tendency to overlook the discursive strategies of corporations. This failure to account for a critical perspective of corporate discourse implies a considerable necessity to undergo extensive research in this area, as it is this sphere where the most unequal power is amassed today. This work therefore intends to contribute to the underexplored academic viewpoint in corporate discourse, as it might be that the more independent corporate voices are to shape their communicative

display, the greater the inequalities will be consolidated. For this reason, the role of Critical Discourse Studies in Organizational Studies can be considered to be still in the making.

On this basis, this study aims to examine those communicative mechanisms that four corporations, namely *Adidas*, *Eastman Exports*, *H&M* and *Inditex*, employ to legitimize their responsible behavior as corporate citizens. The research is set out to determine, through an examination of the representation of social events and social actors, the extent to which power legitimation is endorsed and the responsibility of the organizations is diminished as a result of effective discursive mechanisms. It is important to address these strategies as powerful discourses may have further implications in the ways the receivers of text construct their viewpoints. By examining the way in which the abovementioned firms reply to external accusations on the harmful labor practices endured by employees in their supply chains, a qualitative research will be carried out. In this way, this research intends to provide an answer to the following research questions:

- a. *Are there similarities between the themes the organizations select for their responses and the themes disclosed in the accusations?*
- b. *How is the organizations' responsibility backgrounded in the responses disclosed by the four corporations? Then, how are social practices, and more specifically, the participants involved in those practices, represented in such responses?*
- c. *Are social events described as a controlled instrument by the responses corporations disclose? Is there a connection in the manner in which corporations report events?*
- d. *Regardless of each corporations' responses, are there common strategies with reference to the discursive operations employed in the representation of social actors and social events?*

In view of these research questions, the following hypotheses have been stated:

- *The themes disclosed by both corpora are expected to vary depending on the issue highlighted.*
- *Social actors are expected to portray the organizations as responsible actors and the accusers as the detractors of their business activities.*
- *Time representations are expected to illustrate significant similarities in the sense the reporting fashion of the four corporations analyzed in the response corpus. The reporting of incidents in factories or of effective action taken against harmful labor practices by corporations are likely to be represented as vague and difficult to locate.*
- *There are similarities in the representation of social actors and social events in the corporations' responses. The former are expected to have as a common ground the legitimation of the corporation as a responsible corporate citizen.*

2. CORPUS AND METHODOLOGY

This specific topic was chosen as it deals with social problems and how the corporations consolidate their lack of responsibility whenever incidents occur in their supply chains. As for the sector chosen for this study, it was considered necessary to focus on the Apparel and Textile Industry, as this is one of the business sectors which outsources its manufacturing processes to developing areas. Even though it is very common that other industrial areas also outsource the production of raw materials, for instance, the technology and the food industry, they rather focus their corporate responsibility disclosure on the environmental footprint their activities entail. Thus, accusations concerning these business areas may address problems related to the working conditions of their employees, but not in the same way other sectors would do. On the contrary, reports concerning the working conditions of workers in the supply chains of garment and textile firms are released more frequently. From this initial consideration, the following paragraphs will explain how the organization of this study has been structured.

To begin with, the first stage involved the search of the type of texts analyzed, as well as the relationship between the two corpora to be compiled. In order to do this, the initial approach consisted of a web search aimed at identifying garment and textile firms which had been reported as negligent employers. Four international companies were then chosen: *Adidas Group, Eastman Exports, Inditex, and H&M*. These four corporations were selected as they belong to the same business sector and might consequently share similar activities in the production of garments. Likewise, they had been previously accused of exploiting workers in their factories between 2010 and 2013 by NGOs and newspaper reports. Then, it was necessary to find textual evidences on how these firms had responded to accusations. A second search provided five different reports which had included these four companies as negligent actors in the supply chains. Those accounts related to the labor practices of *Eastman Exports, Inditex Group, and H&M*, were found via the *Business and Human Rights Resource Center*, and the *Center for Research on Multinational Corporations (SOMO)*. These pages have their data base organized by business sectors and information related to companies listed alphabetically could be easily targeted. It was in this way that three of the responses formerly mentioned were found, as these websites also provided the responses used for this study. As for the first accusation, the newspaper report which imputed Adidas Group was found both in *the Independent* webpage and the corporate webpage of Adidas. Adidas' release was of particular relevance as it contributed to the organization of corpora in the present study.

In the case of *Adidas*, the data collection process was relatively simple due to the manner in which the information was disclosed. This firm quoted the report made by the newspaper *the Independent* on the harmful working conditions of workers in Indonesia. They had been employed in the manufacturing process of Adidas' garments during the London Olympics of 2012 (Marks, April 2012). By quoting the article paragraph by paragraph, the

Adidas Group intended to counter-argue the negative accusations the newspaper utilizes by comparing the accusations with their responses on a table side by side (see *Appendix 1*). It was for this reason that this strategy was considered a useful tool for the organization of data and a following contrastive analysis.

Next, as it was required to assemble those texts related to the accusations reported by external sources, a thorough reading of the accusation reports and the responses that followed was undergone. This process was considerably challenging and demanding, as the sources were not entirely homogeneous from the start. Given that one of the four reports was too long compared to the other responses, - approximately 50 pages and 15,000 words- it was necessary to carry out a careful reading of the report so as to isolate and find the relevant information accounted for in the response. As for the other accusations that were compiled for this study, the compilation of information was carried out in a similar fashion. In this way, the facts disclosed in the *accusation corpus* regarding a company's business activities would be connected with the firms' responses. On the one hand, I considered the accusations disclosed by the sources which imputed the corporations, hereafter *accusation corpus*. This stage thus contributed to the collection of fairly homogenous data.

On the other hand, the research needed to take into account the responses published by the companies studied with clear reference to the previously concerned reports. The second corpus was thus named *response corpus*. Since the focus of the indictments stressed the working conditions employees endured in the supply chain of selected garment and textile corporations, this study assumed that the companies' responses would also do so. As a result, the organization of data allowed the researcher to account for the contrastive features utilized by each text on the representation of social participants and social events. The following table shows the texts conforming each corpus after carefully isolating the information relevant to this study:

CORPORA					
RESPONSE CORPUS	Year	Words	ACCUSATION CORPUS	Year	Words
Adidas (Resp_Corp1)	2012	1.220	The Independent (Accus_Corp1) – <i>Newspaper Report</i>	2012	705
Eastman Exports (Resp_Corp2)	2011	1.508	Captured by Cotton, Maid in India (Accus_Corp2) – <i>Organization Report</i>	2011	1.216
Inditex Group (Resp_Corp3)	2012	726	“Bonded (child) labour in the South Indian Garment Industry - An Update of Debate and Action on the ‘Sumangali Scheme” (Accus_Corp3) – <i>Organization Report</i>	2012	850
H&M (Resp_Corp4)	2012	1.046	Labor and Human Rights Blog (Accus_Corp4) – <i>Organization Column</i>	2012	756
TOTAL		4500	TOTAL		3527

Table 1. The Accusation and Response corpora.

Once the third stage of the data collection process was finished, the results were examined in depth. The results found attempted to undergo a qualitative analysis of the communicative strategies both corpora employ regarding the representation of social actors and social events in the data collected. The first part of the analysis deals with an account of the themes found in the responses. Secondly, the second stage addresses the communicative strategies employed by the corporations’ responses. The purpose of this stage was set out to identify the way in which the makers of discourse represent social participants, as well as social events, in texts. The latter is relevant as it was initially assumed that the nature of these reports were the result of external pressures from stakeholders whose nature denounced the harmful working conditions of laborers employed under a supply chain scheme. Therefore, it is possible that the responsibility of the firms replying to the accusations initially posed is to a greater extent backgrounded and mystified, and this can be seen through an analysis of participants in texts.

Finally, it must be acknowledged that the scope of this research has been driven by its research questions and by the nature of both corpora. Firstly, during the data collection stage, it was found that some of the responses had either grammatical or spelling mistakes. In order to be faithful to the data collected, those mistakes remain unchanged when examples are examined. Secondly, given that the focus is on discursive strategies, this study does not account for the sound and pictorial strategies employed by, say, Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) reports. What is more, as the analysis focuses on rather homogenous sources and specific communicative strategies, it is not possible for the researcher to account for all the potential techniques that may be employed by corporations on sources external to their corporate websites. It must be said that, due to the nature of the data, the current use of multimedia strategies as potentially persuasive operations could not be considered for this study. This is because the replies found to the initial accusations were disclosed in a written fashion. Yet, despite the fact that limitations regarding the reliance of written-based texts have been pointed out, no similar literature on the representation of social actors or social events employed by firms' accusations in the garment and textile industry has been found. Therefore, this research intends to at least provide an insight into those discursive techniques employed by organizations in this specific context.

2.1.CONTEXTUAL BACKGROUND: THE COMPANIES

In order to understand the function of the texts analyzed in the present study, a brief summary of each corporation and the incidence which produced the texts examined shall be provided.

(i) Adidas Group: Manufacturers in Indonesia for the London 2012 Olympics

The Adidas Group is one of the world leading producers of footwear, apparel, and sport accessories (Adidas Group 2012). As their corporate website says, 'products from the Adidas Group are available in virtually every country in the world (*ibid*). This may be one of

the reasons why this sporting goods company became one of the licensees to produce garments and accessories for the 2012 London Olympics. The raw production of these goods was sent to factories in Indonesia in the Tangerang area, the second city of the country and home of the largest textile supply chain. During this period, the newspaper *the Independent* ran a series of articles on the working conditions of factories in Indonesia (the Independent, April 2012). As a result of the newspaper's reports, violations of workers' rights in the factories of the Tangerang area were discovered and, consequently, Adidas was one of the firms involved in the incidences. What is more, some of the factories that had been contracted by the Group were not abiding by the codes adopted by the London Organization Committee of the Olympic and Paralympic Games (LOCOG) and the Ethical Trading Initiative base code (ETI), which establish a floor wage for workers in supply chains.

Consequently, the Adidas Group released a response against the newspaper claims in its corporate website. The response included a direct quoting of the report paragraph by paragraph. The purpose of the response was to counter-argue the information disclosed by the accusations (see *Appendix 1*).

(ii) Eastman Exports Global Clothing: the Sumangali Scheme in Tamil Nadu, India²

The Tamil Nadu region in southern India is one of the leading producers of yarn in the world (Conick, Theuws and Overeem, 2011). This region holds one of the biggest spinning and garment factories in the fashion business. As a consequence, several firms in the fashion sector outsource a great part of their production of raw materials to this area. Due to the pressure of competitors, namely China and Bangladesh, factories in the area struggle to stay

² The term 'Sumangali' translates from into 'married woman'. It refers to a 'single girl becoming a respectable woman. The scheme recruits young and unskilled women from the poorest backgrounds to work in the dyeing, sewing, or boxing of garments for low wages.

competitive in the production of raw materials. For this reason, they tend to employ unskilled workers. These are generally young women.

In order to be allowed to pay low wages to workers, factories in the area tend to utilize two different schemes. Firstly, young women are employed as apprentices who earn less money than the average worker. Secondly, poor female workers are recruited and offered a three-year contract that promises a decent wage, comfortable accommodation, and free education (Conick, Theuws and Overeem, 2011). Upon the termination of this contract, these workers are promised a lump sum – usually consisting of withheld wages - of money which can be used as a dowry. However, workers employed under this scheme, named the “Sumangali Scheme”, hardly ever finish their contract due to severe health problems caused by the working conditions inside factories. As they are often unable to stay in the factories for the period stipulated by the contract, the promised lump sum is not paid. This is one of the main reasons why the Sumangali Scheme is considered a bounded labor issue.

As a result, in May 2011 the Dutch *Centre for Research on Multinational Corporations* (SOMO for its initials in Dutch) released a report named *Captured by Cotton* on the working conditions in Tamil Nadu. This work was written by the Indian Committee of the Netherlands (ICN) and SOMO. Field research was carried out by the Campaign Against the Sumangali Scheme (CASS), and the European Coalition for Corporate Justice (ECCJ). This was a longitudinal study in the area and included four different manufacturers: SSM India, Eastman Exports Global Clothing, Bannari Amman Group, and KPR mill. The information in the report stressed that, due to the caste system of social classes in India, girls from the lower castes are the ones targeted by factory recruiters and employed under the Sumangali Scheme. SOMO also recognizes that Eastman had improved its working conditions considerably and does not continue hiring workers under the Sumangali Scheme.

Finally, SOMO sent the report to all the companies mentioned so that they could provide feedback on its contents before its publication (Conick, Theuws and Overeem, 2011). Among the four factories abovementioned, only Eastman Exports replied to SOMO in August 2012. However, in its response the Indian manufacturer attacks SOMO by stressing that the accusations are ‘unsubstantiated and baseless’ (Eastman Exports, April 2012).

(iii) Inditex Group: Follow-up on the Sumangali Scheme in Tamil Nadu

Regarding the Sumangali Scheme, SOMO released a follow-up report on the improvements done so far in July 2012, after publishing *Captured by Cotton*. The latter commented that improvements in the labor conditions in Tamil Nadu had indeed been taken by a number of firms. Further developments were, however, necessary (Overeem and Peepercamp 2012). In response to the abovementioned follow-up, in August 2012 the Spanish fashion company Inditex replied to SOMO’s report. The company stressed its primary role in the development of better conditions for workers in the Tamil Nadu area since 2010. The response refers to the founding character of Inditex in the Tirupur Stakeholders Forum (TSF), an organization formed by a number of companies working to end the exploitation of Sumangali workers (Inditex, August 2012).

(iv) H&M: Low Wages in Bangladesh

Hennes and Mauritz, famously known as H&M, is a Swedish brand famous for creating affordable fashion. H&M Group includes six independent brands: H&M, COS, Monki, Weekday, Cheap Monday and Other Stories (H&M Group, 2013). In the context of outsourcing the manufacturing of its clothes, this group contracts suppliers from different Asian regions, namely Cambodia, Bangladesh, and Indonesia. The reason for subcontracting suppliers in this region is because the wages in these countries are the lowest in the world,

particularly in Bangladesh, where the minimum wage is approximately €29/month (Institute for Global Labour and Human Rights, 2012).

In September 2012, the CEO to H&M Karl-Johann Persson traveled to Bangladesh with the purpose of discussing salary conditions in the country. He visited the Prime Minister, Sheik Hasina, and proposed him to raise the national minimum wage. Consequently, in October 2012 the *Business and Human Rights Resource Centre* published an article in its Weekly Update Newsletter commenting on Persson's actions. The article *H&M: Hypocrisy and Minimum Wage* (Oct.2012) considered the actions by Persson hypocritical and indifferent to the actual improvement of the workers' conditions in the country. The article thus denounces that H&M is famous for constantly breaching its Code of Ethics as workers in subcontracted factories are often forced to work overtime for no extra wages. In response, later that month the H&M group released an article in its corporate website which denounced that its CEO addressed the Bangladeshi Prime Minister in an attempt to work in the best interest of workers.

3. THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

3.1. CORPORATE SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY (CSR) COMMUNICATION

To begin with, it is essential to delve into the meaning of Corporate Social Responsibility and its origins. As Hennigfeld (2006:5-6) points out, it was not until the 1950s that Corporate Responsibility started to become relevant. By the 1970s, a mutual understanding of CSR had emerged. Archie Carroll (Carroll 1991; Carroll and Buchholtz 2000) suggested the widest accepted model for CSR behavior, where economic, legal, ethical and philanthropic responsibilities represented its main tenets. Thus, the definition of CSR given by Carroll and Buchholtz 'encompasses the economic, legal, ethical, and philanthropic expectations placed on organizations by society at a given point in time' (Carroll and Buchholtz 2000:35).

Hennigfeld (2006:12) further concludes that corporations engage in CSR practices not as a means of philanthropy. They rather engage in them ‘insofar as doing so provides its own self-interest’. It may be said that CSR behavior could attract customer and employee interest (Carroll and Buchholtz 2000:12-13). In brief, it can be seen that CSR is an emergent field which inevitably engages in several corporate and non-corporate interests. Additionally, companies might share CSR values as long as they commit their positive performance (Belal 2008).

With reference to Corporate Social Responsibility disclosure in the Textile and Garment industry, Joergens (2006) underpins the recurrent term ‘ethical fashion’, from which a variety of topics such as the importance of people, the environment, and the responsible manufacturing arise. Dickson, Loker, and Eckman (2008) elaborate on this topic further to offer a more comprehensive distinction about Corporate Social Responsibility communication in the apparel industry:

1. ORIENTATION	2. PHILOSOPHY	3. OUTCOMES
Environment	Ethics	Social Responsibility
People	Conduct	
Marketing	Profitability	Environmental Responsibility
Consumption		

Table 2. Recurrent topics in the design of Corporate Social Responsibility Reporting. From Dickson and Eckman (2008).

From the description above, it is important to notice that this classification provides a well-defined list of topics to be taken into account for the analysis of data. Unfortunately, Dickson and Eckman do not provide a further definition of the concepts abovementioned, though it appears that the terminology is familiar for the reader. Particularly, being the data in the *response corpus* the result of planned communication in pursue of the corporations’

legitimation, it is believed that the primary concern of corporations will be in the grounds of *ethics, conduct, (workplace) environment, people, and social responsibility*. Throughout the analysis section, the extent to which these themes are manifest in the representation of social events shall be discussed.

3.1.1. *Rhetoric and Argumentation in CSR Communications*

From the perspective of rhetoric and argumentation in CSR communication, a number of works focus on the legitimation strategies that firms employ for the consolidation of their business practices (Aerts and Cormier, 2009; Lee and Kohler, 2010; Brennan and Merkl-Davies, 2012). These works reflect the idea that legitimation is achieved through effective communication which legitimizes the practices of the firm against the delegitimation of other claims. As Coupland (2005) and Lee and Kohler (2010) show, there are a number of factors to take into account when analyzing the communicative strategies of firms in CSR communication. The present section deals with the key elements for the identification of such strategies.

Firstly, Ginzel *et al.* (2004) recognize that, in CSR communications, legitimacy is achieved by an interactive relationship between businesses and their audiences. In this sense, the establishment of legitimacy entails effective communication design. On the basis of this approach, Brennan and Merkl-Davies (2012, 2010) provide a longitudinal approach to the persuasion techniques used in CSR communication. They carry out a study of a report disclosed by Greenpeace on the environmental consequences of business operations performed by six textile and garment industries in China. They conclude that the manner in which an organization legitimizes its operations is by establishing a dialogue with its disparagers (Brennan and Merkl-Davies 2012:1-8). From this analysis, and as will be seen in the results section, it can be inferred that the relationship between the two parties shown in the *accusation* and the *response corpus* will reflect a conversationalist pattern. The

approximate classification of the former, however, needs to be identified for the analysis of data. In the following paragraphs this aspect will be dealt with.

Within the categorization of patterning in the discursive operations employed by firms, a number of scholars identify different stages in the organizations' responses from the point of view of both the accusers and the accused. As an illustration, in his study of corporate websites as the empowerment device of Corporate Social Responsibility, Coupland (2005) identifies four rhetorical circles in CSR argumentation: 1) societal legitimation; 2) responsible legitimation; 3) delegitimation; and 4) context-specific legitimation. Even though these themes appear to provide a full-coverage of the organizations' communicative moves, it is arguable that societal legitimation is a tricky issue in this type of communication, as web pages provide free access to audiences and, hence, a specific identification of the former is a considerably complex undertaking. This communication can be regarded as an 'open letter', which is addressed to a wide audience. What is more, Coupland's (2005) classification, despite its inclusion of themes implying legitimation and delegitimation strategies, does not address the context of firms as displaying a response to accusations. Therefore, there should be a further evaluation of the argumentative techniques concerning the feedback disclosed by corporations.

In the light of this fact, Lee and Kohler (2010:644-45) study the feedback used by pharmaceutical industries on the issuing of medicines worldwide (cited in Brennan and Merkl-Davies 2012:7-8). They identify five categories in the presentation of feedback: 1) claims that the report is inaccurate; 2) identification of the companies' own CSR practices, 3) dissatisfaction with input from the party to the report; 4) claims that accusations or incidences are not their responsibility; and 5) inadequate acknowledgement of the company's efforts. This framework is useful for our analysis of data, as this explores the potential moves the companies are likely to display in the representation of social events. Particularly, this

analysis will focus on how legitimation and delegitimation of the companies and their detractors work. However, Lee and Kohler's (2001) work do not address specific discursive operations in depth. Instead, its focus is to identify how (pharmaceutical) companies move from one stage of response to another, leaving the representation of social events and social actors rather untouched. It is thus necessary to underpin the strategies which are employed by firms regarding the representation of participants and social events. These devices shall be exposed in the following chapter.

Finally, one of the most significant elements the research abovementioned appears to ignore is the purpose for which Critical Discourse Studies (CDS) are employed. In this sense, even though the works reviewed in the previous paragraph critically examine the way in which firms legitimize their business operations, there seem to be no further references on how social actors or social events are represented. Thus, the analyses abovementioned seem to be significantly focused on how these texts are produced and how relevant social actors – accusers and repliers – establish a dialogue. The strategies for the legitimation of corporations and the exercise of dominance over others affected are not addressed. As can be seen, the existing literature in the discipline of Organization Studies and Corporate Discourse has focused mainly on how effective communication is achieved by corporations, with little focus on the legitimation strategies they employ as a result of their resources or dominance.

