

Consumarchy & CSR¹

P. Martin Dumas

Consumarchy and corporate social responsibility (CSR) are two concepts related to the expanded scope of societal responsibility for the private sector. Since the postwar period, changes in the political, economic and technological spheres have been a source of major opportunities for global businesses, but at the same time the origin of new responsibilities. These concepts are evolving as part of a broader redefinition of global economy. This paper will attempt to examine and compare both concepts and their application in order to identify their strengths and weaknesses on the construction of a more fair and inclusive globalization.

Both CSR and consumarchy share the idea that changes in corporate behavior resulting in the public good of social responsibility could be achieved through the market by embedding certain values or principles into the cost/benefit analysis of private companies. While consumarchy offers a systemic approach in which consumers play a central role, CSR is perhaps more delimited although it involves a wide range of actors. The paper will start with a description of consumarchy, its theoretical framework and the assumptions for its spread. Then, it will analyze CSR, its history, objectives, implementation and challenges. A comparison will be offered by way of a conclusion.

What is Consumarchy?

Consumarchy (from *consummare* (Lat.), to consume, and *arkhê* (Gr.), command) is the control by consumers of certain variables traditionally separated from one's assessment of what qualifies as a desirable consumer good (e.g., the level of safety standards or the salary gaps related to the production of that same good). From a functionalist point of view, it is a system by which consumers may exert moral or other authority on enterprises through a more enlightened selection of consumer goods.

Consumarchy defines itself in contrast to consumerism and does not, in fact, rest on a defense of consumer interests (according to the traditional sense of these interests). Such interests are numerous and well-known: the safety of consumer goods, the quality of after-market service, product availability, instructions and so on. Furthermore, Consumarchy is not an extension of or substitute for consumerism. The pursuit of self-interest, dear to consumerism, generally gives way to the effects of altruism within the consumarchic system; if individualism nourishes the former then solidarity is the driving force of the latter. This difference is loaded with meaning when considering the perfectibility of liberal democracy and it is explored further in the third section of this article. I begin, however, by identifying the characteristic principles of the consumarchic regime. Maximizing the full potential of Consumarchy necessarily depends on the intersection of two factors, namely:

- (1) the broadening of signals as to what qualifies as a desirable consumer good through an intermediary conveying information that is at the same time (a) accessible, differentiable and credible (b) with a social or environmental character and, during the early stages in the development of Consumarchy, capable of provoking consumers; and
- (2) the gradual spread of altruistic behaviour among consumers brought about through (a) modelled altruism, (b) an abstract sense of duty, as well as (c) conditional norms of efficiency and approving, or even disapproving, social pressures.

Each of these prerequisites will be examined in turn.

Broadening the signals for what qualifies as a desirable good

The demand for a product on the market depends on the ever-shifting notion of what amounts to a desirable product. Information circulates through channels of consumption for the purpose of satisfying this demand for desirable goods. Up to now, such information has largely solicited individualistic consumer reflexes. A better price, better quality, proximity of the product to the consumer, a more refined design, prestige, better after-market customer service and other information of this sort contribute to promoting the idea that the desirability of a product is not defined in relation to others, but simply in relation to oneself.

Broadening the signals for what qualifies as a desirable good requires a different treatment of information directly or indirectly linked to the conditions of production, as well as clearly communicating this information to consumers. Because of the relative complexity of this information, it is necessary to simplify its presentation if consumers are to be receptive to its signals. How then is it possible to communicate thorough and complex information, using clear and concise signals?

(a) Codes of conduct: at the heart of the information interface

One of the more serious problems associated with the development of quasi-consumarchic mechanisms (e.g., boycotting, preferences given to products displaying a 'child labour free' sticker or products advertised as 'fair trade')

¹ This paper contains the personal views of the author and does not represent the policies of the Secretariat of the Commission for Labor Cooperation, Washington DC.

often relates to the misleading character of information relayed to consumers. This weakness is also generally accompanied by poor targeting. There are numerous unsatisfying pre-consummarchic experiences which have provoked, for this reason, mixed if not undesirable results. It is necessary then to better understand and set out the possibilities for consumer intervention before embarking on a serious consummarchic endeavour. Thus, boycotting transnational corporations in the hopes of pressuring the government of a country where the company has its headquarters is as common as it is deplorable. The desire to eradicate child labour by supporting certain tagged consumer products, without regard for the financial situation of the families affected, is likewise regrettable though commendable in its intentions.

One solution to the problem of easily conveying complex and well-targeted information comes with (1) the adoption by corporations of codes of conduct approved by consumer associations and (2) the transmission (to consumers) of simplified signals indicating respect for these codes. This information interface between producers and consumers does share some features with managerial systems such as ISO and SA. In contrast to these systems, however, Consumarchy should seek to establish relatively low floors (e.g., on matters of social and environmental rights) and relatively high ceilings (e.g., on matters such as reducing salary gaps) so as to create a sufficiently strong financial incentive to convince companies from a given economic sector to at least adopt minimally demanding codes of conduct. In between these minimal and maximal thresholds, simple scales (e.g., levels 1 through 5) could further indicate to consumers whether businesses in the production chain for a given product are similarly responding to the demands for greater equity and protection, or to what extent they are not doing so.

The signal passed on to consumers must also be credible. This would involve, among other things, insuring (1) that the process for evaluating compliance with the codes of conduct is carried out in a professional and independent manner by properly accredited organisations; (2) that certified businesses could be subject to regular and surprise inspections; and (3) that a business' cooperation with inspections could be considered in itself a criterion for certification and a condition for retaining such status. Particular attention must equally be paid to the image conveyed by these accreditation bodies and to their standards of professionalism. Practices which follow sanitized methods of verification or which make untrustworthy accusations, would not contribute to attaining this objective.¹ As for the certification of indivisible goods, it must be pointed out that simple goods (e.g., clothes, gasoline) will likely be monitored by consumarchists before the more complex ones (e.g., cars, motorbikes) and that the development and marketing of "smart tags" will probably be called upon to play a key role in lowering the informational barriers between production and distribution functions.²

The substance of these codes of conduct, drafted by experts and approved by consumer associations, would form the basis of Consumarchic Law. Establishing flexible rules in the process of extraordinary consumarchic sanctions (i.e., removing, or at least threatening to remove the mark of certification) should, moreover, incorporate periods to allow for voluntary compliance before applying sanctions in a spirit of cooperation on the part of the inspectors.³ It is understood that the ordinary consumarchic sanction presupposes the maintenance of certifications, and that such a sanction, at a more advanced stage in the system's development, would translate into consumer preferences given the option of a range of products associated with a certification of a low or higher grade.

