

Master's Thesis – Master Sustainable Business and Innovation

Influence of philanthropic foundations on the norms for sustainability in the fashion industry

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Abstract

Introduction Foundations have emerged as key political actors in global sustainability governance. As foundations are private actors entering the public space, it is important to know what foundations advocate. To date, most research on private actors has focused on questions of accountability, effectiveness and legitimacy. However, there is little research on how private actors, especially foundations, influence norms for sustainability. In this research, foundations are seen as norm entrepreneurs. Therefore, this research demonstrates how philanthropic foundations influence fundamental norms for sustainability in the fashion industry, and which norms for sustainable fashion they pursue.

Theory This thesis critically examined the relevant literature of foundation characteristics and norms for sustainable fashion. A literature review on norms and foundations resulted in a selection of categories on how norms can be influenced by foundations, being: knowledge, framing, grafting, localization and patronage. Besides these norm diffusion methods, lobbying, mobilizing people and collaboration were found as important norm diffusion methods during the research.

Methods A deductive qualitative content analysis research design with the format of a comparative case study of five European foundations was used, in combination with inductively emerging categories. Four interviews and twenty annual reports of the foundations from 2015-2019 have been analyzed.

Results The norms mostly pursued by the foundations are ‘freedom of trade unions and collective bargaining’ and ‘no discrimination, no SGBV and gender equality’. Furthermore, foundations are mostly influencing the norms by the norm diffusion method of sharing knowledge, and hereafter through knowledge creation and collaboration.

Discussion/Conclusion This research has identified that philanthropic foundations mostly influence fundamental norms for sustainability in the fashion industry through sharing knowledge, and through creating knowledge and collaboration. Moreover, although foundations share many similarities both in the norms supported and diffusion methods used, especially differences between private and public foundations are significant. The findings further showed that while all foundations use a variety of norm diffusion methods, patronage is done primarily by private foundations while mobilizing people by public.

This research contributed to global sustainability governance scholarship by focusing on philanthropic foundations, and by examining them as norm entrepreneurs, extending knowledge and understanding of norm adoption and diffusion methods by non-state actors. Hopefully this thesis will be a stepping stone towards further scrutiny of the role of organized philanthropy in global sustainability governance as philanthropic foundations become ever more important political actors.

Key words: norms, norm diffusion, norm entrepreneurs, philanthropic foundations, private actors, sustainability, sustainable fashion

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1. Introduction

Over the last few decades, the fashion industry has developed itself among the world's most polluting industries: it requires enormous quantities of raw materials, generates alarming levels of waste and leaves a significant carbon footprint (Brewer, 2019). Furthermore, the process of turning raw materials into finished garments has significant negative social impacts such as poor working conditions, low wages, and child labor, especially when production is outsourced to lower labor cost countries (Madsen, Hartlin, Perumalpillai, Selby & Aumônier, 2007).

As these private economic activities in the fashion industry do not necessarily lead to either environmental sustainability (Rao, 2000) or economic and social sustainability (Castells, 1996), some scholars argue that there is a duty for public regulation to support sustainability (Heidingsfelder, 2019). Yet there are reasons to believe that public regulation, alone, has failed to address the environmental and social challenges of sustainability in general, and in the fashion industry more specifically (Leal Filho et al., 2016). As a response to these inadequacies, private, i.e. non-state, actors and their governance initiatives have emerged, which are today considered as an essential component of global sustainability governance (Abbott, 2012).

Among non-state actors, philanthropic foundations have emerged as key private political actors in global sustainability governance. They are hailed for their ability to apply their know-how and resources to solving global world programs, ranging from climate change to poverty, and they have been embraced by governments as a way to ease pressure on their own responsibilities and budget (Martens & Seitz, 2015). Foundations are argued to be the freest institutions of modern societies: independent of market forces and political will. This enables foundations to take approaches and risks others cannot (Anheier & Daly, 2006). They can use their resources to address and identify potential social problems decades away or innovations of which the success might be apparent only over a longer time horizon (Anheier & Daly, 2006; Reich, 2016).

Yet these distinctive characteristics of private foundations also raise concerns. Foundations are not democratically constituted, while they exist in democratic societies (Anheier & Daly, 2006). Moreover, they are tax-subsidized, and by extent, give public expression for the preference of private actors (Reich, 2016). In addition, foundations have significant political influence, but are not accountable to the beneficiaries of their activities, be it international organizations, local communities or governments. Generally, foundations are only accountable to their own (small) board of trustees (Martens & Seitz, 2015).

These conflicting characteristics of foundations make them especially interesting to study. Specifically, this thesis examines foundations as actors who shape sustainability norms and discusses the related implications in the context of their substantial financial resources and unique institutional characteristics mentioned previously (Stone, 2010). Norms are defined as standards of appropriate behavior, in which they often constrain actions and limit the range of choices affecting different actors (Finnemore & Sikkink, 1998). Norms are very important as they are powerful mechanisms in society which guide actions on a personal level as well as on a macro level such as in industries, organizations or nation states. As such, norms have the power to facilitate or inhibit social change (Finnemore & Sikkink, 1998; Prentice & Paluck, 2020).

Norm shaping is especially important for foundations whose aim and most common rationale is to bring about "desirable social change" (Prewitt, Dogan, Heydemann & Toepler, 2006, p. 35). Therefore, in this research, foundations are seen as norm entrepreneurs, i.e. actors who actively build norms and attempt

to convince the critical mass to embrace these norms or adopt a new standard of appropriateness (Finnemore & Sikkink, 1998; Sjöström, 2010). To do so, the thesis examines which sustainability norms foundations support in the fashion industry and which diffusion methods they use to make these norms widely adopted among relevant stakeholders in this industry.

Accordingly, the thesis asks:

“How do philanthropic foundations influence fundamental norms for sustainability in the fashion industry?”

Sub-questions are:

1. Which sustainability norms do philanthropic foundations support in the fashion industry?
2. Which are the norm diffusion methods philanthropic foundations use in order to influence norms for sustainability in the fashion industry?
3. Do sustainability norms and norm diffusion methods differ across philanthropic foundations?
4. What explains these differences?

Regarding theoretical contribution, to date, most research on private actors has focused on questions of accountability, effectiveness and legitimacy (Cutler, 2010; Hachez & Wouters, 2011; Kalfagianni & Pattberg, 2013; Prewitt et al., 2006). In addition, there is an extensive amount of literature on sustainability and norms (Buhmann, 2017; Olbrich, Quaas & Baumgärtner, 2014). However, there is little research on how private actors, especially philanthropic foundations, influence norms for sustainability. In addition, there is little research on foundations as private political actors in sustainability governance. The thesis fills these gaps by providing a comprehensive analysis of how foundations play a role with regard to influencing norms by supporting and diffusing certain norms over others. In this context, the thesis not only identifies the sustainability norms adopted by philanthropic foundations in the fashion industry but also makes a distinction between public and private foundations and tries to understand their differences. In addition, the thesis contributes to the norm diffusion literature (Acharya, 2004; Finnemore & Sikkink, 1998), by examining in particular diffusion methods by philanthropic foundations.

This thesis also has societal value, as foundations as private actors enter the public space and exist in democratic societies. As foundations are not democratically constituted (Anheier & Daly, 2006), citizens in democracies need to know what foundations stand for. Especially because it is often automatically assumed that foundations are doing something good, as foundations must “promote charitable activities serving the common good” (Marten & Seitz, 2015, p.8). However, it is important to know what it is exactly that the foundations advocate. While these private actors are mostly insulated from the public debate because of their independence from market and political constraints and constituencies (Anheier, 2018; Anheier & Daly, 2006), this research brings more transparency to the norms and norm diffusion methods of these private actors.

The thesis is structured as follows. The first section of this research provides a framework for research and focuses on the theories regarding foundations, norms, and norm diffusion. The second section, the methodology, focuses on how the research was conducted. The research question is answered with the help of interviews and document analysis. The next chapter, the data analysis, analyses for each foundation the norms it pursues and the norm diffusion methods used. In the fifth chapter, the findings, together with the contribution, limitations and implications for further research are discussed. The last chapter, presents the conclusion.

2. Theoretical framework

This section critically examines and elaborates on the relevant literature in order to lay the theoretical framework. First, different types of foundations are discussed in 2.1 and 2.2. Hereafter, norms, and norms for sustainable fashion are discussed in 2.3 and 2.4 respectively. Then norm diffusion theories are elaborated on in 2.5, to finish in 2.6 with the theoretical framework following from the relevant literature.

2.1 Private foundations

Since the early 1900s, philanthropic foundations have been influential actors in global development, not only through their grant-making activities, but also by shaping development policies and concepts. Since then, the role of philanthropic foundations in global development policy has been growing. Scholars report that foundations have enormous influence on agenda setting (Martens & Seitz, 2015). As a result, the emergence of foundations as global governance actors indicates a shift in the relationship between private and public responsibilities and between the public good and private wealth (Anheier & Daly, 2006). Indeed, through their endowments, foundations are designed to exist intergenerationally. Therefore foundations can fund higher-risk social policy experiments and use their resources to address and identify potential innovations of which the success might be apparent only over a longer time horizon or social problems decades away (Reich, 2016). While foundations have significant influence on development policies, they are not held accountable to the beneficiaries of their activities, be it international organizations, local communities or governments. Generally, foundations are only held accountable to their own trustees or boards, which are often quite a limited number of people. Furthermore, foundations only have to meet limited public disclosure requirements (Martens & Seitz, 2015). In addition, foundations have a dual independence: on the one hand, they are relatively independent from political expectations, and on the other hand, they are relatively independent from market considerations. The foundations' independence rests to a considerable degree on the fact that they have their own assets (Anheier, 2018).

The advocacy of foundations for global causes puts pressure on governments and the private sector to become more actively engaged in addressing global problems. However, the rapidly growing influence of foundations raises a number of concerns in terms of how it is affecting governments with their unstable and inconsistent financing, and lack of accountability mechanisms (Martens & Seitz, 2015). Another concern is that foundations exist in democratic societies, while they are themselves not democratically constituted (Anheier & Daly, 2006). They are generously tax-subsidized in which citizens pay in lost tax revenues for private foundations and, by extent, for giving public expression for private actors' preferences (Reich, 2016).

Nowadays, foundations are moving towards sustainable development. Their contributions in terms of technical expertise, new pools of funding and fostering early partnerships to large development frameworks such as the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) have been growing worldwide (SDG Philanthropy Platform, 2015). Researchers only recently became engaged with private actors in sustainability as most research of foundations is on health, development and education (see Martens & Seitz, 2015; Reckhow, 2013). Furthermore, sustainability scholarship has not yet adequately looked at foundations as they become global actors in sustainability. Therefore it is very important to examine this issue at this moment in time.

2.2 Types of foundations

Foundations differ in purpose, type, their thematic focus, the way they are funded, geographic scope, their approaches, priorities and political orientation. Four criteria are included in most definitions of a philanthropic foundation (Martens & Seitz, 2015). To qualify as foundation an organization must be:

1. non-governmental;
2. non-profit;
3. self-managed by its own trustees and directors; and
4. promote charitable activities serving the common good (Kiger, 2000).

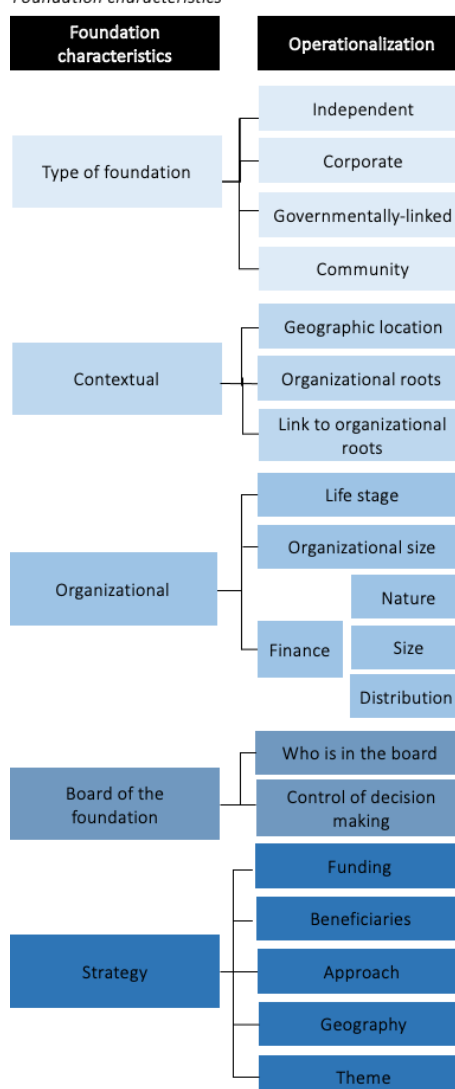
A distinction can be made between public and private foundations. Most public foundations are funded by multiple sources, including public contributions, while private foundations have their own endowments provided by individual families or donors (Marten & Seitz, 2015).

As this distinction alone tends to fall short on fully incorporating the characteristics within each of the contexts and diversity of potential foundation types, the distinction of types of foundations in this research are based on the framework of Jung, Harrow and Leat (2018). They propose a framework using contextual, organizational characteristics and strategy as key headings. The framework is modified for this research to make it more all-encompassing, by adding a key heading about the board of the foundation and the type of foundation described by the European Foundation Centre (1995/2003), which distinguishes between independent foundations, corporate foundations, governmentally-linked foundations, and community foundations and other fundraising foundations (Figure 1).

Foundations can be distinguished as part of the contextual classification by their **geographic location**, **organizational roots** and **link to the organizational roots**. The geographic location is the continent a foundation is based. Regarding organizational roots, a foundation can have governmental, corporate, public sector body, third sector body, independent (individual donor or family) or hybrid roots. These roots can be linked active (engaged), such as the C&A foundation in relation to the C&A, active (tangential) or inactive to the foundation.

The following category, organizational characteristics, can be divided into **life stage**, **organizational size** and **finances**. For the life stage, a distinction is made between; new, emergent, established and mature foundations. In addition to life stage, they made a distinction for organizational size drawn on the foundation's staff numbers and number of offices, and refer to organizational characteristics: micro, small, medium and large foundations. Furthermore, based on the understanding that wealthier foundations will have different behaviors and characteristics compared with those that have less resources, distinguishing between foundations in

Figure 1
Foundation characteristics



terms of size, nature and distribution of financial resources appear to be essential. The financial size of the foundations' resources ranges from mega, large, medium and small ones (Pharoah, Walker & Goddard, 2017). In addition to size, the nature of the resources from fundraising, allocation, fully endowed or a combination of endowed plus allocation and/or fundraising, also matters (Jung et al., 2018). Lastly, the distribution of financial resources has to be taken into account. This differs between foundations as some concentrate on the distribution of funds and others on spending money on running their own programs (Jung et al., 2018).

Moving on to the additional category: the board of the foundation. Here a distinction is made between characteristics of **who is part of the board**, and if the **control of decision making** is centralized, decentralized or mixed.

In the final category of foundation characteristics, strategic characteristics of a foundation's approach are put forward including the **audience**, **beneficiaries**, **approach**, **geography** and **theme** of the foundation. The targeted audience (Potter & Stapleton, 2011), differentiates from the government, the general public such as consumers, supply chain actors, or financial institutions such as banks and donors. Moreover, it is of importance who the beneficiaries addressed are: individuals, organizations, the public or a mix between those (Jung et al., 2018). The approach of foundations ranges from pure grantmaking to pure operating. Within there is a mix between those two; grantmaking and operating forms with other support, as well as the hybrid form of being simultaneously an operating and grantmaking foundation. There is also the "other" category, which recognizes the move beyond traditional foundation approaches such as philanthrocapitalism (Bishop & Green, 2015) and philanthropic activism (McCarthy, 2004). Geography divides into the focus on a single location from local, regional or national or on a multiplicity of national, transnational or global places. Theme refers to the industry distinction: if a foundation operates in a single area, such as human rights, or covers multiple fields (Jung et al., 2018).

2.3 Norms

Norms are a powerful mechanism in society. They guide actions on a personal level as well on a macro level such as in industries, organizations or nation states. Norms, in this research, are defined as standards of appropriate behavior. That what is deemed to be appropriate varies between context and actors (Finnemore & Sikkink, 1998). The interaction of constitutive and constraining aspects of norms creates a norm's conceptual structure, which consists of three components: problem, value, and behavior (Winston, 2017). First, a norm presupposes a problem, the issue that is to be addressed. Second, the norm includes a value. It is the avoidance of something "bad" or the enjoyment or attainment of something "good", which gives moral weight to the problem. Third, a norm enjoins a particular behavior: the action which needs to be taken to address the problem given, which allows the actor to better practice or express the value (Winston, 2017).

Three types of norms have generally been characterized by global governance scholars: meta-norms, constitutive norms, and practical norms (see Björkdahl, 2002; Hufty, 2011; Wiener, 2009). Meta-norms are global principles considered to promote good society and justice (Finnemore & Sikkink, 1998). Meta-norms are referred to as fundamental, global or international norms which can manifest in the form of international guidelines and agreements or aspirational goals such as the SDGs. By comparison, constitutive norms are political processes or policy within governance agencies that provide normative guidance for best practice (Wiener, 2009). Constitutive norms leave space for local reinvention of normal content and are non-prescriptive (Krook & True, 2010). In contrast, practical norms are relatively inflexible. These norms refer to the rules, regulations and prescriptions that delimit the conduct of groups or individuals, including codes of conduct and sanctions (Hufty, 2011).

This research focuses on fundamental norms, which belong to meta-norms. Fundamental norms are more generalizable, less specific and are more contested on ethical grounds than the other type norms (Wiener, 2009). Fundamental norms with reference to modern nation-states are known as core constitutional norms such as human rights, democracy, fundamental freedoms and the rule of law (Lawless, Song, Cohen & Morrison, 2020; Wiener, 2007). These fundamental norms form part of the environmental governance architecture as principles who set the standards of expected behavior considered essential for societies and environments (Kooiman & Jentoft, 2009). Thus, in this research, ‘norms’ refer to ‘fundamental norms’, unless stated otherwise.

2.4 Norms for sustainable fashion

Access to “fast fashion”, online shopping, as well as industry marketing have increased the consumer demand for clothing (Suraci, 2021). This has caused the fashion industry to develop itself among the world’s most polluting industries over the last few decades (Brewer, 2019). Moreover, the fashion industry has been increasingly under the spotlight as a significant contributor to the growing global social and environmental issues (Kozlowski, Bardecki & Searcy, 2012). This growth has not gone unnoticed by major bodies like the United Nations Climate Change (2018) who have identified the need to shift away from industry practices that are detrimental to the environment. Despite these acknowledgements, there has been little increases in regulations specific to the fashion industry to encourage a sustainability practices (Suraci, 2021). According Kozlowski et al. (2012) and Suraci (2021), to increase sustainable practices, the fashion industry should be held accountable on global scale by both the law and consumers. Fortunate, some progress has been made on the front of sustainable fashion such as voluntary sustainability efforts (SER, 2016) from some brands, UN Climate Change (2018) acknowledgement, and increasing normalization of second hand clothing are examples of movements in the right direction (Suraci, 2021).

Sustainable fashion is an endeavor that draws together fashion and sustainable development. It first emerged in the 1960s when consumers became aware of the impact clothes and clothing manufacturing had on the environment (Jung & Jin, 2014). However, it still remains indecisive what the term “sustainable fashion” entails and what the guidelines might be for producing sustainable garments (Barnes, Lea-Greenwood, Watson & Yan, 2013). Fletcher (2013) refers to sustainable fashion and textiles as follows: “sustainability in fashion and textiles fosters ecological integrity, social quality and human flourishing through products, action, relationships and practices of use” (p.17). Although the “mobilization of a sustainable fashion system is both complex and difficult” (Ertekin and Atik, 2015, p. 8), it is evident that the fashion industry has to transform towards a sustainable fashion industry.

Different parties of the Social and Economic Council (SER) (2016) have in mutual consultation and coordination with stakeholders identified nine specific themes that currently deserve priority attention from the companies active in the textile sector in the field of international corporate social responsibility (Table 1). In addition, the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) (2017b) created due diligence guidelines for responsible supply chains in the garment and footwear sector which includes twelve modules on sector risks (Table 1).

The nine specific themes of the SER are included in a covenant for the Dutch fashion and textile industry, and the twelve OECD modules are the international standards of the fashion industry. Therefore these have been used as a reference for the norms for sustainability in the fashion industry (Table 1).

Table 1
Norms for sustainable fashion

	OECD	SER	Norms for sustainable fashion
1.	Child labor	Child labor	No child labor
2.	Sexual harassment and sexual and gender-based violence (SGBV)	Discrimination and gender	No discrimination, no SGBV and gender equality
3.	Forced labor	Forced labor	No forced labor
4.	Working time		Reasonable working time
5.	Occupational health and safety	Safety and health workplace	Occupational health and safety
6.	Trade unions and collective bargaining	Freedom of trade unions	Freedom of trade unions and collective bargaining
7.	Wages	Living wages	Living wage
8.	Hazardous chemicals	Raw materials	Sustainable use of raw materials
9.	Water	Water pollution and use of chemicals, water and energy	Diminish water pollution and use of chemicals, water and energy
10.	Greenhouse gas emissions		Diminish greenhouse gas emissions
11.	Bribery and corruption	-	No bribery and corruption
12.	Responsible sourcing from homeworkers		Responsible sourcing from homeworkers
13.	-	Animal welfare	Animal welfare

Note. Derived from OECD (2017b) and SER (2016).

2.5 Norm diffusion theory

Norm diffusion refers to the dissemination of a norm throughout society. It implies that norms travel: they are taken out of their original context and applied to a new context (James, 2019). Wiener (2007) argues norms to have a “dual nature”: they are both flexible and stable. Society will variously interact with norms as they are (stable) or change them, either accidentally or purposefully (flexible), resulting in a change of normative meaning (Wiener, 2009). When norms evolve or change as they diffuse, they change in particular ways: the nature or scope of the problem, the value impacted, or the behavior undertaken as a remedy (Sandholtz, 2008).

Norms are actively built by norm entrepreneurs who attempt to convince the critical mass to embrace new norms or to adopt a new standard of appropriateness (Finnemore & Sikkink, 1998; Sjöström, 2010). These actors have strong notions about desirable or appropriate behavior in their community. (Finnemore & Sikkink, 1998). Norm entrepreneurs can be a single person (Finnemore & Sikkink, 1998), shareholders of a company (Sjöström, 2010), lawmakers (Carbonara, Parisi & Von Wangenheim, 2008), a corporation (Flohr, Rieth, Schwindenhammer & Wolf, 2010) or any actor who breaks away from the established (Sjöström, 2010). Foundations are argued to break away from the established as well (Anheiner & Daly, 2006; Reich, 2016). However, they must be partaking in the pioneering efforts of instigating new norms or transforming existing norms if they want to be seen as norm entrepreneurs (Sjöström, 2010). In this research, it is assumed that foundations act as norm entrepreneurs.

The following section of this research describes in detail how norms can be diffused by foundations. Literature review on norms and foundations resulted in a selection of categories on how norms can be influenced by foundations, being: knowledge, framing, grafting, localization and patronage (Figure 2)

(Acharya, 2004; Finnemore & Sikkink, 1998). Besides the aforementioned norm diffusion methods, lobbying, mobilizing people and collaboration were found as important norm diffusion methods during the research. To enrich the theoretical framework, lobbying, mobilizing people and collaboration are also discussed below.

