

PART III CREATING AND MANAGING FESTIVAL ORGANIZATION

Chapter 13

Nike Faciality and Festival

This chapter applies the festive narrative theory developed in the last chapter to provide an example of the storytelling behaviors of Nike and the activists. It is an exploration of the dark side of labor and environmental practices using Deleuze and Guattari's (1987) theory of faciality, applying it from a critical postmodern narrative perspective. We shall explore in detail the Nike and activist spectacle, as each narrates its faciality in advertising, TV programming, films, newspapers, magazines, corporate and activist web sites, annual reports, official corporate storytelling, and boycott campaigns. In Nike spectacle narration we gaze the facemask of our surrogate spectator, a heroic sports star, that becomes the facial mask of the Nike Corporation. The facemask is depicted receiving the happiness plaques and adoring accolades on a simulated stage so that we might model their acts of consumption and become this star. Exploring the dark side is important because according to Hearn and Parkin (1993: 154) "much postmodernism ignores or plays down oppression," a theme central to critical theory. Conversely, Alvesson and Deetz (1997: 211) say, "without considering postmodern themes, critical theory easily becomes unreflective in regard to cultural elitism and modern conditions of power." A combined, "critical postmodern" perspective (Agger, 1992; Boje, Fitzgibbons & Steingard, 1996: 64) would therefore look at how Nike invokes "postmodern" linguistic resources and story constructions as well as "critical theory" uses of ideology in ways that accumulates capital for privileged White males such as Philip Knight, while de-privileging low-paid working-class women and children in Third World Asian countries. In Baudrillard's (1983) "hyper-reality" and "simulacra" terms, the storied images of Nike sports heroes are more real than the reality of Third World workers to millions of consumers (Marquez, 1998).ⁱ While exploring the dark side is a necessary first step, the second step, for me is to point out ways Nike could realize its narrative potential. This I do with an exploration of the restorying theory of White and Epston, as reviewed in the last chapter. First, the dark side.

Rhizomatic Storylines Nike and its activists are bundles of three storylines: rigid storylines, supple storylines and lines of flight storylines that can narrate simultaneously. They are intermingled. Nike's rigidly segmented storyline is crosscut by supple segmentarity, a kind of activist cracking of the rigid lines of the Swoosh. Activists focus on Nike's alleged poverty wages, corporal punishment, child labor, forced overtime, and sexual abuse practices (Athreya, 1995; Ballinger, 1996; Chan, 1996; Connor & Atkinson, 1996; Nguyen 1997a to 1997g). Yet, everything the activists disassemble, they ingest in their own rigidity. The doubling of rigid and supple is had to figure out, as is the line of flight, and the switching of characters between these three storylines.

First, the rigid storyline, the Nike bureaucracy with story segments is socially constructed as a worldwide virtual corporation from Beaverton to China. The rigid storyline of Nike the Corporation has molar segments, an aggregate assemblage of subcontractors, Beaverton designers, half a million Asian workers, scripted into a story of Nike history. Nike makes its storyline, its grand macro-political, increasingly rigid narrative, in lines of denial, counter-attack, and revision. Each bureaucracy has its rigid lines, its molar segments with breaklines: factory, NikeTown, Beaverton. Not the breaklines of a car, but the breaklines of division of labor, even global ones. Activists set out their own rigid storylines. The activists set up blockages, boycotts, and reversions to Nike's rigid storylines to characterize Nike as the poster boy of global exploitation.

Second, the supple storyline, activists putting cutting lines of judgement on the rigid storyline of Nike, and Nike supple-ly construing their storylines as something exceptional to Nike rule, imaginary, or sheer fantasy of zealots. Activists use micro stories of labor practices in the Third World to point out the fantasy and irony of Nike's Code of Conduct (Boje, 1999b). Each activist story, a supple line, a micro-injection and micro-political infiltration, spying on the rigid molar Nike story construction process, creating obstacle to the rigid lines. Supple is the line of molecular segmentarity, a gaze at the silences, allusions, and hasty innuendoes of the molar Nike. In the molecular lines, there is an attention to cracks in the Nike molar, to fissures, not to cracks but to fault lines. The supple

storylines of the activists, as they continually dismantle and deconstruct the rigid story segments, the sequel that is Nike, the bits and fragments, the disassemblages become more rigid than Nike's now more supple storyline reversions. If you get the image of movement, shifts in positions and lines, intermingling across time, this is what I mean. The blocks, strikes, boycotts – throw Nike into a deeper rigidity, a stricter reterritorialization. Nike seeks to crack the rigid sotrylines of the activists. Philip Knight releases more counter-spin stories to the media, consumers, and stockholders portraying activists as “well financed” and “misinformed fringe groups” who misuse the freedom of the internet (Knight, 1997; Nike Press Releases 1997 a, b).