Proposing a complete model for the production of such norms and their sanctions goes beyond the scope of this article, but we may nonetheless inquire about related organisational questions. Asked within a pluralistic framework, such questions abound. How, for instance, can one resolve disagreements between consumer associations and their experts on the orientation given to consumarchic law? How would inspectors be paid? Could the development of Consumarchy replace the State in a domain no longer regulated by the State or where the State does not in fact intervene (though its representatives would be willing to intervene) because it does not have the financial⁴ or legal⁵ resources? Will the States contribute to accelerating, strengthening, or hindering the development of Consumarchy? Would a system put in place by private actors remain viable without the support of public actors such as the

¹ A critique of "due diligence" type investigation procedures is offered by a workplace health and safety specialist from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology who demonstrated that accountants from PriceWaterhouseCoopers had failed their task by omitting to identify serious organizational problems that threatened the health and safety of workers at an Indonesian factory that produced products for Nike and Reebok (See "Monitoring the Monitors: A critique of PriceWaterhouseCoopers Labor Monitoring" Online: <http://web.mit.edu/dorourke/www/PDF/pwc.pdf> by O'Rourke, September 28, 2000).

² These tags, a brand of which has already been marketed, contains a memory chip that enables one to retrieve information such as the place of its manufacture (*Business Week* (July 8, 2002). See also, online: <http://www.networknews.co.uk/Analysis/1138052>). The development of specialized programs for the management of subcontractor networks, such as the program PRM 2, are equally part of the equation (On this subject, see the electronic management abilities developed by Swinerton Builders with other businesses. Online: <http://www.swinerton.com>).

³ One might refer here to the prudent suggestions of S. Dufour on the topic of an adequate corrective mechanism to install within the framework of a convention on the social dimensions of global trade liberalization (1998: 370-374).

⁴ Paradoxically, it is estimated that the costs arising from workplace accidents in some developing countries could reach 10% of gross domestic product in these nations. (Pan American Health Organization 1999:11).

⁵ In this respect, Verge and Dufour (2002) offer a detailed panorama of the problem peculiar to the law's fragmented view of the transnational corporation in regard to labour issues (it should be said that a transnational corporation in its home country could in principal escape legislation of the host country where its affiliate is located by not presenting itself as the joint-employer of those who work in the host country, while still exercising important powers from its principal domicile – such as dismissal discretion).

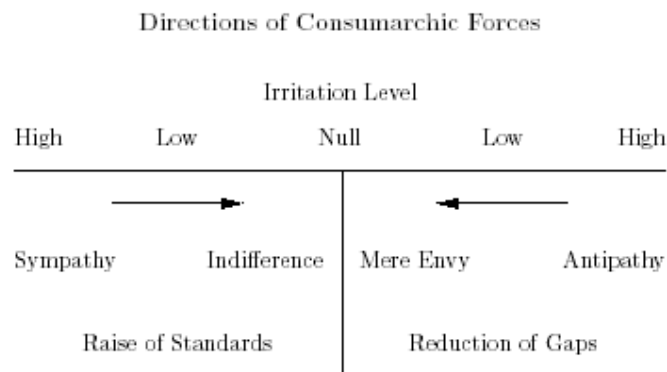
International Labour Organization (ILO)? Would a procedural model of Consumarchy be able to inspire local representative structures, taking into account differences in culture? These and many other questions, though not addressed in this paper, will be the subject of future work.

(b) The elimination of irritants

There exists both a horizontal and vertical dimension to the development of a consumarchic information system. On the horizontal plane, the consumarchic arena is in principal limited only by its ability to meet the preconditions listed above (i.e. the effective broadening of signals as to what qualifies as a desirable consumer good and the gradual spread of altruistic behaviour among consumers). To date, environmental protection, decent working conditions, as well as the humane treatment of animals are among the spheres toward which the ethical preferences of consumers appear to be heading. In particular, the handing over of certain state functions to the private sector has prepared fertile ground for consumarchic intervention given the importance placed in certain regions on the notion of equal treatment, for example, in the area of health care. In this case, a general code would have to be agreed upon for urban areas by some central authority. Medical clinics would have to be in conformity with this code, to the extent that they are motivated to do so by consumers who choose to support a more equitable private health care system. From a strategic point of view, one could then imagine the development and the strengthening of a consumarchic reflex by first of all implanting the accompanying system into those spheres of activity from which the State is withdrawing. Indeed, according to findings from clinical psychology regarding choice and values, individuals appear more sensitive to the risk of losing that which they already enjoy than to the risk of benefiting from something which they do not already enjoy to some extent (Tversky and Kahneman 1981, 1991; Kahneman and Tversky 1984). In line with these findings, the fear that clearly-defined values of solidarity¹ will disappear (because these same values are losing State support) could in fact surpass the desire to uphold new values of solidarity (which would flow from their expression within Consumarchy, in those areas where the spirit of solidarity is still poorly defined). For present purposes, though, the consumarchic regulation of certain working conditions will serve as a privileged point of reference.

On the vertical plane, the development of Consumarchy is best characterized as a step by step approach which fixes progressively higher floors (and lower ceilings) of tolerance that are supportable by consumers (see Figure 1). In a mature consumarchic regime, the absence of any consumarchic information attached to a given product, thus signalling the non-enforcement of minimally demanding codes of conduct, could effectively irritate a large number of consumers. Hence the importance in fixing relatively low regulatory floors on social and environmental matters when developing consumarchic reflexes.

Figure 1.



So as not to limit the potential for economic development in disadvantaged regions, the first stages of Consumarchy should allow consumers to select products based on assurances that these products were manufactured under conditions that at least respect some universally fundamental rights (UFR) of workers.² That is to say:

- (1) the right to a job and work environment that do not pose serious risks to a worker's physical integrity;
- (2) the right not to be subject to forced labour;
- (3) the right of association for the purpose of agreeing to suitable working conditions (i.e. conditions that reflect, at the very minimum, the first two rights³).

It is perhaps appropriate to consider only workers' UFR in order to avoid the worst forms of workplace abuse

¹ Equal health care treatment in Canada for example.

² These rights will not be situated within a naturalist perspective; if they are surrounded by a universalist spirit, it's well beyond a certain temporal threshold. The proper framework in which to include such a position is rather skilfully defended by Donnelly (2003).