To sum up, this section has dealt with the manner in which CSR communication is tailored for its disclosure. First of all, Dickson, Loker and Eckman (2008) portray which themes in CSR disclosure are recurrent in the garment and textile industry. As the focus of this study is on the social issues which arise out of the labor practices in the supply chain of four corporations, it is assumed that the topics relevant for this research will relate to those matters related to *ethics, conduct, (workplace) environment, people, and social responsibility*. These categories are potentially linked with issues related to the legitimation of business

activities, which are an essential factor to take into account for the present study. On the other hand, the existing literature on the rhetoric and argumentation operations in CSR communications has been reviewed. The works analyzed in this chapter have illustrated the need to address CSR communications from a critical perspective which takes into account the role of social participants. This is because these works do not address the manner in which social actors are portrayed in this type of reports. In this way, the approach to the data analyzed in this study is the following:

ETHICS	Inadequate acknowledgement of company's efforts
CONDUCT	The accusations are inaccurate. The company is a responsible corporate citizen.
PEOPLE	Incidents are not the company's responsibility
CORPORATE SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY	Identification of the company's responsible practices

Table 3. List of topics related to CSR disclosure as identified in the corpora created for this study, and as explained by Dickson, Loker and Eckman (2008). To the right, the possible implications of these topics on the basis of Lee and Kohler's (2001) framework.

In this sense, the relationship between the themes relevant for this research and the potential moves of corporations with regards to their labor practices can be acknowledged. Now that a general framework for what the data in this study encloses has been outlined, the following section explores the further representation of social actors and social events. These are necessary for the identification of specific legitimation strategies employed by the four corporations mentioned in this research.

Finally, it can be seen that there is little engagement on who the participants of these texts are in the literature reviewed in this chapter. Thus, although the longitudinal approach to texts in CSR communication must be highlighted, the literature analyzed reflect a tendency to focus on either environmental or dialogical elements. It is for this reason that a social matter such as the working conditions of employees in the Apparel and Textile industry should be

addressed, as it appears that this aspect has been overlooked by scholarly work. In this way, it can be seen that there is a certain tendency to overlook how power is consolidated through the representation of participants and their social practices. Concerning the latter, the following sections will address the manner in which the consolidation of power and domination is enacted through the representation of social actors and social events.

3.2. CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS AND ORGANIZATIONAL STUDIES: AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

In this section, it will be explained why the texts proposed for this research can be regarded as relevant for Critical Discourse Analysis in Organizational Studies. Due to the significant extension of literature on the representation of social actors and social events, a review of the principal works on this topic will be provided. Then, a proposal of a joint taxonomy of Fairclough's (2005) and van Leeuwen's (2008) classification of social actors and social events in CDS shall be given for the analysis of data.

Critical Discourse Studies (CDS) address the way in which different social practices shape our material reality in the best interest of a group, by means of suppressing those collectivities subject to powerful spheres of society. According to van Dijk (2008:85), this discipline attempts to study the way social power abuse, dominance and inequality are enacted and consequently reproduced by text and talk. Hence, it can be said that those representations disclosed by the shapers of discourse may not be objective and in the interest of a community as a whole, but a partial abstraction of given social events, actors, or practices. Another problem that CDA poses arises from the 'naturalization' that these social representations might achieve as a result of an authoritative status in society. From the premise that there is unequal access to linguistic and social resources (van Dijk 2008; Fairclough 1998), it is relevant to question the perception of legitimate institutions and organizations, as their point of view do not necessarily represent universal validity or

consensus. Thus, it seems that the legitimacy several institutions in society enjoy tends to reflect individual representations of particular social practices. Due to their status, a group's considerations can become 'the norm' or 'common sense'. The legitimation of the former is attained through language (Fairclough 1989). Once discursive practices are taken as 'the way things are', and not as the result of subjective ideological work, individual perceptions are legitimized and therefore perceived as natural practices.

According to Fairclough (2003) the interests of Critical Discourse Analysis focus on four general research objectives: 'the emergence, hegemony, recontextualization, and operationalization of discourses' (cited in Chouliaraki and Fairclough 2010:1215). Discourses are thus particular ways of representing particular social processes and practices with a recurrent characteristic. The latter, in turn, include certain aspects of the subjects or collectivities they do represent with more or less saliency, hence focalizing or marginalizing particular social practices. Certain discourses have more recognition than others, and are accepted by more people, thus achieving more influence over an audience (Chouliaraki and Fairclough 2010; Fairclough 2003). The extent to which a discourse possesses a hegemonic nature is a precondition for its *operationalization*³; that is, the way in which it deconstructs into new identities, actions, and new material realities (Chouliaraki and Fairclough 2010:1216). Powerful discourses are therefore operationalized in the material reality having transformative effects. As an illustration, 'knowledge-based' discourse in economics produce a material reality for workplace standards, governments, and so on (*ibid*).

It is important to understand that the shaping of realities is achieved through language, as power struggle is at stake in discursive production. The shaping of identities and social practices thus become pivotal for discursive operations in specific collectivities, as they will shape the knowledge that social actors are more or less likely to be exposed to. Fairclough

³ [emphasis mine]

(2003:137) points out that ‘the manner in which language is used affects the way the world is represented’, even though this idea had already been considered by several scholars (Halliday 1985; Foucault 1979). In this way, individuals belonging to a powerful sphere of society or dominant groups which control information disclosure, and thus have specific interests, are likely to exercise their power through distinctive discursive strategies for their legitimation of power (van Dijk 2008:85-89). Then, the power consolidation which arises out of the strategies employed by the abovementioned groups must be investigated from an objective point of view. Dominance is gained by those groups which gain control over communication disclosure. However, it should be borne in mind that not only is language expressed in terms of textual or spoken utterances, it is also manifested through non-linguistic devices. As an illustration, scholarly work has also stressed the relevance of images, colors, music, and the like, in the representation of social practices (see van Leeuwen 2008; Koller 2010).

From the literature review, it can be inferred that researchers stress the issue of power relations and dominance through text and talk. Critical Discourse Analysis is therefore focused on the way in which dominance is exercised, legitimized, and consolidated by an elite through discourse. In the local context of this study, we can consider that the responses on the harmful working conditions of workers in the supply chains employed by Garment and Textile corporations have clear legitimation mechanisms. In the following subsections there will be a review of the existing literature concerning the representation of social actors and social events. These characteristics are central for the setting of this research.

3.2.1. Representation of Social Actors

A theoretical framework for the representation of social actors is important to account for the way in which they are represented in discourse. Agency, responsibility, saliency or backgrounding in the representation of those which are involved in discourses can be achieved by the utilization of different communicative mechanisms. Concerning CDA on

Organizational Studies, a number of critics have stressed the importance of conceptualizing the agency as well as the power legitimation strategies in institutions and organizations (Fairclough 2003; 2005; Chouliaraki and Fairclough 2010; Leitch and Palmer 2009, 2010; Alvesson and Kärreman 2010). They may vary, for instance, from the inclusion or the exclusion of pronouns, the activation or passivization in the reporting of social events, to the mystification in the reporting of time. In what follows, an account of the classification of social actors as laid down by Fairclough (2003) and van Leeuwen (2008) will be presented. It appears that the classifications developed by these authors are a useful element for proposing a combinative approach of both works, as both rely on different strategies in the identification and implication of social actors in discourse.

To begin with, regarding the representation of actors in contemporary capitalism discourse, Fairclough (2003:137) highlights the controversies it faces nowadays. He explains that this is a consequence of outsourcing manufacturing operations to relatively poor countries from relatively rich nations. With an example from a well-known brand of cigars, Fairclough (2003) explains that production, processes and circumstances tend to be occluded in advertisements and information disclosure, and even the workers who produce the goods suffer from the blockage of agency (*ibid*). In this way, it can be assumed that the occlusion of agency may also be present in the *response corpus*.

It should be remarked that this has been one of the few works that has focused on the representation of social actors and social events in the discipline of Organizational Studies or Corporate Discourse. Even though the works of Leitch and Palmer (2009; 2010) and Chouliaraki and Fairclough (2010) consider that the role of social actors in Organizational Studies should be investigated, their research focus on different topics. Whereas the former intend to set out a framework for Critical Research in Corporate discourse, the latter provides a critical review on the negative implications of such a framework. In a similar way,

Alvesson and Karreman (2010) also agree with the fact that an account of social participants in Organizational Studies should be considered. Nonetheless, their work addresses the different levels of discourse in Critical Discourse Analysis. As can be observed, there seems to be a gap regarding the representation of social actors in this Organizational Studies.

According to Fairclough (2003:145), social actors are usually Participants in clauses which can be either human or physical objects (*i.e. the car hit Mary, where both Mary and the car are participants*). In a text, it can be said that the classification of social actors stand for the compendium of participants in the text, that is, from the producers to the targeted audience. Fairclough classifies social actors in terms of a number of variables. The following table is an attempt to capture his framework realized by examples taken from the data gathered for this research. It also contains examples from the corpora analyzed in this study (Resp_Corp1):

STRATEGY	DEFINITION	EXAMPLE
Exclusion	<i>Suppression</i> : not in the text at all	<i>The Spinning mill has its own labor issues</i>
	<i>Backgrounding</i> : mentioned but having to be inferred	<i>There may be isolated incidences of verbal abuse</i>
Pronoun/noun	Is the social actor (SA) realized as a pronoun or as a noun?	<i>Average working weeks do not normally... vs. We take such accusations seriously</i>
Grammatical Role	<i>Participant in a Clause</i>	<i>We try to build long-term business relationship with our suppliers</i>
	<i>Possessive pronoun</i>	<i>Our supply Chain Standards</i>
'Activated'/'passivated'	<i>Affected</i>	<i>We would not characterize working conditions</i>
	<i>Beneficiary</i>	<i>Factories have been challenged by the need to...</i>
Personal/impersonal	<i>Personal Representation</i>	<i>We immediately launch an investigation</i>
	<i>Impersonal Representation</i>	<i>Any situation in which the workers</i>
Name/Classified	<i>Represented as a name</i>	<i>The Adidas Group, the supply chain</i>
	<i>Represented as a class/category</i>	<i>Supervisors</i>
Specific/Genre	<i>General</i>	<i>workers</i>
	<i>Specific</i>	<i>The Supply chain</i>

Table 3. Variables in the representation of social actors. Adapted from Fairclough (2003:145-49).

The author stresses that, even though the inclusion or exclusion of agency may sometimes be stated with no apparent implication, there may be further motivations for the inclusion or exclusion of agents, such as political, economic, or socio-cultural motivations. From *table 3*, it can be observed that nominalizations and active/passive roles in the text can act as categories for a mystified responsibility or an enacted saliency of the agent for a given purpose. In this way, examples such as ‘factories have been challenged by the need to increase productivity’ (from Adidas Group 2012:2-3) suggest that the actions described – ‘increase productivity’ or ‘working hours’ - are things that occur inevitably, rather than something that is done to people (by somebody else). This definition is posed as ‘naturalization’ by Fairclough (2003:147), who states that events can be represented as though they were enacted by natural forces, hence defocusing human agency as the producer of an action. This observation is relevant for our research, as it shows the possible implications that might go beyond the exclusion of agency in the further identification of a social event to a targeted audience (van Dijk 2008; van Leeuwen 2008). With reference to this study, and, as will be shown in the analysis section, one technique employed to describe a hostile work environment is regarded (by corporations) as an uncommon situation with impersonal or classified agents. This technique appears to reflect that this phenomenon is inevitably derived from natural forces, instead of being enacted by human volition.

Even though the taxonomy set out by Fairclough (2003) concerning the participation of social actors seems to cover the framework necessary for this study, Theo van Leeuwen (2008) provides a more extensive account regarding the organization of discourse participants. In Fairclough’s (2003) work on social actors discussed above, there is a focus on passivization, agent deletion, as well as on the grammatical role of social actors. Van Leeuwen (2008), on the other hand, intends to go further in this categorization in order to establish more meanings behind social actor representations and grammatical roles, which he

calls the *sociosemantics* of representation (van Leeuwen 2008:24-25). In this way, he stresses the fact that an effective agency by dominant groups might not always be realized by a grammatical role of agent, but it can also be realized by, say, verbal processes, or a prepositional phrase indicating source, such as *from*, or sometimes even as a *beneficiary* or *affected agent* (e.g. *Television affects children's sex-role attitudes*) (*ibid*). It is important to remark that this conceptualization of agency is not addressed in the Fairclough's (2003) work, which focus on specific linguistic realizations. Hence, other strategies for the role of discourse participants might be overlooked as a result of considering specific linguistic categories too rigidly (van Leeuwen 2008:26).

The framework designed by van Leeuwen (2008:28-51) illustrates an extensive classification of the social participants in a text. The following classification is an attempt to summarize the strategies found in the representation of social actors in the data created for this study, as well as a brief definition of them:

- ***Inclusion/Exclusion:*** Whereas *inclusion* overtly mentions a social actor (SA), *Exclusion* may be used either to disguise the identity of powerful actors or discourage interrogation of their actions. *Inclusion* could imply that an SA holds a more powerful social standing, and, in turn, *exclusion* could mark social actors as inferior or undesirable.
- ***Role Allocation:*** This strategy intends to identify actors on the basis of their active or passive role. While *activation* represents an SA as the active and dynamic force in an activity (which might imply power), *passivation* describes an SA as being at the receiving end of an action (which might imply vulnerability).
- ***Genericization/Specification:*** *Genericization* is realized by the use of indefinite nouns. On the contrary, *specification* employs definite articles or definite quantifiers to represent an SA. Whereas the latter establishes a distance from the reader by being indefinite, the former is linked to the representation of dominated actors, as they can be represented by concrete references.
- ***Assimilation/Individualization:*** *Assimilation* represents social actor by mass nouns or nouns denoting plurality. *Individualization*, on the contrary, describes an SA in terms of its singularity. Assimilated actors can either be *aggregated*, realized as groups, or *collectivized*, which treats

actors as quantified groups of participants, treating them as statistics. Assimilation is thus used to create the illusion of consensus.

- **Indetermination/Determination:** *Indetermination* tends to anonymize an SA by describing it with indefinite pronouns such as ‘someone’ or ‘somebody’. *Determination*, on the contrary, occurs when an SA’s identity is specified. Indetermination can endow social actors with ‘kind of personal authority, a sense of unseen, yet powerfully coercive force’ (van Leeuwen 2008:40).
- **Association:** In van Leeuwen’s (2008:39-40) classification, *association* refers to groups formed by social actors or groups of social actors or parataxis. Sometimes association can be employed to group various types of people without labelling their relationship necessarily.
- **Differentiation/Disassociation:** *Differentiation* and disassociation ‘explicitly differentiates an individual social actor or group’ from other social actors or groups. This creates a difference between the representation of ‘us’ and ‘them’ (van Leeuwen 2008:40-41).
- **Nomination/Categorization:** *Nomination* entails the representation of actors in terms of their unique identity. Nominated actors are often the focus of a text. Also, social actors can be described in terms of their functions or *categorized*. *Categorization* can be further divided into:
 - *functionalization*, which represents social actors in terms of what they do;
 - *Classification*, which represents social actors to in terms of their age, gender, class, nationality, and so on; and
 - *Appraisalment*, which shows a personal evaluation of an event or a social actor
- **Personalization/Impersonalization:** *Personalization* represents an SA by personal or possessive pronouns and thus signals his/her unique identity. It is often the case that, when social actors are personalized, they are represented as human beings. *Impersonalization*, on the contrary, often dehumanizes social actors. In this sense, it can be further divided into:
 - *Abstraction*, social actors are realized by abstract nouns whose implication is ‘non-human’;
 - *Objectivation*, which occurs when an SA is represented by a place, a thing, or an action closely associated with him/her;
 - *Spatialization*, which represents an SA by a place with which he/she is associated; or
 - *Utterance automation*, which occurs when social actors are represented by references to their utterances.
- **Overdetermination:** This strategy is used to represent social actors as participating in more than one social practice at the same time. In this way, certain associations can be drawn between different social practices. This discursive technique can be further divided into:
 - *Connotation*, a unique determination is used to functionalize a group; or

- *Distillation*, which occurs when a social actor is attributed several different social practices.

It should be remarked that both van Leeuwen (2008) and Fairclough (2003) consider a distinction between a suppressed agent – no reference to the social actor anywhere in the text – and a backgrounded agent – not mentioned in a given action but mentioned elsewhere in the text (van Leeuwen 2008:29). In the case of nomination and the use of non-finite clauses, for instance, van Leeuwen stresses that the former could be enacted by using post-modifiers such as *by*, *from*, *for*, and so on. In this way, it is important to ask whether the agent is assumed by the reader, or ‘[suppressed] to block knowledge of a practice’ that would otherwise create a concerned reaction. In practice, he concludes, they may be presented as an element not to be further examined or contested by excluding an explicit agent (van Leeuwen 2008:35).

The classification of social actors in van Leeuwen’s (2008) work is relevant for this study as it illustrates the many discursive mechanisms one can find in the representation of social actors, as well as the possible implications for such representations. In this way, it is assumed that the analysis of data stage might reflect the differences in the way social actors are represented both in the *accusation* and *response corpora*. The analysis section will explain the extent to which social participants in the data collected are legitimized or delegitimized through an application of the discursive strategies explained in this section. The analysis stage will show a more detailed classification of these results by following the frameworks established by Fairclough (2003) and van Leeuwen (2008).

3.2.2. *A Theoretical Framework for the Representation of Social Events: Time-Space Relationships*

In terms of time and place, there is a distinction between representations of location and representations of extent referring to duration or distance. Factors which contribute to the representation of time are the tense of verbs, their aspect, adverbs, conjunctions or temporal

prepositions (Fairclough 2003:151). Fairclough observes that space and time are social constructs subjected to social change and class struggles. In these contested time and space experiences, he suggests a distinction between ‘local’ and ‘global’ space-time relationships: on one side of the spectrum there is ‘Global’ time and space, which represents ‘an unlimited timespan’; an abstraction which is located everywhere and nowhere. On the other, there is the ‘local’ space-time definition, which refers to a specific place and time. These concepts are of significant relevance for this research. As the examples taken from Resp_Corp1 in *table 5* show, there is a difference between that global space-time. In the analysis section it will be shown that the representation of events throughout the texts analyzed stress a difference between the global space-time and the local space-time relationships:

STRATEGY	DEFINITION	LINGUISTIC REALIZATION
GLOBAL	Abstraction of time located everywhere and nowhere	Strict compliance of workplace standards
LOCAL	Finite time and space	The average take-home <u>monthly pay</u> in our contract suppliers

Table 5. *Realization of space and time. Adapted from Fairclough (2003:151-54).*

The exploration of time and space classification in van Leeuwen (2008) underlies a more thorough categorization of events than that proposed by Fairclough (2003). Whereas the classification set out by the latter only marks a difference between ‘local’ and ‘global time, the former intends to understand how time is fundamental in social practices. He points out that, as time reflects the way a group, a community, or a society organize work, time is a subjective representation that every individual possesses (van Leeuwen 2008:75-6). Thus, timing resources should be carefully analyzed as they might provide a better understanding of how social practices are legitimized through the employment of this strategy (van Leeuwen 2008:76).

In van Leeuwen's (2008) framework, time can be personalized by either individuals or instruments. For instance, in a family setting, parents have the authority to time the activities for their children, and the ability to undergo this can be considered a sign of power. In the same way, companies, institutions, and professional settings have individuals who manage the time and place of given activities for their subordinates (van Leeuwen 2008:76-77). In a way, time can be *personalized* – by an animated social actor – and also *instrumentalized* – by, say, an alarm, a factory whistle, and so on. Time can also be *disembodied*: an inescapable fate which is ordered by time itself (*ibid*). In texts, time may be represented by material events or passivization of the extent of those events.

STRATEGY/ FURTHER DIVIDED INTO		DEFINITION	EXAMPLE
TIME SUMMONS	EMBODIED/PERSONAL	The activity is undergone by an animated actor	<i>They had a two-week break</i>
	DISEMBODIED/INSTRUMENTAL	Activity undergone by an inanimated object	<i>The clock says the time for recess</i>
SYNCHRONIZATI ON	SOCIAL	Activity synchronized with other activity	<i>When the mixture is bubbling, tip in all the flour</i>
	NATURAL	Starting or ending due to natural phenomena	<i>Autumn approaches and children have to go school</i>
	MECHANICAL	Practices of calculating time human actors are synced with	<i>They arrived at 9:00; We finish work when the bell rings</i>
PUNCTUALIT Y	EXACT/REGULATED	Practices of calculating time are exact and/or located	<i>At 6pm; in the afternoon; during the night</i>
	INEXACT/ DEREGULATED	Time is indefinite and duration not specified	<i>For a while, a quick look at the paper</i>
	UNIQUE	Pertaining only to a single instance of an activity	<i>There may be isolated incidences</i>
	RECURRING	Pertaining to most instances of a given activity	<i>Assembly usually occurs at the start of the day</i>
	MANAGING, BUDGETING	Time is measured as capital, and managed by smn	<i>In order to save time, workers are allowed a 45-min tea break</i>

Table 6. Classification of time. Adapted from van Leeuwen's framework in Discourse and Practice (2008:82-88).

