

Table of Contents

Abstract.....	11
Zusammenfassung.....	13
Acronyms.....	15
List of Tables and Figures.....	17
1. Introduction.....	19
2. Globalisation and global self-regulation.....	23
2.1 A new relationship between TNCs and States.....	25
2.2 The rationale for global labour self-regulation.....	30
2.2.1 Labour standards and human rights.....	30
2.2.2 The rationale for global labour regulation.....	36
2.2.3 The global dimension of labour regulation.....	39
2.2.4 The advantages of self-regulation.....	40
2.2.5 Self-regulation as regimes.....	41
2.3 Terminology.....	42
2.4 The debates.....	47
2.4.1 The development of (self-) regulation.....	47
2.4.2 The CSR debate.....	54
2.5 Global TNC regulation by states.....	58
2.5.1 Regional trade agreements.....	58
2.5.2 The OECD Guidelines.....	60
2.5.3 The ILO Declarations.....	61
2.6 Self-regulation initiatives.....	62
2.6.1 The UN Global Compact.....	63
2.6.2 Social Accountability International (SA8000).....	64
2.6.3 Business Social Compliance Initiative.....	66
2.6.4 Ethical Trading Initiative.....	67
2.6.5 Fair Labor Association.....	67
2.6.6 Worldwide Responsible Accredited Production.....	68
2.7 Labour standards in the apparel industry.....	69

3.	Theoretical considerations	81
3.1	Research question	81
3.2	Theoretical background – The Rational Choice Approach	81
3.3	Assumptions and variables	84
3.4	Actors	91
3.5	The preferences of the most important actor groups	96
3.5.1	Preferences of TNCs.....	97
3.5.2	Preferences of States.....	99
3.5.3	Preferences of organised civil society groups	107
3.6	Coping with public pressure	108
3.6.1	Public pressure and the strategies of TNCs.....	108
3.6.2	The problem of uncertainty	112
3.6.3	Adapting to public criticism and keeping production costs low.....	115
3.6.4	Adapting to public pressure and maintaining competitiveness through ethical production	118
3.6.5	The dynamics of external pressure.....	119
3.6.6	Preliminary conclusion: External pressure and the emergence of self-regulation	121
3.6.7	Collective action problems between TNCs	122
3.6.8	Conclusion: Coping with uncertainty and the emergence of self-regulation.....	131
3.7	Coping with government pressure	132
3.7.1	The perceived threat of state regulation as an explanatory variable.....	132
3.7.2	Coalition building between states.....	138
3.7.3	Preliminary conclusion	141
3.7.4	Problems with coalition building.....	142
3.7.5	Overcoming the collective action problem.....	153
3.7.6	Conclusion	155
3.8	The relationship between the two independent variables external public pressure and the perceived threat of governmental regulation.....	156

3.9	Hypotheses	157
4.	Empirical investigation	159
4.1	Method	159
4.2	Empirical findings.....	161
4.2.1	Perception of the apparel industry and interests of the actors	162
4.3	External pressure as a reason for the emergence of self-regulation regimes.....	164
4.3.1	The power of consumer pressure and its effect on TNCs	164
4.3.2	The nature of NGO campaigns.....	167
4.3.3	Responses of TNCs: mechanisms of CSR implementation ..	169
4.3.4	Selection Criteria for TNCs.....	172
4.3.5	Corporate transparency and CSR policies.....	177
4.3.6	Explaining variety between corporate self-regulation mechanisms.....	179
4.3.7	Analysis 1: The importance of external pressure for the emergence of self-regulation regimes.....	180
4.4	The threat of governmental regulation.....	184
4.4.1	Different views on state regulation.....	184
4.4.2	The perception of threat of governmental regulation.....	189
4.4.3	Analysis 2: the importance of perceived threat of governmental regulation for the emergence of self-regulation.....	192
4.5	Summary: the emergence of self-regulation.....	194
4.6	The strengthening of collective self-regulation regimes	197
4.6.1	External pressure as the driving force behind the strengthening of self-regulation regimes	197
4.6.2	Analysis 3: Public Pressure and the strengthening of self-regulation regimes.....	204
4.6.3	The threat of governmental regulation as the driving force behind the strengthening of self-regulation regimes	207
4.6.4	Analysis 4: Perceived threat of governmental regulation and the strengthening of self-regulation regimes.....	209
5.	Conclusions	211
6.	Bibliography.....	223