2.5.1 Knowledge

An important source of influence of norm entrepreneurs is their use of knowledge and expertise to change the behavior of other actors (Finnemore & Sikkink, 1998). Moreover, knowledge is a source of power and insight over the natural and social world, which should be systematically fostered in order to change and control the world (Bulmer, 1995). Knowledge, and its potential to steer, control and improve individuals and societies, runs as a defining theme through philanthropic history (Jung & Harrow, 2016).

Based on the literature of communication, constructivism and innovation, three models can be distinguished to diffuse norms; knowledge sharing, knowledge construction and knowledge creation (van Aalst, 2009).

In the transmission theory of communication, knowledge sharing is seen as the transmission of knowledge between people (Pea, 1994). Knowledge sharing refers to the provision of know-how and task information to help others and to collaborate with others to solve problems, implement policies or procedures or develop new ideas (Cummings, 2004). Knowledge can be shared via face-to-face communications or written correspondence through networks with other experts, or organizing, documenting and capturing knowledge for others (Cummings, 2004). Social media has contributed to the phenomenon of knowledge sharing by enabling open online exchange of information through interaction and conversation. Social media applications have moved beyond personal use and have been increasingly adopted by organizations as tools for knowledge sharing (Ahmed, Ahmad, Ahmad & Zakaria, 2019). In terms of foundations this might be knowledge sharing to propagate their message, and norms.

From theories of constructivism, knowledge construction refers to the process of problem solving and constructing the understanding of phenomena, situations and concepts considered within the cognitive psychology (Paavola, Lipponen & Hakkarainen, 2004). The general assumption of constructivism is that the actors must make ideas meaningful in relation to their prior knowledge and to the situation in which the need for ideas arises (Bodner, 1986). Knowledge construction involves a range of cognitive processes, including the use of explanation-seeking problems and questions, evaluating and interpreting new information, critiquing, sharing, and testing ideas at different levels, and efforts to rise above current levels of explanation (van Aalst, 2009). Knowledge construction processes deeper knowledge in complex domains than knowledge sharing (Hmelo-Silver, Duncan & Chinn, 2007). Foundations might use knowledge construction by interactive lessons with various actors to understand the problems arising from the complex fashion industry.

In literature on innovation, the term knowledge creation is used to describe how organizations, companies and academic fields develop the ideas needed to sustain innovation (Nonaka & Takeuchi, 1995). Knowledge creation discourse involves the improvement and design of intellectual artifacts such as explanations, proof and theories (Bereiter & Scardamalia, 2003) with an emphasis on causal mechanisms and the coordination of evidence and claims. Furthermore, it refers to interactive learning mediated by shared objects. It is a set of social practices that advance the state of knowledge over time (Paavola et al., 2004). The creation of knowledge involves more than the creation of a new idea; it

requires discourse (writing, talking, and other actions) to determine the limits of knowledge, promote the impact of new ideas, investigate problems, set goals, and evaluate whether the state of knowledge is advancing (van Aalst, 2009). Mitchell and Boyle (2010) chose the generation, development, implementation and exploitation of new ideas as a definition for knowledge creation. Foundations might create knowledge by funding research and innovations.

Overall, knowledge sharing, knowledge construction, and knowledge creation correspond to different theoretical perspectives, which does not mean that solely a single mode of discourse will be used by foundations (van Aalst, 2009). As knowledge sharing is the least interactive and complicated, but also, when seen as a social practice, as an accomplishment (Van Aalst, 2009) it is expected that foundations use this the most.

2.5.2 Framing

Norms emerge often by norm entrepreneurs who call attention to issues or even “create” issues by using language that interprets, names and dramatizes these issues. This reinterpretation or renaming process is often referred to as “framing” (Finnemore & Sikkink, 1998). Actors frame issues in order to attach definitions and characteristics to them (Parks & Morgera, 2015). Framing can be done by selectively introducing information that supports a predetermined hypothesis. This is usually done through wording, where special attention is paid to making certain pieces of arguments and evidence seem salient. In doing this, it can affect the way the story is consumed (Morstatter, Wu, Yavanoglu, Corman & Liu, 2018). When the new frames are successful, they resonate with broader public understandings and are adopted as new ways of understanding and talking about issues (Finnemore & Sikkink, 1998).

Framing can either be positive or negative depending on whether it stresses on the positive consequences of performing an act or the negative consequences of not performing the act (Levin et al., 1998; Levin, Gaeth, Schreiber & Lauriola, 2002). As norm entrepreneurs have strong notions about desirable behavior and thereby attempt to convince people to embrace new norms (Finnemore & Sikkink, 1998), it is most likely foundations use framing with the goal of embracing new norms such as the payment of a living wage. In addition, foundations are known to call attention to issues such as climate change and poverty (Martens & Seitz, 2015). It is therefore expected that foundations will actively make use of framing in such a way that their norms will be propagated to actively change behavior and consumption of stories.

2.5.3 Grafting

An important factor in norm diffusion is how well a new norm resonates with established norms. Established norms are norms which are taken-for-granted and are no longer a matter of public debate. An example is the allowance of women to vote (Finnemore & Sikkink, 1998). Grafting a new norm onto pre-existing norm can influence norm development as ideas are more likely to be influential if they fit within existing discourses in a particular setting (Price, 1998). Grafting, also referred to as incremental norm transplantation, is a tactic norm entrepreneurs employ to institutionalize new norms. Both framing and grafting are largely acts of representation or reinterpretation rather than reconstruction. Neither is necessarily a local act, and they are usually performed by outsiders, such as foundations (Acharya, 2004).

2.5.4 Localization

Localization goes further than grafting and framing. Localization may start with re-presentation and reinterpretation of the outside norm, including grafting and framing, but may extend into more complex processes of reconstitution to make an outside (foreign) norm congruent with pre-existing local

normative orders. Localization is the active construction of foreign ideas by local actors, which results in developing significant congruence with local practices and beliefs. Key to localization are local agents, as they are nationally and globally connected, and locally embedded intermediary actors. The process is initiated by the local agents to make a particular society more receptive to a norm, to make international norms more acceptable, and ultimately to bring about normative change in line with the international norms (Acharya, 2004).

Foundations are expected to use localization to make the norms they propagate locally more appropriate by for example working with country representatives, reducing language barriers and cooperating with credible local actors and authorities.

2.5.5 Patronage

Foundations realized that it might be better to take actions themselves or to fund social movements to do it for them, thereby practicing directly and indirectly (Jung & Harrow, 2016). The funding of others in order to undertake action on behalf of the patron, i.e. the foundation, can be referred to as patronage. Patronage is founded on the reciprocal relation between foundations and collaborating partners. In patronage, the patron has the power to give some benefits to the partner. The extent and number of such benefits naturally vary with the power (or money) of the patron (Weingrod, 1968). The focus of patrons can lie at helping the partners to better serve them and directly benefit from their contributions to an organization. Patrons are likely to continue supporting as long as the rewards they enjoy outweigh the costs they incur (Barnes & McCarville, 2005). Foundations with larger financial resources are expected to engage more actively in patronage as patronage requires monetary assets.

2.5.6 Lobbying

There has long been close interaction between government and foundations. Foundations work with governments by supplying policy ideas and hoping for their enactment (Roelofs, 2007). According to Mayer (2007), any attempt to influence the actions of governments can be called lobbying. This ranges from bringing information to policy makers, to urging legislators to propose legislation, to commenting on executive branch rulemaking, and suing governmental agencies (Mayer, 2007).

A tax law prohibits private foundations (but not public foundations) from spending any funds on lobbying. The prohibition is driven primarily by concerns about the undue influence of foundations on public legislation (Mayer, 2007). However, lobbying is only one advocacy tactic, and there are many permissible advocacy avenues for private foundations to support social change, such as the utilization of public information campaigns, coalition building and policy research (Suárez, Husted & Casas, 2018). Research by Bartley (2007), Reckhow (2013), and Quinn, Tompkins-Stange and Meyerson (2014) indicates that foundations have started to embrace advocacy and become emboldened as policy entrepreneurs. Their research shows that some foundations are cooperating to leverage resources for social change. Furthermore, their research demonstrates that a few private foundations have become quite active in supporting policy reform and pursuing a policy agenda (Reckhow, 2016; Suárez et al., 2018). Influencing the actions of the government has become part of the strategic repertoire that foundations employ to achieve their missions (Suárez et al., 2018). An example explained by True and Mintrom (2001) is the mushrooming of national women's policy agencies as a result of advocacy for the global gender equality norm.

2.5.7 Mobilizing people

Mobilizing people in this study is defined as motivating, facilitating, and galvanizing individuals to actively participate (Klandermans, 1997). Mobilizing people around new norms requires effectively

framing the norm in order to raise awareness and attract support among more people, building alliances among distinct groups with similar objectives, and forging networks across multiple levels of operation (Bomberg, 2012).

The first key aspect of mobilization is awareness building (Bomberg, 2012), which ranges from the provision of basic information to more aspirational “effective communication”, which not merely informs, but enables and encourages individuals framing. Awareness building to mobilize people inevitably involves framing (Bomberg, 2012). In order to mobilize people to more engaged forms of participation in collective action (i.e. demonstrations) is likely to require frames that trigger intense emotions such as pride or moral indignation (Jasper, 2011).

Alliance-building is seen as the second key aspect of mobilization, as this brings the ability to expand an issue to an increasingly wider circle of participants (Bomberg, 2012). Alliance building refers to how people exploit the expanded awareness and form coalitions of like-minded actors bound together through social interaction, shared aims and shared norms. Norms are more likely to be focal points around which diverse groups can build alliances when they simultaneously address the distinct but overlapping concerns of various groups (Bomberg, 2012). The norms that are either framed more broadly, so as to effectively encompass multiple issues or those that govern an object that is of concern to multiple communities for various reasons, are more likely to present options for alliance building (Green, 2020).

The third key aspect of mobilization is network-formation. The potential for forming networks across scales will depend largely on the nature of the object being governed by the goal. If it tends to be an issue that is governed in multiple parts of the world and at multiple levels, and organizations committed to the issue exist to service these different places and different levels of governance, then the issue is ready for network-formation (Bomberg, 2012).

2.5.8 Collaboration

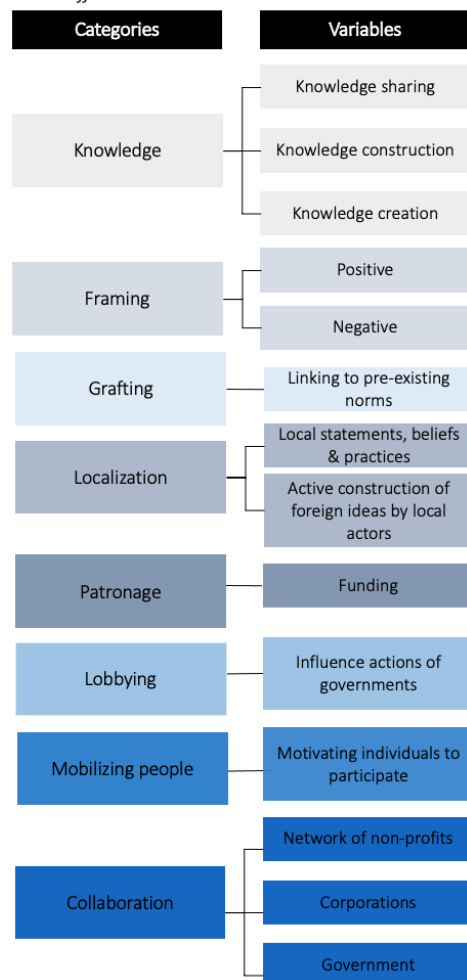
There is considerable collaboration among foundations and their networks of nonprofits, between foundations and profitmaking corporations, and between the foundation world and government entities, local, state, national, and international (Guo & Acar, 2005; Roelofs, 2007). Collaboration is the “process through which parties who see different aspects of a problem can constructively explore their differences and search for solutions that go beyond their own limited vision of what is possible” (Gray, 1989, p.5).

Nonprofit organizations routinely contract with governments to deliver local programs and services (Fejock & Jang, 2009). Furthermore, nonprofits also collaborate with businesses to access resources and program partners (Suárez & Hwang, 2013). However, perhaps the most common form of interorganizational collaboration is collaboration among nonprofits, creating a dense web of resource and information sharing across the sector (Proulx, Hager & Klein, 2014). Guo and Acar (2005) describe nonprofit collaboration, in this case foundations, as the occurring when different nonprofit organizations work together to address problems through joint resources, decision making and effort, and share ownership of the final product or service.

Inter-organizational collaboration can be linked to a range of important outcomes for the collaborating organizations, such as the result in sharing of critical resources and facilitating knowledge transfer. In addition, it is argued that collaboration does not only transfer existing knowledge among organizations, but also facilitates new knowledge creation and produce synergistic solutions (Hardy, Philips & Lawrence, 2003).

An overview of all the norm diffusion methods can be found in Figure 2.

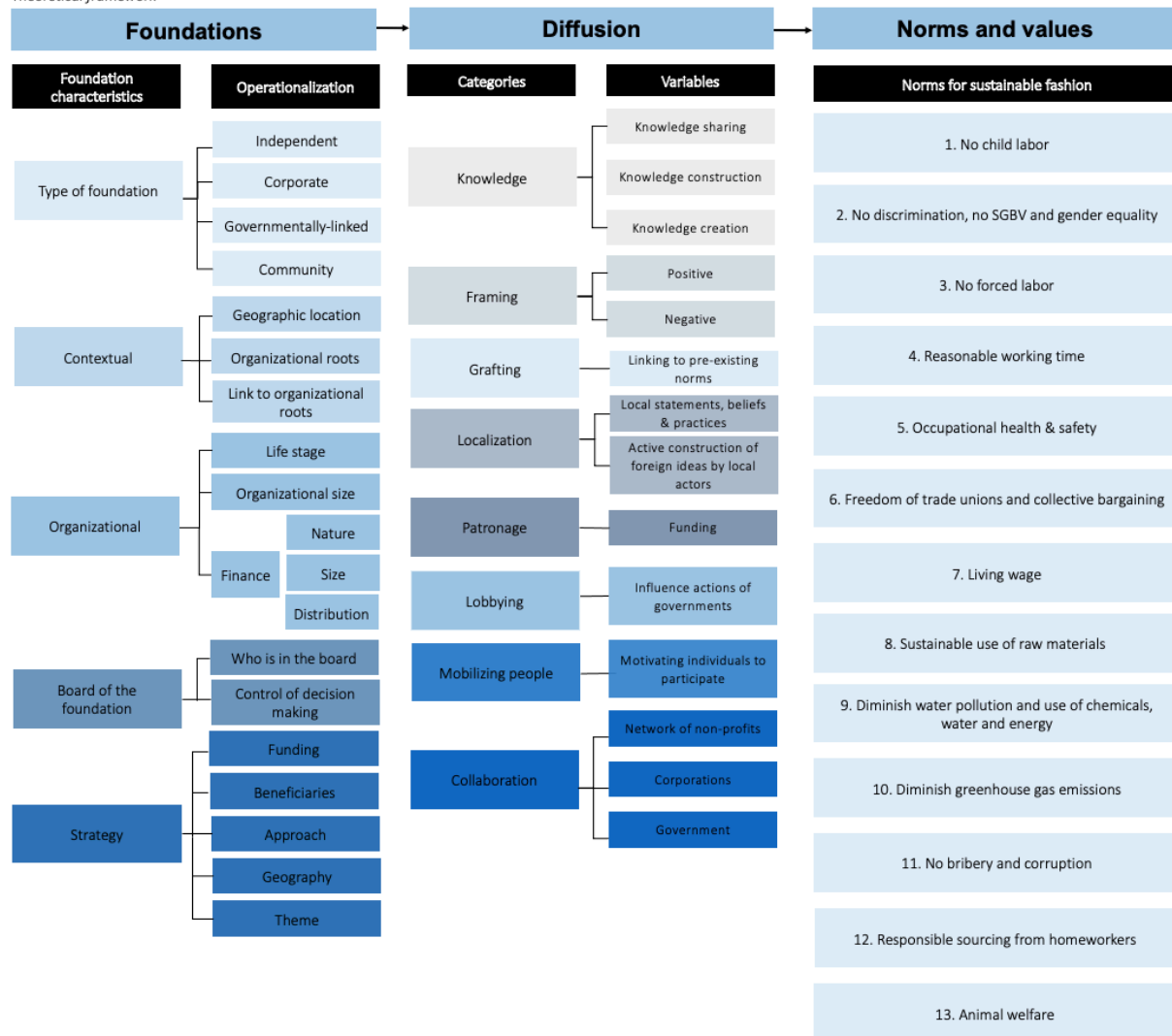
Figure 2
Norm diffusion theories



2.6 Theoretical framework

A theoretical framework has been created with the aforementioned theory (Figure 3). The left column of the figure are the organizational categories, deducted mainly from the literature of foundation type categories of Jung et al. (2018). The second column in the figure are the norm diffusion pathways which will guide how norms can be diffused by foundations (Figure 2). The last column are the norms of sustainability in the fashion industry which are deducted from the SER (2016) and OECD (2017b) (Table 1).

Figure 3
Theoretical framework



3. Methodology

This study used a qualitative research design with primary and secondary data collection (Hox & Boeijs, 2005). A deductive approach with the format of a comparative case study was used to test the norm diffusion theory with non-state actors, specifically, foundations, as this has not yet been researched. When some coded segments of the text did not fit the categorization, new categories have emerged inductively (Elo & Kyngäs, 2008). The use of both the inductive and deductive approach was employed to get a more complete understanding of the norm diffusion and norms.

3.1 Case selection

In the theory of foundation characteristics (Figure 1) there were three characteristics identified to select case studies: their geographic location, theme and type. This study focused on five European-based foundations operating in the sustainable fashion industry. Moreover, two contrasting types of foundations were chosen, private and public, to compare them. The research focused on Europe as European philanthropy is particularly understudied in relation to American philanthropy (MacDonald & de Borms, 2008).

Different authoritative datasets such as Candid (2020), an organization who provides access to information about foundations, were searched and it was not possible to identify European based foundations that focus exclusively on fashion. Therefore foundations were selected by Googling “fashion industry private foundations Europe” in October 2020. Both the Laudes Foundation (known till March 2020 as the C&A Foundation) and the H&M Foundation were selected as they were in the top 5 of the search. These two foundations were also found on the list of private philanthropic foundations included in the OECD survey (2017a). On top of the search was the website of the Fashion Revolution (2019a) and their key organizations. Here the Fashion Revolution Foundation, Clean Clothes Campaign and the Fair Wear Foundation were selected on the aforementioned location, theme and type.

3.2 Data collection

The research was divided into three parts. The first part is about the foundations’ characteristics, the second about influencing norms and the third part about the norms for sustainability in the fashion industry (Figure 3).

For the first, second and third part, secondary data, in the form of desktop research, was used including reports and document analysis of the foundations’ websites and reports. Organizational documents such as annual reports were used from the years 2015-2019. This gave sufficient resources, twenty reports, to analyze and at the same time offer manageable amounts of documents to keep the quality of the analysis high.

Additionally, for the second and third part, primary data was collected by conducting semi-structured interviews with communication or strategy managers of the foundations, as they are most informed about how the norms are propagated and influenced by their foundation. With help of the network of the CCC, the internship firm, it was easier to link up with other foundations for interviews. There were four interviews of approximately 30-60 minutes. One with Fashion Revolution, one with the FWF and two with the CCC. The questions asked focused on how the foundations influence the norms for the fashion industry and how they shape the meaning of these norms.

3.3 Data analysis

The qualitative textual data obtained through semi-structured interviews and annual or impact reports of the foundations were analyzed using content analysis, which is well suited to combine with other research techniques and allow statistical analysis of the data (Mayring, 2004). The steps in the content analysis guide of Erlingsson & Brysiewicz (2017) were used to analyze the collected textual data. First, the transcripts and the documents were carefully read to get familiar with the documents. During reading, notes have been taken and the first patterns were written down. Second, the reports have been coded on the data, deductively, and also inductively, in Nvivo. Third, the codes have been merged whenever there were synonyms or acronyms or the data could be merged, such as under knowledge sharing were events, but also webinars and seminars. Hereafter, for each foundation, the most coded norms and the most coded norm diffusion methods were found by looking at the percentage coverage (amount of text coded

with the code) and number of the code used in the text. The ones very often mentioned got three checks, the ones often mentioned got two checks and the ones with one check were barely mentioned in the text. The norms and norm diffusion methods not mentioned got a cross. Together with the coding of the annual reports, the interviews were also of importance. These helped identifying the norms and the norm diffusion methods of the foundations, together with the notes that have been taken by the first read of the documents. In addition, the interviews were used to enrich and verify the data analysis in Nvivo.

The organizational characteristics (Figure 4) contains organizational size, life stage and financial size that need more explanation. For organizational size a distinction is derived from the OECD (2020a) classification of enterprises. Micro foundations will have fewer than 10 employees, small foundations 10-49 employees, medium-sized foundations have 50-249 employees and large foundations employ over 250 people. In addition to organizational size, a distinction can be made between the organizations' life stage based on the GrantStation (2017) report on organizational age. The foundations will be new when they exist 0-5 years, the emergent foundations exist 6-10 years, the established foundations between 11-49 years and a mature foundation is >50 years. Furthermore, for the financial size of the foundations' resources, a distinction was based on the High Net Worth Individuals (Corporate Finance Institute, 2020). This ranges from mega; > 30 million, large; > 5 million, medium; > 1 million, to small; 100,000 - 1 million euros.

The characteristics of Figure 4 have been used to classify and analyze the characteristics of the foundations, however the emphasize was on the norms and the norm diffusion methods (the second and third column of Figure 3).

Figure 4
Operationalization foundation characteristics

Categories	Operationalization						
Type of foundation	Independent						
	Corporate						
	Governmentally-linked						
	Community						
Contextual	Geographic location	Continent	Headquartered				
	Organizational roots	Governmental	Public sector body	Corporate	Third sector body	Independent	Hybrid
	Link to organizational roots	Active (engaged)	Active (tangential)	Inactive			
Organizational	Life stage	Mature	Established	Emergent	New		
	Organizational size	Large	Medium	Small	Micro		
	Nature	Fully endowed	Endowed+Allocation	Endowed+Fundraising	Allocation	Fundraising	
	Finance	Size	Mega	Large	Medium	Small	
	Distribution	Distribution of funds	Own programs and goals				
Board of the foundation	Who is in the board	Background					
	Control of decision making	Centralized	Decentralized				
Strategy	Audience	Government	General public	Supply chain actors	Financial institutions		
	Beneficiaries	Individuals	Organizations	Public	Mixed		
	Approach	Grantmaking (pure)	Grantmaking (+)	Mixed	Operating (+)	Other	
	Geography	Single location	Multiple locations				
	Theme	Single theme	Multiple themes				

The categories for the second column of the theoretical framework were analyzed by the following: knowledge, framing, grafting, localization and patronage (Figure 5). These categories were derived deductively, however, when analyzed the data the categories lobbying, mobilizing people and collaboration were inductively added.