One element which is lacking in Fairclough's (2003) categorization of time and space is the 'experiencing of duration'. Van Leeuwen (2008) remarks that this communicative

operation is significantly subjective and bound to context and personal experience. In this way, a critical approach to a discursive manifestation should look into the extent to which social participants' feelings are described in terms of location and extent. According to him, powerful participants want to control what people think and how they will identify with it (van Leeuwen 2008:84). With regards to this study, the role of *managing*, *scheduling*, and *budgeting* time experiences should be stressed. From *table 6* it can be seen that time can be classified either by animate or inanimate subjects. In the case of *budgeting time* – realized by processes such as *save*, *spend*, *squander*, or *waste*- the analysis of how time is experienced appears to contain relevant findings (*ibid*). One may assume that, given that the responses of corporations focus on the state and on the improvement of labor practices, processes normally related to time control on the auditing of working conditions are likely to be repeated throughout the texts in the *response corpus*. The examples of these processes are, nonetheless, important for their absence in the *response corpus*. This may reinforce the idea that concern about the working conditions in the corporations' supply chain is not really an important issue for them, despite the apparent liability reported in the responses.

The strategy of *transforming time* is another important mechanism to take into account for the analysis of data. Van Leeuwen (2008:83-84) stresses that this category is important to account for the 'destructuralization of time', which implies the control of the duration of events. In this way, through an analysis of 'First Day at School' stories targeted to lower and higher class collectivities, he concludes that the representation of time varies considerably depending on the group being addressed. On the one hand, stories targeted to working classes possess features of imposed timing, schedules to follow, and thus inability to control that timing by pupils starting school. Time is thus disembodied, and its agency is shown by elements which are beyond human control. On the other hand, books for higher-class audiences lack of externally imposed timing. Individuals have thus the ability to

decontextualize events in time and space (van Leeuwen 2008:82-86). The former is thus a significant reflection for critical discourse analysts to account for the inclusion and the duration of social participants' feelings, as this, in turn, may account for the relevance of those social actors in discourse.

Similar to the characterization abovementioned we find time realizations also as *unique* or *recurrent*. It may include premodifiers and adjuncts such as 'daily', 'weekly', and so on. Additionally, set expressions can also be regarded in an 'environment of habituality' (van Leeuwen 2008:81). For example, 'it was practice' or 'it is normally the case that...' In brief, it can be seen that time in terms of location and extent play an important role in the representation of social events. Likewise, the inclusion or exclusion of participants in the duration of those events provide a significant understanding of the extent to which actors are included in texts.

4. RESULTS

The analysis of data section examines the themes and the communicative strategies in the accusations and responses of apparel and textile corporations regarding the working conditions of workers in their supply chains. Section 4.1 examines the findings related to the topics recurrent in both corpora (the *accusation* and *response corpus*) on the basis of the research carried out by Dickson and Eckman (2008), and Lee and Kohler (2010) regarding the themes commonly found in corporate feedback on CSR. An examination on a lexical level will be carried out in order to understand which topics are relevant in CSR communication in this context.

4.1. MAJOR THEMES IN THE ACCUSATION AND RESPONSE CORPORA

4.1.1. *Ethics*

The first set of analyses examines the elements concerning the themes which were expected to be found in the *response corpus* (see *table 3* in page 15). Comparisons between the two groups were made using the work carried out by Dickson and Eckman (2008) and Lee and Kohler (2010) on the classification of CSR communication. On the one hand, the reports examined in the *accusation corpus* seem to reflect an objective manner of reporting the working conditions of workers in the corporations' supply chain. A qualitative examination of the results, workers' interviews, and quotations from authoritative institutions, shows that the reports intend to highlight the organizations' inattentive behavior, as the utilization of external sources implies that there is no poor judgment in the accusations. In this sense, the following examples show a strong reliance on statistics and authority in order to reinforce the idea of authority and veracity in the findings provided. At the same time, facts in these examples illustrate that the accusations judge the responses' ethics negatively:

- (1) None of these factories pays its employees a living wage – about 20 percent higher than the **official minimum wage** – one of the cornerstones of the **Ethical Trading Initiative (ETI)** base code, **an internationally-recognised labour code** adopted by the **Olympics Organising committee, LOCOG** (Accus_Corp1)
- (2) Finally, it is important to keep in mind that labor rights issues go far beyond wages...In 2006, the **National Labor Committee reported** that in one factory, producing clothes for H&M (Evitex), employees were routinely forced to work overtime without adequate compensation...and subjected to harsh punishments when not meeting targets. (Accus_Corp4)

From examples (1) and (2) it can be seen that the quotation of institutions as a means of validating accusations is relevant in the *accusation corpus*. In this sense, recognized institutions and entities which endorse proper labor practices are quoted (e.g. the *National Labor committee*; the *Ethical Trading Initiative*). It can be observed that, by the mentioning of recognized entities concerned in the welfare of workers on an international level, the ethics

and conduct of the firms under study are questioned. As can be seen, the utilization of recognized external sources as a way of legitimizing their reports has been found to be a common strategy in the accusations. These examples corroborate Dickson and Eckman's (2008), as well as Lee and Kohler's (2001) classification of themes in the disclosure of CSR communication.

Also, the experiences workers have been through is an important element in the accusations. In this way, reports sometimes quote workers with their own words, revealing their names, age, gender, or the number of workers interviewed. In this sense, it can be interpreted that the reader of these accusations is provided information based reliable accounts and thus the accusations possess further validity as in the following examples:

- (3) **Monika** was **just 13** when she started working for Bannari Amman.
- (4) "The management says overtime is compulsory", says **Sobirin, 32** (Accus_Corp1)
- (5) CASS identified more than **1600 girls and young women** who had worked at a given time at some 90 different factories... (Accus_Corp2)
- (6) **Eighteen workers** gave in-depth interviews about their experiences under the Sumangali Scheme. In April 2011, an additional **102 women workers** were interviewed... (Accus_Corp2)

The examples above suggest that the themes addressed in the accusations rely on the delegitimation of the ethics and conduct of organizations by the use quoting of internationally recognized sources, as well as the workers' own accounts of the conditions of factories. Again, this strategy is reflected in the fact that the firms' conduct and ethics are not being those of a responsible corporate citizen, thus delegitimizing their conduct as businesses. As an illustration, example (3) shows that the person employed in the supply chain was clearly under the legal age of working when she was first employed. Similarly, example (6) evidences the number of workers interviewed by the organization that had been previously

employed under the Sumangali Scheme. Example (5) also implies that there are women under the legally allowed age working for factories in the region of Tamil Nadu.

However, even though it can be observed that the themes of Ethics, Conduct, and Corporate Social Responsibility of firms are addressed by the accusations, the connection between the themes employed and Dickson, Loker and Eckman's (2008) framework can only be tentatively made. In other words, the accusations' display of information intends to refer to the companies' practices objectively by presenting facts. In this way, since the accusations only report events on the basis of the corporations' conduct, no feedback on the validity of the accusation's facts is provided here. Thus, the relevance of themes has then been attributed to the responses, as Lee and Kohler's (2001) framework on corporation's CSR communication stresses the role of feedback (see *table 3* in section 3.1.1).

In the light of this fact, the *response corpus* illustrates that the disclosure of responses has a close relationship with those main themes illustrated in *table 2* and *table 3* in pages 13 and 15, respectively. At first sight the classification of Ethics, Conduct, and Corporate Social Responsibility in connection with the *response corpus* provides a first understanding of how corporations display feedback on the original accusations. As the examples below illustrate, they appear to be on the basis of i) the inadequate acknowledgement of the company's efforts, as in example (7); ii) the repetition of the fact that the accusations are inaccurate and thus fail to show the firm as a responsible corporate citizen, as in examples (8) and (9); iii) the demonstration that incidents are not the firm's responsibility, as in example (11); and the iv) identification of the company's responsible practices, as in example (10). The relevance of such findings shows that there are similarities regarding the attitudes expressed by the corporations analyzed in this study.

- (7) Social audits run in our factories full year by several globally reputed professional audit agencies...[but] **neither SOMO nor any researchers** have **ever** visited neither any of our factories **nor verified facts**(Resp_Corp.2).
- (8) Social Responsibility is of highest importance to us and we welcome any feedback on improvements. However, **the article contains** some serious allegations and **factual errors that need to be readdressed.** (Resp_Corp.4).
- (9) Most of the **claims of SOMO** are **unsubstantiated and baseless.** They have carried out their **own prejudices** too far in the western world (Resp_Corp.2).
- (10) Inditex is **resolutely committed** with the improvement of labour practices of Tamil Nadu. (Resp_Corp3)

The examples above reflect that there is indeed reliance on different communicative mechanisms, such as the firms' accountability. In this way, there are indications that these utterances rely on the moral evaluation of practices (van Leeuwen 2008:109-112) to allude to the companies' conduct, ethics, and corporate responsibility (see table 3 in page 15). As an illustration, examples from (7) to (10) show that the organizations in *Resp_Corp2* (Eastman Exports), *Resp_Corp4* (H&M), *Resp_Corp3* (Inditex) show a high degree of disagreement through the employment of pre/postmodification (e.g. *ever visited*; *factual errors*; *unsubstantiated and baseless*; *globally reputed* professionals; or Inditex is *resolutely committed...*). In addition to this, examples 11 and 12 below indicate that other verbal processes show that firms can be responsible actors:

- (11) For a long time Sumangali scheme was hailed by all as a model labor...measure...because...[it] eradicated social evils like child marriage and under-age marriage. (Resp_Corp.4)
- (12) we **are happy to provide you** with some facts about the work developed related to this issue by our company. (Resp_Corp3)

By overtly mentioning that the group is actively engaged in the improvement of the working conditions of its suppliers, it can be observed that these examples display the themes of Conduct as a responsible corporate citizen. As they show that their behavior is accountable and verifiable, it is possible that these firms intend to reinforce the idea that they only account for responsible practices at factories. These examples seem to further contribute to the idea that firms believe there is inaccuracy in the accusations (Lee and Kohler 2001, see *table 3* in page 18).

Examples (7) to (12) above also illustrate that there is a tendency in the responses of the firms to portray themselves as a single actor by the use of an inclusive pronoun. Similarly, agency is followed by an evaluation of the original accusations. It has also been found that whenever the responses refer to either the legitimation or delegitimation of certain practices there is a high reliance on the pronoun *we* or its possessive role, *our*

On the basis of the identification of the company's responsible practices and also its conduct, from the examples above it can be seen that positive enforcement is given through the employment of the inclusive pronoun *we*. In this way, the acknowledgement of the firms' responsible behavior is shown through the inclusion of the organization as a single entity. In this sense, a possible explanation of the corporations' reliance on the inclusive pronoun *we* might be the identification of their labor practices as a single group. In this way, as will be shown in later examples, there seems to be no differentiation between the main corporation and third-party manufacturers, namely the factories in charge of the organization's manufacturing processes.

These findings support previous research on Language and Communication Design in the Public Sphere (Mautner 2010). Based on the premise that communicative strategies in this type of texts follow a utilitarian aim (Mautner 2010; Foucault 1979), it might be interpreted

that the employment of a plural and inclusive pronoun in the *response corpus* attempts to legitimize the organizations' business activities as a whole. What is more, the subjective evaluation illustrated in instances such as 'abhor', 'disagree', or 'zero tolerance' transgress an animate behavior to the firms' group. In this way, it might be interpreted that the organizations intend to portray themselves as a single human actor with strong ethical values whenever positive enforcement is employed. Likewise, negative evaluation of social practices shows reliance on the pronoun *we* as a means of delegitimizing the original accusations.

4.1.2. *Conduct and Corporate Social Responsibility*

A contrastive analysis of the corpora seems to indicate that both corpora differ in the representation of Conduct and Corporate Social Responsibility. At first sight, it might be interpreted that this is due to the nature of reporting in the *accusation corpus*. Since the accusations are reports which present findings, a human actor behind the text appears to be difficult to identify. Thus, as mentioned in the previous subsection, these reports are characterized by the use of statistics and quotations, as examples (13) to (15) illustrate, of alternative sources considerably for the veracity of their information. Perhaps this might also be a consequence of the genre in which newspapers and reports are to be found. In this case, it might be possible that reliance on external sources and the lack of personal pronouns - as can be seen in examples (13) to (15) – shows higher reliability in the representation of events in the *accusation corpus*:

- (13) Even for those with jobs, conditions at Taiwanese-owned Shyang Yao Fung...are poor, according to workers (Accus_Corp1)
- (14) In 2006, the National Labor Committee reported that... (Accus_Corp4)
- (15) "The management says overtime is compulsory... Every day there's a worker who passes out because they're exhausted..." (Accus_Corp1)

(16) In defending child labour, SOMO and ICN apply ILO (International Labor Organization) Conventions 138 and 182). (Accus_Corp3)

(17) “Refusing overtime is not possible. Buses will not leave until...the work is completed... Overtime hours are not paid out according to local law”. (Accus_Corp2)

Similarly, the same pronoun strategy seems to be further employed whenever the organizations want to show that there is an inadequate acknowledgement of the company’s efforts, as well as the inaccuracy of the accusations. In this sense, as shown in previous examples the responses employ the active role of ‘we’ as a single actor plus evaluative processes such as ‘disagree’ indicating a reference to an accusation.

On the other hand, the examples analyzed in the *response corpus* underlie the organizations’ tendency to delegitimize the accusations through an inclusive evaluation of their utterances. Additionally, firms seem to also rely on the indirect quotations of alternative sources. As an illustration, it can be drawn from examples (18) and (19) below that responses hints the inaccuracy of the original report by alluding to recent audits or regional labor laws. However, there is no a further insight into those ‘recent audits’ or the ‘laws of the land’, and access to this information is thus taken from the reader.

(18) **We** do not believe that there are “widespread” violations. (Resp_Corp1)

(19) **We** have no findings on excessive working hours from our recent audits... (Resp_Corp1)

Different examples with a similar effect can be seen in examples (20) to (21). Here, the companies’ responses rely on their personal evaluation of events in order to delegitimize the accusations’ claims:

(20) **We** would not characterize working conditions at Shyang Yao Fung as being poor. (Resp_Corp1)

(21) **We** are against the Sumangali Scheme. Working hours and overtime is as stipulated by the labour laws. **We** strictly adhere to the laws of the land. (Resp_Corp2)

By evaluating practices the responses seem to use verbal processes, prepositional or adverbial premodifiers which show their position against such accusations (e.g. *we strictly adhere to the laws of the land; we would not characterize...; we are **against** the Sumangali Scheme*). As these responses are also disclosed by the use of first-person plural ‘we’, it is possible that the four firms involved attempt to show their business activities as though they were a single actor. In this sense, it is as if the responses represented the voices of all collectivities, from the workers employed in the supply chain to the highest positions in the company.

From the examples in this subsection, it can be seen that there is a tendency in the *response corpus* to make reference to the firms’ Standards and Codes of Conduct. Thus, it can be concluded that, unlike the impersonal and objective reporting fashion in the *accusation corpus*, the *response corpus* intends to justify conduct and ethics through counter arguments. It is also interesting to note that in the examples shown, there is a close relationship between the clusters related with the ethics, conduct, and the corporate responsibility of firms. In this way, through the unification of their activities, behavior and responsibility by the use of the pronoun ‘we/our’, it can also be seen that their moral evaluation also seems to reflect their identity as responsible institutions as well as their sober corporate practices. Furthermore, this seems to reinforce the idea that the firm is a plain human actor. By displaying a subjective evaluation of the events reported, the legitimization of firms as responsible corporate citizens can be achieved through a judgment of events to which an audience can relate.

To sum up, from the examples analyzed in section 4.1.2 it can be inferred that in the *response corpus* there is a tendency to overuse moral evaluation together with group inclusion strategies by the use of first-person plural and its possessive. As has been

suggested, the topics in the responses are found within the inadequate acknowledgement of the company's CSR practices; the inaccuracy of the accusations; and also the identification of the company's conduct. In this sense, these findings corroborate the ideas that Lee and Kohler (2010), who suggested a patterned categorization in the disclosure of feedback by corporations. Likewise, this also accords with earlier observations pointed by Dickson and Eckman (2008) on the distinction of topics in CSR communication disclosure in the apparel industry.

4.2. THE REPRESENTATION OF SOCIAL ACTORS

This section of the data analysis deals with the representation of social actors as categorized by Fairclough (2003) and van Leeuwen (2008). As has been observed in the previous section, there is a tendency in the *accusation corpus* to quote alternative sources. These include the experiences of workers in the supply chains, as well as labor rights organizations. On the contrary, it has been shown that the organizations in the *response corpus* seem to attempt to overtly portray themselves in a positive way. This section focuses on the mechanisms by which the corporations in the present study represent themselves and other participants (cf. section 3.2.1)

(i) Exclusion/Inclusion

As van Leeuwen (2008:28-32) points out, exclusion of social participants may be used to disguise the identity of powerful actors, or to discourage interrogation of their actions. Furthermore, this communicative strategy may also present excluded social participants as inferior, powerless, or undesirable. In the following examples, it can be seen that these strategies used by the accusations, unlike the firms' responses, tend to overtly include social participants the firms' responses exclude or background.

As the examples below illustrate, the communicative strategies employed by both corpora for the representation of social actors overtly includes workers. As can be seen in example (22), (23), and (24) the workers are mentioned and can be perceived as active actors:

(22) **They** also endure verbal and physical abuse, **they** allege, **are forced** to work overtime, and **are punished** for not reaching production targets. (Accus_Corp1)

(23) **Workers** struggle to survive on pay as low as 5,000 rupiah (34p) an hour, **skipping meals** to save money, and **sending their children** away to be looked after by grandparents. (Accus_Corp1)

(24) When **workers** complained, the factory locked **them** out, and refused to let **them** back to work. (Accus_Corp4)

It can thus be observed that the role of workers in examples (22) and (23) is active (e.g. *they also endure; they allege; workers struggle; they complained*). In this sense, it can be seen that examples found in the *accusation corpus* show a tendency to portray workers as decision-making actors throughout the text.

In examples (25) and (26) below *accusation corpus*, workers are similarly included as the agents of the actions described in the reports. What is more, these social actors are described in terms of gender and age, a classification which might help the reader to understand the conditions of workers in a better way. In this sense, a potential receiver of this text can learn about the type of people subcontracted by the corporation, in this specific context, Eastman Exports and the Sumangali Scheme issue:

(25) ...girls and young women are recruited and employed on a large scale to work in the garment industry. The promise: a decent wage, comfortable accommodation, and, the biggest lure: a considerable sum of money upon completion of their three-year contract. (Accus_Corp2)

(26) “During my time at the mill there were 400 girls residing in the hostel. Each room accommodated five to six workers. Toilets, bathrooms and drinking water facilities were available in the hostel, but they were not up to the standard.” (Accus_Corp2)

On the contrary, examples found in the *response corpus* counter-argue statements in the previous page as they tend to either exclude workers or show them as patients in the events described by firms. As an illustration, in example (27) workers are excluded and treated as being those who must endure verbal abuse in the workplace:

(27) ...**there may be isolated incidences of verbal abuse**, which we have found through our own monitoring activities and have immediately addressed directly with the factory... (Resp_Corp1)

Although the idea that there are individuals suffering from verbal abuse can be inferred, the focus of the statement in example (27) is on how the possible existence of incidences in the factory. By the use of an existential ‘there’ it is implied that issues can be common but isolated. However, the reader is not provided further information on the receiver of mistreatments. Workers in the factory can be inferred, nonetheless, but they are not given any role in the example. By backgrounding the role of workers, example (27) emphasizes the inclusion of the organization as a responsible actor. The plural ‘we’, its possessive form ‘our’, and an adverbial time reference are thus utilized to stress the primary role of the firm as a problem-solving actor. A similar case occurs in the example below:

(28) We do not believe that there are “widespread” violations. We do however accept that there may be individual incidences of non-compliance with our Workplace Standards (Resp_Corp1)

As seen in previous sections, it is by the use of the pronoun ‘we/our’ and a personal evaluation of events that the firm portrays itself as a single, powerful actor. In this sense, it could be interpreted that the active participation of the organization in the tackling of harmful working conditions through monitoring devices exclude the role of workers in exchange.

On the contrary, counter-examples (29), (30), and (31) describe workers as a single contingent, which is surprisingly included. Nonetheless, it can be seen that workers here are regarded as having the ‘choice’ to leave the workplace whenever they believe it convenient.

- (29) To maximise potential earnings it is not uncommon for workers to leave their children in the care of the grandparents in the village. Without the help of their extended family, child care can be prohibitively expensive. (Resp_Corp1)
- (30) We do not have any schemes such as Sumangali or any other labour binding schemes in any name or form in any factory. We are against Sumangali Scheme...To work Overtime is the choice of the workers. (Resp_Corp2).
- (31) To continue working with us or not after the wages paid is the choice of the workers. The labour turnaround is high in this business. (Resp_Corp2).

In this way, through the overt inclusion and empowerment of workers it might be interpreted that employees are not subjected to any bounded labor scheme. However, no access to the identity, gender, or age of those ‘free’ workers is provided throughout the text in *Resp_Corp2* - nor is it so in *Resp_Corp1*. Additionally, by both including and empowering workers as decision-making individuals in examples (29), (30), and (31), the communicative display attempts to demonstrate that it is the choice of workers to be employed under these conditions (e.g. *to continue working with us or not...is the choice of workers*). Thus, as has been suggested by van Leeuwen (2008:28-35), the inclusion of workers in the responses implies that they are the powerful and dynamic forces in the activity.