³ Following a more generous conception of the right not to be subject to forced labour, workers would be in a position to negotiate a time slot in which they would be able to adequately explore the external job market (Dumas 2003).

and, also, so as not to illegitimately hold back the economic potential in disadvantaged regions. On this point, one could assert that all moral intervention, whether endogenous or exogenous in relation to the market, will naturally slow the economic development of certain industries and therefore their capacity to equip themselves in the long run with more advanced safety mechanisms. In response to that argument, one must not lose sight of the fact that the consequences attached to the violation of those fundamental rights are in no way benign. If an economic slowdown were to result from the strengthening of an emergent consumarchic system, would this nonetheless be to the benefit of workers through a resulting decrease in workplace fatalities or even freedom from modern slavery?

Conversely, one might remark that the ILO-defined fundamental rights of workers generally consist of the second and third rights listed above, as well as rights concerning child labour and discrimination in the workplace.¹ On what foundation does the more essentialist approach to the fundamental rights rest?

One must, at the outset, highlight that the foremost of the UFR, that is, the right to a job and working environment that do not pose serious risks to a worker's physical safety, already incorporates most of the worst forms of child labour, as defined by the ILO.² What is more, these UFR should not be restricted to children (contrary to the rights envisioned in ILO Convention No. 182) but remain available to all workers, taking into account conditions that are unique to different categories of workers.³ It should be stressed in this regard that in some parts of the world, abolishing child labour in the short term is considered more as a problem than a solution (Cissé-Niang 2002; Supiot 2003: 132).

As for excluding the right to non-discrimination from the list of UFR, an essentialist point of view, or simply one respectful of certain cultural particularities, must be kept in mind. By way of example, it appears that a corporation that discriminates by hiring only men or only women, though otherwise respecting the UFR of its workers, would prove to be favourably comparable to a corporation that, without any discriminatory hiring practices whatsoever, nonetheless violates minimal worker safety standards. It must be pointed out here that the first case would contravene the "fundamental" norms set by the ILO, whereas the second would not.

The progressive development of altruistic consumer behaviour

Consumer control over variables which have been traditionally separated from the consideration of what qualifies as a desirable consumer good most often requires, on their part, an effort of altruism or solidarity. Faced with the choice between two "identical" goods, it is in fact more convenient to ignore than to take account of the conditions in which the goods were produced (supposing that this information is even available). Not surprisingly, this is especially the case for the consumer uninitiated to the consumarchic system.

An enlightened choice can also entail the spending of additional money.⁴ In effect, faced with the possibility of raising the general quality of its manufacturing conditions, a corporation can adopt a variety of price-fixing strategies (Kotler 2000: 457):

- a) Maintain the level of quality (e.g., by not investing in improved safety measures) while keeping product prices the same. This is a strategy that has the effect of reinforcing certain traits of the current production-sale system.
- b) Maintain the same level of quality while raising prices and pretending to have improved manufacturing conditions. This is a strategy with little esteem among consumers and which is inadvisable for the long term.⁵
- c) Raise the level of quality (e.g., by investing in improved safety measures) while keeping prices the same. This strategy relies on the appeal of a strong "quality/price" relationship and on the expansion of the corporation's market

¹ These are, more precisely, the rights envisioned in the Freedom of Association and Protection of the Right to Organize Convention, 1948 (87), the Right to Organize and Collective Bargaining Convention, 1949 (98), the Forced Labour Convention, 1930 (29), the Abolition of Forced Labour Convention, 1957 (105), the Equal Remuneration Convention, 1951 (100), the Discrimination (Employment and Occupation) Convention, 1958 (111), the Minimum Age Convention, 1973 (138), and the Worst Forms of Child Labour Convention, 1999 (182), which are brought out by the *ILO Declaration on the fundamental principles and rights at work* (1998).

² It is not surprising that among four of the "worst forms of child labour" adopted by Convention 182 are found conditions contemplated by the defense of the UFR of workers. These consist of "all forms of slavery or practices similar to slavery, such as the sale and trafficking of children, debt bondage and serfdom and forced or compulsory labour (...) the use, procuring or offering of a child for prostitution, for the production of pornography or for pornographic performances (...) work which, by its nature or the circumstances in which it is carried out, is likely to harm the health, safety or morals of children" (articles 3 a), b) and d)). A fourth form of child labour comprising "the use, procuring or offering of a child for illicit activities, in particular for the production and trafficking of drugs" (article 3 c)) is not either without its proper links to the character of these rights. (OIT 2000).

³ Children and adolescents, for example, are more vulnerable to toxic substances known to affect growth and development of the reproductive system (Hunt *et al.* 1982).

⁴ In principal, the success of such a premium would not be unfamiliar to the fluctuations that characterize the elasticity of consumer demand. Among the factors that significantly influence the degree of demand elasticity, one notes the distinct character of the product (which favours the inelasticity of demand) and the ratio of a product's price to the total income of a consumer (which favours the elasticity of demand as this ratio increases) (Nagle and Holden 1995: chap. 4). As a result, the consumarchic system is, in a way, more efficient (1) if it offers consumers the possibility to express their ethical preferences by favourably accommodating a distinct signal and (2) if the prices of products subject to the controls of the consumarchic system are not out of the consumer's reach.

⁵ A more subtle version of this strategy consists in raising the price of products to a level greater than that which reflects the actual costs of their heightened quality.

share.

d) Raise the level of quality along with prices while indicating a commitment to a certain level of corporate social responsibility. This strategy is probably the most likely to be adopted within a consumarchic system given the difficulties often associated with reducing the costs of production through a reduction in wages (especially in developing countries) or a reorganization of the workplace.¹

This way, large numbers of consumers would be called upon to pay a premium with the purpose of favouring those corporations committed to the integration of some combination of rights in the work environment. It is therefore reasonable to suggest that the roots of this system (i.e., the pressure exerted by consumers) will find more fertile ground in places of economic prosperity. Nonetheless, given the global nature of commerce, these pressures could be felt around the world.

By definition, altruistic consumers do not act solely in accordance with their own interests, but also in accordance with the interests of others, or, more precisely, according to the value given to the interests of others. This positive value may be characterized in several ways. It could mean establishing ethical standards of consumption within a close-knit community, promoting a sense of consumarchic duty comparable to the democratic obligations of citizens, or even supporting the effect of social norms which convey certain ideals. Thus, there exist at least three modes of expression or development of altruistic consumer behaviour (see Annex 1).

(a) Exemplary altruism

The first type characterizes consumers as motivated by sympathetic feelings toward the wage-earner. These feelings are sufficient for consumers to guide their buying behaviour, independent of the presence or absence of other mechanisms of justification. In the end, they create their own norms which eventually may or may not be evident to others. Such feelings of altruism rest more generally on the altruistic trait that is widely shared among humans. A naturalistic vision of this phenomenon is supported by the fact that this trait is present even among other animal species.²

Such recognition is obviously not without its own effects on the possible internalisation of the altruistic reflex within the market for consumer goods. According to the classic model, a lowering of informational barriers should facilitate attaining the maximum point of the consumer's total utility function, i.e. through the comparison of the marginal utilities with monetary units in the aim of maximizing the consumer's total utility. The lowering of informational barriers relative to the availability and the placement of commercial goods on the market normally has the effect of reducing the risk that products of identical quality are offered at different prices at the same time and in the same location, all else being equal. Thus, it is because of a lack of information that a consumer ends up buying an identical product at a higher price.