Figure 5
Operationalization norm diffusion methods

Categories	Variables	Operationalization
Knowledge	Knowledge sharing	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Sharing informative posts Hosting online/offline lectures Teaching programs and lessons Events with sustainable fashion speakers Informative blogposts and articles
	Knowledge construction	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Interactive lessons and talks Different actors discussing information Collaborative engagements building on efforts of various actors Communities Testing ideas at different levels Criticizing
	Knowledge creation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Activities towards the generation of new objects, or ideas Fund new innovations Fund research projects Knowledge that is diffused as new products, services and systems Creation of new ideas that reflect enrichment of existing knowledge
Framing	Positive	Positive wording
	Negative	Negative wording
Grafting	Linking to pre-existing norms	Representation/reinterpretation of pre-existing norms, linking to the past or other norms.
Localization	Local statements, beliefs & practices	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Take into account local culture Linking foreign norms to pre-existing local norms: look for reference of these norms Country representative Usage of local language
	Active construction of foreign ideas by local actors	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Collaboration with local actors, trade unions, governments and organizations Meetings with locals
Patronage	Funding	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Sponsor Donation Financial supporting Paid advisory
Lobbying	Influence actions of governments	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Bringing information to policy makers Suing governmental agencies Urging legislators to propose legislation Commenting on rulemaking Support policy research Formulating new policy ideas
Mobilizing people	Motivating individuals to participate	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Demonstrations and protests Social media hashtags Activism Signing petitions
Collaboration	Network of non-profits	Sharing critical resources and facilitating knowledge transfer and creation
	Corporations	Representing another to access resources and program partners
	Government	Strategic alliances to deliver local programs and services

Knowledge is one of the broadest categories and was divided into knowledge sharing, knowledge construction and knowledge creation. Knowledge sharing by foundations was recognized by sharing informative posts or articles, the hosting of lectures, and by teaching informative programs. Knowledge construction goes one step further than knowledge sharing and entails interactive lessons and talks, collaborative engagements building on the efforts of various actors and building communities (Zhang & Sun, 2008). Lastly, knowledge creation consists of activities undertaken towards the generation of new objects or ideas such as funding of new innovations or research projects, or by new ideas that reflect significant enrichment or elaboration of existing knowledge (Mitchell & Boyle, 2010). Framing and grafting was analyzed by examining how information is presented in the documents and if information was linked to pre-existing norms. Localization was searched for with the wording local and local agents, but also for local culture and if information was linked to pre-existing local norms, and if foundations had country representatives and used local language. Patronage was measured by looking at the annual or impact reports for the words or synonyms of donations, funding, sponsor, financial support and paid partnerships and the reciprocal character of social ties. Moreover, lobbying consists of multiple ways to influence actions of governments such as bringing information to policy makers or commenting on rulemaking. Mobilizing people was analyzed by looking at motivating individuals to for example participate in demonstrations or sign petitions. Lastly, collaboration was searched for by sharing resources and knowledge, or by having strategic alliances or equal partnerships.

3.4 Data validity and reliability

Theoretical generalizability of the study was increased by the use of different methods and data triangulation (Flick, von Kardoff & Steinke, 2004). Data triangulation is seen as a strategy for underpinning and justifying knowledge by gaining additional knowledge. To provide data triangulation, this research made use of document analysis together with interviews. This included data drawn from different sources: the company website, interviews and annual reports, which are sources from different times and by different people. Furthermore, the multiple data collection methods ensured that the results were checked on consistency (Flick et al., 2004).

4. Data analysis

4.1 Clean Clothes Campaign

4.1.1 Characteristics of the Clean Clothes Campaign

Schone Kleren Campagne (SKC) was founded in 1989 in the Netherlands when a group of female workers in the Philippines fought to get their wages. The women were demanding a minimum wage, but in response, the group got fired, leaving them with no payment at all. As a response to that, a group of women in the Netherlands organized collective actions (in front of C&A shops and in the Philippines) which led to a victory for the female workers (Clean Clothes Campaign [CCC], 2020b). Since these actions in 1989, consumers and activists in other European countries became inspired by the work of SKC, and started to organize and develop their own campaigns, eventually joining SKC. Together with them, SKC forms a worldwide network named the Clean Clothes Campaign (CCC), a public benefit organization which operates both in consumer and garment-producing markets. With over 230 affiliated organizations and trade unions, CCC is committed to structurally improve working conditions and supports empowerment of manufacturing workers in the global clothing industry (Schone Kleren Campagne, 2019). The vision of the CCC is that all people working in the garment industry should exercise and enjoy their rights at work and in their community and should be able to defend and improve these rights (CCC, 2021).

The CCC network identifies local problems and objectives and transforms them into global actions. CCC develops campaign strategies to support workers in achieving their goals. In addition, the international secretariat of CCC facilitates the development of network strategy and policy, coordinates campaigns and urgent appeal work on cases related to violations in the garment sector, lobbies and advocates with governments and intergovernmental institutions, and conducts research which it makes accessible to a wide audience (CCC, 2021). An overview of the CCC can be found in Table 2.

For CCC, five annual reports, from 2015 to 2019, have been analyzed. In addition, two interviews with one employee from SKC, called interviewee SKC, and another employee from CCC, called interviewee CCC, have been conducted.

Table 2

Characteristics of the Clean Clothes Campaign

Characteristics	Clean Clothes Campaign
Type	Public – Fundraising foundation
Geographic	Europe Headquartered in Amsterdam (The Netherlands)
Roots	Hybrid
Link to	Nonexistent
Life stage	1989 - established
Organizational size	24 – small
Nature of resources	Combination of endowed plus allocation and/or fundraising
Size resources	€ 3,054,829 in 2019 - medium
Distribution of resources	Own programs and goals
Who is in the board	1. Sjef Stoop - FNV 2. Hester Klute - fundraiser for Liliame Fonds Foundation 3. Monique de Jong - IUCN NL as HR Manager and in 2015 she started her own Coaching Company, in addition to her work at IUCN NL 4. Marlies Filbri – Leader of an organization which advocates for the needs and rights of homeless people in the Netherlands 5. Nina Ascoly - Friends of the Earth International as international programs facilitator
Control of decision making	Decentralized
Audience	The government, consumers and companies. Sometimes trade unions federations and factory owners
Beneficiaries	Individual garment workers
Approach	Philanthroactivism
Geography	Multiple – mainly in South and East Asia and Europe
Theme	Single – improve working conditions in the textile industry

Note. CCC, 2020a, 2021.

4.1.2 Norms for sustainable fashion

From the annual reports and interviews with SKC and CCC it becomes evident that the main focus of CCC is social sustainability. Especially the norms no discrimination, no SGBV and gender equality, no child labor, no forced labor, reasonable working time, freedom of trade unions and collective bargaining, living wages, occupational health and safety, and responsible sourcing of homeworkers according to the interviews are supported (Interviewee SKC; Interviewee CCC). Of these norms, the norms freedom of trade unions and collective bargaining, occupational health and safety, and living wages are the most dominant. Occupational health and safety is understood as social protection in general by Interviewee SKC and explained as: “if you have an accident at work, and you can't work anymore, that there will be some measure of income for you, if you lose your job that you don't fall into destitution immediately”. The norm, no child labor is barely mentioned in the annual reports of CCC. However, no child labor is claimed by interviewee CCC to be very important, but the interviewee states: “I think that child labor in the garment industry is not as widespread as it used to be”. Therefore, according to interviewee CCC, the brands that “are so happy that there's no child labor”, is not “really something that [the brands] did personally. It feels a little bit like [the brands] are claiming victory for something that is so obvious”.

Although environmental sustainability norms (norms eight to ten in Table 3) are important for the foundation, they are not its main area of work. Instead, as mentioned earlier, labor rights are the main focus (Interviewee CCC).

Besides the norms presented in Table 3, good governance (rule of law) and transparency are also important, according to the foundation (Interview SKC). Transparency, for example, is highlighted in the Transparency Pledge Coalition, in which brands, multi-stakeholder initiatives and retail discounters are moving towards supply chain disclosure (CCC, 2019a). Furthermore, citizen and employment status

such as the need of formal contracts and attention to migrant issues are important for CCC (Interview CCC).

Table 3

Norms Clean Clothes Campaign

Norms for sustainable fashion		CCC Legend: X: never mentioned, ✓: barely mentioned, ✓✓: often mentioned, ✓✓✓: very often mentioned
1.	No child labor	✓
2.	No discrimination, no SGBV and gender equality	✓✓
3.	No forced labor	✓✓
4.	Reasonable working time	✓
5.	Occupational health and safety	✓✓✓
6.	Freedom of trade unions and collective bargaining	✓✓✓
7.	Living wages	✓✓✓
8.	Sustainable use of raw materials	X
9.	Diminish water pollution and use of chemicals, water and energy	X
10.	Diminish greenhouse gas emissions	X
11.	No bribery and corruption	X
12.	Responsible sourcing from homeworkers	✓
13.	Animal welfare	X

4.1.3 Norm diffusion methods

The norm diffusion methods by the CCC (Table 4) are discussed in some detail below.

Knowledge sharing

CCC is mostly active in diffusion of norms through sharing knowledge. The foundation shares knowledge on traditional media, such as in newspapers or on radio. However, CCC is always selective in which newspapers and journalists to ask for publishing stories to remain credible (Interviewee CCC). CCC also shares reports written by the foundation itself or partner organizations on Facebook, LinkedIn and Instagram, and also on the CCC website (CCC, 2020a). In addition, CCC shares videos on YouTube and other social media platforms. In the past, CCC collaborated with a Dutch TV program called ‘De slag om de klerewereld’ (‘The battle for the clothing world’) to share knowledge about unsafe factories and harsh working conditions in the fashion industry (CCC, 2016). In addition to knowledge sharing via platforms, CCC also holds several meetings where staff learns from each other and share the knowledge CCC gained within the network (Interviewee SKC).

Knowledge construction

CCC is not very active in constructing knowledge. The foundation has a partnership with Y&F, a volunteering committee, which CCC helped with creating an education program for high school students about fair fashion, which will continue next year (Interviewee SKC). In addition, CCC employees are members of the expert committee of the FWF (Fair Wear Foundation [FWF], 2020; Interviewee SKC) and have undergone some training for workers about norms, such as women empowerment and their labor rights (CCC, 2017). These trainings are limited, however, and only take place when partner organizations take the initiative (CCC, 2020a).

Knowledge creation

Turning to the creation of knowledge, CCC is very active in writing reports and also supports other network organizations to write reports. Interviewee CCC mentions that the foundation has a lot of researchers in their network. An example of a research by the partner organization CCC Switzerland is on garment workers experiencing hunger due to covid. Interviewee SKC states that research and reports are very useful, noting that: “The facts of this report create a vehicle to bring this to the doorstep of politicians”. In addition to fact creation, research helps to quantify to create stronger arguments, and also to inform the foundation of a good analysis of a certain situation (Interviewee SKC). This view is echoed by interviewee CCC: “It’s all about making sure that what we go public with is actually true”. An example is a report investigating the exploitation of Syrian refugees in the Turkish garment industry by CCC Turkey (CCC, 2020a).

CCC also creates knowledge on living wages and transparency. Key examples are the ‘Made in Europe’ fact sheet based on living wage research in Europe (CCC, 2017), the ‘Rank a Brand’ research to create knowledge about the transparency of brands (CCC, 2017), and the 2014 ‘Tailored Wages’ report focusing on brand commitment to pay living wages (CCC, 2020a).

Framing and grafting

CCC is active in framing and grafting, though this was hard to detect in the foundation’s annual reports. The interviewee SKC stated that the foundation tries to frame its message positively, but become more confrontational once the audience (often brands) does not respond. Moreover, the foundation tries to speak the language of those they want to influence. However, the messages are often received as negative and quite radical (Interview CCC; Interview SKC).

The campaigns of CCC typically start with non-public serious communication by notifying a brand with a letter. Only if the brands do not respond, CCC starts public campaigning (in agreement with the garment workers). First, the tone of the campaign is playful, but later more serious as “it is about people’s lives” (Interview CCC). The short distance between CCC and the union leaders on the ground makes it possible to collect proof such as pay slips or worker testimonies. According the CCC, the fact based campaigns are always taken more seriously by the industry. With this information CCC can start publicly “naming and shaming” of brands that are reluctant to take action (CCC, 2020a; Interviewee CCC). The framing and “naming and shaming” is done by CCC to raise awareness among consumers and enables the CCC to mobilize brands to solve the problems of the garment workers by for example paying workers a living wage. According to Interviewee CCC: “What [CCC] is trying to do in the campaigns is trying to stick up for people who simply cannot stick up for themselves”, “I think [CCC] is truly the workers' voice here in consumer countries”.

The previous were examples of framing. Besides framing, CCC is active in grafting by linking its messages to pre-existing norms. According to interviewee SKC: “If you want to have a sustainable impact on people, [the brands and politicians] have to see it as their self-interest”. Therefore, when CCC wants to influence brands or politicians, the foundation looks at what moves the brands or politicians, and looks at what their pre-existing norms are, and adjust its messages accordingly (Interviewee SKC). Another example of grafting is when CCC aims to reach the ethical investors of companies such as H&M with their reports about how the company is doing, as the foundation knows the outcomes of these reports will not be happily received by the investors who have influence on H&M. (Interviewee CCC). CCC tries to anticipate on the pre-existing norms of the ethical investors of the companies. Overall it can be seen that framing and grafting is done by CCC to influence people in their actions to improve the garment workers’ lives.

Localization

CCC is not active in localization, as the foundation sees itself as worker driven and amplifying the voices of workers. This is illustrated by the following quotation: “[CCC’s work] is really driven by what workers ask us to do, or what unions ask us to do” (Interviewee CCC). This view is echoed by the SKC interviewee as he states that the CCC sees itself as a strategic extension of the struggle of the garment workers: “I think we have a clear niche as CCC in terms of bringing the struggle of the factory workers and the factory trade unions right to the doorstep of the brands that are in our countries”. However, CCC has members from all over the world and collaborates with the local garment workers and its local partners. The foundation is present in countries where factories operate, and in the cities where the board rooms are located. The strong connection between the bottom and top of the supply chain is, according to the CCC, key to CCC’s campaigning (CCC, 2020a). In addition, the CCC interviewee amplifies that the norms could be different across cultures, such as gender-based violence: “norms are more outspoken [in the Netherlands] and it’s easier to speak out than it is [in production countries]” (Interviewee CCC). Therefore it can be summarized that CCC is active in pursuing the norms of the garment workers, and perhaps even beyond these norms.

Patronage

CCC is barely active in diffusing norms through patronage because its donors are public (Interviewee SKC; Interviewee CCC). Whenever CCC funds other organizations, the selection process of funding others is according to the partners’ norms: “According to norms and experience with [organizations] [CCC] looks at what [the organizations objectives are and how [the organizations] do things. If their norms are aligned, in terms of transparency, in terms of their vision on politics or gender issues.” (Interviewee SKC). CCC interviewee echoes this view and adds that the organizations CCC funds are often in line with the foundations own norms, but that these norms are already there. Nevertheless, other than occasionally funding research or projects of partners, CCC is normally not involved in patronage. (CCC, 2020a).

Lobbying

A key norm diffusion method that CCC uses is lobbying (CCC, 2020a; Interviewee CCC). CCC tries to build relationships with specific politicians or members of the European parliament who are friendly to the foundations’ issues. In this way CCC tries to influence the parliament in aligning with their norms and ideas. For example: “In the past for example the [Dutch politician from the labor party and minister of development] was always very open to our ideas” (Interviewee CCC). Both the interviewee of CCC and SKC state that lobbying is about building a personal relationship with the parliamentarians, making sure the material CCC provides the politicians is correct, making sure that the foundation has the right evidence and make it as easy as possible for politicians to cooperate with CCC (Interviewee SKC; Interviewee CCC). Further examples of lobbying are that CCC writes position papers (CCC, 2017), provides input for political meetings (CCC, 2016), pressures EU and national governments to enforce regulations protecting workers, and coordinated the preparation of an open letter to introduce legislation (CCC, 2020a). CCC lobbies for binding, legally enforceable agreements, mandatory human rights due diligence and legislation for labor rights (CCC, 2020a).

Mobilizing people

CCC is very active in mobilizing people to influence norms, create visibility and put pressure on brands. The following quotation illustrates this point: “[CCC] mobilizes people to undertake individual and collective action” (CCC, 2017). CCC believes that their prospect for victories rely on their belief in justice and in the power of people (CCC, 2018). Mobilizing people is done by the foundation in various

ways discussed below.

CCC mobilizes people with a call for demonstration, such as the following: “By the beginning of April, we launched a campaign website, and we called for worldwide demonstrations around the time of H&M’s Annual General Meeting on 3 May – if H&M would not have considerably sped up the installation of fire doors and improvement of unsafe exits by that time” (CCC, 2017, p.7). Another example of demonstration was the week of solidarity, organized by CCC, with demonstrations in various cities, in solidarity with Bangladeshi garment workers (CCC, 2020a).

In addition to demonstrations, CCC mobilizes people to distribute and sign petitions. An example is the Turn Around H&M petition to keep H&M true to the promise of a living wage: “The campaign successfully mobilized consumers around the world, resulting in over 180,000 signatures on our petition, thousands of social media messages, and media coverage globally” (CCC, 2020a). These petitions are often used for advocacy and lobbying, as illustrated by the following quotation: “In October 2015, Clean Clothes Campaign organized a Living Wage Now Forum in Brussels, during which it presented almost 150,000 signatures of European citizens to international clothing brands and representatives of the European Commission” (CCC, 2016, p.7). Often CCC cooperates with organizations to mobilize more people on signing the petition. This happened for example in 2015 with a petition to force a company to contribute to a fund. Over one million people signed the petition, pressuring the brand to give in and contribute to the fund (CCC, 2016).

CCC also uses social media to mobilize people. The foundation calls on people to use hashtags such as #PayUpUniqlo and #TurnAroundHM (CCC, 2019a). Moreover, CCC mobilizes people to unite online as an act of solidarity, illustrated by the following quotation: “Millions mobilized online, to show solidarity with Indonesian workers who are still fighting for the payments UNIQLO owes them” (CCC, 2020a, p.3). Additionally, CCC mobilizes people to participate in online activism resulting in ensuring that, for example, Uniqlo felt the heat of public outcry. The foundations’ actions clearly had an effect as Uniqlo shut down its Facebook page, following a lot of negative public feedback (CCC, 2020a). With mobilizing people online, brands are named and shamed and get pressured to take action towards the norms such as paying living wages.

CCC also actively campaigns to mobilize brands to sign for example the Transparency Pledge to publicly disclose information on their production locations (CCC, 2020a), and mobilize companies to express support for the Transition Accord of the Bangladesh Accord about safety in the fashion industry (CCC, 2019a). This is illustrated by the following quotation: “This was largely done by mobilizing allies and citizens around the world, engaging brands through public statements and reports, and outreach to key stakeholders” (CCC, 2020a, p.15). The aforementioned efforts for the Transition Accord led to almost forty apparel companies expressing their support, to supportive statements from vital stakeholders, and over seventy English language and international media articles (CCC, 2020a), demonstrating the effectiveness of mobilizing brands.

Collaboration

CCC collaboration can be divided into three forms: collaboration with the foundations' network partners, collaboration with NGO's to create coalitions, and collaboration with companies for expertise and resources.

The first form of collaboration is within the model of the CCC foundation as CCC is a network organization. The worldwide network consists of civil society organizations and trade unions such as fair trade organizations, research institutes, women's organizations, consumers organizations, youth organizations, solidary groups, etcetera (CCC, 2019a). The network is divided in four regional coalitions (one in Europe, three in Asia) with regular meetings in which network members organize, strategize and strengthen connections (CCC, 2020a). Members of the network hold coalition meetings to discuss regional activities and priorities, but they also include skill-sharing and trainings on topics such as the use of online campaigning (CCC, 2017). CCC allows network members to cooperate globally on specific efforts and themes by launching Working International Groups (CCC, 2017). This improves knowledge exchange, communication and coordination within the whole network (CCC, 2017). By broadening and institutionalizing the network, CCC has been strengthening the power of their network and ensured that the foundation is present in countries that carry the burden of different stages of the supply chain (CCC, 2017). Collaboration brings more strengths to the CCC network to diffuse its norms.

The second form of collaboration is with other NGO's and organizations to create alliances and coalitions. An example is the Fair Green and Global (FGG) Alliance of which CCC is a member. The FGG Alliance consists of five more organization. Together the organizations applied for a Strategic Partnership with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in the field of advocacy and lobby (CCC, 2016). Collaboration and coalition building helps to create more leverage for advocacy and lobbying. Another example is whenever an urgent appeal question appears. With an urgent appeal norms are transcended and CCC discusses a strategy with local partners, and they frequently form broader international coalitions to generate more support with for example other human right organizations (CCC, 2017).

The third form of collaboration of CCC is with organizations for their expertise and resources. For example with brand-comparison website Rank a Brand, which launched results of a research of over 100 Dutch garment brands, focusing on sustainability and working conditions (CCC, 2016), and cooperation with Tinqwise Tinqlab, the Dutch CCC launched a virtual garment factory (CCC, 2016). In collaboration with Both Ends and Action Aid, CCC organized a workshop on strategic litigation where experiences were shared and how this tool can be used to hold companies accountable (CCC, 2020a). Some other projects in which CCC collaborated with different partners are "We want clean clothes", "Who run the world, girls" and "Women power fashion" (CCC, 2016).

Summary

CCC mainly supports labor rights norms, of which the following are the most dominant: freedom of trade unions and collective bargaining, occupational health and safety, and living wages. Regarding norm diffusion methods, CCC is mainly active in sharing knowledge, lobbying and collaboration. Furthermore, CCC is active in mobilizing people and creating knowledge.

Table 4
Norm diffusion methods Clean Clothes Campaign

Norm diffusion methods	CCC
Knowledge sharing	✓✓✓
Knowledge construction	✓
Knowledge creation	✓✓
Framing & grafting	✓✓
Localization	✗
Patronage	✗
Lobbying	✓✓✓
Mobilizing people	✓✓
Collaboration	✓✓✓

4.2 Fair Wear Foundation

4.2.1 Characteristics of the Fair Wear Foundation

The Fair Wear Foundation (FWF) is a public independent not-for-profit foundation. The foundation started in 1999 when the CCC, an advocacy group for garment workers, and FNV, a Dutch trade union, got together to improve labor conditions in the garment industry. The small partnership started with pilot projects at four Dutch companies, and eventually grew into the FWF. Nowadays, the foundation has more than fifty employees who work closely with 140+ member brands to a more ethical and fairer fashion industry (FWF, 2021b). The FWF wants to see a world where the garment industry supports workers in realizing their rights to dignified, safe, properly paid employment. The mission of the foundation is to improve the working conditions in the global garment and textile industry together with companies, factories and stakeholders (FWF, 2017).

FWF focusses on the most labor intensive parts of the garment supply chain – the sewing, cutting and trimming process. The member brands the foundation works with are voluntarily committed to finding a fairer way to make clothes, and the FWF engages directly with trade unions, factories, NGOs and governments to find answers to the problems of the fashion industry. According the FWF, together they are “stitching” new solutions across the supply chain to make fashion fair for everyone (FWF, 2021b). An overview of the FWF can be found in Table 5.

For the FWF, five annual reports of the years 2015 to 2019 have been analyzed. In addition, one interview with a communication and public relations employee at Fair Wear, called interviewee FWF, was held and analyzed.