Finally, it is somewhat surprising that both corpora employ the inclusion of workers as decision-making individuals in the examples abovementioned. There appears to be, nevertheless, a difference concerning the manner in which the inclusion of these participants is achieved. Even though both van Leeuwen (2008) and Fairclough (2003) agree that the inclusion of social actors in a text often portrays their dominance, this communicative strategy seems to vary in the abovementioned examples. In this sense, as the purpose of the texts in the *accusation corpus* is to denounce the negligent practices of manufacturers, it is expected that those being affected are included. What is interesting then is that the examples examined above in the *response corpus* also have a tendency to include workers. As has been

initially proposed for this study, this can be interpreted as the firms' communicative mechanism to diminish their responsibility in the labor practices of garment manufacturing process. As has been suggested above, this might be used as a way of lessening the responsibility of firms in factories.

(ii) Role Allocation – Activation/Passivization

As has been explained by van Leeuwen (2008:32-35) activation and passivization of agents can imply either the active and dynamic force of a social actor – and thus its power - or the receiver of an action. It should be remarked that passivization and sometimes the exclusion of social participants may not always be in the interest of excluding what dominant forces might consider secondary participants. Thus, even though passivization may sometimes signal the vulnerability of individuals, social actors can also represent a third party which may or may not benefit from an action. Similarly, participants in a text may also be passivized in order to avoid the identification of more or less powerful subjects.

The analysis has found that activation and passivization are significantly used discursive strategies in both corpora. As the examples below illustrate, passivization, as in the case of workers, is a common strategy for both *accusation* and *response corpus*:

- (32) They also **endure** verbal and physical abuse, they allege, **are forced** to work overtime, and **are punished** for not reaching production targets. (Accus_Corp1)
- (33) None of the nine factories **pays its employees** a living wage. (Accus_Corp1)
- (34) At another Tangerang Factory...workers...say **they face intense pressure** to meet production targets. (Accus_Corp1)

In the above examples taken it can be seen that workers in the supply chains are described as patients. Although examples (32) and (34) illustrate that workers are the active agents that report, endure, and face intense pressure or physical abuse, a second reading of these descriptions show that they can be passivized, as there is a second participant inflicting the

processes previously described. Thus, workers are at the receiving end of actions. It can also be observed in example (33) factories play an active role as givers of a living wage, thus active, to workers, passive. Workers are therefore beneficiaries of the action.

Likewise, a similar pattern can be observed in instances in the *response corpus* below. In this way, it is common to observe in the data collected that the participation of workers has been either obscured or excluded. As the example below illustrate, sometimes the role of workers as raw material producers is obscured in order to emphasize other qualities:

(35) Yarn produced in Tamil Nadu **is consumed by the entire Textile**, Garmenting and home textile Industry in every part of India. (Resp_Corp2)

Example (35) shows that both the roles of agent and patient have been excluded by the use of an object, 'yarn'. Thus, the role of those which produce this raw material is obscured and not mentioned. In the same example, the role of the workers' supervisors is represented by an activity related to them and a beneficiary, the country of India. It can be thus observed that the participation of laborers can both be objectified and passivized.

A similar strategy is employed in example (36) for the portrayal of workers as being salary-receivers and as protected by the international trade union movement. For this reason, it can be seen that in both texts from the *Accus_Corp1* and *Resp_Corp2* workers in supply chains appear as an affected group. Then, in this case, both texts attempt to show laborers as vulnerable.

(36) The international trade union movement has for many years called for a living wage **to be paid to workers** in global supply chains. (Resp_Corp1)

As for the role of passivization as an element which diminishes the responsibility of actions, example (37) illustrates that responses may not address any specific agent:

(37) We acknowledge that since January 2012, when minimum wages in Tangerang rose 31 percent, **factories have been challenged by the need** to increase productivity levels, to offset higher operating costs. To help, the adidas Group has put in place a Manufacturing Excellence Initiative... (Accus_Corp1)

From example (37) it can be observed that the agent demanding an increase in productivity levels is replaced and thus personified by ‘the need’. In this way, no reference is given on who has urged factories to work more effectively. As Fairclough (2003:147) suggests, it is as though the increase in productivity levels were in the hands of natural forces. This depicts the event as an inevitable consequence, as the result of natural phenomena. ‘the need’ in example (37) thus seems to indicate that the demanded productivity is something not in control of human actors. Even though the role of the main firm can still be inferred in this case, the company is not overtly mentioned. However, active role allocation can be observed in the sentence immediately, when the firm claims that they help to solve the ‘challenge’ that manufacturers face with a ‘Manufacturing Excellence Initiative’.

Regarding the allocation of active roles in the text, the examples above illustrate that the active forces in the texts are the corporations, manufacturers, and labor institutions. From examples above in the *response corpus* we can notice that the role of the firm, the beneficiaries of produced raw materials, as well as one of the institution which protects the rights of workers (e.g. International Trade union movement) are overtly mentioned. Therefore, the text seems to reinforce the idea that organizations, corporations, and manufacturers are those who control the actions of workers in the supply chain. It is in this way that we can see the extent to which the text can legitimize the power corporations can exercise on others (as in *to help, the Adidas Group has put in place the Manufacturing Excellence Initiative*).

In the case of *Resp_Corp2* and *Resp_Corp4*, role allocation has a similar role as that in *Resp_Corp1*. From the following examples it can be seen that, again, the role of workers is and individual identity is obscured, as can be observed in examples (38), (39) and (40):

(38) **Wages** along with the Overtime **is paid** at the end of every month in the spinning mill and at the end of every week in garmenting. ESI and PF as mandated by law are the only deductions from the salary. (*Resp_Corp2*).

(39) ...**audits run on our behalf** and also **on the behalf of our customers. Professional Auditors of several nationalities audit our labour practices** with complete access to all areas of labor welfare. (*Resp_Corp2*)

Throughout the text in *Resp_corp2* workers' representations are either backgrounded, passivized, or excluded from texts. As examples (38) and (39) show, the role of workers in the supply chains is considerably difficult to identify and only realized by objects related to them (*Wages, audits, or labor practices*). However, example (40) below shows the role of workers as decision-makers with reference to the choice of accommodation:

(40) Accommodation is a choice made **by the workers** and their families **based on their conveniences**. (*Resp_Corp2*)

Example (40) is the only instance in *Resp_Corp2* in which a reader can identify laborers as active and decision-making individuals. Throughout the text this group can only be inferred by means of objects or functions related to them, such as 'wages', 'the spinning mill', 'audits', 'labour practices', or 'workers'. The implications of this strategy, namely *personalization/Impersonalization*, will be developed further in the following subsections.

Finally, the findings of this strategy in the present study are consistent with those of van Leeuwen (2008) and Fairclough (2003), who suggested that powerful social actors tend to employ activation for the representation of active and dynamic forces. In this way, it can be observed that actors such as the corporation, as well as labor institutions, are represented as actively affecting the actions of the social participants passivized, workers in the supply

chain. Additionally, the role of the firm's harmful labor practices is effectively diminished by the use of passivization. As explained in earlier paragraphs in this subsection, minimum wages implied more exigencies for workers in the supply chain. However, there's no further information concerning the responsible actors of these pressures. Thus, role allocation can be considered one of the strategies by which social participants are overtly mentioned or obscured.

(iii) Genericization/Specification

As van Leeuwen (2008:35-36) explains, *Genericization* establishes distance from the reader. This strategy can be realized linguistically when actors are described by the use of nouns which are either plural without an article or singular with a definite or indefinite article. This in turn may imply that the main actors in the text do not have contact with the people involved in those practices. *Genericization* is also relevant in the representation of 'us' and 'them'. The current study found that Genericization is highly overused by the *response corpus* and Specification in the *accusation corpus*. As the examples from the *accusation corpus* below illustrate, specification can be employed in terms of numbers, as in example (41) and (42); in terms of space, as in examples (41), (43), and (44); and in terms of gender, as in examples (43) and (45):

(41) **None of the nine factories** pays its employees a living wage. (Accus_Corp1)

(42) **At PT Shyang Yao Fung, west of Jakarta, 10 workers** were suspended a month ago. (Accus_Corp1)

(43) For those **girls** employed at the time under the Sumangali Scheme a settlement was reached based on the period the girls had been working with Eastman. (Accus_Corp2)

(44) In September 2010, **Cambodian Garment workers**...were fired for striking... (Accus_Corp4)

(45) There is increasing evidence that **girls and boys from impoverished regions of India** are lured to work in the garment factories... (Accus_Corp3)

It is interesting to notice that events are also located in time in the examples above. In this way, specification is further employed, perhaps in order to provide the reader with as much information as possible concerning the participants in the incidences in supply chains. Finally, it must be said that these findings do not corroborate van Leeuwen's (2008:35-36) claim that Specification effectively draw a sharp difference in the representation of 'us' and 'them'. On the contrary, it appears that the use of this Strategy in the *accusation corpus* intends to give workers a representative that would be occluded otherwise.

On the contrary, as can be seen in the examples from the *response corpus* below workers, suppliers, and the factory, are presented as generalized agents. An analysis of the examples below illustrate that processes show the main social actors as providers of healthy labor practices (e.g. *make suppliers aware, motivate them, a program...to garment suppliers...to identify incompliances...*).

- (46) Since a few years we have actively been trying to move away from "superintendents", as H&M is described in the article, to rather **make suppliers aware** and to train and **motivate them** to take ownership of their own operations. (Resp_Corp4).
- (47) During the meeting, Karl-Johann Person presented H&M's request for an increased minimum wage and annual wage reviews **for workers** in the Bangladeshi textile industry. (Resp_Corp4)
- (48) An extensive audit program **to garment suppliers** as well as **printing, dyeing, spinning and knitting units** belonging to our suppliers to identify potential incompliances... (Resp_Corp3).
- (49) Such behaviour needs to be reported **by workers** to **the factory** through their existing grievance channels. (Resp_Corp1).

This shows that the main actors in the *response corpus* – the garment and textile industries- are depicted in a different way than workers. In the above examples the role of 'them', 'suppliers', 'the factory', or 'workers'- is generalized by objects, mass nouns, or buildings which may characterize this agent. However, as stated in earlier sections workers

are never individualized in the responses, a fact which contradicts the statements which intend to show concern about them.

(iv) Assimilation-Aggregation/Individualization

With reference to the strategies of *assimilation/individualization*, van Leeuwen (2008:37-38) points out that the social actors may be assimilated by mass nouns which denote a group of people. Also, they may be aggregated by the presence of definite or non-definite quantifiers. This strategy is often used to regulate practices and create consensus opinions (2008:37). As can be observed in previous sections, aggregation can be realized by the use of, for instance, words such as ‘workers’, ‘factories’, or ‘suppliers, which group different actors into one entity.

The findings in the *response corpus* show a tendency to collectivize actors by using mass nouns or the plural forms ‘we’ and its possessive ‘our’. Consider the examples below:

- (50) **Inditex Group**, as Owner Company of PullandBear and other well-known clothing brands, has been in contact with SOMO both directly and as an active member of Ethical Trading Initiative (ETI). (Resp_Corp3)
- (51) ...the **adidas Group** has operated a 24-hour worker hotline in our **supplier factories** for more than 6 years. Workers are familiar with the hotline numbers which is manned by our compliance team in Jakarta. (Resp_Corp1)
- (52) **At Eastman Exports**, we do not run any hostel facility for any of our workers in any production centre. (Resp_Corp2)
- (53) **We** [Eastman Exports] **fail to understand** what is the reason behind such campaigns targeting exclusively few garment manufacturers of Tirupur and their clients? (Resp_Corp2)

It can be observed that the role of the main corporations is collectivized and thus creates consensus between different groups. Manufacturers are thus represented as a single entity by the pronoun ‘we’ or ‘our’, as has been previously discussed and, consequently, they represent the opinion and evaluations of groups. From the data analyzed it is not surprising that the idea

of consensus only shows the point of view expressed by those disclosing the texts. Even though it seems that workers are represented and their opinions are taken into account, it can be seen that the examples in the *response corpus* implicitly acknowledge the dominant opinion of the firms as active and dynamic forces. Having in mind the discursive techniques of *assimilation* and *individualization*, the data analyzed suggests that the role of corporations and workers is indeed presented in different ways. What is more, by using this mechanism, it appears that those in the text seem to agree with the decisions posed by the main actors.

(v) Determination/Indetermination

In their linguistic realization, van Leeuwen (2008:39-40) explains that this category is achieved by the use of indefinite pronouns (e.g. somebody, someone, some). It intends to anonymize social actors and sometimes endow the former ‘with a kind of personal authority, a sense of unseen, yet powerfully felt coercive force. The analysis shows that this communicative technique is not a common mechanism in the results obtained. As no indefinite pronouns appear in either corpora and all social participants are to a certain extent represented in the texts, this strategy was not found to be significant in the analysis of data. In this sense, this finding appears to partly corroborate the hypothesis that there are similarities in the representation of social actors in the firms’ responses and the accusations. Since the relationship between social actors seem to be sharply defined by both corpora, it may seem logical that indetermination strategies may not appear in either.

(vi) Association/Disassociation

The results found that there was a significant use of aggregation through the usage of possessive pronouns and possessive attributes. As van Leeuwen (2008:38-39) explains, the strategy of *association* may group various contingents without them being necessarily related.

In this case, enumeration can represent the grouping of various social actors. The findings illustrate that there are only a few examples where associations occur in the *accusation* and *response corpus*. This is because the lines between the different social actors are sharply drawn and there seemed to be no confusion between the main firms, the accusation reports, and the manufacturers. Nonetheless, it has been found that *association* occurs in the *accusation corpus* whenever the reports remark on age, nationality, gender, or wages earned by a group of workers:

(54) Recruitment is targeted at **young, mostly unmarried, women and girls, aged between 14 and 25...[with] a Dalit (untouchable)...or other low caste background** and come from poor...**landless and indebted families**. (Accus_Corp2)

(55) Tangerang City hosts four factories – **PT Panarub, PT Pancaprima, PT Shyang Yao Fung and PT Tuntex – which supply adidas with Olympics-branded goods**. (Accus_Corp1)

From the examples above it can be observed that association may occur in the *accusation corpus* in cases when further information on local suppliers, as in example (55), is provided. Also, as example (54) shows, association can be employed when detailed information of the background of workers employed under the Sumangali scheme in this case.

In a different way, the examples in the *response corpus* seem to employ association whenever the firms' responses attempt to report and evaluate on a positive activity, and not the description of those participants involved in the texts.

In this sense, a possible interpretation of this finding may be that that the organizations intend to link a relationship of responsible behavior by associating, as the examples below suggest:

(56) It is a common knowledge in the Industry **our labour salaries** and other **labour welfare benefits** such as **free transport, medical camps, educational assistance**, etc., are higher than the global Industry Standard. (Accus_Corp2).

(57) They [educational films] educate workers and management on topics like **maternity leave, leave and documentation, abuse and grievance, health and safety and overtime.** (Resp_Corp4)

(58) ...**all of our suppliers in Indonesia** have implemented the new sectorial wage, which has increased minimum wages by up to 31% this year. (Resp_Corp1)

It can be seen that *association* in the accusation corpus occurs whenever facts and examples are presented. In this sense, a possible interpretation of this finding may be that that the organizations intend to link a relationship of responsible behavior by associating, as the examples above suggest a list of topics concerned about the workers' welfare (*free transport, medical camps, educational assistance; maternity leave, leave and documentation, abuse and grievance*). In this way, it could be inferred that the purpose behind this communicative strategy would be to dissociate and legitimize negative opinions from claims released by former accusations. In similar cases, *association* also works in the *response corpus* as a way of grouping business partners (*all of our suppliers in Indonesia...*). However, there has been no significant evidence to suggest that these results play other role than the general labelling of different actors.

(vii) **Differentiation/Disassociation**

This strategy is explained as the mechanism employed for distinguishing the 'self' from 'others' (van Leeuwen 2008:38-40). The former intends to portray a set of social actors as different from others. Since differentiation is mainly used to legitimize a social actors' practices, this strategy has been found in the *response corpus*. The examples below illustrate that the responses employ *disassociation* both to legitimize their value and somewhat delegitimize accusations. As an illustration, examples (59) and (60) from *Resp_Corp1* illustrate that the organization's discursive strategy emphasizes its responsible behavior implying that other companies have not disclosed their supply chain lists:

(59) The adidas Group was **the only LOCOG licensee to fully disclose** its supply chain and that disclosure detailed the trade union status of its suppliers (Resp_Corp1)

(60) We would not characterise working conditions...as being poor. **Whilst £105 per month appear to be low...to a UK reader**, pay levels are...relative to the country in which they are earned. (Resp_Corp1)

Similarly, example (59) illustrates that Adidas employs reasoning in order to point out a difference concerning what a UK reader would consider low pay. It is in this way that the organization legitimizes its practices. These differentiations effectively show that the corporation is not responsible for the claims of which it has been accused. By categorizing themselves as responsible and active agents, the relevance of the accusations is diminished.

In a similar way examples (60) and (43) illustrate that these firms intend to dissociate themselves from other actors accused by reaffirming their own identity. Thus, by claiming that the report falsely identifies other companies mentioned as belonging to *Eastman Exports* in example (61), the report's validity is delegitimized by claiming inaccuracy:

(61) We have invited them (SOMO) several times to check for themselves on any issue. But they have never visited a single factory. **Some factories which they mention in their reports do not even belong to us.** (Resp_Corp2)

The original report, however, never establishes a relationship between the organizations quoted. As for example (62), it can be observed that the organization intends to legitimize its role by disclosing the amount of its business activities in the area.

(62) First of all, we must clarify that **Inditex's presence in the Tirupur area is very limited and has decreased – by commercial reasons** – during the last years, representing around 0.1% of Inditex global purchases on 2011. (Resp_Corp3)

A possible interpretation of these examples is that the organization implies that a limited presence in the area may result in ignorance of the manufacturers' labor practices.

Even though van Leeuwen's (2008:40) framework suggests that dissociation may only be realized by words which distinguish 'us' and 'them', example (62) utilizes a different strategy. By showing a low percentage, along with a modal and an adverbial intensifier, Inditex implies that, whereas other companies' business activities in the area might be big, theirs are not. What is more, their activity is decreasing, but only as a consequence of commercial reasons. This further implies that others might pull out their activities in the area for other unexplained motives.

(viii) Nomination/Categorization

As van Leeuwen (2008:40-45) points out, this mechanism attempts to categorize the identity of social participants in a text. The analysis shows that the categories of *identification*, *functionalization*, and *appraisement* are employed by texts both in the *response* and the *accusation corpus*. The examples below from the *accusation corpus* validate their argumentation by referring to workers by interviews with them, their age, gender, and sometimes their names:

(63) ...mainly **young, female factory employees** work up to 65 hours...Some workers described being slapped in the face and having their ears pinched by managers..."it's **humiliating**", says **Margi Wibowo**. (Accus_Corp1).

(64) **Girls and young women** are recruited and employed on a large scale. (Alleg_Corp2)

Workers are also functionalized in terms of what they do by the *accusation corpus*, as seen in examples (63) and (64). Contrary to the findings in the responses, the accusations employ the strategy of *identification*, *classification*, and *appraisement* for the disclosure of information. As an illustration, it can be seen that examples (65) and (66) appear to show a distinction of the organization's workforce as well as the evaluation of their labor practices.

(65) Approximately **6,000 Eastman workers** are living in dormitories, including male workers. (Accus_Corp2).

(66) **H&M is notorious for breaking** their Code of Conduct that sets standards for working conditions: **unfair** treatment of **workers**,...**mistreatment** of **workers**...failure to provide proper safety training and equipment (Accus_Corp4) [are] a **grave** problem in Bangladesh.

Similarly, labor practices are often categorized negatively by classifiers in the nominal group. Examples (63) and (66) thus illustrate that these practices are ‘humiliating’, ‘unfair’, fail to ‘provide proper safety’, or are a ‘grave problem’.

Similarly, the responses also use the strategies of *identification* and *functionalization*. In this way, it is possible that the role of workers is functionalized in terms of what they do (workers, employees, suppliers) by the firms in the *response corpus* so as to leave their identity unacknowledged. In fact, there are no instances in the *response corpus* which alludes to a specific identification of workers in terms of gender, age, or given names:

(67) Any situation in which the **worker** is deprived of their freedom of movement or subject to abusive behavior from a **supervisor**...is a clear breach of our Workplace Standards. (Resp_Corp1)

(68) Social audit professionals even meet the **workers** and their families after the working hours at their place of residence. (Resp_Corp2)

(69) It is absolutely unrealistic even to assume that we can provide the accommodation for **several thousand workers**. (Resp_Corp2).

(70) H&M put much focus on influencing and educating our **suppliers** and their **employees**. One example is the five workers awareness films produced by H&M and local NGO’s both in Bangladesh and India. (Resp_Corp4)

Thus, they merely represent workforce, which might entail that these social actors become objectified.

These findings further support the ideas stated by van Leeuwen (2008:40-45) with reference to the classification of social actors. From this communicative strategy it can be seen that the examples in the *response corpus* intend to impersonalize the role of workers by

only referring to them in terms of what they do. Also, as will be seen in the following subsections, this categorization is further displayed in terms of where they work, where they belong in the supply chain, and so on. In this way, it can be interpreted that either the responses are focused on the strategies to legitimize their business activities, or simply are ignorant of the workforce conditions, and even their identities, in their own supply chains. Contrary to this point of view, examples in the *accusation corpus* clearly identify the role of workers through the classification of their age, gender, and sometimes even their names or their own utterances.