In a regime where a critical mass of consumers maintains or reinforces the competitiveness of corporations who adopt and put into place a certain code of conduct, the transmission of information relative to the enforcement of these codes allows the altruistic consumer to select such an "identical product" (according to pre-consumarchic criteria), at a higher price. Thus, the utility of the altruistic consumer is in a way a function of the utility of unknown workers (or, more precisely, of the value given to taking into account the utility of these workers), as shown by the consumer's propensity, expressed in monetary terms, to buy goods bearing the trustworthy mark of certification. In Becker's formulation, consumers would in some way sacrifice part of their income for an increase in "psychological income". In cases where consumarchic pressures would be nourished by a sentiment of sheer irritation, one would then invoke the reduction of "psychological costs" through a monetary sacrifice (Becker 1971). Ultimately, the internalisation of the altruistic reflex or sense of solidarity is enabled by broadening the signals for what qualifies as a desirable good *in certain directions*, i.e., not towards the traditionally defined satisfaction of consumer needs, but towards the gradual satisfaction of a need for solidarity.

(b) An abstract sense of duty

A second type characterizes consumers as motivated by an abstract sense of duty. This duty is hardly influenced by concrete results deriving from the act of purchasing. Rather, its source is more akin to that which motivates many voters and which consists in *theoretically* anticipating what the likely results would be if everyone acted in the same manner (e.g. voting or not voting; supporting or not supporting a consumarchic system). Following Kant, this duty can be assimilated to the "categorical imperative" in that it does not respond inevitably to utilitarian reasoning. The voter, like the altruistic consumer, cannot normally found his actions on the realistic hope of making a difference. Under ordinary conditions, neither a person's vote nor the purchases by a solitary consumer carry enough importance to inspire such hope. Nevertheless, nothing prevents consumers from finding satisfaction in thinking they have fulfilled their duty in

¹ This sort of restructuring could actually bring about the opposite result (such as an intensification of workloads interfering with the maintenance of workplace health and safety) according to Babson (1995) and Nuñez and Babson (1998), whose work is discussed by Kumar (2001).

² "Only on the basis of sympathy does food sharing [among chimpanzees] become possible. As opposed to the inequality principle, this bud of mentality is oriented toward some social system based on the equality principle." (Itani 1988: 149). See also de Waal (1992), who cites Itani.

accordance with Kant's rule.¹ On this basis, one can envision a level of consumarchic participation comparable to the rates of participation in democratic elections.

It is unlikely that the effectiveness of a consumarchic system could ultimately rest on a selfish evaluation by consumers of the consequences of their actions that would, from then on, only be altruistic in appearance. Supposing that an advanced stage of consumarchic control is attained, it would still be difficult to imagine it being based on the self-interests of consumers. Such an advanced stage might signify that a corporation's competitiveness would be enhanced following the adoption of a policy in accordance with which all plans of direct or indirect relocation of production – from the Canada to the Congo for example – would be accompanied by a commitment to respect the fundamental rights of workers as well as sharing, at the sectoral level, the costs of recycling or rehiring certified labour. But in order to ally the self-interest of consumers, a certain number of cumulative conditions must first be satisfied.

To begin, individual sacrifices made to sustain the consumarchic system would be weak without a critical mass of active consumers. Otherwise, the selfish consumer might feel like a solitary voice in the wilderness. Secondly, the benefits realized through the participation of a critical mass of consumers would have to be significant. If not, the effort will be of little value in the eyes of those who are in fact engaged. Thirdly, the benefits realized as a result of the non-participation of individuals should not be significant in the context where there is a critical mass of active consumers.²

Yet, if one can imagine attaining the first two conditions, one could also reasonably anticipate the likely non-observance of the third condition and the problematic effects of the free-ride, absent altruistic commitment or effective social norms. In fact, the interested consumer could clearly benefit here from a recycling or rehiring plan (or from a commitment to respect certain social rights), without supporting the consumarchic system. Hence the general reliance on the capacity of development and expression of these altruistic predispositions within consumarcho-capitalism.

(c) Conditional norms and social pressures

A third type characterizes consumers as motivated by the effects of already-established or emerging social norms. An example of this type would be consumers who wish to express their altruism on the condition that a critical mass of consumers do the same. This egalitarian norm is obviously not without its ties to objectives of efficiency, although it does not guarantee that the altruistic consumer will be any better placed to make a difference through individual action. Once again, however, nothing prevents such a consumer from finding satisfaction in the expression of sympathy for others, which is considered to be more fair and effective.³

Less characterised by altruism than influenced by its expression in society, other norms would in all likelihood be able to exert a positive and approving social pressure on actively altruistic consumers and, on the other hand, a negative and disapproving social pressure on the rest.⁴ It goes without saying that these pressures cannot exert themselves except to the extent that the activity of consumption or its results are not clandestine. Therefore, the visibility of certification is called upon to play a key role in this regard, in concert with a successful publicity strategy.

In the early stages of Consumarchy, consumers who are sensitive to the effects of approving or disapproving pressures would, in all likelihood, rally alongside those who initiated these norms, as well as those who respond more readily to the Kantian ideal. Behind this anticipated partnership, the relationship to the altruistic sentiment is more nebulous among new adherents to these norms. Contrary to consumers who find satisfaction in expressing a sense of duty or sentiments of sympathy towards others, these new adherents would orientate their conduct by looking first for approval from their peers or by fearing their disavowal. It is therefore plausible that their purchasing behaviour would not correspond, except in appearances, to the behaviour of participating and altruistic consumers. It is then useful to distinguish *a priori* between the expression of altruistic predispositions and its multiplying effects within the community. These effects should not be neglected. First of all, they may contribute to reinforcing the attractiveness of the norms in question, by effectively widening their scope of observance. Secondly, they would give greater credence to the possibility of consumers moving from a passive and obedient role to a more active role in the expression of their altruism. This change would not be without consequence to the consumarchic system: a passive consumer who only obeys the norms is less likely to encourage the development of a consumarchic reflex than an active consumer. Thirdly, these mass outcomes will determine the amplitude of the snow-ball effect, i.e. the extent to which the demand for certain products promoted according to consumarchic values would be higher than foreseen under the classical theory of supply and demand and in a way analogous to the demand for certain products that are in style, which also obey the collectivist logic (Leibenstein 1980: 48 ff.). Generally speaking, three concurrent phenomena in the growth of the consumarchic system can be contemplated: (1) resolute indifference on the part of one group of consumers; (2) active participation by a second group, and; (3) the gradual participation of a third group.