Third, the line of flight, the way Phillip Knight moves Nike from one country to the next, in global lines of flight, the way Knight escapes his own account of flight. It is along lines of flight Nike ruptured and severed lines of employment with U.S. garment workers, Japanese Tiger-shoe makers, Korea-based factories; spreading its production lines to Indonesia, Vietnam, and China. Nike is a nomad, on nomadic lines of global flight. In the line of flight there are ruptures, clean breaks, jail breaks, voyages where you do not ever return, an abandonment and a discovery of new territories, new frontiers. There is the crossing of a void, an absolute deterritorialization (like a divorce), and a crossing over to reterritorialize some space that is itself deterritorialized (land that invites frontiersmen). There is a positive line of flight, a get away, a breakthrough across the divide, a breaking though of the signifiers into the black hole of subjectivity. The line of flight has its own dangers. It can revert to a rigid storyline, or imbue itself with supple vagaries that it can not resolve or reversion. A line of flight can become a demolition of rigidity and suppleness.

The supple storylines of activists are tangled with Nike's rigid lines of denial and lines of flight to invade new territories. Invade is too strong, more like an ooze. Activists become microfascist storytellers, setting out increasingly more rigid judgements and executions of Nike segments. Nike sets about reconstructing the activist rigid storylines, revealing them to be inflexible, unbending, unyielding segments. Activists and Nike storylines expose each

others' dirty little secrets, the camouflage of rigid storyline, the subtle intrigue. Find the secret, uncover the known, and bring the other tumbling down. The first storyline, the rigid one, is the double of the second, the supple one. The supple one is bounded between the rigid and the flighty ones. Supple storytelling is a compromise operating between relative deterritorializations of Nike rigidity and permitting reterritorializations, restorying of the Nike story, to provoke blockage and boycotts, to divert the rigid storyline.

In sum, rallying the resources of the world wide web to (re)tell these and other micro stories has led to unforeseen, turbulent, and even chaotic events for Nike. The stories are picked up by the print and wire media (See Media endnote), becomes the butt of late-night comedians' jokes, cartoon humor (Trudeau, 1997), provokes feminist groups (Alexander, 1997; Greenhouse, 1997a; Reuters, 1997e) and environmental groups to join Nike activism (Corporate Watch, 1998), and ignites members of Congress (Greenhouse, 1997a) to join in the fracas. Nike responds by developing its own web sites (Nike, 1997a to c) and media campaigns (Nike Press Releases, 1996 a to d, 1997 a, b) to discredit the activist stories. Nike also contracts wage studies and tours to counter activist claims. In the micro story and counter story, we are left in the abyss of undecidability.

Cole (1997) argues, for example, that Nike parades itself as a postmodern corporation: "... a technologically hip and innovative corporation that prioritizes public issues and cares about public well-being." Nike uses popular sports and media stars to tell stories that construct what is "hip" and "chic" in popular culture. Nike skillfully stories itself as a champion of women and minorities with re-cycled inner-city slogans like "just do it," images of successful minority athletes such as Michael Jordan, Jackie Joyner-Kersey, and Tiger Woods (Cole, 1997). Nike aligns the Swoosh with visions of social justice in ads with Jackie Robinson and Martin Luther King Jr. Activists point out the irony as Nike passes itself off as hero, the model postmodern virtual organization, offering itself as a solution to youth-violence, while operating female and child labor work camps in Asian countries.

Storytelling Organization Theory Nike is a “storytelling organization” (Boje, 1991, 1995; Boyce, 1995, 1997; Gephart, 1991; Kaye, 1995; 1996). "Storytelling organization" is defined as "a collective storytelling system in which the performance of stories is a key part of members' sense making and a means to allow them to supplement individual memories with institutional memory" (Boje, 1991a: 106). The Nike storytelling organization constructs through storied sense making practices its very legitimacy to employ young, female Asian workers to accumulate billions in capital. Each sees the others' use of storytelling as a fiction that covers “real” and “empirical” stories. This is a continuing saga of spin control by Nike and activists, each a model postmodern and virtual organization (complete review of spin control is beyond our scope, see Boje 1998a to d).

In terms of story construction, both Nike and activists are caught up in linear and non-linear stories and accuse the other of deception, and both use web technology to trip the other into the abyss. Nike to the activist, is the dark side of the postmodern organization, actively non-linear, preferring to invoke PR spectacles and counter spin stories, but also linear, not changing overseas labor and environment practices, and painting itself as the innocent victim of the Wile activists, while engaging in child and adult labor practices reminiscent of the darkest side of Victorian capitalism. Nike is the more powerful postmodern organization, that can change the rules of the game, construct consumer demand, and re-historicize itself with high profile media stories, which become scripts for managers, consumers and workers to live within.

Activists focus on stories of corporal punishment of females, violations of wage laws, racial subordination, child subjugation, labor colonization and environmental pollution. Nike focuses on how well paid their employees are and how much better the working conditions are now than in the past. Nike tells stories about how activist-entrepreneurs abuse the freedom and power of the Internet, in an unfair, “well financed” campaign that is far from “real” and full of exaggeration and poor fact-finding methodology (Boje, 1999c).