Table 5

Characteristics of the Fair Wear Foundation

Characteristics	Fair Wear Foundation
Type	Public – Fundraising foundation
Geographic	Europe Headquartered in Amsterdam (The Netherlands)
Roots	Public sector body
Link to	Active (tangential) – represented in the board
Life stage	1999 - established
Organizational size	More than 50 – medium-sized
Nature of resources	Combination of endowed plus allocation and/or fundraising
Size resources	€5,346,821 in 2019 - large
Distribution of resources	Own programs and goals
Who is in the board	The FWF board is a tripartite (multi-stakeholder) board, in which business associations, trade unions and (labor) NGOs are equally represented In 2019, the following persons were in the board: 1. Mark Held (Chairperson) 2. Patric Hanselman – Modint (business associations – apparel) 3. Femke den Hartog - InRetail (business associations – apparel) 4. Catelene Passchier – FNV (trade unions – vice chair) 5. Miges Baumann - Brut fur Alle (non-governmental organization – treasurer) 6. Dominique Muller – CCC (non-governmental organization)
Control of decision making	Centralized
Audience	The government, companies, factory owners, trade union federations and garment workers
Beneficiaries	Brands and individual garment workers
Approach	Operating
Geography	Headquarters in Amsterdam, but works with member brands in multiple countries
Theme	Single – improve working conditions in the textile industry

Note. FWF, 2017, 2020.

4.2.2 Norms for sustainable fashion

From the interview and the annual reports of the FWF it becomes evident that the main focus of the FWF are labor rights and social sustainability. Eight out of the thirteen sustainable fashion norms are embraced by the FWF (Table 7). The FWF emphasizes the norms no discrimination, no SGBV and gender equality, freedom of trade unions and collective bargaining, and living wages. Hereafter, the norms mostly supported by the FWF are reasonable working time and occupational health and safety. This is pointed out by the FWF (2020) vision: “Fair Wear wants to see a world where workers in the garment industry see their rights to safe, dignified, and properly paid employment realised” (p.7). In addition, the FWF’s partnerships in the annual reports are on gender equality and inclusion, living wage and social dialogue (FWF, 2019, 2020). The FWF also pursues the norms no child labor, no forced labor and responsible sourcing from homeworkers.

Norms eight to eleven and thirteen of Table 7 are not taken into account by the FWF, as these are, according the FWF interviewee, related to either environmental topics or animal welfare. The interviewee mentions that that is not what the FWF is doing. The FWF is focusing in its mission on “a world where fashion is fair for the people who make our clothes” (FWF, 2020, p.7). Hence, the focus of the FWF is on people and not the environment and animals.

The FWF has a Code of Labor Practices that are the basis of the collaboration between Fair Wear and a member brand (Table 6). Factories of member brands are audited to monitor a brand’s supply chain and assess how well factories comply with FWF’s eight labor standards. According the FWF, audits are part

of a process leading to workplace improvements (FWF, 2019). FWF interviewee states: “if all these standards are implemented, the social sustainability factor would be really high”.

Table 6

Fair Wear Code of Labor Practices

Fair Wear Code of Labor Practices	
1.	Employment is freely chosen
2.	Freedom of association and the right to collective bargaining
3.	No discrimination in employment
4.	No exploitation of child labor
5.	Payment of a living wage
6.	Reasonable hours of work
7.	Safe and healthy working conditions
8.	Legally binding relationship

Note. FWF, 2016.

The FWF interviewee states that the first part of the norms list (Table 7) are “sort of similar” to the code of labor practices of the FWF (Table 6). These norms go from no child labor to living wages, as the interviewee states: “it is a bit of a different way of formulating, but in essence, it's sort of the same”. The FWF mentions legally binding relationships as an important norm that is not part norms list (Interview FWF). The norm is explained by the FWF interviewee as follows: “[Legally binding employment relationship] has everything to do with steady contracts in the industry”. The sustainable fashion norm that is not pursuit in the FWF code of conduct is no sexual harassment and gender-based violence in the workplace. However, the FWF is actively focusing on this norm, as mentioned above and found in the annual reports.

Table 7

Norms Fair Wear Foundation

Norms for sustainable fashion		FWF Legend: X: never mentioned, ✓: barely mentioned, ✓✓: often mentioned, ✓✓✓: very often mentioned
1.	No child labor	✓
2.	No discrimination, no SGBV and gender equality	✓✓✓
3.	No forced labor	✓
4.	Reasonable working time	✓
5.	Occupational health and safety	✓✓
6.	Freedom of trade unions and collective bargaining	✓✓✓
7.	Living wages	✓✓✓
8.	Sustainable use of raw materials	X
9.	Diminish water pollution and use of chemicals, water and energy	X
10.	Diminish greenhouse gas emissions	X
11.	No bribery and corruption	X
12.	Responsible sourcing from homeworkers	✓
13.	Animal welfare	X

4.2.3 Norm diffusion methods

The norm diffusion methods by the FWF (Table 8) are discussed in some detail below.

Knowledge sharing

FWF is very active in knowledge sharing. Indeed, according to the FWF interviewee: “Lots of knowledge is actually needed to make sure all the labor standards are implemented”. The foundation has multiple platforms and ways to share knowledge, as well as various people who the foundation shares its knowledge with. Knowledge is shared for example through meetings, trainings, webinars, seminars and conferences (FWF, 2020). In addition, FWF shares knowledge on various social media platforms such as Facebook, as the FWF (2017) emphasizes: “On Facebook, the communications team shares publications and updates readers on the work of FWF, such as seminars, meetings and projects” (p.17).

Knowledge is shared with member brands to ensure that brands interpret the labor standards as they are meant by the FWF, as the FWF interviewee states: “[FWF] shares a lot of knowledge on all these labor standards. So for example, if you speak about living wages, [FWF] will be sharing knowledge with our brands, and really guide them very closely in order to make sure that higher wages are being paid in the factories”. In addition, knowledge about labor standards is also shared with audits teams. As the FWF interviewee underlines: “audit teams need to know where they need to look out for when they come to factories”.

According to the FWF (2020): “for lasting change to occur, we need as many brands on board as possible” (p.20). Therefore, the FWF encourages other brands to increase their social responsibility efforts through for example efforts such as sharing best practices, tools and guidance documents such as the Brand Performance Check Guide. This illustrated by the following quotation: “[FWF] invites non-Fair Wear brands to certain supplier seminars in production countries and involved non-member brands in our brand awareness training on gender-based violence and living wage training” (FWF, 2020, p.20).

The FWF (2020) also spreads knowledge through collaborations as pointed out by the following quotation: “[The FWF] found ways to spread our knowledge through new collaborations” (p.3). An example is the development of a joint approach to complaints with the Dutch Agreement on Textiles and the German Partnership for sustainable textiles. FWF also launched a learning network on living wages to expand and develop innovative tools like the Living Wage Calculator. As a part of this, the FWF shares their methodology with large investors through the Platform Living Wage Financials (FWF, 2020).

To increase the visibility of the FWF and share knowledge of the FWF approach, the FWF staff participated in several public events such as the Copenhagen Fashion Summit. In addition, to address more industry-focused expert audience, FWF presented its work at multiple events including the OECD Roundtable on Due Diligence in the Garment and Footwear Sector. Moreover, the FWF contributed to several workshops of for example the Dutch Agreement on Sustainable Garments and Textiles. In addition, the FWF also shared knowledge to an audience outside the sector by joining roundtables on the Dutch banking agreement (‘bankenconvenant’) and by presenting the FWF approach to initiatives from other sectors such as Rainforest Alliance (FWF, 2018a).

Knowledge construction

A key norm diffusion method of the FWF is constructing knowledge. The main method is through the FWF workplace education program (WEP) and thematic workshops and trainings to address structural issues in global garment supply chains (FWF, 2017).

The factory trainings, also called WEP, are for workers and managers and are divided in three subjects: the basis, communication and social dialogue. These WEP are on the Fair Wear code of labor practices, from what are reasonable working hours to what is a living wage (Interview FWF). According to the FWF interviewee, the WEP are in place: “So [the workers and managers] get to understand a little bit more what their rights are and [the workers and managers] have a better understanding of when their rights are being violated. That opens the door also to voice their concerns and to make improvements”. In 2016, for example, thirty WEP basic training sessions were organized in which workers were taught basis knowledge and skills, including how to read a salary slip and calculate whether the appropriate wage has been received (FWF, 2017).

An example of the thematic workshop is the ‘Safe and Equal workshop’ for members of the Myanmar Garment Manufacturers’ Association (MGMA). The workshop was designed to equip factory management staff with the skills and concepts to understand the gender dimension of workplaces, thereby encouraging worker motivation and productivity, preventing harassment and discrimination in the garment industry and improving working conditions (FWF, 2018a). An example of a training is the Line Supervisor Training program in India in 2017. The program was designed to pilot methods for reducing women workplace violence in the garment industry through training of potential and current line supervisors. Women workers with promotion potential were trained to be effective supervisors, while male supervisors were taught communication and gender-sensitivity skills (FWF, 2017).

Knowledge creation

The FWF is active in creating knowledge. The foundation creates tools such as online toolkits on living wages and gender, the Brand Performance Check Guide and country studies (FWF, 2020).

According the FWF, the foundations’ core work, with factories, brands, civil society organizations and trade unions, create the opportunity to pilot new projects and create from these accrue evidence-based data on what works, and what does not (FWF, 2017). In addition, FWF publishes Factory Guides, which are online training tools aiming to engage factory managers in the work of the FWF and its members, and contribute to enhance partnerships between garment factories and their customers. The guide explains how labor standards work in practice, what to expect from the audits of FWF and explains visions on complaints handling, trainings and supply chain relationships (FWF, 2016).

Furthermore, FWF creates and revises country studies, such as the in 2016 published country study for Bulgaria. The studies provide insights in the input on the most common non-compliances and legislative developments over the past years, such as for the Bulgarian country study that the largest non-compliance issue to date falls under the payment of a living wage, found during the social audits of the FWF (FWF, 2017). The FWF claims that the country studies provide clear and concise picture of the textile and garment industry, working conditions and labor laws within the industry for each of the eleven countries the FWF is active (FWF, 2017).

Framing and grafting

The FWF is active in framing as became evident in the annual reports and interview with FWF. The messages the FWF share are according the FWF interviewee mostly framed positive, but with a serious tone, as the topics are serious as well. The foundation claims to try to incorporate some humor in the message. In addition, the messages to get people more conscious about the topic is done in a simplistic way. However, from the Fair Wear member brands, the foundation expects a different, higher level. (Interview FWF).

The FWF does not only frames messages, but also frames their method and member brands, as illustrated by the following quotation: “our member brands are frontrunners in sustainability” (FWF, 2020, p.20). The foundation sheds its method and member brands in a positive light.

In addition to framing, the brand is active in grafting. However, the grafting is done with the pre-existing norms of different countries. Hence, it is more localization than grafting, as “the way [the FWF] works in North Macedonia cannot be copy pasted to the factory in Vietnam” (Interview FWF). The people that work at the complaints helpline and do the factory trainings and audits, have a lot of knowledge about local regulations, local laws and cultural concepts. According to the FWF, this knowledge is relevant and essential to make a difference (Interview FWF).

Localization

The FWF is active in localization. For example: “FWF provided training to its local worker interviewer at the ILO training center to ensure greater gender sensitivity during audits” (FWF, 2017, p.29). One of the regular activities of the FWF is engaging with local stakeholders (FWF, 2017). The headquarters are in Amsterdam, and the FWF works with brands in the Netherlands and other European countries. However, according to the FWF, to make sure both ends of the supply chain are noticed, there are local teams needed in production countries (Interview FWF). Through the WEP, the local garment workers and managers are taught what their rights are and what the code of conduct contains (Interview FWF). By dint of these factory trainings, the trainers can make sure the local norms and the norms of what the FWF wants to see are aligned and well understood by the local garment workers and managers.

Sometimes audit teams see that other standards are practiced in the factories than the foundation thinks should be the level. As the foundation does not want to be the “white man’s burden”, the FWF requests brands to act. According to the FWF, brands use their economic position to make sure that the level the FWF wants to see is implemented. FWF claims that it is a good way of working when the brands bring money to a factory and country, and then ask for improvement together with the factory (Interview FWF). In short, influencing the norms in the factories is done by the FWF with help of the influence of brands.

Patronage

The FWF is not active in patronage on a regular basis. The FWF interviewee mentions that the foundation has recently funded a NGO in Myanmar, but are not really active in funding others. (Interview FWF). Two other examples of patronage found in the annual reports are that the FWF funded research and funded a FWF partner to enhance the lobby capacity (FWF, 2017).

Lobbying

From the interview and the annual reports, it comes evident that the FWF is active in lobbying. Most lobby activities of the FWF are done in groups or through partnerships which can broadly be divided into three groups: the Strategic Partnership, the Apparel Industry MSI Quick Response Group, and with NGO's and partner organizations. Key issues the FWF lobbies for are legislation for labor laws such as no violence and harassment at the workplace. Lobby activities of the FWF are for example the organizing of several exchange sessions with Dutch policymakers on labor rights situations in the garment industry (FWF, 2020). In addition, the FWF was engaged in advocacy efforts regarding a labor code revision and participated in a consultation workshop with the Vietnam Ministry of Labor. With the work of the FWF, four recommendations were fully accepted and three partially accepted when the revised labor code was adopted in November 2019 (FWF, 2020), creating evidence for the effectiveness of the FWF's lobby activities. An additional example is that according the FWF, Germany will probably be leading the way with a new German supply chain law. Therefore the FWF is in contact with German governments, to make sure that the FWFs "high standards" are conveyed (Interview FWF).

First, FWF lobbies within the Strategic Partnership (SP) program. The SP for Garment Supply Chain Transformation is an agreement with the Dutch Government, and two Dutch trade unions. The program aims to improve corporate and government policies regarding human rights compliance in garment supply chains in eight countries (FWF, 2018a, 2020). The SP partners organized several joint activities in 2017 and 2018, and thereby brought together country representatives and country managers, as well as local staff, to be trained on lobby activities; how to plan, organize and implement lobby efforts (FWF, 2017, 2019). In 2017, the SP has jointly set international lobby goals for the SP themes, gender-based violence and social dialogue. An effective lobby example of the SP partners in the Netherlands and production countries was for the adoption of an International Labor Organization convention in violence and harassment in the workplace (FWF, 2020).

Second, the FWF lobbied together with the Apparel Industry MSI Quick Response Group. FWF wrote a letter to the Cambodian government urging it to respect workers' rights and fundamental democratic principles, as FWF is a signatory of the Apparel Industry MSI Quick Response Group (FWF, 2018a, 2019). In 2019, the members of the response group joined hands again by putting pressure on the government of Bangladesh to revise the minimum wage and the need for continuation of the Bangladesh Accord. The FWF and other MSIs and business organizations wrote a joint letter to the Prime minister of Bangladesh, urging the government to contribute to the Accord's continuation to further develop the Bangladesh garment sector (FWF, 2019).

Third, FWF lobbied in collaboration with partner organizations and other NGO's. An example is when a Dutch trade union and the FWF worked together to further strengthen the legal basis for women's rights, and therefore worked closely together in their lobby work to enact dedicated legislation on sexual harassment protection and prevention (FWF, 2018a). Another example is when in 2018, a gender-based violence advocacy group was formed including three NGOs and the FWF. The group is advocating for the development of labor laws addressing gender-based violence at workplaces. An example the effectiveness of lobbying is the acceptance of five (out of ten proposed) amendments of a law in Myanmar (FWF, 2019).

Mobilizing people

There is no evidence found in the annual reports and interview that the FWF is active in mobilizing people.

Collaboration

The FWF is active in collaborating with different partners such as other NGOs, local partners, member brands, and governments. As the FWF interviewee states: “We cannot do it alone. We need others to do it together. And more than ever, I think we are now joining forces with other organizations”, and “Only together, can we transform the industry” (FWF, 2020, p.3). The collaboration and strategic partnerships help with sharing and creating knowledge (FWF, 2020). In addition, collaboration is beneficial with lobbying and it creates opportunities for joint actions (FWF, 2017).

The first collaboration is the Strategic Partnership, as explained in the FWF’s lobby section. The SP is, according to the FWF (2017), a very important step towards a more effective approach to improve workplace conditions in sourcing countries in Asia: “The Strategic Partnership creates opportunities for joint action, using the partners’ knowledge and expertise in lobby and advocacy, and their combined resources. Collaboration provides an opportunity for FWF, CNV and FNV to strengthen and promote labour rights in the countries where they operate” (p.11). The knowledge created can be shared with the global garment industry as illustrated by the following quotation: “The Strategic Partnership can develop replicable and sustainable management systems for not only the brands and the factories that are working with FWF but also for the global garment industry as a whole” (FWF, 2017, p.4).

Second, according to the FWF, the foundation pushes towards a new normal with other industry influencers including labor unions and labor rights NGOs (FWF, 2020). For example, since 2017, FWF has been part of the Emergency Response group in which various organizations such as Ethical Trading Initiative, Fair Labor Association and the Sustainable Apparel Coalition collaborate to respond in a coordinated manner when urgent labor rights violations arise in garment production countries. The members of the Response Group for example jointly expressed concerns to the Cambodian government in 2019 on the labor and human rights situations in Cambodia (FWF, 2020). An additional example is the partnership with ASN Bank in 2018, focusing on living wages. FWF experts collaborated with ASN Bank and its ‘Platform Living Wage Financials’ to increase capacity and knowledge of investors to address living wage issues with garment and textile companies in their portfolios. The partnership with the ASN Bank enables FWF to share lessons from its member brands with larger companies, thereby contributing to change the garment industry (FWF, 2019).

Third, FWF partners with brands and supports workers (FWF, 2020). The foundation collaborates with member brands, as the foundation tries to help the brands to do better and incorporate the standards of the FWF. The FWF helps member brands with their expertise and to create practical plans and pinpoint next steps to improve working conditions. The collaborative process of step-by-step changes is what, according to FWF, makes real and lasting impact (FWF, 2021b).

Last, the FWF collaborates with ministries and governments of various countries. For example, the FWF cooperated with the Dutch consulate in Istanbul and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to hold a roundtable session, and a follow up meeting, on decent working conditions for Syrian refugees in the textile industry in Turkey (FWF, 2018a, 2019). A taskforce was established which offered the FWF the chance to share knowledge, expertise and tools the FWF has gathered in Turkey to a relevant and board audience (FWF, 2019).

Summary

The norms of the FWF encounter all social sustainability norms and labor rights, but focus mostly on the norms living wages, freedom of trade unions and collective bargain, and no discrimination, no SGBV and gender equality. The main norm diffusion methods the FWF uses are knowledge sharing and construction, and collaboration. Moreover, the FWF is active in knowledge creation and lobbying.

Table 8
Norm diffusion methods Fair Wear Foundation

Norm diffusion methods	FWF
Knowledge sharing	✓✓✓
Knowledge construction	✓✓✓
Knowledge creation	✓✓
Framing & grafting	✓✓
Localization	✓✓
Patronage	✗
Lobbying	✓✓
Mobilizing people	✗
Collaboration	✓✓✓

4.3 Fashion Revolution

4.3.1 Characteristics of Fashion Revolution

Since 2013, Fashion Revolution is a decentralized worldwide movement made up of diverse people coming together to create systemic change in the global fashion industry (Fashion Revolution, 2020). Fashion Revolution is a public independent foundation because the foundation was founded in 2013 as a response to the Rana Plaza collapse in Bangladesh by Orsola de Castro and Carry Somers (KM, 2019; Interview Fashion Revolution). According Fashion Revolution, the foundation has created a worldwide platform which can be used to ask questions, raise standards and set an industry-wide example of what a better fashion industry looks like (Fashion Revolution, 2021). Fashion Revolution aims for a safer, fairer, cleaner, more transparent and more accountable textiles and fashion industry. Furthermore, Fashion Revolution wants fashion to become a force for good and believes in an industry that values the environment, people, profit and creativity in equal measure (Fashion Revolution, 2020). As Fashion Revolution (2021) states “We do this through research, education, collaboration, mobilization and advocacy” (“funded” section).

Fashion Revolution wants to ignite a revolution to change the way our clothes are produced, sourced and purchased. Fashion Revolution believes that transparency is the first step to transforming the industry. Transparency for them starts with one question: who made my clothes? People can join Fashion Revolution by showing their clothing label and asking brands #whomademyclothes, to show care and demand better conditions for the people who make clothes (Fashion Revolution, 2021). Fashion Revolution evokes brands to respond by showing the people in the brands’ supply chain with the hashtag #Imadeyourclothes to see and hear the stories from thousands of farmers, producers and makers, and see an increasing number of brands making their supply chains more transparent (Fashion Revolution, 2021). An overview of Fashion Revolution can be found in Table 9.

For Fashion Revolution the impact reports of the years 2017, 2018 and 2019 have been analyzed. In addition, one interview with a team member education and events at Fashion Revolution, named interviewee Fashion Revolution, was held and analyzed.

Table 9

Characteristics of Fashion Revolution

Characteristics	Fashion Revolution
Type	Public – Fundraising foundation
Geographic	Europe Headquartered in Wales (England)
Roots	Independent
Link to	Active (engaged)
Life stage	2013 - emergent
Organizational size	13 persons - small
Nature of resources	Combination of endowed plus allocation and/or fundraising
Size resources	727,795 £ in 2019 +/- 1million € – small to medium
Distribution of resources	Own programs and goals
Who is in the board	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Carolyn Joy Somers – founder of fashion brand Pachacut and founder and Global Operations Director of Fashion Revolution 2. Orsola De Castro - founder of Fashion Revolution and Associate Lecturer at UAL 3. Christine Mary Gent – Global Community Director of Fashion Revolution and she is also director People Tree Fair Trade Group, founder of Fairly Covered, and FAIR shop, CEO People Tree Foundation and steering committee Fair Trade International Symposium 4. Sarah Anna Ditty - developed the Fashion Transparency Index and Global Policy Director of Fashion Revolution
Control of decision making	Decentralized
Audience	The government, companies, consumers
Beneficiaries	The whole fashion industry
Approach	Philanthroactivism
Geography	Globally, headquarters based in the UK Africa, Asia, Central America and the Caribbean, Europe, North America , South America and Oceania
Theme	Single - safer, fairer, cleaner, more transparent and more accountable textiles and fashion industry

Note. Fashion Revolution, 2020, 2021; KM, 2019.

4.3.2 Norms for sustainable fashion

Ten out of the thirteen norms are mentioned by Fashion Revolution (Table 10). The norms of Fashion Revolution are broadly expressed, as in general, Fashion Revolution wants to systematically change the fashion industry and make the fashion industry more sustainable, both social and environmental (Fashion Revolution, 2020). This view is amplified by the Fashion Revolution interviewee, as she states about the norms of Table 10: “I think they are all really important”.