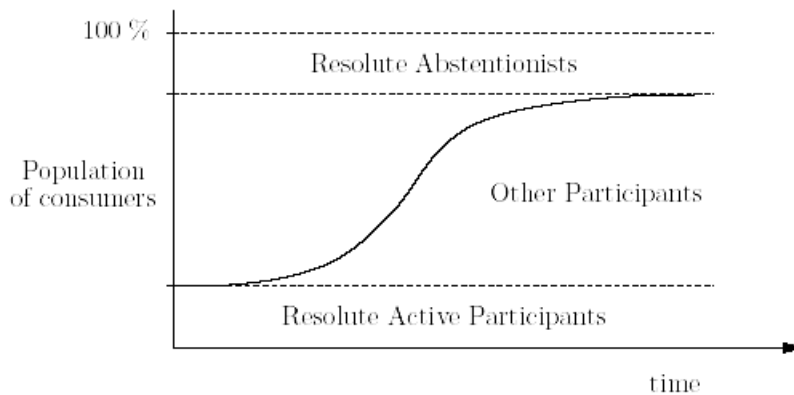
¹ According to Kant, the categorical imperative is the following: "Act only according to a maxim through which you can at the same time will that it become a universal law" or "Act as if the maxim of your action were to become through your will a general natural law" (2002: 37).

² This is an adaptation of Olson's theory of collective action (Olson 1963).

³ I subscribe here to the postulate of the rationality of the social actor, such as Boudon proposes: "sociology treats a behaviour as rational whenever it can offer an explanation that can be described as follows: *The fact that actor X behaves in manner Y is comprehensible: in fact, in that circumstance, he had good reason to do Y.*" (1992: 35).

⁴ This normative process is also advanced to explain how, by the valorization of individual reputations, a working community can be driven to gradually eliminate certain corrupt practices (Lopez-Guerra 2000).

Figure 2.



The above graph illustrates this progression. It supposes that the proportion of consumers belonging to the third group would rise in relation to the total number of participating consumers. Whatever the scenario, the consumarchic gamble, as best as one can tell, consists well and truly in gradually instilling a sense of responsibility among a significant proportion of consumers so as to bring the experience of the enlightened consumer purchase closer to that of the democratic vote.

The consumarchic reflex, one might argue, already exists in a latent state. Consider the case of theft. In a good number of liberal democracies, the sale of stolen merchandise is tainted with illegality.¹ This principle is so well accepted that a significant proportion of consumers would refuse categorically to purchase stolen goods. In contrast, goods produced under conditions that violate minimal safety standards are commonly sold and purchased on the free market in complete legality. In defence of consumers, these purchases are largely made in ignorance of working conditions. What then would be the typical reaction of consumers who become vividly aware that the item they intend to buy was produced under scandalous conditions, where workers, for instance, were forced to labour under threat? Obviously, there is no typical reaction, but one cannot easily set aside the hypothesis that consumers would generally be troubled by such information.² One can see, therefore, that the present system of manufacture and sale casts a shadow over the circumstances that would otherwise encourage the expression of altruistic predispositions in consumers. The goal of Consumarchy can, indeed, be seen as releasing consumers from this uninformed fog in which they find themselves.

What is CSR?

CSR points to the idea that the business sector responsibilities go beyond profit-maximizing activities exclusively constrained by the law. The adoption of CSR practices is voluntary, and there is yet no consensus in a harmonized definition of the term. It can be said that CSR has six interconnected building blocks:

- 1) Environment
- 2) Labor and human rights
- 3) Philanthropy
- 4) Corporate governance
- 5) Corruption
- 6) Product features

Depending on the priorities and vision of the organization that is defining CSR, one or more of the above issues will have more weight. Other common terms also used to describe this commitment of the private sector to abide by societal principles are: corporate citizenship, business ethics, sustainable development or the triple bottom line. This process can be considered the privatization of the societal responsibilities or the engagement of business in a public role

¹ This relates to a rule that is firmly rooted in both legal traditions: in the common law, one may refer, for example, to the decisions rendered in *Lipkin Gorman v. Karpnale Ltd.* [1991] 2 AC 548; *R. c. Ilich* (1987) 69 ALR 231, 244; *Merry v. Green* (1841) 7 M and W 623; *Rex v. Hutton* (1911) 19 WLR 907 (the simple theft of water might be an exception); or, in the civil law, to the French *Code Civil* (articles 1599 and 2279), to the Spanish *Código Civil* (articles 433, 447, 464 and 1950), the Québec *Civil Code* (articles 1713 and 1714) and to the German *Bürgerliches Gesetzbuch* (articles 861, 935 and 1006).

² A European study reveals that 60 percent of Danes are prepared to spend more for products manufactured under "decent working conditions", compared with 50% of Swedes (CSR Europe 2001: 28) (drawn from Aaronson and Reeves (2002: 35-36)). In Mexico, 74% of consumers questioned in a study confirmed that they would shop in different places according to whether a vendor did or did not adopt policies with a social character and 52% would agree to spend between 5% and 10% more to buy goods if the premiums were destined to encourage such policies (Promoting Public Causes, 1995).

(Elias 2003; Rondinelli 2002, De Regil 2003).

1. The Socio-political Drivers of CSR: How to Understand the Change in the Expectations from Business

In the past the preeminent contribution of the private sector to society was to spur economic growth. The social gains from growing dynamic businesses would be through the creation of jobs and the increased capacity of the government through higher revenues. The sole *raison d'être* of businesses was profit, and anything beyond that was considered to be the responsibility of other actors –governments, unions, church, NGOs, philanthropic foundations.¹ The context has now changed and the business community is considered one of the key actors on the achievement of ethical and social objectives, not only through charity, but through their core activities.²

The attempts to control the ethical, social, and environmental behavior of corporations, and even more specifically of TNCs, started in the 1970s,³ but it was not until the past decade that CSR initiatives have started to take root among the business community. A recent WB-IFC survey found that the resources TNCs devote to CSR had been increasing in the previous five years. The types of resources include staff, budget, and senior management time, (Bermann *et al.* 2003: 13) so gradually CSR has become a common concern in the business world.