Nike and Double Narrative Logic. Who is Wile and who is Roadrunner is an important, yet undecidable question. It is double logic of double characterization. The characters are dualities, caught in narrative opposition, the action of each is a reaction to the action or inaction of the other. Roadrunner and Wile stand in “irreconcilable opposition,” a conflict between linear and non-linear logics (Culler, 1981: 187). Neither perspective is likely to offer researchers a satisfactory or harmonious synthesis. Activist and Nike storytelling is possessed by a “double logic,” presenting its plot as a linear sequence of events which is prior to and independent of the other non-linear perspective on the events, and, at the same time, asserting they have captured the other in a devious plot structure. In “double logic,” for every report of Nike exploitation, there is the distinct possibility that the story of the event is an exaggeration or even a fictitious tale by an activist. Conversely, for every charge that Nike is being victimized, there is the possibility that exploitation is being caused by Nike. Nike stories itself as the Roadrunner hero, walking a straight line that does not deviate from its core mission. Each time Nike appears to be trapped by the activist, like Wile purchasing technology from Acme (i.e. the Web-based technology), a simple story gets spun by Nike, a celebrity endorsement happens, or a media spectacle (e.g. P.L.A.Y. or Knight’s sweeping changes) transforms Nike from villain to hero. The activists want to prove Nike is Wile E. Coyote, who is just wagging the tail to wag the dog. Yet, at each juncture, Nike sides step each Wile characterization and morphs into the Roadrunner.

Spectacle for Nike and the Activists Activists use spectacles such as boycotts and protests on campuses and at Footlocker stores to seduce Nike consumers away from Nike spectacles. Nike uses the spectacle of NikeTown store openings, celebrity endorsements, sports benefits for inner city youth (e.g. P.L.A.Y.), and celebrity tours of its factories to counter activist spectacles. Nike as a postmodern organization “morphs” – changing from corporation to an inspirational and educational storytelling space, making promises, but not actually making any change in wages and access to toilets. For example, activists report workers in Indonesia have gone on strike to obtain collective

bargaining rights and to increase the number of toilets (seven for every 10,000 workers); workers in Vietnam and China are protesting labor camp conditions, including lack of free access to bathrooms and drinking water. These strikes and work stoppages are a form of spectacle bringing attention to such issues and igniting other spectacles, such as consumer boycott.

NikeTown is, of course, the ultimate in postmodern spectacle. Debord (1970) believed that the ideological and hegemonic aspects of the spectacle as it makes the illusion and image realer-than-real could be unmasked and demystified with deconstruction, radical critique, and re-contextualization. Spectacle has two meanings:

In one sense, it refers to a media and consumer society, organized around the consumption of images, commodities, and spectacles. But the concept also refers to the vast institutional and technical apparatus of contemporary capitalism, to all the means and methods power employs, outside of direct force, which subject individuals to societal manipulation, while obscuring the nature and effects of capitalism's power and deprivations (Best & Kellner, 1997: 84).

The two foci are linked as Nike and activists use media spectacle to change the import and meaning of labor practice stories. For example, on November 1st, 1996 Nike opened its most ambitious NikeTown store at 10 A.M. As celebrities paraded into the store they stepped over the picket lines of a hundred angry activists with signs reading "Just Don't Do It" and "Boycott Nike." In the October 31 Nike (1996b) press release the postmodern aspects of NikeTown are apparent.

Conceived and built as a building within a building – a "ship in a bottle" – the exterior building (the "bottle") is reminiscent of a classic New York school gymnasium. Inside NIKE has built a completely free-standing, modern second building (the ship") that houses five retail floors and includes 66,520-square-feet of retail selling space. NikeTown show[s] the breadth of NIKE's footwear, apparel and accessory lines like no other retailer can.

The two buildings come together in a central, open atrium where the store goes through an architectural metamorphosis.

Every twenty minutes, through interactive architecture, the store interior “morphs” -- changing from retail space to an inspirational/educational storytelling space (p. 1).

Sinclair (1997) adds to the postmodern description:

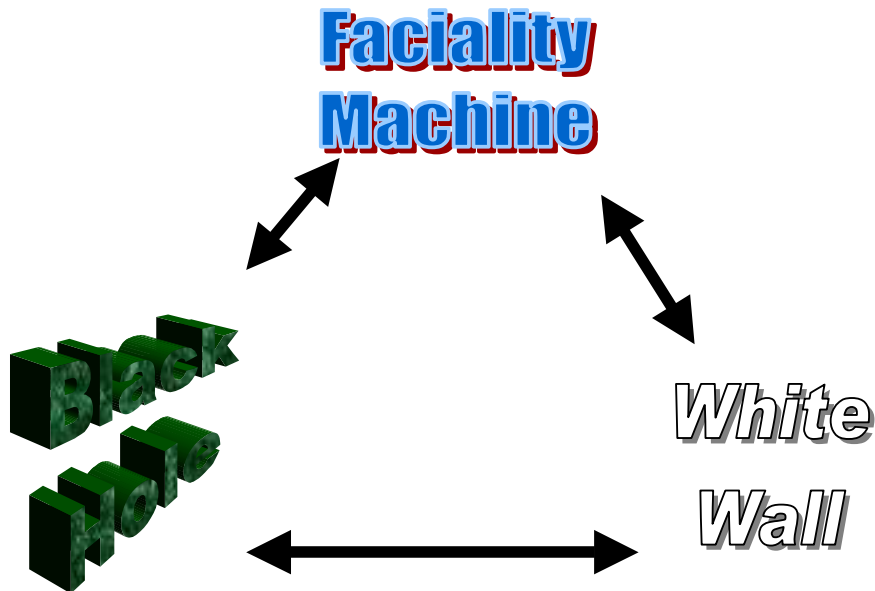
A computer-generated head shot endlessly transforms all the world's races, cultures and genders into one generic human. Stop. A futuristic atomic energy symbol morphs into the Nike Swoosh ... Yeah, I get it. We are all one world with nothing to keep us apart. Technology is liberation. Individual achievement is the greatest rush ever. Just do it! Buy some sneakers, and do it fast.