(ix) Personalization/Impersonalization

Impersonalization occurs when social actors are described by language which give non-human meanings to them. Unlike *Impersonalization*, *Personalization* express linguistically that actors are human beings. Impersonalization strategies can be further divided into *abstraction*, *objectivation*, *spatialization*, and *instrumentalization*. This communicative mechanism implies that actors can be either backgrounded or foregrounded. It is in this way that this technique can either provide impersonal authority to an actor or event, or add a positive or negative connotation to an actor's action or utterance (van Leeuwen 2008:46-47).

As previous examples in earlier subsections suggest, whereas in the *accusation corpus* social actors tend to be included and thus personalized, in the *response corpus* they are mostly objectified and hence impersonalized. In this sense, as has been shown in previous subsections the role of workers in supply chains tend to be overtly included by referring to them in terms of their names, their gender, age, and so on. Thus, the focus of this section will be on *Impersonalization* strategies in the *response corpus*. As examples (71), (72), and (73) illustrate, the firms' responses employ *spatialization* to counter-argue accusations. This

discursive element shows actors by describing the place with which they are associated (van Leeuwen 2008:46):

- (71) **Spinning** has its own labour issues. **Sumangali** was never a labour scheme in any **garment production unit**. This was a labour scheme in certain section areas. (Resp_Corp2)
- (72) The author is mentioning the...**fire in Garib and Garib**. This was a trigger point to address the root causes to frequent **fires in factories in Bangladesh**. H&M immediately started a two year plan...in order to make thorough investigation of root causes... (Resp_corp4)
- (73) Typically, the average monthly take home pay in our **contract suppliers' footwear plants** is 2.0m rupiah (£136,60), with regular overtime. (Resp_Corp1)

In this way, a possible interpretation for the implication of this strategy might be to achieve dissociation from human actors. Consequently, since there are no animated entities carrying out actions, there is no connotation which implies that work in the manufacturing units (*Spinning has its own labour issues, our contract supplier's footwear plants, fires in factories in Bangladeshis*) are human. Processes, and incidents in a similar way, are thus automatized. Even though as readers we can infer that the workforce is human, when incidents are reported this way it can be assumed that those affected are the machines, production units, and not human beings.

Likewise, *Objectivation* strategies that represent actors in terms of an object with which they are closely associated, are also powerful Impersonalization devices. As can be seen in the examples below, the main social actors, that is the corporations, are represented by metonymical references:

- (74) **H&M's** Code of Conduct was introduced in 1997. (Resp_Corp4)
- (75) **The adidas group** has led the sporting goods industry in Indonesia. (Resp_Corp1)

(76) **Inditex** is participating in common initiatives at national and international level regarding this issue. (Resp_Corp3)

By using objectivation the role of the firms as a single social actor lends the social author authority and also consensus (van Leeuwen 2008:46-47). Even though the identification of the organizations by their names has been previously defined as their representation as a single entity, the grouping of this participants in a single name can also be considered a metonymical reference.

In a similar way, the role of workers as being affected by harmful labor practices can be implied by the references to incidents. The example below show the identification of affected human participants is obscured, and again, it is possible that readers will understand incidences reported by the firms as affecting automated, objectified actors:

(77) As result of continuous audit process, we can confirm that **child labour** or **forced labour** don't occur **on Eastman** Group units producing for Inditex. In ay case, **Sumangali Scheme** was totally abolished by Eastman. (Resp_corp3)

By referring to participants with a quality assigned to them (*child labour, forced labour, Sumangali Scheme*) their individual identity is not realized. Also, since the activities related to them imply bounded or forced labor schemes, social actors involved in these events might be interpreted as dependent and not decision-making actors.

(x) **Overdetermination**

As van Leeuwen (2008:47-51) explains, *Overdetermination* is a strategy used to represent social actors as participating in more than one social practice at the same time. In this way, certain associations can be drawn between different social practices. This discursive technique can be further divided into *connotation* (a unique determination is used to functionalize a group) or *distillation* (a social actor is attributed several different social practices).

The analysis of this strategy has been found to be significantly relevant in the *response corpus*. Therefore, it is common in the responses to acknowledge corporations not as businesses but as organizations concerned about the welfare of workers. As the examples below illustrate, it is sometimes difficult to label the companies in the responses as enterprises. From examples (78) to (81) a first reading seems to suggest that financial profit is the last element to be considered in the corporate culture of the corporations under study:

(78) *We would add that the adidas Group has led the sporting industry in Indonesia in **negotiating a landmark agreement with local trade unions to foster greater freedoms**, through an FOA [Freedom of Association] protocol.* (Resp_Corp1)

(79) *We are **open to any inspection** and all the documents are available for any verification. Any of you are most welcome to visit our production facilities and meet anyone without our presence and verify the documents. Any global organization is most welcome to check and satisfy themselves with our labour practices.* (Resp_Corp2)

In this sense, a reader would interpret these utterances as being those from a philanthropic group rather than a garment and textile multinational. *Distillation* and consequently *connotation* are therefore a relevant communicative mechanism for the four corporations under study to consolidate their behavior. The organizations' labor practices are, as *Eastman Exports* claims in its response, 'transparent, accountable, and verifiable'. Consequently, receivers of these texts could interpret that the organizations responding to the accusations are indeed responsible corporate citizens. By claiming they reward responsible suppliers, as in example (80), firms develop a connotation beyond profit. As example (81) also illustrates, it appears that the role of this social actor is, rather than a multinational enterprise, an institution working in the best interest of exploited workers

(80) [We place] *the majority of our orders with the best compliant and most sustainable suppliers... **we reward suppliers being responsible**.* (Resp_Corp4)

(81) *Inditex* was one of the *founding members of Tirupur Stakeholders Forum*, a multi-stakeholder action initiative to implement sustainable long term policies to overcome workforce and working conditions difficulties. (Resp_Corp3)

These findings might further support the ideas conceived by van Leeuwen (2008:47-51) on the multiple associations of social actors. As the examples above illustrate, the organizations are portrayed as if they were individuals deeply concerned about their workforce welfare. As for the role of *connotation* regarding the representation of workers, utterances in the *response corpus* also show a tendency to functionalize their identity in terms of what they do. As has been observed in previous sections, the only overt reference to workers in the supply chain employed by the responses are ‘workers’, ‘supervisors’, or ‘suppliers’. As a result, the only reference that a reader can have from this response is that of an employee doing a job, leaving aside gender, age, class, and so on. Again, the portrayal of workers in the supply chain as secondary participants is achieved through this communicative strategy.

To sum up, this section has shown the relevant strategies of *single determination* and *Overdetermination*. In this sense, it is important to remark the use of *Overdetermination* and *distillation* the four firms in the present study employ. Since they attempt to legitimize their business activities and portray themselves as responsible corporate citizens, it can be seen that they disclose information in order to highlight what they have achieved as global organizations. These recognitions do not mention profit as the main consequence of outsourcing labor practices. Rather, the responses seem to focus on the firms’ philanthropic conduct. It is for this reason that they can be construed as being a group deeply concerned about their workers’ welfare.

4.3. THE REPRESENTATION OF SOCIAL EVENTS

4.3.1. Time

With regards to this subsection of the analysis, it was initially assumed that the representation of social events in time concerning would be a relevant strategy in the *response corpus*. On the basis of Fairclough's (2003) framework of time-space relationships, those representations pertaining to corporate integrity and responsible business behavior were assumed to be depicted as global and deregulated in time and space, as they are likely to imply that the organizations have always been responsible citizens.

With reference to the reporting of issues concerning the workers' conditions in the supply chains, it was expected that they would be prone to be represented as local events, located in exact time and space, and as unique and isolated, not as recurrent and exact (van Leeuwen 2008:75-88). In this way, the representations of these happenings will unlikely affect the global vision of the organizations as responsible corporate citizens. It can be argued that these mechanisms play a vital role in the further operationalization of these discourses upon the targeted audiences. Thus, the consolidation of limited responsibility by organizations on these issues will be imprinted on the audiences.

(i) Local and Global Time-Space Relationships

The findings have shown that there are important differences between both corpora with reference to time and space representations. In this sense, the analysis of data has found that space-time relationships are a significant issue in the *accusation corpus*. Here, time is realized as localized. The representation of events in time thus illustrate that the reports which accuse the organizations do not specify specific timing for the labor practices of the firms. Even though it can be seen that such reporting refers to past events, its linguistic

realization does not have specific implications on how long the labor conditions have been endured by workers. Consider the following examples:

- (1) At PT Syang Yao Fung, in the industrial city of Tangerang, west of Jakarta, **10 workers were suspended a month ago...** (Accus_Corp1)
- (2) Field research was carried out by CASS (Campaign Against Sumangali Scheme) **between May and December 2010**. Furthermore, information was gathered by SOMO during a field trip [to southern India] **in August 2010... In early March 2011**, ICN (Indian Committee of the Netherlands) conducted a second field trip. (Accus_Corp2)
- (3) H&M also gets its clothes from Cambodia, where the minimum wage hovers at around \$61/month. **In September 2010**, Cambodian garment workers at a factory that produced for H&M were fired for striking. **In Indonesia...in 2003**, No Sweat UK reported that at least one factory...paid its workers as little as \$7 a week for up to 60 hours of work. (Accus_Corp4)
- (4) **Currently, there is only a legal minimum wage for apprentices** [in Tamil Nadu]. The minister also promised to take ‘appropriate action’ against those mills that use a Sumangali scheme (**Theekathir, 5 July, 2012**) (Accus_Corp3)

Even though it had been initially assumed that the examples in the *accusation corpus* would consider time as global, an analysis of the examples shown above illustrate that the accusations have a tendency to include references to the time when the events have happened. As events are localized in time and space the firms’ business activities can be associated with the initiation of the unfair and harmful labor practices in the supply chains. However, it does not appear as if the accusation were intending to delegitimize the business activities of the firms. As explained in earlier sections, it is possible that the quoting of localized events is the result of the disclosure of the information genre of reports. In this way, it could be said that a report is more reliable if it explains when, and where, the incidents have occurred. Thus, time as a localized event cannot be necessarily regarded as a delegitimation strategy.

On the other hand, it was also found that the responses to the events reported by the accusations remain as a global event in time. Most the examples found in the *response corpus*

show that accidents might be the result of ‘individual incidences of non-compliance’. In this sense, the persistence of incidences in the companies’ supply chains are given the quality of being significantly restricted. Even though social events appear to be described as specific, it can be seen that the former can be located “everywhere and nowhere” (Fairclough 2003:151-54):

(5) We **have** zero tolerance for child labour...We **employ** only those who have completed the legally permitted age. We directly **employ** all those who work in our production facilities. (Resp_Corp2)

(6) **Since a few years we** [H&M] have **actively been trying** to move away from “superintendents”, as H&M is described in the article, to rather **make suppliers aware** and to **train** and **motivate** them to take ownership of their own operations and gain productivity and responsibility. (Resp_Corp4)

(7) ...Inditex’s presence in the Tirupur area **is** very limited and **has decreased**...representing around 0.1% of Inditex global purchases **on 2011**. (Resp_Corp3)

As an illustration, it can be noticed that the tense of the utterances in the abovementioned examples is the present simple, as in examples (5), (7), and (8), or the present perfect aspect, as in example (6).

Also, it should be noticed that the strategy of locating social events as global also allows the organizations to categorize future social practices. As can be seen in example (8) below, in the case of *Resp_Corp1* the firm discloses the number of workers employed in the supply chain, as well as the statement that isolated incidences are likely to occur in large factories.

(8) We do not believe that there are widespread violations. We do however **accept that there may be individual incidences** of non-compliance with our Workplace Standards in a supply chain that employs over **140,000 workers**. (Resp_Corp1)

In this way, it is implied that future incidences are allowed to occur and will be permitted, since it is not possible to hold control of a significantly large workforce. A further implication for this might be that the corporation's liability is seen as minimum and incidents respond to the natural cause of events by claiming that accidents are likely to occur in large supply chains. Here, enumeration is utilized in order to legitimize the mistreatment of workers employed by suppliers.

In the light of the comments above, several questions may be asked (e.g. what are those 'individual incidences of non-compliance' and when have they occurred? Or since when have the organization been actively trying to build suppliers' awareness?). The implication of the usage of present simple and present perfect tenses might be that either events are difficult to locate in time - since there are no time references whatsoever- or that readers are to understand these practices have always been common in the firms' practices. It is possible that the legitimation as an effect behind these realizations of time intends to show that the firms' business activities are generally responsible, and accusations to their labor practices are thus implied as 'unsubstantiated and baseless'.

As can be inferred from the examples analyzed in this subsection, the classification of time is a relevant element to be borne in mind for this current study. This is because time and space relationships appear to further consolidate the extent to which present and future actions of the firms under study can be justified. Even though these instances illustrate the way in which time and space are treated on a local or global level, a further examination of how time and space are enacted in the legitimization of social events is necessary. In this sense, the classification of the space-time scale as set out by van Leeuwen (2008:75-105) will be used so as to understand the further implications of these discursive representations. As discussed earlier in this study, van Leeuwen considers the time representations as

fundamental in social practices. As time abstractions reflect the manner in which a group organizes, time is a subjective process imposed by active and dynamic forces.

(ii) Time Summons: Personal/Impersonal Time Processes

Firstly, it is interesting to notice that the data are significant regarding the realization of time on the basis of personal or impersonal time processes. As van Leeuwen (2008:76-77) suggests, time can be represented as imposed by an authoritative summons. He explains that ‘those on whose activities it is imposed are therefore treated as not being able to...anticipate exactly when they are to begin or end a given activity’. When time is personalized, it is given by someone who can authoritatively schedule the activities of another participant (van Leeuwen 2008:77).

The analysis of data shows that personalized timing is significantly used in the texts in the *response corpus*. As can be seen in examples (9) and (10), it is interesting to note the context of examples (10) and (12). Here, one unanticipated finding was that whenever the organizations disclose the timing of responsible business activities an external authoritative figure is quoted:

(9) Working hours and overtime is as **stipulated by the labour laws**. We **strictly** adhere to the laws of the land. (Resp_Corp2)

(10) Activities carried out by Inditex Group regarding Sumangali Scheme in Tamil Nadu region started on 2010, **after receiving an input from the NGO Anti-Slavery International** including references to contraventions of local and international labour standards in this region...

In this way, the privilege of timing is attributed to external institutions, and it appears as if these organizations in *Resp_Corp2* (Eastman Exports) and *Resp_Corp3* (Inditex Group) were

waiting for an authoritative say to conduct their business activities. In this sense, time is illustrated in example (9) as a passive form (*as stipulated by the labour laws*) as well as by an adverbial premodifier (*We **strictly** adhere to the laws of the land*). Example (10) employs a prepositional phrase (*after*) as a postmodifier which shows the corporation as being subject to the timing of an external institution, in this case, Anti-Slavery International.

The examples above might imply that the corporations are not dynamic and active forces when it comes to the workers' rights and their treatment. In this way, only external institutions are those in charge of the welfare of workers. Thus, the responsibility of organizations is exonerated as they are presented as not being in charge of protecting the workers, but labor laws are those who authorize organizations to conduct their activities.

In a different manner, examples (11) and (12) show how organizations in *Resp_Corp1* (adidas Group) and *Resp_Corp4* (H&M) represent themselves as dynamic dominant forces which authoritatively manage time events. In this sense, it can be observed that the organizations are in control of how working hours are performed:

(11) ...we **strictly** enforce our working hour's limit of **60 hours**. **We require** all **overtime** to be **voluntary**. (*Resp_Corp1*)

(12) ... a support program of approx.. SEK 900.000 for these children **giving them funds on a yearly basis up until their age of 18**. (*Resp_Corp4*)

It can thus be observed that the disclosure of the four responses varies here, as the former portray themselves as dominant actors. Examples (11) and (12) suggest that, unlike organizations in *Resp_Corp3* and *Resp_Corp2*, firms in *Resp_Corp1* and *Resp_Corp4* show themselves as authoritative summons. This is further enforced by the overt use of the first-person plural as the carrier of actions, which makes authoritative summons of a personalized nature.

(iii) Synchronization: Social/Natural/Mechanical

Van Leeuwen (2008:78) views synchronization as the way in which activities are timed in relation to other social practices. This relationship can be linked to natural events, or artificially created events, such as the passing of time on a clock (*ibid*). Events can be thus synchronized with social practices (other social activities normally undergone by human actors), natural phenomena (rain, storms, and so on), or mechanical time (artificial time abstractions such as calendars, measured time, etc.).

In the *accusation corpus*, the data analyzed have shown that social synchronization in has a tendency to occur whenever a pattern of action-reaction is realized. In other words, events undergone by human actors are shown as having an implication on new actions. For instance, examples (13) and (14) below illustrate the situations workers must endure in order to be able to work for a supplier:

(13) Workers struggle to survive on pay as low as 5,000 rupiah (34p) an hour, **skipping meals** to save money, and **sending their children away to be looked after** by grandparents.
(Accus_Corp1)

(14) To be able to legally pay the workers under the minimum wage, which in Tamil Nadu in the textile sector is 171 rupees per day, the **young women are hired as apprentices**.
(Allg_Corp2)

It can be observed that the implication of these utterances appear to only report the situation of workers. The objective display of information, as well as the representation of workers as patients of actions undergone by external participants, reminds the reader of an authoritative command which manages the timing of activities. This is realized by verbal processes which imply they have to face difficult situation, as in example (13), or passivization, as in example (14). These the examples are relevant as they appear to imply that activities are synchronized by the dominant forces for whom workers are employed.

Similarly, the *accusation corpus* also employ social synchronization in order to contextualize the incidences being reported. As the examples below show, events are described in order to provide the reader with a contextual background of the incidence:

(15) H&M's CEO, Karl-Johan Persson, started to feel bad that he outsources most of his clothing production to countries where workers are hardly paid the money necessary to eat. He flew from Stockholm to Bangladesh, sat down with Bangladesh's Prime Minister...and kindly asked her to raise the minimum wage. The press is going wild. (Accus_Corp4)

(16) The raids [that found 14 child labourers all over Tamil Nadu] followed a complaint by SAVE, a Tirupur-based NGO. The police arrested 26 people and charged them with illegally employing children under 14. (Accus_Corp3)

In a similar way, social synchronization is also employed in the *response corpus* to delegitimize the accusations' claims. As can be observed in example (17), workers are represented as though it was their choice to leave their children with their grandparents in order to work overtime:

(17) To maximise potential earnings **it is not uncommon for workers** to leave their children in the care of the grandparents in the village. (Resp_Corp1)

Even though the use of an agent-less infinitive may imply that they are free to decide when to work, a second reading illustrates that it is an external authority that controls the scheduling of the workers' activities.

In the *response corpus* social synchronization is also employed to delegitimize accusations. In this sense, examples (18) and (19), and suggest that it is the accusations' inaccurate reporting of events that fail to recognize the firms' responsible practices. Thus, example (18) describes that the factory's efforts to evidence responsible labor practices only follow negative feedback from the accusations. Likewise, from example (19) it can be seen that *Resp_Corp4* claims that the accusation's aim intends to direct liability only to H&M:

- (18) Despite abundant evidence to the contrary, this negative campaign against us is being carried out till date. We have been consistently providing evidences to the contrary, but the accusations continue in every reproduced report year after year... (Accus_Corp2)
- (19) The main point in the article is to direct the spotlight on working conditions in the textile industry and that large companies, in this specific case H&M, has clear responsibility to everyone who contributes to their business. (Resp_Corp4)

In this sense, the examples above appear to delegitimize the role of reports by implying that they fail to acknowledge the firms' responsible activities.

Finally, it is thus possible that the examples analyzed in this subsection corroborate the second hypothesis that workers are portrayed as patient and secondary participants in the data analyzed. With reference to the timing of events, the findings in both corpora show that there is a considerable tendency to portray workers as patients, as subjects managed by a higher authority. On the other hand, the responses also seem to point out that the accusers fail to acknowledge the organizations' responsible behavior despite their continuous efforts.

As for natural synchronization, van Leeuwen (2008:78) explains that it occurs when practices are synchronized with natural events. The analysis of data has shown, nevertheless, that natural synchronization is not significant in either corpora. Perhaps this is due to the fact that, on the contrary, *social* and *mechanical synchronization* are highly employed by both corpora in this current study. Another possible interpretation for the absence of this category in the data analyzed might be a consequence of the nature of texts. As has been observed, both the accusations and the responses address a given context: the labor practices in supply chains in developing regions. It may be possible that events are described as a consequence of animate, or mechanical, sequences. Even though the representation of social actors has pointed out that incidences might sometimes be described as the cause of natural phenomena, no significant evidence has been found on how the timing of events is marked by natural forces.

Mechanical Synchronization, on the other hand, has been found to occur in both corpora. This communicative strategy occurs when time is regulated by human-made time measures. For instance, by synchronizing time with hours or calendars (van Leeuwen 2008:78-79). As the data analyzed in this study refer to a local context, references to a mechanical synchronization of time is significantly used by both corpora. In the case of the *accusation corpus*, the reporting of activities occurs along with specific description of when the events had been carried out.