Mainly three factors have favored the emergence of CSR: the perception that large businesses are among the main beneficiaries of globalization and free trade, the coverage of corporate misdeeds by the global media, and the poor performance of some governments on social and environmental issues. It seems that the voids created by a new global order, the disillusion with the existing institutions to address social and environmental challenges, and the ubiquitous presence of media have helped to create an innovative response to involve business on the achievement of broader goals, among other sources of positive change. The CSR movement has been gaining momentum leading business community leaders to pay more attention on environmental, human rights, and social issues.

The dramatic reduction in the costs of transcontinental communications and transportation linked to the progressive liberalization of trade favored large companies that could operate on a transnational basis. Either by having access to foreign markets and expanding their sales or by outsourcing inputs, capital or labor from countries where the costs were cheaper, these firms restructured their strategies and operations to reap the benefits of the new economic conditions. The geographical fragmentation of production and distribution gave birth to global commodity chains. The companies from the US, Europe and Japan that benefited from globalization have been lobbying for international regimes that liberalized trade even more and protected their patents and investment within their governments and in international organizations.

This new production system relies heavily on branding, particularly in developed countries. In order to have competitive advantages the products in the market place, especially consumer goods, need to build a strong and recognizable brands. It is the excessive dependence on the reputation of a good brand what makes critics of TNCs powerful. The role of the media and NGOs as watchdogs of corporations has led to a redefinition of the responsibilities of the private sector. A couple of scandals that revealed poor working conditions and child labor within the commodity chain of Nike and the WalMart apparel brand Kathie Lee Gifford,⁴ during the 1990s, had a severe toll on the sales performance. Any successful boycotting campaign, that uses new communication methods or the massive media, can damage a brand and create losses for this kind of companies.

At the same time, the lack of capacity from several states to enforce their own environmental, labor, or anti-corruption laws has put at risk the reputation of companies operating in such places. Plus there is the idea that some states are unwilling to promulgate or enforce stringent environmental and labor laws in order to attract foreign investment, for the defenders of the idea governments in developing countries have entered a “race to the bottom” that may also affect the image of companies operating in those countries. The corporate response has been the implementation of private governance mechanisms to protect their image and control risks.⁵

2. The Private Sector Reaction: The Business Case for CSR

For firms, CSR is not an end but a means of facilitating business operations. CSR can only bound the acceptable ways in which profit-seeking operations are done, by using environmental, social, human rights, and ethical criteria.

In a purely business-mind set, the objectives of CSR are well summarized in a paper by the consulting firm Arthur D. Little:

- Reputation management
- Risk profile and risk management
- Employee recruitment, motivation, and retention
- Investor relations and access to capital

¹ Even today people like Milton Friedman or David Henderson (former OECD chief economist) support this notion and claim that businesses sole obligation is making profit (Joel Bakan 2003: 34).

² Leslie Sklair believes that the transition of capitalism at this moment could lead to a “caring capitalism” if the adequate policies are put in place to make globalization more equitable (2001: 59).

³ A complete history of the evolution of “corporate codes” is presented in this article: R. Jenkins 2001.

⁴ An emotive description of the Kathie Lee Gifford episode can be found at Bakan 2004: 67-69.

⁵ This argument states that there has been race to the top on places where TNCs with CSR policies operate; increasing the social and environmental benchmarks of business where they establish.

- Learning and innovation
- Competitiveness and market positioning
- Operational efficiency
- Licence to operate (Roberts *et al.* [n. d.])

On the pursuit of these objectives, CSR may contribute to achieve sustainable development and improve working conditions in the host space of the company.

There is no paradox on the business leadership of CSR, on the contrary the heads of large companies are interested on being involved on the creation of ethical business standards to keep them voluntary and control their scope. In this way corporations can stop investing in CSR when the cost exceeds the benefits (Zammit 2003: 140). Voluntary standards are more attractive for businesses than public regulation.

The extent of business responsibilities is broader than it was in the past, now they have to assume –or at least pledge to do so— social and environmental commitments within their operation or about their products making sure that they involve various stakeholders. Failure to acknowledge this extended scope of duties may harm their profits. Economic power has been counterbalanced with the power of shame. The necessity to protect the brand in market economies is the largest incentive for private companies to engage in social and environmental issues. Transnational corporations (TNCs) are extremely susceptible to these new requirements, because of their worldwide operations, creating an environment that enables cooperation between different stakeholders. Their adoption of CSR however may gradually mainstream through the suppliers that participate in the TNCs global commodity chains and by raising the bar of business benchmarks with local producers.

3. The Components of CSR

This section will briefly describe the contents of CSR and the corporate views for embedding these elements into their business decisions.

1) Environment

The environmental face of CSR varies widely depending on the industry. The adoption of environmental management systems usually results in more efficient productive methods and savings. Technical indicators¹ are available to assess the environmental performance, which allows setting clear goals for the firms.

2) Labor and human rights²

Respecting the labor rights of employees and the human rights of the host communities throughout the production chain, despite the local existing practices has a direct impact on the reputation of the company and may generate indirect gains through higher productivity caused by lower rotation and less accidents.

3) Philanthropy

Strategic philanthropy in projects that have a positive impact with the community adds value enhancing the corporate image of the corporation, and perhaps linking the company to well-respected organizations (NGOs or community organizations).

4) Corporate governance

Setting clear limits to the responsibilities of the managers and the board of directors in publicly owned companies ensures that companies pursue their long-term growth rather than quarterly ephemeral profits that will make the company unsustainable.³

5) Corruption

Bribery, extortion, and nepotism create unfair advantages in the market for companies causing the erosion of local institutions and divert resources from more efficient uses that could benefit the community. Although in some countries it is a common practice the involvement of firms in corruption affects society and damages the reputation of companies.⁴

6) Product features (i. e. safety or target market)

This notion of CSR is related to the characteristics of the final product of the company. On one side it is about product information: companies that produce organic goods or whose products follow strict safety standards. And on the other it is about serving an underestimated market: microfinance or solar generators for communities out of the electric grid.

For other academic authors or practitioners CSR is a more limited term focused exclusively around 2 or 3 of the above elements, according to their view some of the above components address different aspects of corporate behavior (Lozano and Boni 2002; Berman *et al.* 2003, SustainAbility 2004). However, these 6 components are all related to the

¹ Some indicators are emissions to the air and water, volume of solid waste, water usage, share of recycled inputs and energy consumption.

² Usually this point is made in reference to international conventions by the ILO or the UN.

³ Recent accounting scandals related to flaws in the corporate governance system lead to the reform of national laws, in the US the Sarbanes-Oxley Act of 2002 sets more stringent requirements for publicly owned companies.

⁴ The main reference of corruption is the index published on a country basis by Transparency International. One of the first steps to fight corruption in corporations is publishing of the monies that were paid to governments out of the law. This is a good indicator of how entrenched is the practice.

broader societal scope of business.