And Unsell (1998) adds:

Nearby, a Lazy Susan of sneakers is rotating around another globe. (Nike rules the world?) Juxtaposed right next to these globes is a life-sized photo of Kenya's Running Team outfitted completely in Nike wear: the powers that be at Nike probably cannot even fathom the imperialist/vaguely racist aspect of this depiction.

NikeTown viewed as postmodern spectacle, also includes sports heritage, interactive media displays, sports score boards, satellite broadcasts of ongoing sporting events, and product innovation displays including sports archives and memorabilia such as eight of Carl Lewis' nine Olympic gold medals. The spectacle is interesting for what it does not display, the faces of Asian girls and women sweating out the apparel. The store is promoted as a “central meeting point for local athletes seeking to get involved in grassroots sports clubs, local events and clinics.” Meanwhile NikeTown is also the focal point of grassroots activist spectacles, such as the annual October boycott.

Faciality Narratives I want to apply Deleuze and Guattari's theory of faciality to Nike and the activists. The theory has three components. There is the Faciality Machine, the White Wall, and the Black Hole



Faciality Machine The face of Nike is a series of probe-faces, just probe-mouths; the Nike mouth changes expressions, just as the Just Do It slogan of the mouth has transited to a new expression. The activists keep doing close ups of the Nike facial expression, showing cracks and wrinkles around the Nike mouth-lip. The activists seek defacialization, to remove the smile from the Nike corporate face. Even to get Nike to make a new face, a frown as it speaks of the activists. The facial machine is part of every organization.

This machine is called the faciality machine because it is the social production of face, because it performs the facialization of the entire body and all its surroundings and objects and the landscapification of all worlds and milieus (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987: 181).

The facial machine is an aggregate assemblage of corporate image, a public relations machine, a map. This map deterritorializes the body organs and reterritorializes all expression onto just the face. We as customers, researchers, investigators, and students – read the face. Nike is a female, a goddess, a White

woman, a rich person, a capitalist, a leader, and a passionate athlete. The Nike face is different from the expression on the Southwest Airlines face, or the face of the Raiders, Ben & Jerry's, or the Wal-Mart.

When the faciality machine translates formed contents of whatever kind into a single substance of expression, it already subjugates them to the exclusive form of signifying and subjective expression (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987: 179-180)

The face is intolerant. It can not abide ambiguous expression, polyvocality, alternative interpretation of the Nike mouth is taboo. Corporate faces are despotic assemblages, disciplined imperialists, resistant to opposition. Naturally the activists want to highlight the expression of inhumanity in Nike's expression. The face is an organization of power.

White Wall Every face has its landscape, a place to locate the facial organs and its composite expression. Every organization has an assemblage of signifiers, a landscape of signifiers on a grid, or a screen, a White Wall. There are corporate greeters, logos, home pages, phone protocol, dress codes, endorsements, terms and conditions, in short the White Wall of the face. The activists run lines of signification and designification along the White Wall, the face of Nike. They want to give the Nike face, pock marks, twitches, and scars. Activists seek to inscribe the White Wall with signifiers of child labor, prison labor, military factory regimes, and sweatshops. Nike sets its own landscape-grafted with endorsements by Michael Jordan, expressions of Tiger Woods, and Spike Lee. The activists seek to void out all the possible interpretations of Nike, except their own, to make the face just all white, a white wall without lips, but lots of scar tissue.

Black Hole The black hole is the Nike subconscious, the face that is not glimpsed by the public. Beneath the landscape of masculinity, in the black hole of a mouth, is the goddess with all her femininity. Nike is a double expression of masculinity and femininity. What is NikeTown, if not a cathedral, the symbol cross-replaced by the symbol mouth, Swoosh? Who is Philip Knight if not the priest, the mouth of the cathedral? The black hole has lots of captured particles,

broken lines on the face, hidden away. There are other doubles there, the double of the bureaucracy with too many organs, and the desire for a BwO. Nike is the Shizo Corporation, the mouth waging an unseen struggle against all other organs, the masculine against the feminine, the sweating female athlete against the sweating sweatshop peasant girl. So many, maybe too many, dualities and double articulations inhabit the Nike black hole. Some of the signifier trains, the doubles, the particles, get freed from time to time, and they take the face on to its next manifest expression. The face of 1960 is not the face of 1990-Nike; the expression, the faces are different. Nike's faciology was a smiling cat, not a gaping mouth. The complex assemblage of the face, its gird of signifiers, is in continuous variation, a landscape of temporary referents. This mouth is partly a black hole, painted with red lipstick, but a black hole in which the consciousness of the goddess lives, but her expression changes from one public relations campaign to the next.

Dismantling the face of Nike is an act of breaking through the white wall of signifiers, getting particles out of the black hole, and creating new facial machines. The organization of Nike's face is a rigid one, the faciality traits present a sovereign's gaze, the face of a goddess. Nike blocks all lines of flight



that would alter or reimpose the image.