Fashion Revolution aims for a save, fair and clean fashion industry (Fashion Revolution, 2019b). The norms embraced the most by Fashion Revolution are occupational health and safety, no discrimination, no SGBV and gender equality, freedom of trade unions and collective bargaining, and environmental sustainability (norms eight to ten in Table 10) in the fashion industry. About norms eight to ten, interviewee Fashion Revolution states: “those for us fall under kind of the same umbrella”. For Fashion Revolution, environmental sustainability includes extending the lifetime of clothes, taking care of your clothes after you have bought them and buying more second hand clothes. Fashion Revolution for example brought out the Loved clothes last and Fashion environmental change magazines (Fashion Revolution, 2019b). In addition, Fashion Revolution (2019b) states: “Encouraging students, educators and the wider public to understand the provenance of clothing and connect with the stories of people who make them, is fundamental creating an emotional attachment to the clothes we wear, and in challenging the unsustainable culture of throw-away fashion” (p. 46). Therefore both the norms sustainable use of raw materials and diminish water pollution and use of chemicals, water and energy

are pursued by Fashion Revolution. The norm diminish greenhouse gas emissions is also embraced by Fashion Revolution as the foundation encourages extending the life of clothes and shares the following information: “Doubling the useful life of clothing from one year to two years reduces emissions over the years by 24% and 1/3 of the carbon footprint of clothes comes from the way we care for them” (Fashion Revolution, 2019b, p.71). The norm no discrimination, no SGBV and gender equality is highlighted in 2019, when Fashion Revolution focused the most on the themes fair and decent work, environmental protection and gender equality, as illustrated by the following quotation: “Each event was a call to action to create awareness around the themes that Fashion Revolution it’s working this year: connecting social impact with environmental impact and gender equality” (Fashion Revolution, 2020, p.31).

In the report of 2018, Fashion Revolution describes its dream. The Fashion Revolution dream exists of ten points and can be understood mostly to the norms one to ten (Table 10). The norms no forced labor, freedom of trade unions and collective bargaining, reasonable working hours and no discrimination, no SGBV and gender equality are described by the Fashion Revolution (2019b) dream as follows: “Fashion ... does not enslave, endanger, harass, abuse or discriminate against anyone. Fashion liberates worker and wearer and empowers everyone to stand up for their rights” (p. 6). The following point also covers the norms eight and nine of environmental sustainability: “Fashion also needs to conserve and restore the environment, not depleting precious resources, such as soil, air, water or harm our health. Fashion needs to be circular, be repaired, reused, recycled and upcycled” (Fashion Revolution, 2019b, p.8). In addition, Fashion Revolution highlights the norm no forced labor by for example the case study of the UK Modern Slavery Act 2015 (Fashion Revolution, 2020). No modern slavery is linked by the Fashion Revolution interviewee to an important theme of Fashion Revolution Netherlands 2021, “modern colonialism”. She states: “no discrimination and gender equality is super important within this system”, as “that system of hierarchies is still in place”.

The most dominant norm of Fashion Revolution is transparency, however this norm is not a sustainable fashion norm only. Transparency is a norm which enables Fashion Revolution and other actors to hold brands and governments accountable (Fashion Revolution, 2020). Fashion Revolution believes that transparency leads to more accountability and in that turn to change (Fashion Revolution, 2019b). This view is amplified and extended by the Fashion Revolution interviewee as she states to: “change that word to traceability or have that hand in hand”, and that “we should focus on traceability, and then communicate it in a transparent way”. The Transparency Index is an example of how Fashion Revolution materializes the norm transparency, which is explained further at knowledge creation.

Table 10*Norms Fashion Revolution*

Norms for sustainable fashion		FR
		Legend: X: never mentioned, ✓: barely mentioned, ✓✓: often mentioned, ✓✓✓: very often mentioned
1.	No child labor	✓
2.	No discrimination, no SGBV and gender equality	✓✓✓
3.	No forced labor	✓✓
4.	Reasonable working time	✓
5.	Occupational health and safety	✓✓✓
6.	Freedom of trade unions and collective bargaining	✓✓✓
7.	Living wages	✓
8.	Sustainable use of raw materials	✓✓✓
9.	Diminish water pollution and use of chemicals, water and energy	✓✓✓
10.	Diminish greenhouse gas emissions	✓✓
11.	No bribery and corruption	X
12.	Responsible sourcing from homeworkers	X
13.	Animal welfare	X

4.3.3 Norm diffusion methods

The norm diffusion methods by Fashion Revolution (Table 11) are discussed in some detail below.

Knowledge sharing

Fashion Revolution is very active in sharing knowledge. Knowledge is shared on social media, on the Fashion Revolution website, and during hosted events globally (Interview Fashion Revolution). The knowledge shared by Fashion Revolution consists of many different topics including the prolonging of clothing and stories of garment workers. Most of the knowledge shared by Fashion Revolution is in combination with mobilizing people or in collaboration with other organizations, companies or governments.

Fashion Revolution (2020) foremostly shares knowledge through social media: “A large part of the campaign runs through social media channels, including Instagram, Facebook, YouTube and email newsletters” (p.42). The foundations’ reason for social media is explained by Fashion Revolution (2020) as follows: “We use social media as a means to raise awareness and spread the message among a varied range of demographics and to those we would otherwise never reach” (p.42). In addition, Fashion Revolution released a series of short and informative ‘how to’ YouTube videos and accompanying guides that narrate a range of skills. From eliminating waste to using your voice as an activist. In these videos knowledge and skills are shared: “these personal stories offer bits of wisdom from everyday citizens and industry experts”(Fashion Revolution, 2020, p.89).

Besides social media, Fashion Revolution also uses its website to share knowledge. The Fashion Revolution website is an opensource platform, meaning the foundation provides research reports, brand assets, Get Involved packs, practical how-to guides, informative educational resources and action-oriented campaigning tools as free, digital downloads on the website (Fashion Revolution, 2020). Thereby Fashion Revolution shares knowledge, but also encourage people with call to actions. All of

the aforementioned resources are created by Fashion Revolution. A survey conducted by Fashion Revolution among its followers and volunteers created evidence in the effectiveness of knowledge sharing by Fashion Revolution as the survey concluded that 94% stated that Fashion Revolution has had an impact on the attitude towards the current fashion industry (Fashion Revolution, 2020).

Fashion Revolution also is very active in hosting events globally. An example is the Fashion Awareness Festival of 2019 in Cyprus to raise awareness for the fashion industry issues, in partnership with the Municipality of Nicosia. Another event was the launch of the Fashion Revolution Kenya team with the screening of the True Cost movie, followed by an engaging conversation about what this movie means for Kenyans (Fashion Revolution, 2020).

Knowledge construction

Fashion Revolution is active in constructing knowledge, mostly through workshops, discussion panels and an online course. Fashion Revolution makes bold statement about the foundation's ability to construct knowledge, as illustrated by the following quotation of the co-founder of Fashion Revolution (2020): Fashion Revolution has the solutions. We can engage you with your wardrobes, with your principles, with your gut feelings and show you something you can do" (p.14). In 2019, for example, Fashion Revolution hosted 1800 events in sixty countries. According to Fashion Revolution (2020): "Events not only help to spread the message of change, they also seek to teach new skills, broaden minds and connect and support local communities. Panels and Q&As allow us to discuss ideas and collaborate, providing to engage with those with different experiences and ways of thinking" (p.60). An example is the collaboration of Fashion Revolution with GFX to hold clothing swaps and educational events all over the world, from NYC to Mumbai to Slovakia. The events are meant to inspire communities to get involved in swapping clothes and the second hand market (Fashion Revolution, 2020).

Furthermore, Fashion Revolution launched the Open Studios initiative in which designers around the world open up their studios, talk about how they make their clothes and host workshops to teach the audience how to repair, sew, and handprint. According Fashion Revolution, the Open Studios initiative helped engage people in conversations about how clothes are made, the intricacies of the supply and manufacturing process, and begin to understand issues around supply chains, carbon footprint, and waste (Fashion Revolution, 2018).

Moreover, Fashion Revolution has a free online course in which experts across a number of fields explore and explain how clothes are made, how the fashion supply chain works and what impact clothes have on the people working across the industry and the environment. Students were introduced to the SDGs and how they link to the global fashion industry, the clothes we wear and the role as consumers and citizens (Fashion Revolution, 2020). The online course is part of connecting students, educators and wider public with the stories of people who make them, which Fashion Revolution claims to be fundamental in, in creating emotional attachment to clothes and challenging the unsustainable throw-away fashion culture (Fashion Revolution, 2019b). The students were taught basic skills of remaking clothes, and local designers gave them an insight into upcycling and fashion design (Fashion Revolution, 2020).

In addition, Fashion Revolution is active in constructing knowledge through debates and dialogues. In 2019, Fashion Revolution debated the future of fashion legislation at the European Commission in Brussels and participated in a dialogue about legislative initiatives for sustainable fashion titled 'Fashion and Politics' hosted by Unibes Cultural in Brazil (Fashion Revolution, 2020).

Knowledge creation

Fashion Revolution is active in creating knowledge. The foundation conducts research to shed light on the environmental and social impact of the global fashion industry (Fashion Revolution, 2021). For example, Fashion Revolution worked with the UK's Environmental Audit Committee to support the production of the report 'Fixing Fashion' (Fashion Revolution, 2020). Another study, published as part of the 'British Council x Fashion Revolution Policy Dialogue' project, aimed to elucidate multiple perspectives of a particular issue through a series of interviews, evidence-based discussions and workshops (Fashion Revolution, 2020). Furthermore, Fashion Revolution creates magazines called Fanzines. According to Fashion Revolution, these magazines convey complicated messages in a visual way, without taking anything away from the rigor of the conversation. Magazines have different themes such as: fashion environment change and loved clothes last (Fashion Revolution, 2020). In addition, Fashion Revolution creates tools for people to use their voice and make changes in their personal work and lives (Fashion Revolution, 2021), such as the 'How to be a Fashion Revolutionary'. This is a booklet of ideas and inspiration made by Fashion Revolution with the British Council on how consumers can use their voice and power to transform the fashion industry (Fashion Revolution, 2020). The created knowledge is also shared and used to mobilize people to take action.

One of Fashion Revolution's main projects of creating knowledge is the annually conducted research called the Transparency Index. The fourth edition of the index and Fashion Revolution in 2019 reviewed two hundred of the world's largest fashion retailers and brands and ranked them according how much information the retailers and brands disclose about their environmental and social policies, practices and impacts (Fashion Revolution, 2020). Fashion Revolution states that the scores of brands reviewed since 2017 have increased by almost 9%. Fashion Revolution claims that this progress suggests that inclusion to the Transparency Index has motivated major brands to become more transparent (Fashion Revolution, 2020). Another example of the effectiveness of the Transparency Index can be found at the C&A Foundation knowledge sharing paragraph.

Framing & Grafting

According to Fashion Revolution, the foundation always tries to show positive solutions and frames their messages positively. Fashion Revolution (2020) sees itself as pro-fashion protesters, as illustrated by the following quotation: "Fashion Revolution strives to be action oriented and solution focused. Rather than making people feel guilty, we help them recognize that they have the power to do something to make a positive change. We often call ourselves "pro-fashion protesters" because we love fashion and want to see it become a force for good" (p.40). This view is echoed by the Fashion Revolution interviewee: "We want to uplift people and see where they make a change and not be so doom and gloom". Another example of framing the message are the movements of Fashion Revolution in Berlin, Hamburg and Kassel who, according Fashion Revolution, point out the current fashion and textile industry issues, but also show positive solutions (Fashion Revolution, 2020). In addition, Fashion Revolution (2020) claims to try to be bold and provocative in a positive matter: "We tend to avoid negative protesting, victimising and naming and shaming. We do not target specific individual companies because we believe that the industry's problems are bigger than any one company's actions" (p.40). In addition, Fashion Revolution (2021) states to collaborate with activists and artists to "reframe powerful narratives embedded in the culture of fashion" ("cultural change" section).

Furthermore, Fashion Revolution is active in grafting. Fashion Revolution visualizes two YouTube videos in the annual report of 2018 (Fashion Revolution, 2019b, p.50). One is a video (Fashion Revolution, 2016) of an experiment where five children from Berlin approached international fashion brands voluntarily to ask for a job. According to Fashion Revolution, the field test is carried out to

expose the double standards within the fashion industry as millions of children work in the fashion industry worldwide. What is common in production countries seems unimaginable in our society, in which the pre-existing norm is no child labor. The other video (Fashion Revolution, 2015) is a social experiment with a T-shirt of two euros. Whenever the consumer wants to buy the two euro T-shirt, a video comes up with a story about a garment worker. The consumers see the circumstances under which the T-shirt was made. The question is: do they still want to buy the T-shirt after they saw the video, or do they want to donate the money? With this video Fashion Revolution was calling upon the existing norms of the consumer that no one should work without earning a living wage and under such circumstances.

Localization

There was no evidence found of localization of Fashion Revolution, except for the example that events according Fashion Revolution not only help to spread the message of change, they also seek to broaden minds, teach new skills, and connect and support local communities (Fashion Revolution, 2020).

Patronage

Fashion Revolution is not active in patronage.

Lobbying

Fashion revolution is active in lobbying and working together with politicians. Fashion Revolution (2020) states: “We must continue to fight for better laws and regulations that achieve systemic change across the global fashion industry. We do this by lobbying and working together with lawmakers, elected officials and policy influencers” (p.25). An example is the project called ‘British Council x Fashion Revolution Policy Dialogue’, with the goal to inform policymaking processes in countries worldwide by enabling a wide range of voices to engage in a debate about the environmental and social impact of the global fashion industry (Fashion Revolution, 2020). Alongside Fashion Revolution’s lobby projects, Fashion Revolution stimulates their network to write postcards to policy makers, demanding change (Fashion Revolution, 2020). The following quotation of Fashion Revolution (2018) shows the effectiveness of the foundations’ lobby activities: “We continue to work with policymakers around the world to look at ways governments can support more transparency from the fashion industry. This year, 89 political influencers, government officials or policy makers have publicly shown their support for Fashion Revolution, with our teams organizing or speaking at eighty events around policy issues” (“a Hashtag” section). Examples of these events are a meeting with the Minister of Economic Development and General Secretary of clothing and textile workers union in South Africa and the Fashion Question Time in UK houses of Parliament (Fashion Revolution, 2018).

Mobilizing people

Mobilizing people is a key norm diffusion method of Fashion Revolution. The foundation claims to build a diverse movement, mobilize communities and bring people globally together to take collective action (Fashion Revolution, 2021). This mostly happens on the streets with a demonstration or online with a petition or hashtags. As Fashion Revolution (2018) states: “Our collective voice is powerful” (“collective voice” section). The foundation requests people to ask the “simple” question #whomademyclothes to brands. Besides the question if people want to ask #whomademyclothes, Fashion revolution (2018) is asking people to: “Use your money and your voice to transform the fashion industry into a force for good” (“Thank you!” section).

According Fashion Revolution (2018), the question #whomademyclothes has ignited a global conversation about transparency in the supply chain, and inspired people to think differently about what they wear. In 2019, for example, more people were asking #whomademyclothes and Fashion Revolution has seen more brands respond with #Imadeyourclothes (Fashion Revolution, 2020). The brands include global brands such as Zara, Pull and Bear, and Marks and Spencer, among 2000 other fashion brands and retailers that responded with information about suppliers or photographed their workers saying #Imadeyourclothes. In addition: “More manufacturers are making their factories safer and more of the people in the supply chain are being seen and heard” (Fashion Revolution, 2020, p. 13). As Fashion Revolution (2018) states: “Our questions, our voices, and our shopping habits have the power to help change the industry for the better, and together we are stronger” (“collective voice” section). Therefore, mobilizing people, according Fashion Revolution, is an effective norm diffusion method. Fashion Revolution also mobilize celebrities and influencers in their social media actions (Fashion Revolution, 2018).

Mobilizing consumers to ask #whomademyclothes is also a part of Fashion Revolution Week. This is the time of the year when, according Fashion Revolution, all of the voices of people come together and brands and producers are encouraged to respond in support of greater industry transparency. In addition, Fashion Revolution hosts events to encourage people to find out, be curious and do something (Fashion Revolution, 2020). Every year, during Fashion Revolution Week, Fashion Revolution mobilizes people that there are seven days and seven ways to get involved: “ 1. ask #whomademyclothes 2. send a postcard to a policymaker 3. write a love story 4. take part in a #haulalternative 5. go to an event 6. buy a fanzine 7. Donate” (Fashion Revolution, 2020, p.48).

Collaboration

Fashion Revolution (2020) is collaborating with a lot of different partners and people as: “Fashion Revolution means ‘the collective’...,a movement for the greatest environmental and social issue that we face as humanity” (p.6). In addition, the Fashion Revolution interviewee states: “I think the only way forward is to collaborate together and not just do things on your own and be isolated”. Fashion Revolution has three groups which they collaborate with, which are volunteers and student ambassadors of the global network, industry partners and policy makers. The global network is made up of diverse individuals who have voluntarily taken on the responsibilities and roles associated with the position. These people come from all areas of the fashion industry, giving Fashion Revolution its reach and thereby strength, and according Fashion Revolution, provide people around the world from each layer to engage (Fashion Revolution, 2020). Part of the global network are student ambassadors who set up diverse teams to create initiatives to enlighten and educate their peers about current fashion industry topics and basic skills of remaking clothing. The student ambassadors host events with for example talks, repair stations, workshops and clothing swaps. These volunteers are called ‘Fashion Revolutionaries’ and activate their communities in more than sixty countries around the world (Fashion Revolution, 2020). The student ambassadors are an extension of the Fashion Revolution network who help diffuse the norms of Fashion Revolution.

Besides their global network of volunteers and student ambassadors, Fashion Revolution also works with organizations that are actively fighting for systemic change within the fashion industry, such as some of the other foundations of this study: C&A Foundation, CCC and FWF. Fashion Revolution has over five hundred global partnerships of which over three hundred are NGO’s and over two hundred are educational organizations (Fashion Revolution, 2020). Together the organizations raise awareness and mobilize citizens towards sustainable consumption behavior (Fashion Revolution, 2020). An example is a collaboration with Extinction Rebellion on Earth Day to highlight the place of fashion in climate

emergency. An additional example is the teaming up with Traidcraft to publish a petition demanding the UK Government to do more to hold companies accountable for modern slavery in their supply chains (Fashion Revolution, 2020). Moreover, Fashion Revolution collaborated with the company AEG/Electrolux on a Loved Clothes Last project and launched a video looking at consumerism, the tragedy of modern-day landfills and mass production to remind consumers that small individual actions can have a lasting effect (Fashion Revolution, 2018). The main reason for collaboration according Fashion Revolution (2020) is: “All of these collaborative actions allow us to raise global awareness of the industry’s issues and to hold companies and governments to account, encouraging real change. Because together we are stronger” (p.20).

Lastly, Fashion Revolution collaborates with policymakers. The foundation collaborate with them to make changes at governmental level, debate legislation and support for example production of the fixing fashion report and a policy paper of Fashion Revolution Philippines (Fashion Revolution, 2020).

Summary

Fashion Revolution supports norms regarding environmental and social sustainability, but mainly occupational health and safety, no discrimination, no SGBV and gender equality, freedom of trade unions and collective bargaining, sustainable use of raw materials and diminish water pollution and use of chemicals, water and energy. Regarding norm diffusion methods, Fashion Revolution is the most active in knowledge sharing, knowledge creation and mobilizing people. Additionally, Fashion Revolution is active in collaborating, lobbying and knowledge construction.

Table 11
Norm diffusion methods Fashion Revolution

Norm diffusion methods	FR
Knowledge sharing	✓✓✓
Knowledge construction	✓✓
Knowledge creation	✓✓✓
Framing & grafting	✓✓
Localization	✗
Patronage	✗
Lobbying	✓✓
Mobilizing people	✓✓✓
Collaboration	✓✓

4.4 H&M Foundation

4.4.1 Characteristics of the H&M Foundation

The H&M Foundation has been established in 2013 as a private independent non-profit global foundation. The foundation is privately funded by the Stefan Persson family, which are the founders and main owners of the H&M Group (H&M Foundation, 2021). The H&M Foundation is independent from the H&M Group, however the foundation is still linked to the entrepreneurial sphere and complements the H&M group. This is illustrated by the following quotation of Karl-Johan Persson (2019), CEO of H&M and board member of the H&M Foundation: “The H&M Foundation is a commitment from my family, which complements the ambitious sustainability program of the H&M group. It operates outside of the business of the H&M group, with a vision to drive positive change for people, communities, and the planet. Being a privately funded non-profit gives the Foundation a unique opportunity to spearhead positive change, since it operates in close contact with the non-profit world as well as with a clear link

to the entrepreneurial sphere” (p.5). According to the foundation, this creates a great advantage for the H&M Foundation to take an innovative approach. The H&M Foundation claims that the heritage allows the foundation to be bold when needed, realizing that well calculated risks are sometimes necessary for breaking new ground (H&M Foundation, 2019). The long-term vision for the H&M Foundation is to contribute to reaching the SDGs for 2030, that were set by the United Nations in 2015. The SDGs have a focus on collaboration and partnership between governments, the private sector and the civil society (H&M Foundation, 2018).

The H&M Foundation drives change within the foundations’ four focus areas: education, water, equality and planet. In addition to these, the foundation also provides emergency relief (H&M Foundation, 2020). The foundation states to have an unique opportunity and position to find, validate and strengthen early stage organizations and ideas that want to be part of the solution (H&M Foundation, 2020). According to the H&M Foundation (2016), the foundation has partnerships with “influential” organizations worldwide (p.3). Moreover, the foundations goes “way” beyond financial donation: the foundation develops, discusses, and evaluates its programs closely with its partners (H&M Foundation, 2016). Furthermore, the foundation operates on a global scale for systemic change, in local projects to directly address more urgent needs, but also with transformative global programs (H&M Foundation, 2016). The strategy of the H&M Foundation is based on three guiding principles: (1) Innovation; approaching challenges in new ways, (2) Involvement; involve people in making a difference, and (3) Impact: seeking to achieve real change (H&M Foundation, 2019). An overview of the H&M Foundation can be found in Table 12.

For the H&M Foundation, four reports have been analyzed. The impact report of 2013 – 2016, and the annual reports of 2017, 2018 and 2019.

Table 12
Characteristics of the H&M Foundation

Characteristics	H&M Foundation
Type	Private – independent
Geographic	Europe Headquartered in Stockholm (Sweden)
Roots	Hybrid – Corporate and independent family donor
Link to	Active (tangential)
Life stage	2013 – emergent
Organizational size	12 – small
Nature of resources	Fully endowed
Size resources	€15 million in 2019 – large
Distribution of resources	Distribution of funds
Who is in the board	It is only mentioned that Karl-Johan Persson is a board member of the H&M Foundation. He is also the CEO of the H&M Group
Control of decision making	Centralized
Audience	Organizations
Beneficiaries	Organizations and by them individuals
Approach	Philanthrocapitalism
Geography	Stockholm, Sweden
Theme	Multiple - Education, Water, Equality, and the Planet

Note. H&M Foundation, 2020, 2021.

4.4.2 Norms for sustainable fashion

The main foci of the H&M Foundation are four focus areas: water, equality, education and planet. The norms deriving from the focus areas are broad norms such as quality of education, clean water and sanitation, and equality. These norms were excluded from the analysis, as these norms are unrelated to the fashion industry. The norms within the focus area planet focus mostly on circular fashion, recycling, and innovation, as illustrated by the following quotations: “The H&M Foundation aims to find disruptive innovations that can make this shift in one of the most planet intensive industries in the world: fashion”(H&M Foundation, 2018, p.14) and “Within our focus area Planet, the H&M Foundation aims to protect the planetary boundaries and make the fashion industry circular and waste-free” (H&M Foundation, 2018, p.3). Thereby only in the focus area planet, norms are related to the fashion industry with a main focus on environmental sustainability. Therefore, the norms sustainable use of raw materials, diminish water pollution and use of chemicals, water and energy, and diminish greenhouse gas emissions are the most supported by the H&M Foundation (norms eight to ten in Table 13).