(20) ...10 workers were suspended **a month ago**. (Accus_Corp1)

(21) Field research was carried out...between **May and December 2010**... information was gathered...during a field trip in **August 2010**. (Accus_Corp2)

(22) **In 2006**, the National Labor Committee reported that in one factory...employees were routinely forced to work overtime... (Accus_Corp2)

(23) In May 2011, SOMO and ICN published 'Captured by Cotton'. This report evoked considerable company responses for improving the documented labour rights violations. (Accus_Corp3)

From the examples above it can be observed that texts in the *accusation corpus* make use of references specifying the year and/or the month when the events have taken place. Moreover, this strategy is also used in the *response corpus*. This result may be explained by the fact that both corpora address a local context:

(24) We acknowledge that since **January 2012**, when minimum wages in Tangerang rose 31 percent, factories have been challenged by...

(25) **Since 3 years**, the same global campaign is carried out without verification.

(26) H&M's Code of Conduct was introduced in 1997... **During 2011** we conducted 2,024 audits on factories...We become an accredited member of Fair Labor Association in **2006**.

(27) In any case, Sumangali Scheme was totally abolished by Eastman on **September 2010**.

It might be interpreted that, for information disclosure to be reliable, references to the timing of events is acknowledged in both corpora, as can be seen in the examples in this subsection. Even though there seem to be important references to the strategy of mechanical synchronization, it appears that there are no further implications for this study. It can thus be interpreted that the former is a result of setting a context of events. Consequently, although mechanical synchronization is highly employed in both corpora, it may not be relevant for the legitimation of organizations as good corporate citizens.

(iv) Punctuality: Exact/Inexact – Unique/Recurring

According to van Leeuwen (2008:80-81), punctuality reflects how time is regulated and expressed by either definite or indefinite utterances. As the previous subsection shows, punctuality overlaps with mechanical synchronization, as it expresses itself in terms of months, days, or years. But punctuality can also be inexact, unique, or recurring. In this sense time can be made to seem exact but its linguistic realization may be inexact. In other words, a statement may seem to be located at a specific point, but this event can be located “everywhere and nowhere”, as mentioned in section 3.2.2 in the theoretical background. Inexact but recurrent representation of events can be realized linguistically by unspecified references such as “it is **often** the case that...” or “**from time to time**”. This idea is in agreement with van Leeuwen’s (2008) and Fairclough’s (2003) characterization of global, or inexact timing.

The analysis of data illustrates that recurring and inexact timing is highly used by the examples in the *response corpus*. The examples below indicate that, even though events are reported as though they were happening at a given point in time, they are vague at the same time and do not use specific time limits. Therefore, in example (28) a reader might ask “when

is overtime not normally over 50 hours a week?” or “how often is meant by *tracking charts regularly*?” Similarly, examples (29) and (30) use inexact time references

(28) Average working weeks do not **normally** exceed 50 hours per week and all our major suppliers have to complete tracking charts on working hours and overtime which are **regularly** cross-checked. (Resp_Corp1)

(29) Sumangali **was never** a labour scheme in any garment production unit. **This was** a labour scheme in certain section of spinning areas. **For a long time** Sumangali scheme was hailed by all as a model labour welfare measure because... [it] eradicated social evils... (Resp_Corp2)

(30) H&M immediately started **a two year plan** and a budget of SEK 1 million was adopted in order to **make thorough investigation** of root causes and **possible ways forward**. (Resp_Corp4)

In this way, when expressions such as ‘normally’, ‘regularly’, or ‘progressively’ are used to imply recurrence of responsible business activities, no time references are provided. As suggested, these utterances do not provide further reference on how often or when responsible business practices have been enacted, if ever. Thus, readers are not provided knowledge on the duration of events and hence time references become, though recurrent, inexact.

In a similar way, examples from (31) to (32) employ inexact time references in order to explain their future business activities. Even though social events present the organizations’ behavior as having a positive effect in bettering the working conditions of workers here:

(31) As part of our engagement within the Fair Wage Network, around 200 of H&M suppliers... were assessed **earlier this year**... the knowledge and the network **will help us in further promoting** fair wages in our supply as well as in our industry. (Resp_Corp4)

(32) Inditex...**is actively working**...together with other Indian manufacturer through our partnership with the Ethical Trading Initiative (ETI) (Resp_Corp3)

(33) Inditex was one of the founding members of Tirupur Stakeholders Forum...to implement sustainable **long term policies to overcome** workforce and working conditions difficulties. (Resp_Corp3)

In examples (31), (32), and (33), a natural question for this information could be ‘when is this taking place?’ In this way, there are not specific references which explain when events are being endorsed. Nevertheless, with the recurrent utilization of time realizations, as realized in examples (32) and (33), it seems that events in the responses are given an attribute of responsible behavior. A possible implication of this may be that the responses attempt to emphasize the idea that their practices are constantly in the best interest of the workers’ good labor conditions.

(v) **Budgeting, scheduling, and managing time**

Finally, the identification of time as a controlled social practice shall be explained. As set out in *table 6* in section 3.2.2, van Leeuwen (2008:83-84) stresses that the management of time is bound to personal decisions. Powerful actors thus want to control what other participants feel, and the way their feelings are described. For the analysis of data, this characterization of events is significantly important since it shows how the experience of time effectively controls the salience of social actors in the texts.

This is perhaps the most highly used and revealing discursive device in the data analyzed in this study. As van Leeuwen (2008:83) observes, this communicative strategy represents time as counting money. For instance, expressions such as ‘save time’, ‘do not waste your time’, or ‘I have no time’ illustrate that time can become a quantity which can be measured. There are significant examples in both corpora which exemplify that time is highly represented as a measurable unit. This is especially employed in the *accusation corpus* as the reports stress the issue of wages:

(34) Workers struggle to survive on pay as low as **5,000 rupiah (34p.) an hour** (Accus_Corp1)

(35) “A lady from a near village...told me I would get a wage of **Rs. 120 per day.**”
(Accus_Corp2)

(36) In Bangladesh the minimum wage is the lowest in the world, at **\$36/month**...in Cambodia...the minimum wage hovers at around **\$61/month**. (Accus_Corp4)

The examples above suggest that time can be regarded as highly functionalized due to the corpora's stress on the workers' wages. In this sense, the examples reflecting how much money workers earn by the hour or by the month illustrate that time is a significantly controlled feature. This consideration can be interpreted as the role dominant social actors have over workers, as they are capable of controlling the amount of hours, as well as the amount of money, they may have. Budgeting and managing time is further reinforced by the firms' responses:

(37) The stated wage level is not accurate. With the current sectorial wage of **1.68m rupiah, the hourly pay** is almost double...at around **9,710 rupiah/hour** or 62p/hour. (Resp_Corp1)

(38) The average take home pay...in our footwear plants can exceed **2m rupiah/month** (£136,60 per month). (Resp_Corp1)

Even though a first reading of these examples only appears to show how much laborers earn in the factories and for how long they must stay, the budgeting of time is a salient example of the way in which workers belong to a different, and lower, level than those who control their wages. This is so because they are only associated with how much they earn as employees. Even though it has been formerly stated that the representation of workers is more salient in the *accusation corpus*, it is important to remark that their representation is still showing the way in which they are victims of harmful working conditions. In this sense, both the *accusation* and the *response corpus* reflect that this group is a patient in the actions of firms and the way in which they manage and schedule the workers' time by the hour or by the month.

Finally, it is somewhat surprising that budgeting time is much more salient in the *accusation corpus*. On the contrary, budgeting and scheduling of time is only realized in the responses in *Resp_Corp1*. A possible interpretation of this finding may be that the accusations intend to emphasize the role of the firms in this study as responsible of the harmful working conditions reported.

4.3.2. Summary

This subsection has analyzed the strategies concerning the representation of social events in time. Time appears to be a relevant strategy in the data analyzed in the *accusation corpus*, as it has been observed how the controlling of social practices' timing is related to who is able to exercise power over whom, as well as the duration of those events. In this way, it can be seen that social practices and their duration are managed and authorized by what throughout this study has been labeled as the dynamic and dominant forces: the corporations. Thus, from the texts it can be observed that time summons choose to disclose events as global with an apparent implication of local. In other words, even though it seems that the corporations' responses are localized and refer to a specific time and place, they can actually be located anywhere in a time continuum. It is for this reason that readers of this text are not provided with time references of when incidences have exactly occurred, or when corrective action and responsible behavior have been embraced by the firms' business practices. The communication of these events is thus vague, and readers do not know whether responsible behavior has been the cause of external accusations or has always been a part of the firms' core corporate culture.

With regards to how social actors are represented in the firms' responses and the management of time, the data analyzed in previous paragraphs suggest important

conclusions. Given the local context of both corpora – the labor conditions of factories in the Garment and Textile Industry – there is a significant tendency for both corpora to focus on how much workers earn by the hour or by the month. Therefore, time is significantly measured in terms of money. This finding provides an important conclusion for the present study, as these the examples of *budgeting* and *managing* time on the basis of money and timetables immediately throw light on who the dominant social actors of these texts are. Authoritative summons are therefore shown by a careful reading of who hires and pays laborers, as well as how much and for how long they work.

5. CONCLUSIONS

To conclude, this paper has examined the recurrent themes, as well as the representation of social actors and social events, in four garment and textile corporations. In order to account for a homogeneous set of data, it was necessary to contextualize the area of research. The context of this study has thus focused on the way in which four textile and garment businesses, namely *Adidas*, *Eastman Exports Global Clothing*, *Inditex*, and *H&M*, respond to accusations from external stakeholders concerning their labor practices in their factories' supply chains. In turn, these accusations respond to reported incidences on the working conditions of laborers in the formerly mentioned supply chains. Two different corpora regarding the accusations, *accusation corpus*, and the firms' response, *response corpus*, were proposed for the analysis of the organizations' discursive techniques in the legitimation of their conduct. In this way, a contrastive analysis of the main topics was first carried out in both corpora. The analysis of topics did, in turn, provide a background for the subsequent analysis of social actors and social events both in the *accusation* and the *response corpus*. It was initially assumed that in the latter companies would make use of legitimation strategies in order to defend themselves from the accusations.

The first stage of the analysis provided relevant information on the topics disclosed by the corporations in the present study. Four different topics were found to be accounted for in the firms' responses: Ethics, Work Environment, Conduct, and Corporate Social Responsibility. Similarly, examples found in the *accusation corpus* illustrated the topics of Ethics and Conduct. However, their disclosure of information mainly focused on reporting the allegedly negligent labor practices on the basis of the evidences found in factories. Furthermore, by stressing that the reports showing their harmful labor practices against workers were unsubstantiated and baseless, they intentionally aimed at portraying themselves as a business working in the best interest of their workforce. A relevant device employed for this strategy was found to be the use of the first-person plural 'we' and its possessive form 'our', as well as premodifiers that implied a moral evaluation of statements. Moral evaluation, in turn, showed a tendency to describe the organizations as a single acting entity. The devices discussed were also employed for the representation of agency in the responses made by organizations.

The second part of the analysis examined the extent to which social actors were represented in the texts analyzed in both corpora on the basis of Fairclough's (2003) and van Leeuwen's (2008) framework. The results showed that the organizations portrayed themselves as the dynamic and dominant forces in the *response corpus*. In this way, a thorough examination of the categorization of social actors revealed that there were several examples in which the representation of a social participant in a text can be more salient than another. Through an examination of the representation of social participants in both corpora it was shown that workers, despite the firms' efforts in portraying them as a relevant group, were excluded in the press releases. This implied that, despite the firms' claims, workers are not the corporations' primary concern. Workers in the supply chains are thus secondary participants in the firms' responses. These social participants are either referred to in terms of

the work they do, the place where they work, or are simply occluded from the texts. In this way, workers are never represented as individuals but as a conglomerate of dehumanized actors. As previous conclusions suggest, this exclusion strategy is not used by examples in the *accusation corpus*, where workers tend to be overtly included and humanized. As for the representation of these participants in both corpora, an interesting finding has been that both texts represent laborers as being patients at the receiving end of actions. An implication of this fact can probably be the idea that both the accusations and the responses intend to show workers as an affected group.

In order to exclude the participation of workers in the texts, Impersonalization strategies are employed by the *responses corpus*. As section 4.2 illustrates, in order to diminish their responsibility of incidences in the manufacturing processes of garments, social actors are objectified and referred to in terms of the production unit to which they belong (*spatialization*); or by a place or thing to which they are associated (by metonymical references or *objectivation*). In this way, since events are reported as incidents only affecting machines or production units, human actors become excluded and objectified. Even though some of the metonymical references imply the role of human participants, for instance the *Sumangali Scheme* or *Child Labor* (Resp_Corp2), human actors have to be inferred by the reader. This finding corroborates Fairclough's (2003) and van Leeuwen's (2008) theorizations on the way in which impersonalization strategies can further consolidate the role of dominant social actors by dehumanizing other actors. The strategies discussed in this section appear to corroborate the idea that impersonalization can either lend authority to utterances or block access to knowledge of who social participants really are.

Finally, in this part of the analysis it is important to emphasize the contrastive role both corpora play in the representation of the supply chains' workforce. Unlike the inclusion of the workers' names, age, or gender in the text collected for the *accusation corpus*, it is considerably relevant to notice that an overt representation of workers in the *response corpus* almost never occurs. Mostly mass nouns to describe them, or functionalization by their position in the factory are utilized in the firms' responses. This has been proven to be the opposite regarding the overt inclusion of the four firms' responses in terms of their corporate name, the employment of the first-person plural 'we', and its possessive realization 'our'. Also, an important conclusion from this section has been that, surprisingly, the idea of the four firms' responses as a whole is that they hardly seem to resemble the fact that these texts are released by big businesses. On the contrary, they appear to be texts from non-governmental organizations dedicated to work in the best interest of workers. Profit is thus hardly mentioned in the examples found in the *response corpus*. In this sense, the first conclusion in this chapter was that the organizations employ similar strategies to consolidate their business activities in the texts found in the *response corpus*.

The final stage of the analysis examined the way in which the timing of events was realized in both corpora. In this way, it was shown that the employment of inexact time references, such as *we have actively been working* (Resp_Corp3), seem to be of significant importance for the organizations' responses. In this sense, it can be observed that their utterances with regards to the actions taken against bad labor practices are explained vaguely and by recurrent, yet inexact, clauses (van Leeuwen 2008). The inexact and recurrent timing of events are also in line with the *global* space-time relationships set out by Fairclough (2003), which suggests that time can be expressed globally in the sense that actions can be located anywhere in a timeline. A possible explanation for this lack of time specification may be the intention of firms do not disclose their business activities entirely. In this way, it might be

inferred that, since the companies analyzed here seem to be free to choose whenever practices will be taking place, the legitimation of their role as active and dominant forces is further employed.

Also, the representation of events further reinforces the idea that there are primary and secondary social actors in the corporations' responses. The strategies of time summons and time budgeting (van Leeuwen 2008) have been an important element to take into account in this section. As an illustration, both corpora seem to emphasize how much employees earn by the hour or by the month. This characteristic shows that both texts in the responses and the accusations have a concern on who authorizes and thus controls the worker' timetables and hence their wages. The data analyzed in both the *accusation* and the *response corpora* illustrate that workers are not decision-making subjects in either texts and time is controlled, scheduled, and budgeted by higher authorities, in this case the corporations.

Finally, given that this qualitative study has focused on the communicative strategies employed in the representation of social actors and social events, the scope of this research has not focused on the implications of spatial representations. What is more, only written data have been employed for this research, and sound and images have thus been excluded, due to space limitations and the local context of the present study. Additionally, an interesting application to further research would consist of a longitudinal approach regarding the representation of social actors in the responses firms disclose whenever they are accused of enforcing harmful labor practices. In this sense, it could be remarkable to account for the way in which the representation of suppressed participants might change through the communication established between the accusers and the accused. Furthermore, in an era of globalization and the deregulation of economic, cultural, and political borders, a study on how these relationships are formed through the usage of intercultural aptitudes in discourse should also be considered.

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ACCUSATION CORPUS	RESPONSE CORPUS
<p>Accus_Corp1: Exposed: The reality behind London's 'ethical' Olympics (Apr. 2012)</p>	<p>Resp_Corp1. Adidas Group's Response to Recent Allegations Regarding Working Conditions in Indonesia (Apr. 2012)</p>
<p>... an investigation by <i>The Independent</i> has uncovered widespread violations of workers' rights in Indonesia, where nine locally owned and managed factories have been contracted to produce Olympic shoes and clothing for adidas.</p>	<p>We disagree with this characterisation of the supply chain in Indonesia which produces no Team GB competition kit and only a minimal amount of Olympic product. We do not believe that there are "widespread" violations. We do however accept that there may be individual incidences of non-compliance with our Workplace Standards in a supply chain that employs over 140,000 workers.</p>
<p>They also endure verbal and physical abuse, they allege, are forced to work overtime, and are punished for not reaching production targets.</p>	<p>Again there may be isolated incidences of verbal abuse, which we have found through our own monitoring activities and have immediately addressed directly with the factory, but we have seen no evidence of systematic harassment or punishment of workers as has been alleged here. We would ask the trade union official who spoke to the journalist to provide specific evidence to support these claims of physical abuse in our business partners' factories.</p>
<p>mainly young, female factory employees work up to 65 hours (25 hours more than the standard working week), for desperately low pay.</p>	<p>Wage earnings in the adidas Group's supply chain are some of the best in the industry and we strictly enforce our working hour's limit of 60 hours. We require all overtime to be voluntary. Average working weeks do not normally exceed 50 hours per week and all of our major suppliers have to complete tracking charts on working hours and overtime which are regularly cross-checked against factory timesheets, pay slips and worker interviews.</p>
<p>None of the nine factories pays its employees a living wage – about 20 per cent higher than the official minimum wage – one of the cornerstones of the Ethical Trading Initiative (ETI) base code, an internationally-recognised labour code adopted by the Olympics organising committee, LOCOG.</p>	<p>The international trade union movement has for many years called for a living wage to be paid to workers in global supply chains. Although this is a shared aspiration, we know of no Indonesian factory making for the adidas Group or any other brand which is able to meet this requirement today, based on their current operating margins. Like the ETI code, the adidas Group's Workplace Standards call on factories to work progressively towards improved wages. One way this can be achieved is through collective bargaining processes. The recent 31 per cent in minimum wages in Tangerang is evidence of the power of the Indonesian trade union movement and their ability to secure significant economic gains for workers.</p>
<p>Workers struggle to survive on pay as low as 5,000 rupiah (34p) an hour, skipping meals to save money, and sending their children away to be looked after by grandparents.</p>	<p>The stated wage level is not accurate. With the current sectorial wage of 1.68 m rupiah, the hourly pay is almost double that stated by <i>The Independent</i> at around 9,710 rupiah/hour or 62p/hour. In addition, almost all factories provide a meal allowance for workers and some also provide a cash transportation allowance. To maximise potential earnings it is not uncommon for workers to leave their children in the care of the grandparents in the village. Without the help of their extended family, child care can be</p>

	prohibitively expensive.
The ETI base code – which LOCOG says must be complied with by all companies supplying goods to Olympic licences – also stipulates freedom of association. Yet workers allege that some unions are not given bargaining rights by adidas's Indonesian suppliers.	The adidas Group was the only LOCOG licensee to fully disclose its supply chain and that disclosure detailed the trade union status of our suppliers. All of the nine factories making for the London 2012 Olympic Games in Indonesia are unionised and several of these suppliers have more than one union. All but one of the factories supplying LOCOG products have collective bargaining agreements in place. The exception is PT Shyang Yao Fung where a CBA is currently being negotiated. We would add that the adidas Group has led the sporting goods industry in Indonesia in negotiating a landmark agreement with local trade unions to foster greater freedoms, through an FOA Protocol.
At PT Shyang Yao Fung, in the industrial city of Tangerang, west of Jakarta, 10 workers were suspended a month ago – and face being laid off – because of their union activism, they believe.	We have investigated this case. The factory's actions are in breach of our Workplace Standards and our guidelines for managing redundancies. We have asked for the immediate reinstatement of the trade union officials who were affected. The factory has committed to reinstate the workers and undertake a complete review of its layoff procedures.
Even for those with jobs, conditions at Taiwanese-owned Shyang Yao Fung – which produces women's sports shoes – are poor, according to workers. While business has been slow lately, employees – whose basic pay is 1.53m rupiah (£105) a month – have in the past been asked to work five hours of overtime a day, they claim.	We would not characterise working conditions at Shyang Yao Fung as being poor. Whilst £105 per month may appear to be low, as an absolute number to a UK reader, pay levels are also relative to the country in which they are earned, due to differences in cost of living and inflation. Typically, the average monthly take home pay in our contract suppliers' footwear plants is 2.0m rupiah (£136.60), with regular overtime.
"The management says that overtime is compulsory," said Sobirin, 32, wolfing down a plate of nasi goreng in a Tangerang café. "And there are many times when workers are working without payment on overtime, or are not paid properly. Every day there's a worker who passes out because they're exhausted or unwell."	We have no findings on excessive working hours from our recent audits and have received no worker complaints about unpaid overtime or improper wage payment. In the matters of pay and working hours the factory trade unions are very vocal and yet they have not raised such issues directly with the adidas Group's compliance team.
At another Tangerang factory, PT Panarub Industry – adidas's main global supplier of football boots, and outfitter of some of Britain's Olympic footballers – workers are proud to have shod David Beckham, Frank Lampard, Lionel Messi and Zinedine Zidane. However, in common with workers at other factories, they say they face intense pressure to meet production targets.	We acknowledge that since January 2012, when minimum wages in Tangerang rose 31 per cent, factories have been challenged by the need to increase productivity levels, to offset higher operating costs. To help, the adidas Group has put in place a Manufacturing Excellence initiative which seeks to identify opportunities for increased automation, modification of manufacturing process to reduce unnecessary activities and simplification of working processes, etc. Such efforts to improve productivity are not delivered through pressuring workers.
"It's hard to get permission even to go to the	