The mouth expresses the equilibrium and harmony of the Nike corporate body, this BwO (body without organs) or do we say this mouth organ without body, or this manifestation of collective desire.

The Nike iconography is global capital. Swoosh represents many things: the winged Goddess of Greek mythology, competitive-individualism, Athletic

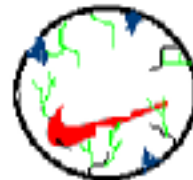
contest, corporate conquest, “cool,” and Americana. “Nike has so woven itself into the American fabric that images such as this: draw little notice from defenders of the flag. In fact, Nike designed the uniforms for the USA Track and Field Team and the National Soccer Teams, incorporating the into the very symbol of the American identity.”

<http://wsrv.clas.virginia.edu/~hkh4v/nike/narc.html>

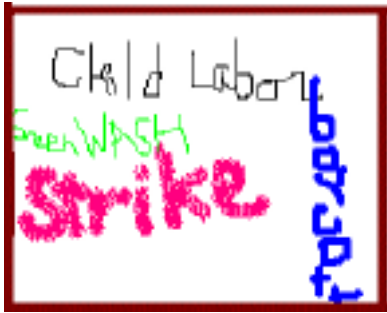


(Source: <http://www.w3-sales.com/rick/nike/swoosh/>)

Activists are playing with the Nike face by putting cracks onto the image.

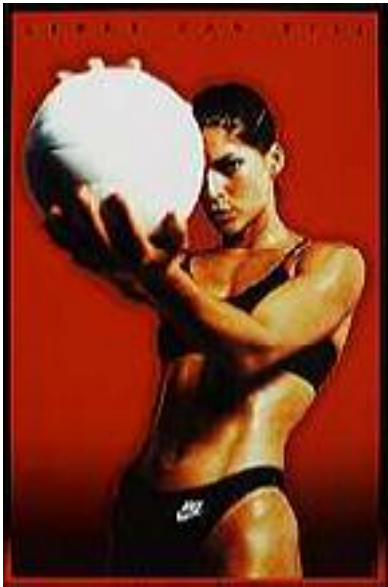


Nike’s Whiteboard as envisioned by activists and imaged by me.



Nike's Black hole emitting particles of change as it implements new OSHA, child labor, micro loan programs, independent monitoring and other changes to accommodate the rage and rant of activist effacement to their faciality.

There is postmodern juxtaposition we can re-deploy between Nike posters such as “Gabby Reece – Looks can Kill” and Asian women sweating for Nike



(Source: nikeposters.com).



(Source: oregonlive.com)



(Source: www.orc.ca/~jkelly/kevin/nike/~nike.htm)



(Source: oregonlive.com)

“Workers scramble for their lunch at the Korean-owned Tae Kwang Vina factory in Vietnam. The faster the workers eat, the more time they have to nap” (Manning, 1997).



Nike Faciology is a mouth.



Nike Recruits lined up for inspection

Spectacle storytelling organization systems persuade the masses that happiness is achieved through material acts of moving image consumption. Digital re-mastering allows spectacle production to distribute to fragmented spectral audiences. The spectators may be fragmented, but the message is the standard: Buy these images and your family, work, and sex life will be fantastic. In happy storytelling, narratives of progress through image consumption displace the global theaters of absurdity and cruelty. Yet in fifty years the spectacle has consumed more of the planet than in the last millennium. Our spectacle narratives invoke theatrics that change the planet in apocalyptic collapse. The

third world is narrated in ways that allow the first world to confiscate their native resources. Spectacle is alluring, dangerous, and out of control. I would like to go out on a critical postmodern limb and propose some Nike solutions that speak to festivalism in historical materialism and in restoring theory.

Historical Materialism and Nike. In this section I want to briefly apply Marcuse's approach to dialectic analysis. Like Horkheimer and Adorno, Marcuse posits a gulf between extant human existence and the unfulfilled potential. But, Marcuse focuses more on the historical realization of unrealized potential. For Nike, this means looking at the development of new labor practices within the boundaries set by Nike's old labor practices. For example, after growing consumer protest to Nike's use of child labor in the manufacture of soccer balls in Pakistan, Nike changed the age limit to 16 and created schools for workers' children. After the release of the Ernst & Young audit and the ESPN expose of Nike labor practices during the Olympics, Phil Knight said Nike was going to implement fundamental changes to its labor practices. Phil Knight announced on May 13th, 1998 (Campaign for Labor Rights, 1998):

- 1) Committed to "expanding its current independent monitoring programs to include non-governmental organizations (NGOs), foundations and educational institutions and making summaries of the findings public."
- 2) Committed to "adopting U.S. Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA) indoor air quality standards for all footwear factories." and
- 3) Committed to "increasing the minimum age of footwear factory workers to 18, and the minimum age for all other light-manufacturing workers (apparel, accessories, equipment) to 16."
- 4) Committed to "expanding education programs ... for workers in all Nike footwear factories; increasing support of its current micro-enterprise loan program to 1,000 families each in Vietnam, Indonesia, Pakistan and Thailand; and funding university research and open forums to explore issues related to global manufacturing and responsible business practices such as independent monitoring and air quality standards."