4. Means and Instruments to Comply with CSR: Laws or Talks

Today, companies have a multitude of mechanisms available to strive for the societal goals embodied under CSR such as: codes of conduct, certifications & labels, awards, forums, dialogues, and global networks.¹ The origin of these mechanisms can be internal (within the company), external (associations, IGOs or NGOs) or joint (the company with other actors). The quest for legitimacy in the business efforts to follow CSR principles and the potential gains for other stakeholders has lead to the involvement of different actors in the development of CSR, multi-stakeholder initiatives gather some or all of the following players: CEOs, union leaders, academics, IGOs representatives, or NGO members, in the attempt to reach inclusive principles and credible mechanisms of implementation (Rondinelli 2002: 405).

Although positive, the vast array of initiatives in CSR is creating weariness in the business community and now they'd rather see their convergence. Meanwhile other stakeholders are concerned about the lack of comparability and the loose accountability and transparency prevalent in most of the initiatives.

Another issue that is constantly criticized is the scope of CSR initiatives, depending on the viewer they same program may seem too general or too narrow. So a major trend has been to combine initiatives that are complementary. And yet some others are complementary and promote each other.

To determine if a CSR initiative is well-rounded it is crucial to identify whether all of the elements below are included and which actors are involved at stage of the process:

1. Creation
2. Implementation,
3. Verification,
4. Reporting
5. Reception and response of complaints or violations.

The nature of CSR initiatives can be either normative or educational. While the educational approach is loser on the enforcement side, it involves less risk for companies that do not have strong control over the commodity chain. On the other side the normative side has more credibility, as long as the reporting and verification mechanisms are reliable and independent. The degree of transparency in each of the previous steps is related to the participants and if the information is publicly available. Currently the weakest link for any initiative is the last one, the social responsibility system of a company has to be ready to channel violations of their codes and the adequate handling of these violations will prevent their recurrence. The private side of global governance has to ensure the provision of adequate representation, clear accountability, stand on solid legitimacy, and guarantee transparency (Hertel 2003: 42).

The normative approach can be divided into self-regulatory and co-regulatory mechanisms (Jenkins). The former is when a company adopts a self-created and regulated code of conduct or set of principles, while the latter refers to the adoption of a code of conduct that was negotiated among various stakeholders and that is applied systematically to different companies. Apparel, footwear, toys and agriculture were the first industries to adopt CSR commitments, followed by industries such as household goods, electronics and automobiles (Jorgensen 2003:7) and major crises have contributed to the advancement of the concept. Levi's was the consumer goods leader of the self-regulatory approach when they adopted in 1975 the Code of International Business Principles that was modified on 1991 to focus on fair employment, workers' health and safety and environmental standards (Shoenberg 2000). Other companies that have hazardous or polluting business streams (e. g. oil, chemical) had to adopt codes of conduct to minimize the bad reputation they had for damaging the environment and participating in corrupt practices. More recently, and with the objective of favoring the poor farmers of developing countries, large companies producing agricultural products have adopted their own codes (e. g. Dole). Self-regulatory approaches raise the suspicion of some actors, because the company has the power to select which principles to prioritize and they generate the information of the reports. Considering the inaccurate accounting reports of the past couple of years of various TNCs, the credibility of self-reporting is at stake.²

The multi-stakeholder initiatives, including both educational and co-regulatory approaches, have more credibility, in general. But when they focus on education and dialogue, they do not have any enforcement mechanisms and may taint the whole initiative by taking in companies that flagrantly violate workers' rights, harm the environment or deceive their shareholders. Some of this initiatives are centered on one or more of the CSR blocks that were mentioned earlier (environment, human & labor rights, philanthropy, corporate governance, or corruption) or known regionally (either in Europe, Oceania, or the US) even if they have global aspirations. Table 1 includes a list of some of the most well-known initiatives, their definition of CSR, and their implementation/verification mechanism.

5. Major challenges

For the companies, it has not been easy translating general principles into effective actions nor have all the actors been

¹ The World Bank estimates there are around 1000 buyer codes of conduct.

² The Global Reporting Initiative is a widespread and respected reporting mechanism that sets the standards for ethical reporting. Unfortunately most companies do not cover all the points for confidentiality or financial reasons.

satisfied with the way they have been implemented or monitored.¹ At this moment the “ethical business ranking” has no consensual method and relies heavily on the information issued by companies themselves. This practice, inevitably, raises concerns about the trustworthiness of the information.

Large firms in developed countries and transnational corporations are more likely to engage in CSR, because they are more visible in the “global public opinion” and they have can afford it due to the available resources in their hands. Also, consumers in the markets of developed countries value corporate social responsibility and have the financial means to reward it. It is important to understand how CSR could spill-over through its global commodity chains to small and medium enterprises in developing countries.²

The voluntary nature of CSR is a double-edged sword, because at the same time it frees CSR from the bureaucratic constraints (lack of resources or corruption) of government, its accountability is blurred. A recent study by the World Bank and BSR points to the confusion created by the lack of convergence of CSR initiatives, the lack of ownership of CSR by following a top-down approach and the excessive focus on compliance rather than on development (Jorgensen *et al.* 2003: 1-2). This concerns are shared by others (Bermann *et al.* 2003: 4; Rondinelli 2002: 403; SustainAbility 2004: 12) Is it possible to mitigate these weaknesses of CSR through a larger role of the State in both developed and developing countries? Should CSR initiatives respond to host communities, to consumers, to workers, to CEOs? Should all the stakeholders participate and create a standard that will not be endorsed by the companies or should the stakeholders take advantage of the issues that companies are willing to face in order to keep them engaged?

These questions remain open for the scholars and practitioners of CSR. Corporate social responsibility is still at an early stage, the application of common social principles is not an easy endeavor, but if in the end it achieves inclusive and effective guidelines for transnational business practices it may contribute to improve the conditions of workers and host communities.

Consumarchy & CSR: Final Remarks

Consumarchy and CSR recognize that production and the operation of markets do not occur in an ethical void. Both are a response to the changes in the socioeconomic context spurred by the emergence of globalization. The new configuration of the world, especially after the fall of the communist block in the early 1990s, is suffering from a governance deficit. Thus, the last fifteen years have been marked by a particularly avid search for regulatory systems and emancipatory projects in which rationales of efficient production would be combined with the increasing post-socialist demands for greater equity and socio-environmental protection. It has been argued that contemporary solutions such as radical democracy, multiculturalism, political liberalism and communitarianism remain dead letters in front of calls for reform because they would neglect the problems of economic organisation (Fraser 1997). Among the innovative responses to fill this deficit are consumarchy and CSR initiatives.