The focus area planet is described the H&M Foundation as ensuring living conditions by protecting the planet. As according the H&M Foundation (2018) “Planet earth is our home” (p.14). The H&M Foundation believes that with a growing population, the way we consume and manage resources will be crucial for the lives of present and future generations. All industries will have to rethink and innovate to take responsibility for “one of the greatest challenges of our time” (H&M Foundation, 2018, p.14). The H&M Foundation therefore aims to find innovations that will make a shift in the planet intensive fashion industry and enables an efficient use of resources to make the fashion industry circular (H&M Foundation, 2018, 2020).

Table 13
Norms H&M Foundation

Norms for sustainable fashion		H&M Foundation Legend: X: never mentioned, ✓: barely mentioned, ✓✓: often mentioned, ✓✓✓: very often mentioned
1.	No child labor	X
2.	No discrimination, no SGBV and gender equality	X
3.	No forced labor	X
4.	Reasonable working time	X
5.	Occupational health and safety	X
6.	Freedom of trade unions and collective bargaining	X
7.	Living wages	X
8.	Sustainable use of raw materials	✓✓✓
9.	Diminish water pollution and use of chemicals, water and energy	✓✓✓
10.	Diminish greenhouse gas emissions	✓✓✓
11.	No bribery and corruption	X
12.	Responsible sourcing from homeworkers	X
13.	Animal welfare	X

4.4.3 Norm diffusion methods

The norm diffusion methods by the H&M Foundation (Table 14) are discussed in some detail below.

Knowledge sharing

The H&M Foundation is active in sharing knowledge, for sustainable fashion mostly with industry partners. One example is the development and showcasing of proven and successful enterprise models with female entrepreneurs in seven countries (H&M Foundation, 2020). An additional example is the sharing of innovative knowledge. The H&M Foundation is the founder of the innovation challenge called the Global Change Award. According to the H&M Foundation (2020): “As innovation plays a crucial role in enabling the efficient use of resources, the H&M Foundation has committed to finding revolutionary ideas that can make the fashion industry circular” (p.29). The Global Change Award aims to contribute towards a circular fashion industry as the award selects five winners of innovative fashion ideas to give them a grant and accelerating program (H&M Foundation, 2019). The H&M Foundation tries to create an enabling environment to scale up the solutions for circular fashion of the Global Change Award winners. The innovation challenge aims to reduce fashion’s impact on the planet and our living conditions by helping early stage, ground breaking ideas move from sketch to market (H&M Foundation, 2020). The reach of the Global Change Award is wide, nearly 15,000 entries from 182 countries from 2015 to 2019 (H&M Foundation, 2020). The winners of the challenge can collaborate with whoever the winners want (H&M Foundation, 2018, 2020). This enables the whole industry to benefit from the innovative knowledge.

The H&M Foundation aspires to share knowledge with a wide audience, as illustrated in the following quotation: “[H&M Foundation] always include funds for communication in our donations so that the brilliant work isn’t just done on a grassroots level — we need to share facts and learnings to get more dedicated people on board. With one foot in the entrepreneurial sphere and the other one in the non-profit sector, we have the possibility to reach a wide audience” (H&M Foundation, 2019, p.4). This enables the H&M Foundation to reach more people with their knowledge, and thereby let more people benefit from the knowledge and get more people on board to help pursue the norms of the H&M Foundation.

Knowledge construction

The H&M Foundation is active in constructing knowledge through trainings and workshops. For example through the accelerating program of the Global Change Award. This program brings the winners of the award to Stockholm, Hong Kong and New York. In the accelerator, the winners get “tailormade” support in taking their innovations to the next level, with guidance in how to maximize their impact on the industry and how to scale up quickly (H&M Foundation, 2018).

Furthermore, an example unrelated to fashion is that together with humanitarian organization CARE, the H&M Foundation invests in women’s economic empowerment—equipping women in poor communities with the seed capital and the skills training they need to start up or expand their own businesses (H&M Foundation, 2016, 2018). According to the global program manager of CARE, the improvement in women’s business practices earns women respect in their families and communities, which leads to transformative change and empowerment, as well as changes in gender norms (H&M Foundation, 2016). CARE and the H&M Foundation provide women with tools they need to start a business and get economically independent to create more equality. According to the H&M Foundation, the foundation has proven that when women have their own earnings, they invest a bigger proportion of their income in their communities and families than men do (H&M Foundation, 2018). Besides strengthening skills through training, CARE and the H&M Foundation have identified other important elements such as engaging men and boys in women’s economic empowerment. This has enabled women

to grow as entrepreneurs by challenging attitudes and behaviors related to entrenched social norms (H&M Foundation, 2020).

Knowledge creation

The H&M Foundation is also active in multiple forms of knowledge creation. First, the foundation supports and prepares reports such as a “norm changing” report on gender as CARE and the H&M Foundation launched a Foundation 500 – a list of successful female business leaders from emerging markets instead of the “normal” list full of white male faces. This report launched online at the Foundation500.com and Fortune.com, and spread through other global media (H&M Foundation, 2018). These reports create knowledge which help the H&M foundation to advocate for (policy) change (H&M Foundation, 2016, 2018).

Second, the H&M Foundation creates knowledge through the Global Change Award. In 2019, almost 6,000 ideas from 175 countries to make the fashion industry circular and waste-free have been submitted for the innovation challenge Global Change Award (H&M Foundation, 2020). The accelerating program of the award constructs the knowledge of the five winners by mentoring, training and giving the winners access to a network and events. In short, everything to catalyze the solutions towards circular fashion (H&M Foundation, 2019).

The innovation challenge is discussed extensively in all the annual reports from 2013 to 2019. A similar effort is the partnership with the Hong Kong Research Institute of Textiles and Apparel (HKRITA). This partnership has the goal of finding a commercial method to recycle blend textiles (H&M Foundation, 2019). In 2017, the H&M Foundation claims that a groundbreaking process was discovered of recycling the blend textiles which contributes to circular fashion (H&M Foundation, 2018). The created knowledge is getting broad market access so that the whole industry can benefit from the innovative method.

Framing and grafting

Framing and grafting of the H&M Foundations’ norms is hard to detect in the annual reports of the H&M Foundation. However, framing of the H&M Foundation itself is clearly visible. An example of positive framing of the norms of the foundation is during a regional campaign to raise awareness about the structural challenges faced by women, and to promote positive role models. These positive role models are women who have overcome challenges (H&M Foundation, 2016). The positive role models were there to inspire and motivate other women to overcome these challenges as well.

An example of framing of the H&M Foundation is the storytelling from the perspective of the people the foundation helped, from the local projects and the view of the NGOs that they work with. These are always positive stories. For example in the report of 2017 the following is written very large: “I can’t wait to go to school again” says Ingin. “I really want to be a doctor when I grow up, so that I can treat people and make them feel well again.” The H&M Foundation (2018) takes full responsibility for this: “The H&M Foundation’s ongoing support makes it possible for children to experience the love, nutrition, learning and protection they need in the critical early moments” (p.12). Moreover, the quotes of the partner organizations in the H&M Foundation reports always shed the foundation in a positive light, as illustrated by the following quotations of WaterAid and CARE: “With the funding from the H&M Foundation we will be able to improve the living conditions of some of the world’s poorest people for many years to come” (H&M Foundation, 2018, p.16), and “H&M Foundation is an inspirational partner to work with, continually encouraging us to innovate” (H&M Foundation, 2018, p.22). Another example of framing is a quote in the annual report of 2017 by a member of the Global Change Award expert

panel, where the Global Change Award is compared with the Nobel Prize: “The Global Change Award, like the Nobel Prize, inspires great minds to create sustainable solutions in an industry where impact can be immediate” (H&M Foundation, 2018, p.29).

As the H&M Foundation mostly frames itself, grafting was not detected. The H&M Foundation is very active in framing its own impact and performance as a foundation.

Localization

Similarly to framing and grafting is localization hard to detect in the annual reports of the H&M Foundation. No evidence is found relating to localization and the sustainable fashion norms of the H&M Foundation. The only evidence of localization are the local projects of education of hygiene and sanitation. These projects, according to the H&M Foundation have a direct impact on sanitation and health of people around the world (H&M Foundation, 2016). Through education, hygiene practices of the educator are transferred to the local community. Thereby the norms of hygiene of the educator are transferred accordingly.

Patronage

The H&M Foundation is highly active in patronage through partnerships with organizations worldwide. The foundation supports these partners with financial resources (H&M Foundation, 2016). For every focus area the foundation has multiple partnerships. The H&M Foundation (2020) describes these financial partnerships as collaboration with the same values and are claimed to be the only way for sustainable progress: “Collaborating across thoughts, borders, and sectors with skilled partners is the only way to build sustainable progress. Incredible things can happen when we work together and build eco-systems with different perspectives but with the same values and desire to reach the goals” (p.4). For example in 2019, the H&M Foundation has been supporting 27 initiatives in the four focus areas across the globe. For every initiative, the foundation has a different partner. These partners are mostly NGO’s such as UNICEF, War Child, CARE, and WaterAid (H&M Foundation, 2020). However, for the sustainable fashion norms, the H&M Foundation only collaborates with The HKRITA for research on recycling materials, and for the Global Change Award, the foundation has a partnership with Accenture and the KTH Royal Institute of Technology (H&M Foundation, 2020). Through partnerships, the partner organizations and the H&M Foundation are able to share learnings and best practices beyond their own organization (H&M Foundation, 2020). In addition, with patronage, the H&M Foundation strives to catalyze a shift towards a more collaborative climate, and be a platform for new partnerships and approaches to the challenges of humanity (H&M Foundation, 2018). The H&M Foundation is an enabler for other NGOs and organizations to spread the shared norms of the H&M Foundation and the partners.

Lobbying

The H&M Foundation is not very active in lobbying. The H&M Foundation does not refer to lobbying but mostly to influencing the agenda of stakeholders and politicians, together with involvement of the government and collaboration between ministries, as illustrated by the following quotation: “Since the start in 2013, the H&M Foundation has reached millions of people across the world with quality education, economic empowerment, clean water, and sanitation while successfully pushing these issues to the global agenda” (H&M Foundation, 2019, p.3). There is no example of lobbying relating to fashion. Nevertheless, there are multiple examples to be found regarding the other focus areas such as: “The global program influences governments to place Early Childhood Development on the national agenda and commit budgetary resources to address these issues” (H&M Foundation, 2016, p.10). In addition,

The Program Manager of the H&M Foundation (2019) states “The importance of water, sanitation, and hygiene in schools has been brought to the agenda at both local, provincial, and national levels in the countries where we work” (p.18), thereby implicating the effectiveness of the lobby for the other focus areas.

Mobilizing people

The H&M Foundation is barely active in mobilizing people. Whenever the foundation is mobilizing people, it is found to be more commercial. Two examples are found from when the H&M Foundation and H&M Group worked together. The H&M Foundation mobilized people to buy gift cards and hand in unwanted clothes at H&M (H&M Foundation, 2018). This is further elaborated in the following section of collaboration.

Collaboration

The H&M Foundation is active in collaboration and believes collaboration is very important. The H&M Foundation collaborates with various people, as illustrated by the following quotation: “The challenges we as a foundation are attempting to address with funding and engagement will not be solved quickly or easily. And we can’t do it alone. It’s all about combined effort. That’s why we involve leaders, governments, communities, innovators, and individuals around the world in our work” (H&M Foundation, 2016, p.42). Collaboration of the H&M Foundation can be divided in the government, research institutes or individuals with expertise, and with the H&M Group.

First, the H&M Foundation facilitates collaborates with ministries as a form of lobbying. For example the collaboration within national ministries in Vietnam, Mali, Egypt and Timor-Leste to enable the implementation of Early Childhood Development services, as part of the focus area of quality of education (H&M Foundation, 2020).

Second, collaboration for circular fashion is found to be very important for the H&M Foundation. The foundation states (2019): “Innovation and collaboration lead fashion’s shift to circularity and a more sustainable future” (p.31). The Global Change Award by the H&M Foundation is according to the foundation “proven to be a hub for innovative collaboration” (H&M Foundation, 2020, p.31). Some teams of the alumni winners started to collaborate as the H&M Foundation built an alumni program (H&M Foundation, 2020). In addition, several of the previous winners have on-going cooperation’s and pilot projects with the fashion industry, and some are already on the market (H&M Foundation, 2020). In 2016, the H&M Foundation joined forces with the HKRITA to accelerate the research on textile recycling (H&M Foundation, 2018). The partnership generated a groundbreaking process for recycling polyester and cotton blends in 2017, according the H&M Foundation one of the biggest recycling challenges in the textile industry today (H&M Foundation, 2018). In 2020, the H&M Foundation and HKRITA will prolong the partnership for five years (H&M Foundation, 2020). These collaborations contribute to creating knowledge to make fashion circular.

Last, the H&M Foundation worked together with the H&M Group during the holiday season of 2015. The H&M Foundation made a donation to UNICEF for every gift card bought by a consumer at H&M. The campaign contributes to a brighter future for vulnerable children in Myanmar, thereby providing these children with improved quality of education and increased access to school. The H&M Foundation and H&M Group also collaborated during the launch in 2013 of an H&M garment collecting initiative, enabling people to drop off unwanted clothes of any condition and brand at any H&M store in the world. This collaboration has been gathering 57,000 tones of garment and gave it a new live (H&M Foundation, 2018).

The H&M Foundation also facilitates collaboration. For example, in 2019, the H&M Foundation was piloting a new method called the Collective Impact Approach of which each program will be centered around marginalized women. After conducting initial assessments to identify the needs, the foundation seeks to engage cross sectional partners with different perspectives to co-create the program. These partners can be as diverse as local governmental operators, social entrepreneurs, universities, or other NGOs. The partners' individual resources, strengths and experiences are then channeled into a mutual goal (H&M Foundation, 2020). This kind of collaboration between partners and co-creation enables the organizations to be stronger together, and better able to reach the mutual goal.

Summary

The H&M Foundation focuses on very broad norms. Regarding the sustainable fashion norms, the H&M Foundation only supports the three environmental sustainability norms: sustainable use of raw materials, diminish water pollution and use of chemicals, water and energy, and diminish greenhouse gas emissions. In terms of norm diffusion, patronage is clearly the dominant method for the H&M Foundation, followed by sharing and creating knowledge.

Table 14
Norm diffusion methods H&M Foundation

Norm diffusion methods	H&M Foundation
Knowledge sharing	✓✓✓
Knowledge construction	✓✓
Knowledge creation	✓✓✓
Framing & grafting	✓✓
Localization	✗
Patronage	✓✓✓
Lobbying	✓
Mobilizing people	✗
Collaboration	✓✓

4.5 C&A Foundation

4.5.1 Characteristics of the C&A Foundation

The C&A Foundation has been established as a global non-profit foundation in 2014. It was a private corporate foundation because the money of the foundation and founders of the foundation were the Brenninkmeijer family, the owners of the company C&A (Laudes Foundation, 2021). The C&A Foundation worked together with manufacturers, charities, major brands and the government to promote sustainability throughout the industry (C&A Foundation, 2020). The vision of C&A Foundation was a fashion industry that provides safe and just working conditions, enhances customer wellbeing, regenerates ecosystems, maintains the full value of materials and strengthens economies and communities (C&A Foundation, 2018). The foundation recognized that to transform the fashion industry, there is a need to tackle the fashion's business model (C&A Foundation, 2018). The C&A Foundation did this by (1) building knowledge around the circular apparel transition, (2) scale technical innovation, and (3) facilitation of new business model implementation. In short, creating the conditions for change (C&A Foundation, 2018). To create systemic change, the C&A Foundation focused on three areas: policy change, leverage and multi-stakeholder initiatives (MSIs) (C&A Foundation, 2019).

The C&A Foundation learned that systems change demands a stronger field. Therefore the foundation increasingly moved to fund core support grants, multi-stakeholder initiatives and grassroots organizations. The C&A Foundation funded at different levels to increase the potential for impact (C&A Foundation, 2020). The foundation employed 60 people and had a global network of 180 partners, which were according the C&A Foundation all driven by a shared purpose to transform the fashion industry (C&A Foundation, 2020). An overview of the C&A Foundation can be found in Table 15.

In 2020, the Laudes Foundation was launched to address the dual crisis of inequality and climate breakdown. Thereby the independent Laudes Foundation will continue and advance the work of the corporate C&A Foundation. Much of the partnerships and work of C&A Foundation continues as a part of the fashion program at Laudes Foundation. The goal of the Laudes Foundation is to redefine value by challenging the industry and supporting action to harness its power for good. The mission of C&A Foundation centered on transforming the fashion industry, but Laudes Foundation's mission is broader. It is focused on many industries, such as finance, fashion and the built environment (C&A Foundation, 2020).

For the C&A Foundation, three reports have been analyzed; the reports of 2017, 2018 and 2019. The other reports of the C&A Foundation (2015 and 2016) were not accessible, as much of the other information of the C&A Foundation that cannot be entered anymore. However, the highlights of 2015 and 2016 are mentioned in the 2019 report, and therefore are partly analyzed. Since this research focuses on 2015 to 2019, the Laudes Foundation is not further taken into account.

Table 15
Characteristics of the C&A Foundation

Characteristics	C&A Foundation
Type	Private – corporate
Geographic	Europe Headquartered in Amsterdam (The Netherlands)
Roots	Corporate
Link to	Active (engaged)
Life stage	2014 – emergent
Organizational size	60 - medium sized
Nature of resources	Fully endowed
Size resources	€47,5 million in 2019 – mega
Distribution of resources	Distribution of funds
Who is in the board	Not mentioned
Control of decision making	Centralized
Audience	The government and organizations
Beneficiaries	Organizations and by them individuals.
Approach	Philanthrocapitalism
Geography	The Netherlands, India, Dhaka, Germany, United Kingdom, Hong Kong, Brazil and Switzerland
Theme	Multiple - the fashion industry and strengthening economies and communities

Note. C&A Foundation, 2020.

4.5.2 Norms for sustainable fashion

The C&A Foundation focused on five main themes (Table 16). The foundation pursued to raise awareness, shift social norms and ultimately improve practices and policies to prevent abuses in the garment industry (C&A Foundation, 2018). Moreover, the C&A Foundation provides, together with its partners, humanitarian relief to vulnerable people in moments of crisis (C&A Foundation, 2020).

Table 16

Focus C&A Foundation

Focus C&A Foundation	
1.	Sustainable cotton
2.	Forced & child labor
3.	Working conditions
4.	Circular fashion
5.	Strengthen communities

Note. C&A Foundation, 2020.

The C&A Foundation focused on most of the sustainable fashion norms, viz nine out of thirteen. The norms mostly emphasizes by the C&A Foundation are the norms sustainable use of raw materials, diminish water pollution and use of chemicals, water and energy, no discrimination, no SGBV and gender equality, and no forced labor. In addition, the foundation focusses on the norms no child labor, freedom of trade unions and collective bargaining, living wages, occupational health and safety and reasonable working time.

The focus of the C&A Foundation on circular fashion and sustainable cotton can be linked to the norm sustainable use of raw materials and diminish water pollution and use of chemicals, water and energy. This is because the C&A Foundation funded initiatives such as ColorZen, who treats raw cotton fibers so that it dyes more quickly, requiring less water, energy and chemicals, and supported 39 other innovations across raw materials (C&A Foundation, 2018). The focus of the C&A Foundation on working conditions is rather broad. This focus can be divided into norm two and norms four to seven in Table 17. These norms can be justified by the mission as the C&A Foundation (2018) pursuits “better working conditions where the people who make our clothes are safe, respected and paid fairly” (p.24). For example, the C&A Foundation has been supporting Wage Indicator to get data about factories into the hands of workers. Factories can see how they compare in terms of issues like freedom of association, working hours and wages (C&A Foundation, 2019). In one year time, 5,300 workers in 94 factories have uploaded data, which has led to improvements in 15 factories such as unforced and compensated overtime, freedom of trade unions, workers enrolling onto pension plans and health insurance, and contract workers given the option to become permanent employees (C&A Foundation, 2019). Furthermore, the C&A Foundation supports the norms of no forced labor and no child labor, as the foundation has for example Anti-Slavery International (ASI) as a partner. ASI, in collaboration with civil society groups, advocated for the European Parliament to strengthen the forced labor approach (C&A Foundation, 2018).

The C&A Foundation does not support the norms diminish greenhouse gas emissions, animal welfare, no bribery and corruption, and responsible sourcing from homeworkers. While the C&A Foundation (2019) seem not to focus on diminishing greenhouse gas emissions, the foundation did stated the following: “Today, the fashion industry contributes to around 10% of global greenhouse gas emissions with its long supply chains and energy-intensive production” to explain the urgency to act to the “intensifying ecological crisis” (p.5).

The C&A foundation also often mentions transparency, but this norm is not solely a sustainable fashion norm, and therefore not taken into account. However, according the executive director of the C&A Foundation (2020), transparency can indirect impact the fashion industry: “Transparency can positively impact the 150 million people whose family depend on [the fashion] industry” (p.2).

Table 17
Norms C&A Foundation

Norms for sustainable fashion		C&A Foundation Legend: X: never mentioned, ✓: barely mentioned, ✓✓: often mentioned, ✓✓✓: very often mentioned
1.	No child labor	✓✓✓
2.	No discrimination, no SGBV and gender equality	✓✓✓
3.	No forced labor	✓✓✓
4.	Reasonable working time	✓✓
5.	Occupational health and safety	✓
6.	Freedom of trade unions and collective bargaining	✓✓
7.	Living wages	✓✓
8.	Sustainable use of raw materials	✓✓✓
9.	Diminish water pollution and use of chemicals, water and energy	✓✓✓
10.	Diminish greenhouse gas emissions	X
11.	No bribery and corruption	X
12.	Responsible sourcing from homeworkers	X
13.	Animal welfare	X

4.5.3 Norm diffusion methods

The norm diffusion methods by the C&A Foundation (Table 18) are discussed in some detail below.

Knowledge sharing

C&A Foundation is active in sharing knowledge, especially the foundations’ lessons learned, evaluations and results are mentioned often in the annual reports. The C&A Foundation mentions that this has not gone unnoticed by Candid, and received a praise for their transparency in the form of an award (C&A Foundation, 2020). Next to sharing knowledge about the foundation, the C&A Foundation (2019) states: “Sharing knowledge between [the C&A Foundations’] partners is important” (p.25). In 2017 for example, all of the 70 partners of the C&A Foundation came together at the All Partners Design Forum to spark new ideas, share lessons and explore how the partners could better support each other in the collective journey to make fashion a force for good (C&A Foundation, 2018). In addition, in 2018, the C&A Foundation created a new Learning Fund for the foundations’ partners to meet, and exchange knowledge and share lessons learned with each other (C&A Foundation, 2019). As the C&A Foundation (2019) states: “We helped building strategic plans based on partners’ needs and created alliances and networks so that our partners could share knowledge and get in touch with potential new funders” (p.22).

An additional example of knowledge sharing is Fashion for Good, founded in 2017 by the C&A Foundation. Here, a coalition of brands, suppliers, retailers, non-profit organizations, funders and innovators united in the ambition to make all fashion good, scale sustainable innovations, and work towards a circular textile industry (C&A Foundation, 2020). The Fashion for Good Experience opened

with a Launchpad Exhibition in 2017 to raise awareness about why there is a need for good fashion. The experience is, according to the C&A Foundation, the world's first museum dedicated to sustainable fashion innovations. The museum is devoted to inspire and educate people about sustainable fashion and how they can make a positive impact (C&A Foundation, 2020).