There is in these examples, some indication that positive actions by Nike for workers may be coming into being. Nike may well be developing out of an earlier stage of labor exploitation and be transforming into something else. In short, Nike has negative as well as positive qualities and potentials. From a Marcuse

perspective, to understand Nike we need to go beyond categorizing Nike as positive or negative, and trace the process by which Nike is transforming into something other than what we see here and now. What we see here and now is a Nike that is replete with contradiction; between espouse and actual conduct; between public relations smokescreens and workers' life space; between Phil Knights' billions and Lap Nguyen's meager wages. Nike is both itself and its opposite; "constituted both by what it is and what it is not" (Held, 1980: 230). What is Non-Nike, which is excluded or repelled by Nike is also part of Nike's identity. Nike repels the idea of paying workers a living wage, preferring to trot out wage studies that claim that workers are buying televisions and motorcycles with their discretionary wages. Human rights organizations have been saying that Nike's overseas workers need to make the equivalent of at least \$3 a day to cover their basic food, shelter and clothing needs. Medea Benjamin, the director of Global Exchange, a San Francisco-based group that has been monitoring Nike's practices, said, "Three dollars a day for Indonesia, China and Vietnam would still be a tiny sum, but it would make a significant difference in the lives of the workers." As Mr. Knight put it, "The Nike product has become synonymous with slave wages, forced overtime and arbitrary abuse."

In Phil Knight's recent concessions, there is nothing about raising the daily wage by one dollar, a move that would elevate the worker from poverty wage to living wage. And the history of Nike is that when wages and worker solidarity rises, Nike deserts for another country, again revealing itself as negative to worker interests. The cultural and ethic experiences of Asian women are suppressed by a colonial ideology that sets up Western culture as a more developed than Asian culture.

Q. "Is the minimum wage enough to provide for a livelihood?"
A. The picture of workers who are malnourished because they can't

afford to eat is repeatedly refuted by unbiased, tangible evidence. On the broadest level, the research firm Jardine Fleming, a subsidiary Jardine Matheson, Hong Kong, has developed what it calls its NIKE Index.

In simplest terms, the NIKE Index tracks a developing economy's economic development by NIKE's activity in each country. Economic development starts when NIKE products are starting to be manufactured there (Indonesia, 1989; Vietnam, 1996). The economy hits the second stage -- development at a level where per capita income indicates labor flowing from basic industries like footwear and textiles to advanced industries like electronics and cars (Hong Kong, 1985; Korea, 1990); and an economy is fully developed when NIKE has developed that country as a major market (Singapore, 1991; Japan, 1984; Korea, 1994) (Nike FAQ web site).

Nike's ideal self-identity is that it promotes economic development as it transfers production to repressed countries with poverty labor havens. The Nike PR machine functions in the interest of White-male dominated Western capitalist interests. Asian women are victims of Nike policies that restrict pay to poverty levels, sanction corporal punishment, and design toxic production processes into sneaker manufacture.

Yet, from Marcuse's historical materialism perspective, what we are observing is the ongoing struggle of capital and labor. For Nike to be what it espouses it must be transformed into what it is not: Nike must overcome its ideology or worker potentialities will not be realized. Can Nike become its opposite or will it remain a contradiction? As Nike moves to make its code of conduct real, it is gradually abolishing cruder forms of labor exploitation (e.g. child labor, corporal punishment, and health hazards). But, the exploitation of Asian women in a male system of Western domination does not appear to be changing. The story of Lap Nguyen contradicts the alleged dignity of the Nike worker in its code of conduct. The story presents us with an entire class of labor

that negates Nike's revered principles.

Marcuse, more than Horkheimer and Ordono, see this unfulfilled potential as the basis of radical revolution. "If revolution fails to further human fulfillment, it betrays its purpose and, as a consequence, cannot justify itself as progressive" (Held, 1980: 233). Nike's portrayal of self-identity is as a progressive instrument of revolution; Nike is bringing economic transformation to the Asian world. Of course, Marcuse is not talking about one institution's transformation, but instead the revolution from capitalist relations to a labor process, which is self-directed and free in its activity (Held, 1980: 236). Yet, we can ask, how is Nike advancing the human existence of half a million Asian workers? Nike's purpose is not the fulfillment of its workers' human potential, it is the accumulation of capital. As the accumulation of capital exacerbates poverty, and rapid technological change leads to the 'role of dead matter over the human world,' the fundamental nature of workers' alienation is exposed' that is, their alienation from their product, process of work 'fellow-man,' and species being (Held, 1980: 237).

Restorying Nike and the Activists White and Epston's (1990) *Narrative Means to Therapeutic Ends* is an applied and interdisciplinary narrative perspective I refer to as "restorying." Restorying is a deconstructive look at how to disentangle ourselves from spectacle narration so we can *renarrate* our own story with us as hero instead of spectator-mimic. See work by Barry that extends restorying to organization strategy and consultation (Barry, 1998; Barry & Elmes, 1998). Is it possible to restory spectacle, to transform concentrated and diffuse spectacles? Work by Michael White (1989, 1991, 1992) from Australia, and David Epston (1989) from New Zealand attempts to help people restory and rescript their lives. The restorying approach (White & Epston, 1990) has been applied by Barry (1997; Barry & Elmes, 1997) Thompson (1996). My own restorying work has been to situate personal experience stories in relation to what I call the storytelling organization (Boje, 1991a, 1991b, 1995a) and these within environmental contexts extending from community to global narratives.