Consumarchy encourages the expression of altruistic predispositions in consumers by filling in an information gap on the operation of capitalist markets, so as to bring the experience of the enlightened consumer purchase closer to that of the democratic vote. By broadening the signals for what qualifies as a desirable good, consumarchy may be used to overcome a number of irritants within liberal democracy, including extreme wage gaps. It is in fact an ironic reversal that the solution to the question of reducing inequalities created by the liberal order finds itself potentially of the same mind. In this sense, consumarchy is insensitive to Friedman's critique of CSR initiatives, and may set the ground for a new theory of distributive justice.

On the other hand, CSR has become a business-centered trial-and-error solution to extend the adoption of best practices. Despite the fact it has been challenged by different actors, the concept has evolved and became more inclusive. Beyond the buzz of the term, there have been real changes in the acceptable way businesses are run. The loose development of CSR has left room for different types of initiatives –general, industry-specific, issue-specific-- and this is one of the reasons the business community has been willing to endorse CSR projects.

Consumarchy and CSR are trying to provide information about the production methods and processes of goods and services in aspects related to the environment, working conditions, corruption, corporate governance and product features. Consumarchy may go as far as reducing extreme wage gaps and controlling other variables traditionally separated from one's assessment of what qualifies as a desirable consumer good (Dumas 2004). By incorporating these “externalities” into the cost/benefit analysis of companies, the current economy may find a way to sustainable growth. In order to accomplish its goals, CSR and consumarchy have to ensure transparent, accountable and comparable methods of implementation and verification. These efforts should extend beyond business leaders and more wealthy consumers to make a significant change. It is indeed necessary to build capacity among different stakeholders (employees, unions, NGOs, consumers in developing countries, suppliers) and empower the beneficiaries of CSR and Consumarchy. If the capitalist system follows the current trend, consumarchy will follow the widespread adoption of

¹ Several NGOs criticize CSR as a public relations strategy that is not supported by a real commitment to the endorsed principles. Rhys Jenkins poses the ultimate question “are codes of conduct part of a public relations exercise on the part of corporations keen to deflect criticism of their activities, or do they reflect a new form of stakeholder control over business that is more appropriate in a globalized economy?” (Jenkins 2001: 26).

² Most of the employment in developing countries, which have a poor record on working conditions, corruption and damages to the environment, is concentrated on SMEs or the informal economy.

CSR. In a more mature and extended fashion, consumarchy may well be the force that consolidates a new type of capitalism.

Annex 1

In the theoretical framework on consumer choice by Stigler and Becker (one can find a summary of this in Stigler and Becker (1977)), the utility of a household or of consumers, more than being simply a function of the level of consumption of goods and services offered on the market, is a function of the level of consumption of *choice commodities* (the appreciation of music and euphoria, among other examples) which the household or consumers produce from goods offered on the market along with other resources. More formally, the utility of the consumer is represented by:

$$U = U(Z_1, \dots, Z_m),$$

with

$$Z_i = f_i(X_{1i}, \dots, X_{ni}),$$

where Z_i is the amount produced of a i^{th} choice commodity and X_{ji} is the quantity consumed of a j^{th} product or service offered on the market entering into production of the i^{th} commodity of choice. There exist at least three of these commodities (with (Z_1) being the satisfaction, of the first type, derived from the expression of sympathy towards others, (Z_2) being the satisfaction, of the second type, derived from the expression of the sense of duty and (Z_3) being the satisfaction, of the third type, derived from the equal and effective expression of sympathy towards others) which are more susceptible to being produced by choice of consumer goods bearing the mark of certification than by the choice of products that do not bear such a mark. With the arrival of these new products on the market, one notes X'_{ji} , the quantity consumed of the j^{th} certified product (identical to the j^{th} product according to preconsumarchic standards) entering into production of the i^{th} commodity of choice. In this new context, the utility U' of the consumer satisfies

$$U' = U(Z'_1, \dots, Z'_m),$$

with

$$Z'_i = f'_i(X_{1i}, \dots, X_{ni}, X'_{1i}, \dots, X'_{ni}),$$

where the functions of production f'_i are such that $f'_i(X_{1i}, \dots, X_{ni}, 0, \dots, 0) = f_i(X_{1i}, \dots, X_{ni})$, among other conditions. Since commodities Z_1 , Z_2 and Z_3 are more susceptible to being produced by the choice of consumer goods bearing the mark of certification than by the choice of goods not bearing this mark, consumers will be led to prefer those products that are certified to those that are not (though similar in all other respects), insofar as they were looking to produce commodities Z_1 , Z_2 and Z_3 more efficiently. For similar reasons, consumers would also be willing to pay a premium to buy certified products.

Table 1

Organization	Name	Definition	Mechanism
Fairtrade Labelling Organizations	Fair trade	... better prices, decent working conditions, local sustainability, and fair terms of trade for farmers and workers in the developing world.	Label
Social Accountability International	Social accountability	Focus on the respect of worker rights.	Certification (SA8000)
International Standardization Organization	Social responsibility	In process	Certification (in process)
SustainAbility	Triple bottom line	... capture the whole set of values, issues and processes that companies must address in order to minimize any harm resulting from their activities and to create economic, social and environmental value.	
Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development	Corporate responsibility	...involves the search for an effective "fit" between businesses and the societies in which they operate. The notion of "fit" recognizes the mutual dependence of business and	National contact points, promotion through the government.

		society -- a business sector cannot prosper if the society in which it operates is failing and a failing business sector inevitably detracts from general well-being.	
UN Global Compact	Corporate citizenship	... companies to embrace, support and enact, within their sphere of influence, a set of core values in the areas of human rights, labour standards, the environment, and anti-corruption	Dialogues, learning, and projects.
Business for Social Responsibility	Corporate social responsibility	...achieving commercial success in ways that honor ethical values and respect people, communities, and the natural environment.	Advisory services, advocacy, and publications
World Business Council for Sustainable Development	Corporate Social Responsibility	...the commitment of business to ...contribute to sustainable economic development, working with employees, their families, the local community and society at large to improve their quality of life.	Advisory services, advocacy, and publications
World Economic Forum	Corporate citizenship	... the contribution a company makes to society through its core business activities, its social investment and philanthropy programmes, and its engagement in public policy.	Advisory services, advocacy, and publications
World Bank (Private Sector Development / World Bank Institute)	Corporate social responsibility	...the commitment of business to contribute to sustainable economic development working with employees, their families, the local community, and society at large to improve their quality of life, in ways that are both good for business and good for development	Building public sector understanding of CSR. Publications

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.