Another example of knowledge sharing is through its partners. For example through CAMI, an Brazilian NGO who support migrant women working in apparel to fight against slavery-like practices and gender-based violence. CAMI is a partner organization of the C&A Foundation. According to the C&A Foundation (2018), CAMI works: "Through a one-to-one approach that develops leaders as multipliers of knowledge in the community" (p. 33). Hereby CAMI has been able to reach and engage more people (C&A Foundation, 2018).

Publicly sharing knowledge is found to be a powerful tool. The C&A Foundation partnered for three years with Fashion Revolution on the Fashion Revolution Transparency Index. The Index is a global tool to review and rank the world's largest fashion brands according to their supply chain disclosures on practices, policies, and the environmental and social impact. By sharing this information publicly, civil society, consumers and governments can hold brands accountable and encourage better practices throughout the industry. According to the C&A foundation (2019), the results of an investigation regarding transparency and improving practices of Brazilian brands were impressive. The foundation claims that the prospects of brands being on a public list nudged the brands to improve practices before the results were published. An example of the effectiveness of publicly disclosing are multinational brands that appeared in the Brazilian 2018 Index, who showed a 38% increase in public disclosure levels when compared with their 2017 Index scores (C&A Foundation, 2019).

Knowledge construction

The C&A Foundation is active in knowledge construction of farmers, workers, innovators and its own employees. The C&A Foundation started a sustainable cotton program in 2014. The foundation supported partners by helping to build the socio-economic case for sustainable cotton for farmers, improve training and education for farmers, and supporting women farmers (C&A Foundation, 2019). In 2017, the C&A Foundation had a pilot, designed to train and certify 20,000 farmers in organic cotton cultivation. This project struggled according to the C&A Foundation as the project was too ambitious with too many components. Therefore, C&A Foundations' partner later focused more on training and engaging smaller groups of farmers (C&A Foundation, 2018).

Constructing knowledge of garment workers has been done in partnership with the Awaj Foundation, who aims to improve workers' livelihoods through training on leadership, finance, health, collective bargaining and negotiation. The UP! Community-based training program by the Awaj Foundation helps building the bridge, according to the C&A Foundation, between female garment workers and factory management to secure workers' legal rights and better address the workers' needs. A successful example of knowledge construction by the UP! Training program is with Rasmi, a 21 years old girl working in a garment factory for three years. After the training on finance, health and leadership skills, Rasmi opened a bank account, learnt how to budget and started to save money. In the next stage of the training program, Rasmi learned how to negotiate on issues in the workplace. Rasmi's monthly salary was paid 15 days too late every month, and after negotiations with the management, Rasmi and her colleagues were paid on time (C&A Foundation, 2018).

The knowledge of innovators is constructed by Fashion for Good. The Fashion for Good Innovation Platform gives innovators the opportunity to go through either the Scaling or Accelerator platform,

where the innovators receive mentoring, coaching and connections to a network of potential funders. In the end, the aim of the Fashion for Good Innovation Platform is to find, strengthen and scale solutions that can unlock challenges around forced labor, poor wages, unsafe working conditions, waste, pollution and carbon footprint (C&A Foundation, 2019). The C&A Foundation also organized workshops on social inclusion for its own staff given by a gender and social inclusion expert (C&A Foundation, 2020).

Knowledge creation

The C&A Foundation is active in knowledge creation, mostly through funding partners who do research and innovate. A major investment of the C&A Foundation is Fashion for Good. The innovations that are found are creating knowledge for solutions for a broader group (C&A Foundation, 2019). Furthermore, the C&A Foundation shares knowledge about what the foundation has learned after testing and iterating the work of the last years of what will be essential in growing the organic cotton market. This is knowledge created by doing (C&A Foundation, 2018).

Another example of creating knowledge is through the writing of reports and case studies such as the future of sustainability in the Fashion Industry report, in cooperation with fashion and sustainability experts (C&A Foundation, 2020). The report outlined 14 strategies for industry sustainability, ranking and evaluating each for its potential impact and timeframe. According to the C&A Foundation, experts found in 2019 that with commitment, courage and strategic interventions, a sustainable fashion industry is possible within 16 years (C&A Foundation, 2020). Another example of the creation of knowledge is a case study supported by the C&A Foundation on Bangladesh, showing that tax reform can boost public investment and GDP while decreasing pollution. The case study was published by a partner organization, the Ex'tax Project Foundation. According the C&A Foundation, the initiative showed how "bold" fiscal policy can meaningfully incentivize environmental and social improvements (C&A Foundation, 2020).

Framing and grafting

The C&A Foundation is active in framing their selves in the annual reports. There are a lot of positive messages in their annual reports to be found, as illustrated by the following quotation: "C&A Foundation receives the prestigious #OpenForGood Award, awarded by Candid (the result of a merger between Foundation Center and GuideStar) for our commitment to the transparent sharing of our evaluations, failures, lessons learned and results" (C&A Foundation, 2020, p.17). In addition, only pictures of happy people are visualized, and successful stories of their case studies, such as the following: "Our initiatives are helping 40,000 farmers, and approximately 8,000 of those women, to convert to organic agriculture. Of the 8,000 women farmers than 290 are in leadership roles across the world" (C&A Foundation, 2018, p. 14). Furthermore, the words the foundation uses to describe itself are framed as well, such as: "C&A Foundation was recognised for its unique position in the sector" (C&A Foundation, 2020, p.36). However, there are also some learnings points mentioned, but the lessons learned are written in bold and what the foundation should do and did not do is written very small (C&A Foundation, 2018).

A learning point of the foundation from supporting innovators to unlock finance is how important it is to tell the technical and complex circular innovation story and the impact of the innovation in a way that non-experts can understand. Therefore, the C&A Foundation has coached one start-up to tell the bigger impact story, and thereby eventually helped them secure capital (C&A Foundation, 2018). By coaching the innovators to frame the story, it became more attractive for investors to invest.

Grafting was not found in the annual reports.

Localization

The C&A Foundation is found to be medium active in localization. The foundation itself states that in 2019, they commissioned an Overall Effectiveness Evaluation (OEE) to assess the performance of the foundation's strategy, programs and structure over the five years of existence. According the C&A foundation, the OEE revealed that the foundation with its technical expertise, strong network and localization in key context and markets, gained credibility as an "ecosystem" funder that has catalyzed the development of an "ecosystem of organizations" that share a commitment to sustainable fashion (C&A Foundation, 2020). In 2019 for example, various Mexican partners of the C&A Foundation's received support to embed gender justice into their own structures and the initiatives with C&A Foundation. This is a form of localization as the C&A Foundation wants their Mexican partners to embed the norm of gender justice into their structures (C&A Foundation, 2020).

Patronage

The C&A Foundation is the most active in patronage. The foundation has a lot of resources to spend and extensively describes how the foundation divides its resources among partners and initiatives (C&A Foundation, 2018, 2019). These resources are divided among the main themes of the C&A Foundation, such as in 2018 12,4 million to promote circular economy, 9 million to enabling dignified working conditions and 7 million to eradicate forced and child labor in the supply chain. The partners are divided across the values of sustainable cotton, forced and child labor, working conditions, strengthening communities and circular fashion. The partner organizations help the C&A Foundation materialize these values and diffuse the norms through multiple initiatives (C&A Foundation, 2019).

Recognizable for patronage is the imbalance between the partners. The C&A Foundation (2019) also recognized power imbalance between the foundation and its partners, as illustrated by the following quotation: "There tends to be an inherent power hierarchy that places donor above grantee, and sometimes grantee over the people and communities they work with, so [the C&A Foundation] must create a safe and encouraging environment to collaborate on an equal footing" (p.23). The C&A Foundation (2019) explains the power imbalance by the fact that the foundation has a specific goal and theory of change to get there, and that the foundation has been strict in adhering to the strategy and have not always adapted enough to the ideas and needs of their partners: "This has led to some of our partners feeling more like service deliverers fulfilling our goals instead of equal partners on the same journey" (p. 25).

Lobbying

C&A Foundation is very active in lobbying and advocacy. Since 2015, the C&A Foundation supported its partners to influence and inform policy and legislative change processes in the partners' communities (C&A Foundation, 2020). The C&A Foundation (2019) states the following: "We need to build and strengthen the field and enable better policies. And we need to nudge the shift in cultural norms that will underpin and uplift every singular initiative" (p.5). The C&A Foundation writes letters to the government, holds discussion groups with the government, sets agenda's, and collaborates with the government (C&A Foundation, 2018, 2019, 2020). The foundation also commissions studies to help the foundation get more information about the policy gaps and how it can best play a role in this area (C&A Foundation, 2020). As the C&A Foundation (2020) states: "Policy change is critical to change the 'rules of the game'" (p.26).

The C&A Foundation lobbies mostly together with its partners. For example in collaboration with partner Anti-Slavery International, together they advocated for the European Parliament to strengthen its approach to forced labor, with a particular focus on gender equality and children's rights (C&A

Foundation, 2018). An additional example is when, in 2016 and early 2017, the foundations' partner Missão Paz worked with other civil society organizations to guarantee that the government developed a New Migration Law with a human rights approach. A key part of the process were discussion groups in which migrants identified the main barriers to access their rights, as well as the migrants' ideas on how to improve their situation (C&A Foundation, 2018). Missão Paz was responsible for bringing stakeholders from opposing political sides together to pass the bill on migration (C&A Foundation, 2020). The resulting legislation was approved (C&A Foundation, 2020), creating evidence for the effectiveness of lobbying. Another example of the effectiveness of lobbying of the C&A Foundation is that since 2015, thirty policy changes were implemented with the support of the C&A Foundations' partners across the three strategic programs of sustainable cotton, working conditions and forced and child labor (C&A Foundation, 2019).

Mobilizing people

The C&A Foundation has not found to be active in mobilizing people.

Collaboration

The C&A Foundation is active in collaboration. According to the C&A Foundation, challenges in the fashion industry are deep and require equally deep pockets, real collaboration and patience (C&A Foundation, 2018). The foundation evokes collaboration, as illustrated by the following quotation: "If you are a funder, join us. If you are an NGO, talk to us. If you are a brand or retailer, help us understand how philanthropic capital, with its high-risk appetite and long-term view, can catalyse change" (C&A Foundation, 2018, p.4). Furthermore, the C&A Foundation (2019) states: "Collaboration has always been a core value that drives the way we work" (p.23). The foundation claims that it is important to bring players from the whole supply chain together, from farmers to consumer brands, to think and act collectively which can help spur innovations and create new business models that meet people's needs and regenerates the environment (C&A Foundation, 2019).

One of the main examples of collaboration of the C&A Foundation is the sustainable fashion innovative platform Fashion for Good (C&A Foundation, 2020). As the C&A Foundation (2019) states, the platform is not only strengthening the innovators and finding solutions for its affiliates, but also acts as a "catalyst for further collaboration from across the industry" (p.15). The platform is encouraging pre-competitive collaboration in which technologies can be scaled up and grown into businesses (C&A Foundation, 2018). Pre-competitive collaboration enables brands to both share the risk and collectively reap the sustainability rewards of creating the conditions to scale innovation (C&A Foundation, 2019). The work of the innovators is underpinned by Fashion for Good's network of, in 2019, 18 corporate partners such as PVH Corp, Zalando and C&A (C&A Foundation, 2020). According to the C&A Foundation, now that Fashion for Good has attracted various corporate partners, its power to help scale innovations can only continue to grow (C&A Foundation, 2019).

Moreover, the C&A Foundation stimulates other organizations and stakeholders to collaborate, as a partner of the foundation provided factory lists which enables all decision makers, from brands and workers to industry initiatives, to identify where they can collaborate together and share a common interest in factory. As the C&A Foundation (2018) states: "Lasting change in the apparel industry depends on collective action" (p.29).

The C&A Foundation is also collaborating with C&A. C&A is a corporate partner of Fashion for Good (C&A Foundation, 2019), and according to the C&A Foundation, the world's biggest buyer of organic cotton (C&A Foundation, 2018). Moreover, the C&A Foundation claims to be the world's biggest

funder of organic cotton production (C&A Foundation, 2018). The C&A Foundation and C&A state to be committed together to tackle the systemic challenges that keep the market of organic cotton at less than 1% of all cotton produced (C&A Foundation, 2018).

The organic cotton industry challenges are, according the C&A Foundation, too huge for one organization to solve alone. Therefore the efforts of the foundation are focused on catalyzing initiatives and inviting others to step in to address the challenges. The C&A Foundation (2018) claims that: “collaborative working results in substantial leverage” (p.17). An example of this is the Cotton 2040 platform, created to accelerate the progress of existing organic cotton initiatives by bringing together retailers and brands, sustainable cotton standards and other stakeholders of the value chain (C&A Foundation, 2020). Furthermore, the C&A Foundation collaborates with the government to encourage them to create conditions and policies that will enable cotton farmers to convert to organic and sustainable practices (C&A Foundation, 2018).

Summary

The norms the C&A foundation embraces are social and environmental sustainability in the fashion industry. The main norm diffusion method of the C&A Foundation is patronage. In addition, the foundation is very active in sharing knowledge and lobbying. Furthermore, the C&A Foundation is active in facilitating a network for collaboration between organizations and partners to diffuse the norms that the C&A Foundation thinks are important.

Table 18
Norm diffusion methods C&A Foundation

Norm diffusion methods	C&A Foundation
Knowledge sharing	✓✓✓
Knowledge construction	✓✓
Knowledge creation	✓✓
Framing & grafting	✓✓
Localization	✓✓
Patronage	✓✓✓
Lobbying	✗
Mobilizing people	✓✓
Collaboration	✓✓

5. Discussion

5.1 Norms for sustainable fashion

The two norms propagated the most by all foundations under study are ‘no discrimination, no sexual harassment and sexual and gender-based violence and gender equality’, and ‘freedom of trade unions and collective bargaining’. Next, ‘living wages’, and ‘occupational health and safety’, as well as ‘sustainable use of raw materials’ are important. Moreover, ‘diminish water pollution’ and ‘use of chemicals, water and energy’ are also important across all foundations. The foundations under study barely focus on the following norms: ‘animal welfare’, ‘no bribery and corruption’, and ‘responsible sourcing from homeworkers’ (Table 19).

Differences between foundations can also be identified. In general, the private foundations (the C&A Foundation and H&M Foundation) focus more on environmental sustainability norms compared to

public foundations (the FWF, CCC and Fashion Revolution). The reason for this can be encapsulated by the CCC interviewee who stated that it is not that environmental sustainability is not important, but that the focus lies on labor rights and social sustainability. Another distinction that could be identified between private and public foundations within the area of social sustainability is that public foundations focus more on labor rights while the private foundations focus more on broader human rights, such as education, equality and humanitarian help. Recently this view has been amplified since the C&A Foundation turned into the Laudes Foundation, for which sustainable fashion norms is not the sole focus, but only part of a bigger portfolio of norms. The focus on general human rights by private foundations could be explained by the fact that the foundations' sustainable fashion norms do not necessarily match the founder corporations' practices. For example, both H&M and C&A have been a target of campaigning for not paying living wages (CCC, 2020a). Yet living wages are, at least for C&A Foundation, an important norm. This could explain to some extent, why private foundations choose to focus on broader human rights issues rather than labor issues.

Moreover, the private foundations' focus on human rights rather than on labor rights can be explained by the difference between the rights. First, both private foundations focus, arguably, more on human rights as human rights norms tend to understand problems as political and solutions as legal. While, by contrast, labor rights norms have generally regarded problems as primarily social and economic, and solutions as primarily political. That is, the key source of human oppression addressed by labor rights is the socioeconomic relationship between employer and worker. For labor rights, the political process lies in collective action vis-à-vis the employer, and secondarily, the state (Kolben, 2009). In the case of human oppression at the founder corporations' of the private foundations, the employer would be the C&A and H&M. The aforementioned could explain that if the private foundations would focus on labor rights, and the founder corporations' would violate these rights, this would be an act to their own detriment. Second, another important distinction between human and labor rights is that while human rights primarily affect states, labor rights primarily affect private actors. Labor rights generally require state intervention into the private sphere, while human rights regulate and apply to the relationship between individuals and states. Labor rights require states to enforce and implement regulations and laws that discipline the conduct of private actors (employees and employers) (Kolben, 2009). By focusing on human rights as a private foundation, you move the focus and responsibility to the state instead of to your funder. Third, the normative weight associated with human rights discourse made it an attractive political tool for social movements looking to press demands. By shifting the focus of the employment relationships towards human rights understanding of labor management relationships, the class-based approaches to advancing workers' rights are undermined. As such, the labor rights as human rights approach, although popular in both discourse and theory, could be a potentially dangerous strategy for a labor right movement which continues to fight a defensive battle in a time of neoliberal globalization and corporate power (Savage, 2008).

The two norms which are mostly propagated by both private and public foundations could be explained by some overlap in labor and human rights. These norms, 'freedom of trade unions and collective bargaining' and 'no discrimination, no SGBV and gender equality', are both to be found in labor rights and human rights (United Nations, 1976). Therefore, the chances of foundations pursuing these two norms are increasing, as foundations, whether active in human rights or in labor rights, are likely to embrace these norms. Hence, it is no surprise that these norms are pursued the most by the foundations under study.

Beyond the sustainable fashion norms that have been pre-identified in the creation of the theoretical framework, additional norms were identified during the research process. A norm pursued by the CCC,

Fashion Revolution and the C&A Foundation is transparency. This is understood as both a norm and as a method to hold brands and governments accountable, which can in its turn create change (Fashion Revolution, 2019b). Another norm supported by two foundations is legally binding relationships, which CCC describes as citizen and employment status (Interview CCC). FWF explains this norm as steady contracts in the industry (Interview FWF). Yet another norm, mentioned specifically by CCC, is good governance, explained as rule of law (Interview SKC). In further research regarding sustainable fashion norms of foundations these norms could also be considered to be included.

Table 19
Norms all the foundations compared

Norms for sustainable fashion	CCC	FWF	Fashion Revolution	H&M Foundation	C&A Foundation	Score
1. No child labor	✓	✓	✓	✗	✓✓✓	6
2. No discrimination, no SGBV and gender equality	✓✓	✓✓✓	✓✓✓	✗	✓✓✓	11
3. No forced labor	✓✓	✓	✓✓	✗	✓✓✓	8
4. Reasonable working time	✓	✓	✓	✗	✓✓	5
5. Occupational health & safety	✓✓✓	✓✓	✓✓✓	✗	✓	9
6. Freedom of trade unions and collective bargaining	✓✓✓	✓✓✓	✓✓✓	✗	✓✓	11
7. Living wage	✓✓✓	✓✓✓	✓	✗	✓✓	9
8. Sustainable use of raw materials	✗	✗	✓✓✓	✓✓✓	✓✓✓	9
9. Diminish water pollution and use of chemicals, water and energy	✗	✗	✓✓✓	✓✓✓	✓✓✓	9
10. Diminish greenhouse gas emissions	✗	✗	✓✓	✓✓✓	✗	5
11. No bribery and corruption	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	0
12. Responsible sourcing from homeworkers	✓	✓	✗	✗	✗	2
13. Animal welfare	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	0

5.2 Norm diffusion methods

The most frequent norm diffusion method, used by all foundations, is sharing knowledge, followed by collaboration and knowledge creation. Hereafter, the foundations also actively execute lobbying as a norm diffusion method. All the norm diffusion methods in the theoretical framework are actively used by at least two foundations (Table 20).

In line with the theoretical expectations, knowledge sharing is mostly used as a norm diffusion method compared to knowledge constructing and creating. This is likely because knowledge sharing is the least interactive and complicated method, and in social practice can be seen as an accomplishment (Van Aalst, 2009). In addition, sharing knowledge is important for foundations since it is primarily used to strengthen and legitimize one's own position (Oehmer & Jarren, 2019), which enhances its credibility to diffuse norms. This is essential as the interviewee CCC states: "if we're not seen as a credible player anymore, no one will care about our campaigns at all and will listen to us". Furthermore, foundations exercise influence on the political decision-making process by sharing knowledge. As foundations are regarded, at least in certain policy fields, as major players in policy making, it is no surprise that foundations are very active in sharing knowledge (Oehmer & Jarren, 2019).

Moreover, the foundations use the other knowledge diffusions methods to a different extent. Constructing knowledge is done less actively by the foundations, but those who do, mostly give workshops and have interactive education. Furthermore, all foundations are active in the creation of knowledge. Foundations create knowledge by doing research themselves or by funding research and innovations. The public foundations mostly do research themselves while the private foundations also

fund and create research and innovations. This is not surprising, as both private foundations have corporate roots and the vast financial resources which are required for creating innovations and funding research. Private foundations can strategically use their financial resources to determine and manage the creation of knowledge through the denial or award of support for research, dissemination and training activities (Lagemann, 1992; Palmer, 2002). Knowledge according to Bulmer (1995), is a source of power and insight over the social and natural world, which should be systematically fostered in order to change and control the world. This is something private foundations are able to do with funding the research that fits with its norms, and thereby set the agenda for research, policy and global conversation (Palmar, 2002). An example hereof is when the C&A Foundation partnered with the Thomson Reuters Foundation to create a news desk dedicated to local reporting on trafficking and forced labor across South Asia, to increase awareness of the issue. According to the C&A Foundation, the contribution from 2015-2017 was “prolific”, as in 2016, 494 articles accounted for 4.7% of global conversation on the topic (C&A Foundation, 2020). The lesson learned by the C&A Foundation is that: “Rigorous research is a powerful tool to develop strategies, build the field and promote policy change” (C&A Foundation, 2020, p.33). This is in line with Lagemann (1992) who states that research disciplines were developed by foundations in such directions that they had important effects in public policy and academia. Therefore private foundations might have an advantage, since the vast financial resources to manage the creation of knowledge could enhance the ability to diffuse norms.

Neither collaboration nor lobbying were identified as norm diffusion methods in the diffusion literature, but were identified as such during the research. Collaboration with networks of nonprofits, governments and profitmaking corporations, is used by foundations to have a stronger influence on the norms of a wider set of stakeholders of the fashion industry, and also to increase expertise or resources, which in turn helps diffusing the norms. Lobbying is actively done by four out of the five foundations to influence the norms. The foundations use differing methods, such as agenda setting, collaborating with politicians or making amendments to a proposed law. Interestingly, lobbying is prohibited by law for private foundations, therefore it is no surprise that the C&A Foundation and H&M Foundation do not mention lobbying in their annual reports, but do name acronyms such as advocacy and agenda setting. The public foundations, the FWF, CCC and Fashion Revolution, do mention the word lobbying often. It might not be as unexpected that all foundations are active in lobbying because, according to Abbott (2012), private actors and their governance initiatives have emerged as a response to the inadequacies of public regulation. Furthermore, it seems logical that foundations are actively lobbying, since foundations can have an enormous influence on agenda setting and politician decision making (Martens & Seitz, 2015).

In the following sections 5.2.1 and 5.2.2, a distinction between public and private foundations is made to explore in more detail the starker differences in norm diffusion methods.