Deconstruction is used in narrative therapy as a way to disentangle the web of individual stories, within organizational stories, within more macro stories --- as we restory our past, present, and future. I think deconstruction could be applied in similar ways to spectacles of production and consumption. In the ongoing storying and restorying of the self, the organization, society, and the world in spectacles of production and consumption becomes potentially detectable. Organizational restorying begins with a detailed look “problem-saturated” narratives in organizations. It is assumed that people’s lives are strongly influenced by their narrative sensemaking and that poor relations are embedded in the structure of these narratives (Barry, 1997). Similarly, I think we could theorize that spectacles are a form of selective enactment and perpetuate scripts that could be modified.

Deconstructing the power and knowledge influences of dominant spectacles in the life of the organization and its individuals is a central part of this inquiry.

As persons become engaged in these externalizing conversations, their private stories cease to speak to them of their identity and of the truth of their relationships - these private stories are no longer transfixing of persons’ lives. Persons experience a separation from, and an alienation in relation to, these stories. In the space established by the separation, persons are free to explore alternative and preferred knowledges of who they might be ...(White, 1991: 29).

I also assume that certain dominant spectacles discipline organizational lives. Characterizations in dominant spectacles (e.g. the relative role of men and women in the workplace, rights of managers versus workers) do not tell the complete story and distort people’s sense of self in debilitating ways. The objective of spectacle therapy, as applied to organizations, would be to enable participants to achieve some degree of agency by reauthoring their spectacles. Rather than being the puppet of the dominant spectacles of production and consumption, the individual is asked to see beyond the spectacle-frameworks. Spectacle therapy addresses questions such as, "What has been silent in your

roles in these spectacles?" "Can an alternative characterization of the self be told and sold in these organization spectacles?" "Can people in this organization restory the organization spectacles in ways that make a difference?"

The restorying of spectacle fragments into a new life spectacle of human, organization, technology, and nature. If I can unleash the repressed spectacles, the spectacles that are contrary to the dominant ideology of production and consumption, then I can present a new plot to the spectators of organization theory. If I can pull together a believable plot, and subject that emplotment to critical scrutiny, then I hope I can create an actual spectacle of ecocentric ethics and give organizations a new identity as well as a new future role in eco-friendly spectacles.

Contextualize - What is the history of the firm? What is the founding story? How is this story enacted in spectacles? In this step, participants trace the history of their dominant spectacles. This is the story that grips the attention of the firm, scripts the spectacle, plots the organization strategy, and characterizes the participants in the drama.

Characterize - Who are the characters in the spectacle? How does the plot of the dominant spectacles script character roles and relationships? Where are the problem issues? How do the dominant problems affect relationships? How are these problems portrayed in spectacles of production and consumption?

Externalize - When we externalize, we detach ourselves from the storied spectacle that has been running us. We take a self-reflexive glance at the spectacle as just another spectacle, a spectacle that people bought into, when they could have selected some other spectacle to stage and produce.

Sympathize - Sympathizing is accepting the old spectacles. This allows people to build from a place of self-acceptance, self-awareness, and self-understanding. Sympathizing is not the same as the denial and rejection of other spectacles that permeates the firm. This process involves deconstruction, recognizing the dualisms, hierarchies, and fictions that have been running us. There is a saying, what you resist persists. Anything done as a reaction to the official spectacles to leads us back to that which we are trying to get away from.

Recognize – Restorying or re-spectacularizing has a process to help people recognize that there are events in their history that resist the dominant spectacles. The process is to help people collect these exceptions to the dominant spectacles, so they can build spectacles that enact eco-friendly and community-friendly dramas. There are rare times when people did master their situation, resolve their problems, and resist the traps of the dominant spectacles.

Re-visionize - It is time to collect together the exceptions that we just recognized. We can then write a new spectacle-plot for the organization, revise the characters, and reauthor the context in which the organization does its business. This is the process where the ideas for a story become a script for spectacle action. What is the objective of the spectacle? What is the spectacle written to achieve? Casting call: who will play the key parts in this spectacle? Who will direct the spectacle?

Re-representize - I have some process ideas that may help people rehearse their restored spectacular organization. People can practice key scenes in the life of the organization they have designed. A Broadway play is rehearsed and presented off-Broadway. This way changes in the plot, characters, and scenes can be effected. Where can we playfully enact key spectacle scenes to rehearse and perfect them? Participants can create a skit for each major scene and perform it for their transformed spectacles.

Contextualize - The first step is to analyze the spectacles that the organization is producing. It begins with storytelling, what is the history of these spectacles? Where did they begin? How have they changed over time?

Nike could make its ideals come true. But, first we must critically read Nike stories to see the gap between responsible world citizen and Nike performance. Think of the PR windfall, if Nike would just pay a living wage and provide a tolerable quality of working life. Nike live up to your rhetoric and end boot camp conditions in Nike factories. Otherwise, I must conclude that the sustained cultural domination of Asian factory workers by a Taylorist production system is the racist act of a colonial trader, subcontracting with Korean and Taiwanese firms to manage slave factory production.