<p>bathroom; we're tied to our seats," said Yuliani, a 23-year-old seamstress, speaking metaphorically. "If you're forced to go, the pile of work becomes so high that you get shouted at by the production line leader. They call you a dog, brainless, uneducated. Sometimes we have to sacrifice our lunchbreak to reach the target."</p>	<p>Any situation in which a worker is deprived of their freedom of movement or subject to abusive behaviour from a supervisor or line leader is a clear breach of our Workplace Standards and we encourage workers to use our 24-hour hotline to contact us if they are unable to resolve such issues through the factory's normal grievance channels. The adidas Group's worker' hotline numbers are posted in every factory which makes our product</p>
<p>Her colleague, Ratna, added: "If the leader gets really angry, they throw the shoes in front of the workers. Once on my line I saw a worker get hit by a shoe." Some workers described being slapped in the face and having their ears pinched by managers. At PT Pancaprima, in Tangerang, supervisors use a loudspeaker to berate production lines hourly for failing to meet targets. "It's humiliating," said Margi Wibowo, 41, who works in the warehouse. Such</p>	<p>Such behaviour needs to be reported by workers to the factory management through their existing grievance channels. If the factory fails to take disciplinary action against supervisors who behave in the way reported then individuals can contact the adidas Group to register a complaint and we will independently investigate. Often factories use display electronic boards to indicate production targets and their achievement. The use of audible devices to track or alert workers to the fulfilment of production targets is prohibited and has been for many years. We will investigate this case and if loudspeakers are being used they will be banned.</p>
<p>At PT Golden Continental, which is not an Olympic contractor, workers who fail to reach targets are locked in a room and made to stand for hours on end, according to Jamiatun, a union leader. "In the past, the whole production line was locked up," she said. "Now it's just the slow individuals."</p>	<p>As we previously disclosed to the journalist, we have investigated this allegation in the past and could find no evidence (through worker interviews) of such a practice. We have asked that the individual making these allegations contact our compliance staff directly with specifics, i.e. the names of the workers who have been subject to such treatment.</p>
<p>None of the Indonesian employees had heard of the ETI base code, and none knew about LOCOG's complaints mechanism, set up to enable workers to report labour violations. This is hardly surprising – as recently as February, LOCOG had yet to disseminate its information material in factories, and had translated it only into Mandarin.</p>	<p>Independent of LOCOG's own complaint mechanism, the adidas Group has operated a 24-hour worker hotline in our supplier factories for more than 6 years. Workers are familiar with the hotline numbers which is manned by our compliance team in Jakarta. Our compliance team is also in regular contact with the trade unions in each of our supplier factories. If unions are unable to satisfactorily resolve a worker's right issue with the employer, they will often bring issues to the adidas Group's attention and seek our support to independently investigate and recommend corrective actions.</p>
<p>The Independent was told that four of adidas's Indonesian suppliers pay less than the minimum wage for the garment industry. adidas said in a statement yesterday that only one company paid less.</p>	<p>In our original response to The Independent we confirmed that, except for one factory which had joined a legal appeal against the governments wage setting process, all of our suppliers in Indonesia have implemented the new sectorial wage, which has increased minimum wages by up to 31% this year. We now understand that the Footwear Manufacturers Association in Indonesia has withdrawn its appeal, and the factory concerned has committed to meet the new sectorial wage, with immediate effect.</p>
<p>Tangerang city hosts four factories – PT Panarub, PT Pancaprima, PT Shyang Yao Fung and PT Tuntex – which supply adidas with Olympics-branded goods. PT Golden Castle in north Jakarta, the capital, pays the equivalent of 55p an hour.</p>	<p>The newspaper article focused very much on basic pay, which has been understated, but the average take home pay for workers is higher still and in our footwear plants can exceed 2m rupiah/month (£136.60 per month).</p>

Accus_Corp2: Captured by Cotton. Exploited Dalit girls produce garments in India for European and US markets (May 2011)	Resp_Corp2: Eastman Exports Global Clothing: Response to Somo (Aug.2012)
<p>Recruiters are hired by the factories and receive approximately 500 Rupees (8 Euros) per recruit. They visit poor villages, and identify the families with daughters in the age between 14 and 21, or even younger, that are in financial need... Monika was 15 when she was interviewed in September 2010, and just 13 when she started working for Bannari Amman. She studied up to 9th standard and then assisted her parents in agricultural work. 'A lady from a near village introduced me to the mill, and told me I would get a wage of Rs. 120 per day. The mill gave Rs.500/- to this lady.'</p>	<p>First and the foremost, we would like to emphasise, we have no Child labour in any of our production units. We have zero tolerance for child labour. We abhor such practices. We employ only those who have completed the legally permitted age. We directly employ all those who work in our production facilities. We have a thorough and a strict control and verification of all age related documents.</p>
<p>...in the southern state of Tamil Nadu, girls and young women are recruited and employed on a large scale to work in the garment industry. The promise: a decent wage, comfortable accommodation, and, the biggest lure: a considerable sum of money upon completion of their three-year contract. This lump sum may be used to pay for a dowry. The reality of working under the Sumangali Scheme...</p>	<p>We do not have any schemes such as Sumangali or any other labour binding schemes in any name or form in any factory. We are against Sumangali Scheme. Minimum wages is strictly as per the labour laws. Overtime is paid double the wages. To work Overtime is the choice of the workers.</p>
<p>Refusing overtime is not possible. Buses will not leave to bring the workers to the hostel until the work is completed. Buses will go to the hostel and pick workers up if the management announces that they have to work on Sunday. Overtime hours are not paid out according to local law (double rate for overtime hours).</p>	<p>Wages along with the Overtime is paid at the end of every month in the spinning mill and at the end of every week in garmenting. ESI and PF as mandated by law are the only deductions from the salary. Detailed wage slips are issued to every worker and the same is also maintained in our production facilities. Working hours and overtime is as stipulated by the labour laws. We strictly adhere to the laws of the land.</p>
<p>The wages are well below the legally set minimum wage. To be able to legally pay the workers under the minimum wage, which in Tamil Nadu in the textile sector is 171 rupees per day, the young women are hired as apprentices. The hostel is near the mill. A van facility is available for the workers to commute between the hostel and the factory. During my time at the mill there were 400 girls residing in the hostel. Each room accommodated five to six workers. Toilets, bathroom and drinking water facilities were available in the hostel, but they were not up to standard. The food quality was very poor. My weight decreased from 35 kilos to 30 kilos during my stay in the hostel</p>	<p>To continue working with us or not after the wages paid is the choice of the workers. The labour turnaround is high in this business.</p> <p>It is a common knowledge in the Industry our labour salaries and other labour welfare benefits such as free transport, medical camps, educational assistance, etc., are higher than the global Industry standard.</p>
<p>Factories advertise their jobs with attractive posters and pamphlets, presenting the Sumangali Scheme as 'a unique opportunity for young women' to earn</p>	<p>At Eastman Exports, we do not run any hostel facility for any of our workers in any production centre. Accommodation is a choice made</p>

<p>up to 40,000 rupees (€640) in three years. The offer also includes comfortable accommodation, three nutritious meals a day and leisure and educational activities... Approximately 6,000 Eastman workers are living in dormitories, including 1000 male workers.</p>	<p>by the workers and their families based on their conveniences. It is absolutely unrealistic even to assume that we can provide the accommodation for several thousand workers. We are not in the business of running hostel facilities.</p>
<p>Workers that stay in dormitories are severely restricted in their freedom of movement. In their free time female workers are not allowed to leave the hostel accommodation freely... Interviews conducted at the end of April 2011 with workers currently employed at three of Eastman's units confirm that the employment practices at Eastman have indeed changed since April 2010.</p>	<p>All our labour practices are open, transparent, accountable and verifiable. We are open to any inspection and all the documents are available for any verification. Any of you are most welcome to visit our production facilities and meet anyone without our presence and verify the documents. Any global organisation is most welcome to check and satisfy themselves with our labour practices.</p>
<p>For those girls employed at the time under the Sumangali Scheme a settlement was reached based on the period the girls had been working with Eastman. Since April 2010, workers receive a monthly salary, ranging from Rs. 110 to 170 per day for garment workers and from Rs. 170 to Rs. 240 per day for spinning mill workers, depending on skill's level and seniority. Workers are no longer recruited under the Sumangali Scheme and no new workers under the age of 18 are admitted in Eastman's hostels.</p>	<p>Social audits run in our factories full year by several globally reputed professional audit agencies. These audits run on our behalf and also on the behalf of our customers. Professional Auditors of several nationalities audit our labour practices with complete access to all areas of labour welfare. We have enclosed recently conducted social audit by TUV Rhineland specific to women workers' employment in our spinning facility. This was a comprehensive social audit most relevant to women workers. Social audit professionals even meet the workers and their families after the working hours at their place of residence.</p>
<p>This report is written by the India Committee of the Netherlands (ICN) and the Centre for Research on Multinational Corporations (SOMO). It is based on desk research and field research undertaken by SOMO, ICN and the Campaign Against Sumangali Scheme (CASS). Field research was carried out by CASS between May and December 2010. Furthermore, information was gathered by SOMO during a field trip in August 2010, as part of a fact finding mission organised by the European Coalition for Corporate Justice (ECCJ). Early March 2011, ICN conducted a second field trip.</p>	<p>On the contrary neither SOMO nor any researchers on their behalf has ever visited neither any of our factories nor verified facts. We have invited them several times to check for themselves on any issue. But they have never visited a single factory. Some factories which they mention in their reports do not even belong to us. Since 3 years, the same global campaign is carried out without verification of facts on the ground. Despite abundant evidence to the contrary this negative campaign against us is being carried out till date. We have been consistently providing evidences to the contrary, but the allegations continue in every reproduced report year after year without taking any real facts on the ground.</p>
<p>As part of its research CASS did a mapping of workers employed under the Sumangali Scheme. CASS identified more than 1600 girls and young women who had worked at a given time at some 90 different factories. Out of this group, 33 workers have been employed by the four vertically integrated enterprises that this report zooms in on. Eighteen workers gave in-depth interviews about their experiences under the Sumangali Scheme. In April 2011, an additional 102 women workers were</p>	<p>Most of the claims of SOMO are unsubstantiated and baseless. They have carried out their own prejudices too far in the western world.</p> <p>We produce for customers of global repute and we are very well aware of our social responsibilities. We are partnering with some of our customers in running schools and hospitals for the underprivileged. Most of the reputed customers or any professional social auditor will vouch that our production places and labour</p>

<p>interviewed, until recently employed at KPR Mill, Eastman Exports and SSM India respectively. The data and testimonies provided by these workers form the basis for the analysis of the reality of the Sumangali Scheme (p.4).</p>	<p>practices are some of the best in the world and a model in comparison to their factories in China or Bangladesh or any other part of the world.</p>
<p>Tirupur People Forum (TPF) and the Campaign Against Sumangali Scheme (CASS) In Tamil Nadu, local civil society organisations are actively working to end the exploitation of Sumangali workers. They run awareness campaigns in poor villages to convince parents to think twice before sending their daughters to the mills. They also seek remediation for ex Sumangali workers and legal justice for Sumangali workers who have not received their entitlements. Many organisations are collaborating in different platforms such as the Tirupur People Forum (TPF) and the Campaign Against Sumangali Scheme (CASS). TPF has been engaged in defending the rights of Sumangali victims since 2005. TPF and CASS are pressuring the local authorities and the Tirupur Exporters Association to take measures to end this exploitation. In December 2010 a meeting was hosted by the Tirupur Exporters Association (TEA), and attended by the Brands Ethical Working Group (BEWG, see below), NGOs and trade unions. Together they decided to set up the Tirupur Stakeholders Forum (TSF), a tri-partite body to address issues of concern including the Sumangali Scheme. The chair of the TSF is Mr. N Chandran, chairman and managing director of the Eastman Group (p.26).</p>	<p>TSF (TIRUPUR STAKE HOLDERS FORUM) is a multi-stakeholders forum initiated by Tirupur Exporters Association (TEA) comprising of Brands Ethical Working Group (Retailers & Brands), Trade Unions, NGOs and members of Tirupur Exporters Association (TEA) on a single platform.</p> <p>We are a founder and proactive member of TSF. A very unique forum where all the issues relevant to the labour welfare are brought to focus and all the players on a single forum are actively engaged in resolving the issues concerning the Industry. Though sumangali is a structural issue, Tirupur Stakeholders Forum (TSF) resolved to eradicate the same and have made huge steps in this direction. Tirupur Exporters Association (TEA) are also very supportive. It has issued a letter of notice to the mill owners association like SIMA and TASMA that if they do not come out of the sumangali scheme, Tirupur Exporters Association will advise its members not to source yarn from those mills. A time frame has been given. TSF has come out with a guidance document “Guidance for Migrant Workers in Hostel & The Recruitment Process – Spinning / Garmenting Factories”. Most western retailers and Brands along with trade unions and NGOS make it to attend every meeting and bring out their concerns and suggestions. Several initiatives taken by TSF have largely benefitted the labour and all the players including labour unions and NGOS will vouch for this.</p> <p>Tirupur Exporters Association (TEA) and the trade unions also emphasize that THERE IS NO SUMANGALI SCHEME IN TIRUPUR GARMENTING INDUSTRY.</p> <p>If any organisation is serious in resolving issues concerning labour, they must join a proactive effort rather than carrying out negative campaigns.</p>
<p>In Tamil Nadu there are thousands of companies involved in garment production. To stay competitive, pressure on production costs is high. In this labour intensive industry labour costs form an important part of production costs. As a result, manufacturers are in search of cheap labour and they need a great number of workers as well. Spinning units, for instance, operate 24 hours a day and thus require a large number of workers to keep going.</p>	<p>Tamilnadu has the world’s largest spinning Industry. Yarn produced in Tamil Nadu is consumed by the entire Textile, Garmenting and home textile Industry in every part of India. Furthermore the yarn produced in Tamil Nadu gets exported to 128 countries. Yarn to the value of \$3 Billion gets exported. Every garment producing country in the world consumes yarn from Tamilnadu spinning Industry. China / Fareast, Bangladesh, European Union’s countries and America are all the major consumers of the yarn produced in Tamilnadu Spinning. High Value made in EU garments of top brands, selling all over the world for hundreds of Dollars is made from the very yarn exported from Tamil Nadu. The biggest suppliers to the western retail world China and Bangladesh work on the yarns from Tamilnadu spinning</p>

<p>Eastman Exports is one of the biggest players in the Tamil Nadu textiles and garment industry and supplies a large group of European and US brands. Its head office is located in Tirupur. Yarn and textiles are produced at Eastman Spinning Mills in Dindigul (two units).</p>	<p>Spinning industry of Tamilnadu is one of the oldest of the industries, Garment factories of Tirupur is comparatively a much recent phenomenon. These two industries exist in the same state of Tamilnadu, but that is the only commonality. Garment factories in Tirupur compete for business with their counterparts in India / China / Bangladesh.</p>
<p>Recruitment is targeted at young, mostly unmarried, women and girls, aged between 14 and 25. The majority of these workers have a Dalit (so-called scheduled castes) or other low caste background and come from poor, often landless and indebted families that depend on irregular income earned as agricultural coolies in the dry south of Tamil Nadu. Orphans and children of single parents are also targeted... Brokers convince parents to send their daughters to the textile and garment. factories with promises of a well-paid job, comfortable accommodation, three nutritious meals a day and opportunities for training and schooling.</p>	<p>Spinning has its own labour issues. Sumangali was never a labour scheme in any garment production unit .This was a labour scheme in certain section of spinning areas. For a long time Sumangali scheme was hailed by all as a model labour welfare measure because, Sumangali schemes eradicated social evils like child marriage and under age marriage of girls from the underprivileged sections of the society. But this scheme in spinning for several reasons outlived its utility to become a social evil in itself. And again this practice was also not universal to all spinning. Even in spinning mills it is impossible to generalise labour practices. It is too large an Industry.</p>
<p>The Sumangali Scheme was introduced 10 years ago by textile and garment manufacturers in the Coimbatore and Tirupur districts. It is now widespread throughout Western and Central Tamil Nadu. An estimated 120,000 workers are currently employed under the scheme.8 Sumangali workers are mainly recruited from impoverished districts of Tamil Nadu.</p>	<p>We fail to understand what is the reason behind such campaigns targeting exclusively few garment manufactures of Tirupur and their clients? No organisation such as SOMO is comparing the labour standards and practices and raw material procurement of all the big players like EU/China/Bangladesh. Practically all are working on the same raw material source. Tirupur is the only one who is to day able to offer some competition to China or Bangladesh or even Italy. Several western customers are now trying to avoid the area of Tirupur simply to be out of SOMO negative campaigns. This entire targeted negative global campaign of SOMO and their associates is destroying the business of Tirupur. This is acting as a non-tariff barrier to our genuine business interest. Several thousand workers and their families depend upon the business we generate and the negative global campaign by SOMO against us is victimising us and this must get stopped.</p> <p>Finally it is vital to note, while the western Retailers have the choice of placing the same business elsewhere, while the spinning mills continue to export yarns all over the world to garment and home textile producers, while our competitors globally continue to use the same yarn and make garments, we the targeted garment factories of South India and their workers are victimised and continue to lose the business. Except us, no one else is a victim of such campaign. This is the final result of such short-sighted negative campaigns. And this must get stopped.</p>

<p>Accus_Corp3: “Bonded (child) labour in the South Indian Garment Industry - An Update of Debate and Action on the ‘Sumangali Scheme” (May 2012)</p>	<p>Resp_Corp3: Inditex response regarding child labour employed in its supply chain in India (Aug. 2012)</p>
<p>In a year time, the Centre for Research on Multinational Corporations (SOMO) and the India Committee of the Netherlands (ICN) have published two major reports documenting the exploitation of Dalit girls in the South Indian garment industry that produces for European and US markets... Inditex (Zara and other brands) referred to preventive measures taken by ETI, of which it is a member, that will prevent these labour violations from reoccurring... In ‘Maid in India’ we found that one of Inditex’ brands (Pull and Bear) sources from Eastman as well.</p>	<p>We appreciate your kind request of information regarding Inditex initiatives pursuing the eradication of unfair labour practices in Southern India and, specifically, those related with Sumangali scheme. First of all, we would like to clarify that the inclusion of Pull&Bear, part of Inditex Group, among the companies that did not answered to the Centre for Research on Multinational Corporations (SOMO) request of information is consequence of a misunderstanding: Inditex Group, as owner company of Pull&Bear and other well-known clothing brands, has been in contact with SOMO both directly and as an active member of Ethical Trading Initiative (ETI)’s Sumangali Bonded Labour Group/Tamil Nadu Multi Stakeholder Group.</p>
<p>Eastman is indeed the producer where most improvements were found. ‘Maid in India’ reports that the Sumangali scheme is abandoned at Eastman, that freedom of movement for hostel workers has improved and that wages are relatively high at Eastman. However, the report also found girls as young as 14 and 15 in Eastman’s factories, it records how workers are forced to work 24 hours in peak period, and that there are no trade unions. These are all violations of the BSCI Code of Conduct...SOMO and ICN apply a ILO Conventions 138 and 182. This implies that all children up to at least 14 should be able to attend full-time education and hazardous labour of children between 14 and 18 is prohibited.</p>	<p>We understand that Inditex has clearly answered that none of its suppliers (including those working for Pull&Bear brand) neither work nor accept the Sumangali scheme. Inditex has confirmed the veracity of this fact and is actively working in this sense together with other Indian manufacturers through our partnership with the Ethical Trading Initiative (ETI).</p>
<p>Workers in the textile mills and garment factories in Tamil Nadu, South India, suffer exploitative working conditions. In ‘Maid in India’, SOMO and ICN document that more than 100,000 girls – possibly up to 300,000 – work under employment schemes, often referred to as Sumangali, that amount to bonded labour. Workers make long hours, including forced overtime, under unhealthy conditions. Wages in the spinning mills are far below the legal minimum. 33. There is increasing evidence that girls and boys from impoverished regions off India are lured to work in the garment factories</p>	<p>With this regard, we are happy to provide you with some facts about the work developed related to this issue by our company:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> □ First of all, we must clarify that Inditex’s presence in the Tirupur area is very limited and has decreased -by commercial reasons- during the last years, representing around 0,1% of Inditex global purchases on 2011. □ SOMO report only refers to Pull&Bear as a client –among many others- of Eastman Exports Global Clothing, one of the Indian companies analyzed. Eastman Group efforts to avoid unfair practices related with Sumangali scheme have been clearly mentioned in SOMO reports. □ SOMO reports also has broadly mentioned Ethical Trading Initiative’s efforts and results on this issue.
<p>Pressure from active brands on their suppliers has</p>	<p>Although the limited relation above mentioned, Inditex is resolutely committed with the improvement of labour practices of Tamil Nadu suppliers. Activities carried out by Inditex Group regarding</p>