In sum, I suggest that postmodern, storytelling, and chaos theories can help illuminate the hyperreal media image of Nike heroism and juxtapose it with activist accounts of the devastating reality-effects of sweatshop practices on Asian women and children. But, this exposure may not be enough to change consumer tastes or Nike policy. Nike is the self-admitted “poster boy of global market capitalism,” “everything that is wrong with the world” and to the activists, “Marx’s nightmare of a totally commodified society” now more real than reality-itself. I think non-violent activism, in the tradition of Gandhi and King Jr., by student and consumer groups, is effecting changes in Nike policies.

On Wednesday morning, March 17 (1999), 30 students rushed University President Lee Bollinger's office and began a peaceful sit-in. The students demanded that the University require its licensees to provide full public disclosure, a living wage, independent monitoring, women's rights and a right to bargain collectively.

Following a 51-hour sit-in, 30 University of Michigan students marched from the Fleming Administration Building to a rally and a press conference at noon. "We walk out of this sit-in today with the strongest code anywhere among colleges and universities in the nation," said Brendan Hill, a member of Students Organizing for Labor and Economic Equality (SOLE).¹

Student activism is helping to encourage university administrators to encourage Nike to live up to its code of conduct or take sports and campus store apparel licensing agreements for the Swoosh elsewhere. University of North Carolina, the University of Wisconsin, Georgetown University and now the University of Michigan are asking apparel companies to reveal the names and locations of the factories where they produce, as well as essential information about wages and conditions. While administrators at University of Michigan agreed to full disclosure, they hesitated on pressuring Nike to pay living wages and have yet to join the White House task force on sweatshops. Following Duke's admission to the AIP Apparel Industry Partnership) a few months ago, another 16 schools recently joined en masse: Harvard, Brown, Princeton, Columbia, Yale, Notre Dame, Cornell, Tufts, Dartmouth, Florida State, Marymount, Rutgers,

¹ Campaign for Labor Rights 19 March, 1999. See Web site: www.summersault.com/~agj/clr.

Smith, Wellesley, the University of Arizona and the University of Pennsylvania. New Mexico State University has not joined.

A Story of Coevolution This story brings home a theme I developed in Chapter 9 on coevolution. Once upon a time, let's say athletic shoe producers and cheap human labor pools in Asia, reach stable coevolved strategy optimal points, with no incentive to change (evolve/adapt). Jobs can be Taylorized, subdivided into mindless robotic-imitative work regimes in militaristic work compounds employing several million young women labor-cogs, each learning just her one job routine. Let's imagine this unfolding spectacle of production on a computer screen image. Paint these shoes red in the simulation where a stable adapted relationship persists between manufacturer and labor. And paint others green that have *not* achieved optimum stable relationships. It would be green Nike plants hopping about the globe in search of ever-cheaper labor, chased by labor activists, sent hopping from the U.S. to Japan to Korea to Indonesia to Vietnam and China. In the chaotic green regime, the screen turns mostly a flickering green, with very few winking red dots appearing here and there, as Nike, Reebok, Adidas, Fila, New Balance, and the rest settle in, but just temporarily. The Taylorized production system is not popular work, it has activist fallout, and there are cheaper pastures. Let's assume they all settle in China. In the ordered red image, the screen has many ordered patterns, with green bits snaking about in search of order. What is interesting is the phase transition between order and chaos, the edge-of-chaos balancing act before China. Here we see fractals, butterflies, and other wondrous red/green images of high complexity in the new Global Ecosystem of production and labor. "Waves of change wash across the screen on all size scales – including the occasional huge wave that spontaneously washes across the screen and transforms the ecosystem beyond recognition" (Waldrop, 1992: 311). Says Kauffman "it looks like punctuated equilibrium in action" (Waldrop, 1992:311). Of course, our spectacle of production is only half the story, there is also the spectacle of consumption. First, we are staring at imaginary images on a computer screen, played out in our minds' eye. Second, there is the consumer spectacle riddled by

activism, counter-spin control, the fetish of sports celebrities, corporate hero worship, the Swoosh and other icon replication throughout consumer land. Is the coevolutionary model really at the edge-of-chaos on the global stage of late capitalism or is this illusion created by narrative means? More important, in our red/green simulation, my simulation has not explained the critical historical questions? How did the athletic shoe producer-labor-icon-consumer coevolving ecosystem get to each of our three regimes (order, chaos, edge)? Is this the product of evolution, coevolution? Is the ecosystem coevolving or just our mental image-map? As Waldrop puts it “whatever the metaphor, however, it’s clear that if each individual in the various organizations is allowed a little more freedom to march to a different drummer, then everyone will benefit” (p. 312). That translate to two things, the simulation is metaphor, and second the metaphor is used the change the real. Nike, for example, is granting a bit more freedom from Taylor production, regulating child labor, implementing OSHA regulations, and inviting the gaze of auditors. In short, fine-tuning its adaptive strategy, to niche in for a while and enjoy being red.

ⁱ In March, 1998, a New Mexico State University, MBA team surveyed 200 students and found that the 56.9 percent would continue to purchase Nike even when they are made aware of abusive overseas labor practices (Marquez et al., 1998). Despite scores of activist web sites and press exposés, 61 percent had not heard any “bad press” about Nike.