<p>...pressure from active brands on their suppliers has brought about some improvements in employment and labour conditions on the work floor and in workers hostels, but major labour abuses continue to occur. Those brands which are active often operate in isolation and lack the leverage to pressure suppliers, or they do not succeed in putting promises into practices.</p> <p>The majority of the brands, however, have not taken any action so far. These are amongst others Diesel, Marks & Spencer, Ralph Lauren, Quicksilver and buying house Crystal Martin, that supplies well-known brands such as Mothercare and Next.¹ At the same time, public concern about these violations is growing... Currently, there is only a legal minimum wage for apprentices. The minister also promised to take 'appropriate action' against those mills that use a Sumangali scheme, when the trade unions will provide the details of these spinning mills (Theekathir, 5 July, 2012).</p>	<p>suppliers. Activities carried out by Inditex Group regarding Sumangali Scheme in Tamil Nadu region started on 2010, after receiving an input from the NGO Anti Slavery International including references to contraventions of local and international labour standards in this region, have been:</p>
<p>ETI members, local business and civil society develop a project that will help workers and their communities to better understand the risks related to working under the Sumangali Scheme. brands and retailers will engage spinning mills and garment factories in Tamil Nadu to improve labour conditions and propose ethical sourcing practices all the way down the supply chain... ETI members still have to commit to this programme. Local civil society hopes that ETI will use the leverage it has to promote dialogue among the different stakeholders.</p>	<p>An extensive audit programme to garment suppliers as well as printing, dyeing, spinning and knitting units belonging to our suppliers to identify potential incompliance of Inditex's Code of Conduct for External Manufacturers. As result of continuous audit process, we can confirm that child labour or forced labour don't occur on Eastman Group units producing for Inditex Group. In any case, Sumangali scheme was totally abolished by Eastman on September 2010. Furthermore, Inditex enlarged its CSR team in India (based in Delhi) establishing a second local team in Southern India, in order to work very closely with suppliers and the rest of stakeholders involved.</p> <p>□ Inditex was one of the founding members of Tirupur Stakeholders Forum, a multi-stakeholder action initiative to implement sustainable long term policies to overcome workforce and working conditions difficulties.</p> <p>Under the umbrella of ETI, Inditex is participating in common initiatives at national and international level regarding this issue. We suggest you to directly contact ETI to have a more extensive information. We also invite you to review our 2011 Annual Report (Suppliers section, page 66), where you can find a summary of the Inditex's 'Sumangali Project' focus during 2011.</p>

<p>Accus_Corp4: Hypocrisy & Minimum wage (Oct.2012)</p>	<p>Resp_Corp4: H&M Response to "Hypocrisy & Minimum Wage" (Oct.2012)</p>
<p>Maybe you've read it in the news lately. H&M's CEO, Karl-Johan Persson, started to feel bad that he outsources most of his clothing production to countries where workers are hardly paid the money necessary to eat. He flew from Stockholm to Bangladesh, sat down with Bangladesh's Prime Minister, Sheik Hasina, and kindly asked her to raise the minimum wage. The press is going wild.</p>	<p>I am thankful for the possibility to provide a response on the article "Hypocrisy & Minimum wage" by Hanna Claeson, published in Business & Human Rights Resource Centre's Weekly Update newsletter. The main point in the article is to direct the spotlight on working conditions in the textile industry and that large companies, in this specific case H&M, has clear responsibility to everyone who contributes to their business - including being properly compensated for the work performed. Social responsibility is of highest importance to us and we welcome any feedback on improvements. However, the article contains some serious allegations and factual errors that need to be addressed.</p>
<p>What is wrong with this picture? If Persson is really sincere, he has got flawed logic. H&M gets about 25% of its products from Bangladesh. That is a lot of weight to throw around, not just with Bangladesh's prime minister, but with its producers as well. What does that mean? So you're trying to tell me that a CEO with that much influence couldn't have simply asked their producers to raise wages? Let's think this through. Pretend you are the superintendent of a school district, and you've got all these unreasonable test policies, that have your teachers in their class rooms teaching 10 hour days to make sure they keep their jobs, and that their kindergarten kids pass calculus tests. Then one day, instead of adjusting your test policies and asking teachers to adjust accordingly, you talk to the governor of your state and ask him/her to sort things out. Not very logical.</p>	<p>We don't shop around. Since a few years we have actively been trying to move away from "superintendents", as H&M is described in the article, to rather make suppliers aware and to train and motivate them to take ownership of their own operations and gain productivity and responsibility. To support this ambition, during 2011 we launched a Supplier Relationship Management program (SRM). We aim to develop a long-term sustainable business relationship, as well as social and environmental standard in the factories that manufacture H&M Group's products. We never shop around with short time frames, as the author of the article incorrectly claims. This would not be possible given the large volumes we buy. We have taken check points on our actions and verified that already after a few months from the implementation of our SRM, the capacity utilization within our supply chain showed a clear tendency of placing the majority of our orders with the best compliant and most sustainable suppliers, as clearly indicated in our sustainability report. We reward suppliers being responsible.</p>
<p>But that is really just the tip of the iceberg. In Bangladesh the minimum wage is the lowest in the</p>	<p>Actions on industry level. In parallel with this work, we also take actions on industry level. That was why the CEO of H&M, Karl-Johan Persson, recently met the Prime Minister of Bangladesh</p>

Bangladesh the minimum wage is the lowest in the world, at \$36/month. H&M also gets its clothes from Cambodia, where the minimum wage hovers at around \$61/month. In September of 2010, Cambodian garment workers at a factory that produced for H&M were fired for striking for \$93/month which they consider a “minimal living wage.” H&M also gets its clothes in Indonesia, where the minimum wage is \$63/month. Nevertheless in 2003, No Sweat UK reported that at least one factory that produced H&M clothing paid workers as little as \$7 a week for up to 60 hours of work. When workers complained, the factory locked them out, and refused to let them back to work. The entire factory went on strike in support of the locked out workers, so the management simply “hired local thugs to intimidate and threaten workers.” The strike ended.

To the best of my knowledge Persson has neither met with the president of Cambodia nor Indonesia about minimum wage policies. Additionally, it would take nearly doubling the minimum wage in Bangladesh to come close to what is being paid in Cambodia and Indonesia. Persson is hardly at risk of losing huge profit margins, should the president decide to listen to him. The icing on the cake is that on September 3, 2012, just weeks after Persson met with the president asking for a minimum wage increase, he announced at a BGMEA press conference that H&M plans to double its purchases from Bangladesh in the next five years. This, apparently, regardless of whether or not the minimum wage is raised.

Finally, it is important to keep in mind that labor rights issues go far beyond wages. H&M is notorious for breaking their code of conduct that set standards for working conditions: unfair treatment of workers, and unsafe factory conditions seem to be common denominators in factories that produce their clothing. Mistreatment of workers, including failure to provide proper safety training and equipment, seems to be an especially grave problem in Bangladesh. In 2006, the National Labor Committee reported that in one factory, producing clothes for H&M (Evitex), employees were routinely forced to work overtime without adequate

Sheikh Hasina, in Dhaka. During the meeting, Karl-Johan Persson presented H&M’s request for an increased minimum wage and annual wage reviews for workers in the Bangladeshi textile industry. As there is no industry standard on how buyers should promote higher wages, it differs between companies depending on, for example, size and power to influence. In 2011, H&M joined The Fair Wage Network which works to bring together fashion brands, garment producers, NGOs, worker representatives and researchers to promote fair wages around the world. I want to share Daniel Vaughan-Whitehead, Founder and co-Chair of the Fair Wage Network and responsible for wage issues at the United Nations International Labour Organization, view on Fair Wage: *“The strength of the Fair Wage approach lies in its multidimensional nature. By collecting data and information on 12 complementary dimensions, it captures the whole wage story in the enterprise. The living wage is one of those but is not the only one. Because Fair Wage is not only about a number but also helps the enterprise to improve its pay systems, adjustment mechanisms and social dialogue on wages, thus leading to sustainable wage developments”*

This approach is applicable throughout the textile industry, not just our suppliers. We also agree that wages should be set through negotiations between employer and employee, and that the buyers’ responsibility is to help and support that process. It leads to a better workplace, an understanding between the partners and less conflict. It is very common that the root cause of the unrests in factories is lack of functioning systems for wage bargaining. As part of our engagement within The Fair Wage Network, around 200 of H&M suppliers’ factories in Bangladesh, Cambodia, China and India were assessed earlier this year. It accounts for more than half of H&M Groups total buying. We are convinced that this first step, the knowledge and the network will help us in further promoting fair wages in our supply chain as well as in our industry

H&M’s Code of Conduct was introduced in 1997, and compliance with the requirements of the Code is monitored through our Full Audit Programme. During 2011 we conducted 2,024 audits on active factories out of which 78 per cent were unannounced. In order to verify our audit method, we became an accredited member of Fair Labor Association in 2006. Beyond auditing we also contribute to better working conditions and a better environment through a number of projects in our manufacturing countries.

Contrary to the reasoning in the article, H&M put much focus on influencing and educating our suppliers and their employees. One example is the five workers awareness films produced by H&M and local NGO’s both in Bangladesh and India.

routinely forced to work overtime without adequate compensation, and subjected to unsanitary bathrooms, unsafe drinking water, a hot atmosphere, and harsh punishments for not meeting targets. Consequences of such treatment are grave. ILRF's research shows that in the past twenty years, over 100 factory fires in Bangladesh have killed over 700 people and injured over 2600.

In Bangladesh, almost half a million workers have seen the films, and in India the films have just been launched. They educate workers and management on topics like maternity leave, leave and documentation, abuse and grievance, health and safety and overtime. Now both women and middle management have knowledge in terms of maternity leave and pay, and the women actually get paid maternity leave.

In 2010, Garib&Garib, a factory producing cardigans for H&M caught fire, left 21 dead and 50 injured. H&M had apparently audited the factory months earlier and failed to note the absence of proper safety equipment. Reports of abuse of workers at factories producing for H&M factories have also been documented in Cambodia, Indonesia, the Philippines, India, Thailand, and Madagascar and Mauritius, and the United States. But instead of condemning a history of labor rights abuses, the international press chose to laud H&M for one high-profile conversation. Certainly something to think about just days before Helena Helmersson, Head of Sustainability for H&M, prepares to speak at the BSR conference—towards a just and sustainable Business World—in New York.

The author is mentioning the devastating fire in Garib & Garib. This was a trigger point to address the root causes to frequent fires in factories in Bangladesh. H&M immediately started a two year plan and a budget of SEK 1 million was adopted in order to make thorough investigation of root causes and possible ways forward. In addition to this we worked together with Save the Children to conduct a need assessment of children to workers who passed away in this tragedy, this led to a support program of approx. SEK 900 000 for these children giving them funds on a yearly basis up until their age of 18. In this plan we also invited other brands to participate, since this is an industry wide problem and needs to be addressed at all levels not only individual factories. We worked together with Fire Defense Department and Bangladesh University of Engineering and Technology (BUET) in order to truly identify root causes. In a concluding seminar in July 2012 in Dhaka we gathered all stakeholders including Government, trade unions, NGOs, suppliers and brands to present findings and a way forward. We do believe that this way of working is more sustainable where the industry as whole is involved, and drive changes on all levels not only in individual factories working with H&M.

1. INTRODUCCIÓN

El lenguaje es a diario un elemento común a la gran mayoría de las personas. Una persona está generalmente expuesta a una inmensa cantidad de eventos comunicativos, ya sea a través de las tecnologías, como los dispositivos móviles o las noticias, o la interacción diaria con otros. Es por este motivo que el lenguaje y la comunicación se presentan en todos los niveles y tamaños, desde los productos que consumimos hasta la manera en la que establecemos relaciones a nuestro alrededor. Por esta razón, puede deducirse que del lenguaje se desglosan estrategias que esperan llevar a cabo un propósito dado. Ya que el uso del lenguaje sirve a las necesidades del que lo emplea, todo acto comunicativo puede potencialmente encerrar propósitos positivos o negativos. Podría decirse entonces que este último implicaría asimismo elementos persuasivos a determinadas audiencias (Brennan and Merkl-Davies 2012; Coupland 2005; van Dijk 2008). El proceso de la comunicación ha sido visto por este motivo como un fin potencialmente utilitarista (Mautner 2010).

En el contexto de esta investigación, estas estrategias comunicativas hacen énfasis en el uso del lenguaje en el contexto corporativo de la multinacional del textil. Este sector empresarial se ha convertido en uno de los más grandes e importantes tanto en las economías desarrolladas como en las que están en vías de desarrollo (Shabab and Koshy 2012). Aunque esta industria ha llegado a representar el avance económico de un número limitado de colectivos en áreas en desarrollo, existe también un número importante de implicaciones negativas para este último. De todos es sabido que la fabricación de las prendas de vestir de grandes marcas es producida en economías desfavorecidas de zonas como Asia y Suramérica. Este proceso de deslocalización de la mano de obra se utiliza comúnmente para maximizar ganancias y por ende recortar gastos. Como consecuencia de estas prácticas, la mayoría de los trabajadores que participan en el proceso de la fabricación de prendas sufren condiciones laborales abusivas.

Para defenderse de las acusaciones de los medios, las grandes corporaciones que se han visto comprometidas en estas prácticas generalmente publican informes que comentan sobre su labor como entidades filantrópicas interesadas en las mejores condiciones de sus trabajadores. A su vez, estos informes también denuncian que las acusaciones de las que son objeto no cuentan con datos o recursos fiables como para que sus informes sean veraces. Es aquí cuando el foco de esta investigación juega un papel crucial para entender el contexto local de este trabajo. A pesar de su aparente preocupación por el bienestar de sus trabajadores en la cadena de montaje del producto final, una de las teorías en las que se basa este estudio argumenta que las verdaderas intenciones de las corporaciones intentan legitimar y consolidar su papel como actores responsables a toda costa. Es por esta razón que su interés no estaría en aras de mejorar o defender los derechos de sus trabajadores. Al contrario, los empleados se convierten en actores secundarios o poco importantes para estas empresas.

Este trabajo enfatiza la premisa estipulada por Koller (2010:155) sobre la tendencia de la disciplina del Análisis Crítico del Discurso de pasar por alto el punto de vista crítico sobre el discurso corporativo. Según sus conclusiones, esta es una falta grave ya que es este ámbito una de las esferas humanas en donde se amasa la mayor cantidad de poder. Por eso la presente investigación intenta llevar a cabo una aproximación académica y crítica de esta rama del Discurso Organizacional.

2. METODOLOGÍA

Con el fin de perfilar la investigación adecuadamente, la recopilación de datos se produjo en distintas etapas. Primero, la industria textil fue escogida como foco de estudio ya que es una de las ramas empresariales que más se ha visto envuelta en prácticas laborales nocivas en las cadenas de montaje. Una vez este contexto fue establecido, se procedió a realizar una búsqueda extensa online para encontrar incidentes que tuvieran que ver con la explotación laboral en esquemas de subcontratación. Se encontraron cuatro compañías internacionales: *Adidas*, *Eastman Exports*, el

Grupo Inditex y H&M. Los incidentes fueron entonces localizados entre los años 2011 y 2012. Una vez encontradas las primeras referencias, se procedió a encontrar las fuentes originales de las acusaciones. En este caso, tres de los cuatro textos fueron encontrados por medio del *Centro de Información sobre empresas y derechos humanos* y el *Centre for Research on Multinational Corporations* (SOMO por sus iniciales originales en neerlandés). En cuanto a la última compañía, Adidas, el archivo fue encontrado a través del diario *the Independent*.

Una vez que los materiales de las acusaciones y las respuestas se encontraran, el segundo paso consistió en combinar los anteriores apropiadamente. Este proceso fue especialmente exigente dado que los datos no eran homogéneos desde el principio. El número de páginas promedio de cada texto en ambos corpus era de aproximadamente 3 o 5 páginas. Por el contrario, una de las acusaciones tenía 50 páginas, lo que se traducía en unas 50.000 palabras. Entonces, se dedujo que era necesario aislar los ejemplos de este informe y hacer que las acusaciones tuviesen conexión con las respuestas dadas por la corporación. Para la creación del corpus final fue necesario llevar a cabo una lectura cuidadosa de todos los textos. Ya que los datos suministrados por el Grupo Adidas incluían un modelo de respuesta en el que respondía a casi todas las acusaciones hechas por el diario *the Independent* contraponiéndolas con las suyas, esta manera de estructurar la información fue de gran ayuda a la hora de organizar los ejemplos aislados de las acusaciones con las respuestas de las corporaciones. El resultado final puede verse en el apéndice 1 de la versión completa de este trabajo.

3. MARCO TEÓRICO Y RESULTADOS

Para llevar a cabo el análisis de datos fue necesaria una previa revisión a la literatura existente en los temas de Responsabilidad Social Corporativa y Análisis Crítico del Discurso. En primer lugar, el marco teórico se basó en tres etapas: primero se definió el término Responsabilidad Social Corporativa (RSC) en cuanto al trabajo de Carroll and Buchholtz (2000); a partir de esta explicación el siguiente paso consistió en investigar los temas recurrentes en la comunicación de la

RSC, además de la literatura referente al Análisis del Discurso en Discurso Organizacional. En este campo, se tuvieron en cuenta los trabajos de Dickson, Loker y Eckman (2008) y Lee y Kohler (2001). Mientras el primer trabajo se basa en la identificación de temas recurrentes en RSC, el segundo examina el hilo discursivo que las grandes farmacéuticas emplean a la hora de dar respuesta a acusaciones externas en temas de RSC. Estos trabajos fueron una parte crucial para la identificación de los recursos empleados en este tipo de comunicación.

La segunda y tercera parte del análisis se basa en las teorías sobre la representación de los actores y eventos sociales por Fairclough (2003) y van Leeuwen (2008). Ambos críticos facilitan un marco por el que se puede entender las diferentes variables y estrategias utilizadas en la representación de los elementos anteriormente mencionados. En esa línea, la revisión del marco teórico lanzó la conclusión de que la clasificación empleada por van Leeuwen (2008) resultaba ser más compleja y por ende más completa que la de Fairclough (2003). El estudio de las fuentes concluye que la clasificación de Fairclough tiende a regirse demasiado por categorías gramaticales fijas que pueden dejar escapar otras estrategias comunicativas. En cuanto al trabajo de van Leeuwen (2008), su clasificación socio-discursiva incluye las implicaciones en la representación de los actores y eventos sociales, además de sus realizaciones lingüísticas. Para añadir, este autor concluye también que en ocasiones las estrategias utilizadas para representar a los actores sociales dominantes pueden asimismo ser utilizadas en la descripción de los participantes dominados. Esto último no es reconocido por Fairclough (2005), de quien van Leeuwen (2008) comenta que de tenerse demasiada rigidez en cuanto a las estrategias de representación de los actores sociales, pueden perderse aspectos importantes que su clasificación sí intenta tener en cuenta. Asimismo, la clasificación de las relaciones espacio-tiempo son más generales en el marco de Fairclough (2003) y algo más detalladas en el de van Leeuwen (2008).

Los resultados de esta sección muestran que ciertamente hay estrategias que las respuestas de las corporaciones utilizan para legitimar su comportamiento, declarado responsable. De la misma manera, la representación de los mismos como grupo empresarial es mayoritariamente incluido en sus respuestas, que a su vez impersonalizan considerablemente el papel de los trabajadores en sus cadenas de montaje. Un ejemplo importante de esto último es que en ningún momento las corporaciones identifican los trabajadores por su nombre, edad o género. Al contrario, éstos siempre son incluidos en términos de lo que hacen en la fábrica, el lugar donde trabajan, o los abusos a los que están expuestos. De manera similar, la representación de sí mismos es significativamente modificada, haciendo que las compañías parezcan organizaciones únicamente preocupadas por el bienestar de sus trabajadores. Esta realización choca con las representaciones manifestadas en las acusaciones, las cuales emplean estrategias opuestas a las anteriormente mencionadas.

En cuanto a la representación de los eventos referentes a las manifestaciones del tiempo, el análisis de los datos concluye que ésta se presenta como un contexto cerrado, ya que los incidentes en las fábricas también lo son. Los hallazgos en esta sección han sido relevantes con referencia al manejo del tiempo por las organizaciones y su representación como un elemento recurrente pero inexacto. En este sentido, las respuestas de las corporaciones emplean expresiones que implican que ha habido respuestas positivas a las quejas de los trabajadores. Sin embargo, no se especifica el lugar, la fecha, o el suceso que dio lugar a esas mejoras. A pesar de ello, las respuestas de las multinacionales dan la impresión de que trabajan para el bienestar de sus empleados en tiempo pasado, presente y futuro.

El último resultado encontrado tiene que ver con la manera en que las corporaciones tienen control sobre el tiempo de sus trabajadores. En este sentido, son recurrentes los ejemplos que indican la cantidad de dinero que se les paga a los trabajadores por hora o por mes, además del número de horas trabajadas. Esto se traduce en que las personas empleadas en la fábrica no tienen control sobre

sus propios horarios y por ende sobre lo que pueden hacer con su tiempo, que parece estar a total merced de las fábricas que los emplean.