5.2.1 Public foundations

This section focuses on the norm diffusion methods of public foundations. The most dominant norm diffusion methods of public foundations are, besides sharing knowledge, the creation of knowledge, collaboration and lobbying. Collaboration and lobbying are explained above as methods that all the foundations are active in. A norm diffusion method that only public foundations use is mobilizing people. This was a surprising finding as mobilizing people was not identified as a diffusion method in the literature. Norm diffusion takes place by mobilizing people for demonstrations and petitions that in turn influence companies, governments or the general public. As Jasper (2011) mentions, mobilizing people to more engaged forms of participation in collective action requires frames that trigger intense emotions such as pride or moral indignation. As there are many violations of labor rights in the garment industry, foundations’ frames of these violations trigger moral indignation, which makes it easier for the

foundations to mobilize people. Because of the triggered intense emotions, the public foundations might have a stronger connection with its audience than the private foundations. It can therefore be assumed that mobilizing people is a norm diffusion method mostly used by public foundations. Furthermore, public foundations focus on labor rights, which empathize the collective (Kolben, 2009). The focus of the foundations on the collective could in turn emphasize the connection with its audience necessary to mobilize people.

Even within the public foundations, differences can be found. For example CCC and the FWF differ in their norm diffusion methods. Both foundations focus on labor rights and the targets of their norm diffusion methods are mostly companies and the government. However, their approach differs: CCC on the one hand tries to change the norms in a “naming and shaming” and a more activist way when companies do not want to listen. The FWF and Fashion Revolution on the other hand do not want to “name and shame”. Instead, the FWF actively collaborates with companies in multiple ways, for example by in-depth factory audits, Brand Performance Checks and WEP (FWF, 2019). FWF sees it as a “shared responsibility”, while CCC focuses mostly on companies being responsible, and also campaigns against specific companies (CCC, 2019a). Fashion Revolution does not target specific individual companies, since they believe that the problems of the industry are beyond any company’s actions (Fashion Revolution, 2020). Instead, Fashion Revolution wants to set an industry-wide example of what a better fashion industry looks like (Fashion Revolution, 2021). The differing approach could be explained by the difference in funders of the foundations, as Fashion Revolution is supported by the C&A Foundation (Fashion Revolution, 2018), and the FWF is getting financial contribution and support of member companies (FWF, 2018b). The CCC on the contrary is independent of grants from companies with interests in the garment industry (CCC, 2019b).

5.2.2 Private foundations

This section focuses on the norm diffusion methods of private foundations. The most dominant norm diffusion method of private foundations, besides sharing knowledge, is patronage. This is because patronage requires monetary assets, and both the private foundations have larger assets than the public foundations. The financial size of the foundations are large and mega (Table 12, 15). The understanding that wealthier foundations have different behaviors compared with those foundations that have less resources, is in line with Pharoah et al. (2017). Public foundations are only active in patronage on an occasional project basis, for example with funding of a specific research. Therefore, it can be argued that private foundations have a higher ability to diffuse its norms than the public foundations.

The methods of the creation of knowledge by the H&M Foundation and C&A Foundation are comparable. The H&M Foundation is the founder of the Global Change Award, and the C&A Foundation the founder of the Fashion for Good Innovation Platform and museum. Both foundations are active in finding solutions for circular fashion. The programs do not only create knowledge, but also share and construct knowledge, and encourage and foster collaboration, both with innovators and industry partners. With the foundations’ investments in innovations, the corporate roots (H&M and C&A) are also benefitting. For example, the Global Change Award winners collaborated and made a collection with the H&M (H&M Group, 2019). For the C&A Foundation, the investment in innovation is mainly sustainable cotton (C&A Foundation, 2018), so it is no surprise that the C&A is the biggest buyer of sustainable cotton.

Although patronage has advantages, it can be questioned whether the strength of the connection with the people is similar as through mobilizing people. Patronage can create a power imbalance between the

donor and grantee, and sometimes between the grantee and the people and communities they work with (C&A Foundation, 2019; Prewitt et al., 2006). The power imbalance patronage creates might cause private foundations to be more insulated from the public and thereby to stay away from mobilizing people. Another explanation as to why private foundations do not mobilize people could be because of the private foundations' actions, which are not subject to any formal control mechanism, and raise questions of legitimacy (Oehmer & Jarren, 2019). In addition, Roelofs (2007) states about foundations: "By and large, it is the funder who are calling the tune" (p.502). Thereby, the private foundations, active in patronage, are the funders and perhaps do not need to mobilize people, as the foundations can do this by funding. The private foundations can ensure the exact norms of the foundations can be propagated as the foundations pay for collaboration and the partners to do what the private foundations requests. However, the public foundations are able to mobilize people and have a more equal power relationship and adjust, compromise and discuss with its partners, as the interviewee of Fashion Revolution states: "I think it's more about having an equal conversation that everyone can contribute. So we also learn from other people, not only us teaching everything". Whereas the private foundations are placed in a position of power relative to their grantees, creating more possibilities for abuse and exploitation of the grantee and people (Prewitt et al., 2006). This, in turn, might cause private foundations to become more distant and insulated from the public, which may reduce the ability to diffuse their norms in society at large.

Table 20
Norm diffusion methods all the foundations compared

Norm diffusion methods	CCC	FWF	Fashion Revolution	H&M Foundation	C&A Foundation	Score
Knowledge sharing	✓✓✓	✓✓✓	✓✓✓	✓✓✓	✓✓✓	15
Knowledge construction	✓	✓✓✓	✓✓	✓✓	✓✓	10
Knowledge creation	✓✓	✓✓	✓✓✓	✓✓✓	✓✓	12
Framing & grafting	✓✓	✓✓	✓✓	✓✓	✓✓	10
Localization	✗	✓✓	✗	✗	✓✓	4
Patronage	✗	✗	✗	✓✓✓	✓✓✓	6
Lobbying	✓✓✓	✓✓	✓✓	✓	✓✓✓	11
Mobilizing people	✓✓	✗	✓✓✓	✗	✗	5
Collaboration	✓✓✓	✓✓✓	✓✓	✓✓	✓✓	12

5.3 Scientific contributions

Norms literature has demonstrated the potential of norm entrepreneurs for changing the normative order (Björkdahl, 2002; Finnemore & Sikkink, 1998). This study has contributed to global sustainability governance scholarship by focusing on how philanthropic foundations, an understudied type of actor, act as norm entrepreneurs and influence norms by norm diffusion methods. Moreover, the findings from this study make several contributions to the current literature of norm diffusion methods by non-state actors (Acharya, 2004; Finnemore & Sikkink, 1998). First, the previous theoretical framework of norm diffusion methods did not take lobbying and collaboration into account, while this method is used actively by most of the researched foundations. In addition, mobilizing people was not found in the literature. Therefore, these were added to the framework of norm diffusion methods by foundations. Furthermore, the current study has confirmed the norm diffusion methods as identified in literature as all the norm diffusion methods of the theoretical framework are used by at least two of the five foundations.

Moreover, this study has provided deeper insights into the differences of norm diffusion methods used by public and private foundations. Both are active in lobbying as a norm diffusion method. Although

the regulatory reforms prohibited private foundation lobbying, establishing a formal constraint that public foundations do not face, both types of foundations are found to be active. However, as expected by Suárez et al. (2018), in this study the public foundations engage more in lobbying and advocacy than private foundations, most certainly due to the less restrictive regulations the public foundations face. Public foundations are permitted to lobby as long as it is not a substantial part of its work (Suárez et al., 2018). The finding that lobbying is part of the public and private foundations' norm diffusion methodologies is in line with recent research indicating that the philanthropic sector is undergoing institutional change, and the growing willingness of foundations to influence policy is an important aspect of this transformation (Callahan, 2017; Goss, 2016; Hertel-Fernandez, 2016; Reckhow, 2013). Reckhow (2016) states that a growing share of the foundations', rather than simply funding research or supporting programs, grants support national policy advocacy.

Mobilizing people is found to be an important norm diffusion method of public foundations. Both CCC and Fashion Revolution have a global network and are active in collaboration. It is therefore not surprising that both foundations are active in mobilizing people. The CCC and Fashion Revolution are active in all the key conditions of mobilizing people: raising awareness and knowledge sharing and framing, alliance-building and network-formation (Bomberg, 2012). In addition, mobilizing people is intertwined with activism, which both Fashion Revolution (2020) and CCC are active in, as illustrated by the following quotation "We have seen tremendous campaigning capacity around the world, with activists from our world-wide network protesting for labour rights and safe factories in Bangladesh" (CCC, 2020a, p.3).

Furthermore, collaboration is found to be important in norm diffusion. Collaboration is intertwined with sharing knowledge. By combining resources and knowledge, the network of likeminded organizations grows. This means that, in turn, more people are reached by the actions of the foundations and the norms that they want to diffuse. Furthermore, foundations in this research are seen as norm entrepreneurs. According to Friedman (2012) norm entrepreneurs draw strength from preexisting organizations, as they undertake actions to promote the new framing of extant norms or the emergence of new norms. By collaboration, foundations draw strength from other organizations to influence and diffuse norms.

Lastly, the sustainable norms lists could be reconsidered with for example according some foundations the missing norms such as legally binding relationships. This research deducted the sustainable norms from combining the OECD (2017b) and SER (2016) guidelines, however, if believing the foundations' interviewees, they still seem incomplete.

5.4 Societal contributions

The findings of this study make several societal contributions. The sustainability impacts implicated in the production and use of fashion are multifarious, complex and interrelated (Gardetti & Torres, 2017). In addition, the coronavirus outbreak has stressed the disastrous impact on all levels, which strengthens the need for a transition towards a sustainable fashion industry even more (OECD, 2020b). Norms have the power to reinforce changes in behavior (Finnemore & Sikkink, 1998), which are necessary for a transformation of the industry. This research studied how foundations influence the norms of sustainable fashion. An increase in understanding of norm diffusion methods can improve the strategy of private actors regarding which norm diffusion methods to employ, and how to improve the influence on norms. Once foundations know better how to influence the norms, they can make a more conscious choice in strategy and goal which could lead to a faster institutionalization of sustainable fashion norms throughout the industry. Hereby the world might be one step closer to a sustainable fashion industry as a standard. In addition, now it is clear what norm diffusion methods foundations pursue, this could be

an inspiration for other foundations to deploy these methods for influencing the norms of for example other sectors or domains.

However, it is often assumed that foundations are doing something good, while foundations are private actors entering the public democratic societies (Anheier & Daly, 2006). In addition, foundations are mostly insulated from the public debate because of their independence of market and political constraints and constituencies (Anheier, 2018; Anheier & Daly, 2006). Therefore, it is important for citizens in democratic societies to know what the foundations stand for. This research brings more transparency to the norms of foundations and its norm diffusion methods.

5.5 Limitations

Despite these promising results, this study encountered limitations that have to be acknowledged. A first limitation of this research is that there were no interviews with two of the five foundations, which were both private foundations. The primary data of interviews would greatly enrich the data of this study. Without the interviews, framing and grafting of the norms was harder to detect. The foundations that gave an interview responded that this was something the foundations definitely were active in. Framing and grafting could have been described in more detail if there would have been interviews with all the foundations. Second, the generalizability of these results is subject to certain limitations. For instance, the small sample size and the focus on sustainable fashion. This study could be done with many more foundations, and across different industries. The sample created an additional difficulty, as the H&M Foundation is not only focusing on fashion, and the C&A Foundation is not existing anymore. Therefore it was harder to find all the right data to analyze. Third, as this is a qualitative research, the interpretation of the annual reports could be different, as one researcher could see different acronyms or synonyms than the other. For example, agenda setting in this research has been incorporated in lobbying while other researchers could see this differently. Last, the framework for the foundation characteristics was very elaborate for a study with five foundations. Therefore this framework could be simplified as it was more interesting to focus on certain key differences such as private and public foundations. Perhaps for a bigger quantitative study that looks at a large number of foundations and how all these characteristics link with certain norms and how certain norms vary, this elaborated framework could be of use.

5.6 Further research

This study researched how foundations influence the fundamental norms for sustainable fashion, but there are important issues for future research. An important issue for further research is determining the effectiveness of the norm diffusion methods. This research for example found the effectiveness of lobbying in the number of amendments taken into account by the government in its laws, but this could be explored further to give foundations guidance in the most effective norm diffusion methods.

Moreover, further research could take into account the norm diffusion method of lobbying. For example by mapping which lobby and advocacy methods public and private foundations use to influence the government. In addition, further research could take into account collaboration and mobilizing people as norm diffusion methods to find the details of the effectiveness of these methods to use as a reference for foundations. As according to Zwingel (2012) an important focus of the norm diffusion literature is the identification of actor constellations that engage in spreading and creating norms. Keck and Sikkink (1998) took a closer look at transnational advocacy networks (TANS) and found them to be motors of transnational normative change, in which usually NGOs play a central role. It would be interesting to further research how foundations play a role in this and if the network of foundations can also be seen as a transnational advocacy network.

Furthermore, the literature makes a distinction between framing and grafting. However, in reality the difference between framing and grafting norms was hard to detect. Further research could find out how foundations use framing and grafting to diffuse its norms, further explore the differences in effectiveness, and study how framing and grafting is influencing the other norm diffusion methods such as mobilizing people.

In addition, the extended theoretical framework, including the norm diffusion methods of lobbying, collaboration and mobilizing people could be tested with a broader scope of foundations in terms of focus and amount. This could provide insight in the usage of norm diffusion methods across multiple sectors. This research would also benefit of the extensive framework of foundation characteristics.

6. Conclusion

The aim of this research was to find out how philanthropic foundations influence fundamental norms for sustainability in the fashion industry. Based on content analysis of five European foundations' annual reports from 2015-2019 and interviews with foundations' program officers, this research highlighted that although foundations share many similarities both in the norms they embrace and diffusion methods they use, especially differences between private and public foundations are significant.

The norms mostly supported by the foundations are 'freedom of trade unions and collective bargaining' and 'no discrimination, no sexual harassment and sexual and gender-based violence and gender equality'. Furthermore, this research has identified that, in general, foundations are mostly influencing the norms by the norm diffusion method sharing knowledge, and hereafter through knowledge creation and collaboration. An interesting finding is that all foundations use lobbying as a norm diffusion method. Moreover, sustainability norms and norm diffusion methods differ across philanthropic foundations which can be explained by the opposing characteristics of the private and public foundations. The public foundations' focus on labor rights norms whereas private foundations tend to emphasize human rights norms more broadly. This difference is explained primarily through the nature of these norms and who they consider responsible for their implementation. While for labor rights the responsibility lies primarily with the company, the funders of private foundations in this study, for human rights the responsibility lies primarily with the state, hence creating a distance from the funding source. The findings further showed that while all foundations use a variety of norm diffusion methods, patronage is done primarily by private foundations while mobilizing people by public. While patronage can be more targeted to actors through funding their activities, mobilization has more appeal to a broader public with often a more critical stance against fashion companies than industry stakeholders themselves. As such, public foundations may be better able to connect with a broader social group in relation to private foundations whose base may be more narrowly identified among industry stakeholder groups.

Concluding, philanthropic foundations influence norms for sustainability in the fashion industry the most the norm diffusion method sharing knowledge, and hereafter through knowledge creation and collaboration. This research contributed to global sustainability governance scholarship by focusing on the understudied type of actor, i.e. philanthropic foundations, and by examining them as norm entrepreneurs, extending knowledge and understanding of norm adoption and diffusion methods by non-state actors. Hopefully this thesis will be a stepping stone towards further scrutiny of the role of organized philanthropy in global sustainability governance as philanthropic foundations become ever more important political actors.

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8. Appendix

8.1 Interview questions

1. Can you please briefly introduce yourself and your position at [foundation]?
2. I identified norms of sustainability in the fashion industry from the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) and Social and Economic Council (SER). They are, in no particular order:
 1. No child labor
 2. No discrimination, no SGBV and gender equality
 3. No forced labor
 4. Reasonable working time
 5. Occupational health and safety
 6. Freedom of trade unions and collective bargaining
 7. Living wage
 8. Sustainable use of raw materials
 9. Diminish water pollution and use of chemicals, water and energy
 10. Diminish greenhouse gas emissions
 11. No bribery and corruption
 12. Responsible sourcing from homeworkers
 13. Animal welfare
 - b. Which of these norms are the most important for your foundation?
 - c. Why these norms especially?

- d. Are there any norms that are not covered by this that you think that are important for your foundation?
3. How does the [foundation] try to diffuse these sustainability norms in the fashion industry?
 - a. Towards whom/which actors?
4. Do you try to relate to the norms that the recipients have in order to make communication more effective?
5.
 - a. Do you create knowledge about these norms? If yes, how do you do this?
 - b. Do you share knowledge about these norms? If yes,
 - i. Which platforms do you use to share the knowledge about these norms?
 - ii. How do you try to transmit the knowledge? Can you name an example?
 - iii. How do you communicate these norms when it comes to the recipients?
 - c. Do you train and educate others about these norms? If yes,
 - i. How do you do that?
 - ii. Who do you train and educate about these norms?
 - iii. What are the training and education about?
6. Does the [foundation] involve local actors in its activities? If yes, can you tell me how?
7. Does the [foundation] fund other organizations that contribute to your sustainability norms in the fashion industry? If yes,
 - a. How do you do this?
 - b. How do you select these organizations?
 - c. How do they help you propagate your norms?
8. Is the [foundation] active in politics to influence sustainability norms for the fashion industry? If yes, how does the [foundation] do this?
9. Do you have different ways in which you propagate the norms of the [foundation] that have not been discussed? If yes, which are they? Can you elaborate on them?
10. Is there anything you would want to add that has not yet been discussed in this interview?
11. Can I contact you if I need clarification on any issue?

8.2 Interview Clean Clothes Campaign

Interviewer

I would like to record the interview. Do you give your consent?

Interviewee CCC

Yes.

Interviewer

Great, then we can start. Can you please briefly introduce yourself and your position at the clean clothes campaign?

Interviewee CCC

Yes, of course. My name is Anne Bienias. I've been working with CCC for almost four years now. I started as an intern in the living wage team and then I moved my way into the team. So for three and a half years now, I've been working in a living wages team as an employee. And my focus is on living wages. So my title is living wage coordinator at the international office of clean clothes campaign in Amsterdam.

Interviewer

Okay, nice. For this research identified nine norms of sustainability in fashion industry. They are derived from the social Economic Council. They are no discrimination and gender equality, and no child labor and forced labor, freedom of association, living wages, safety and healthy workspaces, sustainable use of raw materials diminish water pollution and use of chemicals, water, and energy, and animal welfare. And so then my question is, which of these norms are the most important for your foundation?

Interviewee CCC

I think things that we really actively work on are the first one, no discrimination and gender equality, no forced labor, freedom of association, I think is the biggest one, living wages and safe and healthy workspaces. The other factor three bottom ones touch upon more environmental sustainability, which is something that CCC does find very important. But it's not our main area of work. Also not our specialty. So we would support other NGOs working on this or other organizations doing work in that area, if they ask us to support them, but we don't actively work on that ourselves. And no child labor is, of course, very important. But I feel like it's included more in other areas. Well I'm not actually sure if that's true, but I think child labor in the garment industry is not as widespread as it used to be.

Interviewer

That's a good thing.

Interviewee CCC

Yeah, that's very good. But of course, for the ILO, Child Labor has always been one of the main things that they work on. And a lot of brands know that. So they also use that in their sustainability reporting, very proudly saying, there's no child labor. For example, the program better factories, Cambodia, it's an ILO program. They're very proud that there's no child labor anymore in Cambodia, but there never really was a lot of child labor in Cambodia. It's of course something to be very happy about, but at the same time, I also sometimes feel like, you know, it's 2020. If there would be child labor in your supply chain, that would be really bad. But still, there are so many other things that are not going well, there're still not being given wages, factories are still not safe. So the fact that you are so happy that there's no child labor, it's not really something that you did personally. So it also feels a little bit like they're claiming victory for something that is so obvious. So I would say that those are the most the most important things that we work on.

Interviewer

Yeah. Great. And why do you focus mostly on the first six norms? Why these norms especially?

Interviewee CCC

That's a good question. I think that that is something that we specialize in. We focus on labor rights, more than environmental sustainability. Not that we don't find environmental sustainability, not important, but the labor rights, like protecting labor rights of people is already so big and so much work, that we feel that it's important that we don't want to spread our expertise too much. Because I think what we are proud of is that we are so good at what we do. And we want to keep that a little bit narrow, because it's already quite big and if we would also extend it to environmental sustainability, I think it would become too big. I also think that there is a range of NGOs, like Solidaridad, for example, who say that they're also working on labor rights, but what we usually see is that they, much sooner than us, agree with multistakeholder initiatives or with brands. They're more trying to find a compromise with brands, working with brands to improve things. Whereas I sometimes feel like CCC is setting the bar really high. And we know that and it's also something that we're often criticized for. Because some

people say that it's unrealistic what we want. But I can get really angry if people say that because we're talking about people's lives. It's really not unrealistic, what we're asking, it's the unwillingness of brands to move into the direction that we want them to move. And I always feel that it's too little, it's too late. So the fact that we are sometimes criticized for being too radical is outrageous. What is radical is how these people are being treated in their factories every day. So I sometimes get really passionate when I talk about this. But I think, sometimes people think that sweatshops are something that is from before, from the previous Millennium or something, but it's really not like sweatshops still exist.

Interviewer

Yeah. And are there norms that are not covered by these that you think are of importance for your foundation, for CCC?

Interviewee CCC

What I would maybe specify under the first one, so no discrimination and gender equality, I would also really put employment status there, because some people are on formal contracts and others are non-formal contracts. So to specify that we also work for people who are not on the formal contracts. And, of course, there's a huge migrants issue as well. So I would also put that under there under that bullet. So it's not just the gender equality, it's also other kinds of equality that we work on.

Interviewer

So equality in general?

Interviewee CCC

Yeah, so citizenship status and employment status? I think those two.

Interviewer

Yeah. Okay. I will note them. And, and how does CCC tries to diffuse these norms in the fashion industry? And towards whom, towards which actors?

Interviewee CCC

Our main targets are the brands, the company's, because it's their behavior that we are trying to change with our campaigns. And, of course brands, listen to consumers and their shareholders. So our campaigns are also often focused on them. Raising awareness with consumers hoping that they amplify our messages on social media. So to increase the pressure on brands to change their behavior, sometimes that works really well. It's really the whole thing. The naming and shaming. But it's also sometimes very difficult, because brands also look at each other. And if, for example, we're asking one brands to do something, the easiest thing for them to say is, well no other brand is doing it. Why should we pay more or do this differently, it's usually about money, because brands want to maximize their profit. So if they have to do something that will cost them money, or that will limit their profits, it's harder to get them to do something. And what you sometimes see is that crises creates windows of opportunity. It's really not nice to say, but for example, if Rana Plaza had not happened, I'm sure that the Bangladesh accord would never have happened as well. And so sometimes you kind of need a crisis in order for something to change.

Interviewer

Hopefully, Corona will do us good.

Interviewee CCC

Yeah, And then apart from brands, we also focus on policymakers. So we have a lot of lobbyists within our network as well. Because we're also trying to influence EU policies or policies on national level, EU legislation sometimes. So that's also something that we do.

Interviewer

Yeah. And do you try to relate to the norms that your recipients already have to make the communication more effective?

Interviewee CCC

Yeah, because brands these days, are very aware that consumers also care more and more about sustainability, both environmental sustainability and social sustainability. So the biggest brands are very good at creating very flashy, nice looking sustainability reports. If you look at Nike or H&M, they are super good at that. And I think if you're a consumer who is slightly interested in sustainability, and you read the sustainability report, you will actually think that these brands are doing quite well, because they are able to phrase it in such a way that they're actually saying nothing. Or they can hide the fact that they're not really doing anything by using really vague terms. When they say that they want to commit to doing something, their objectives are often not phrased SMART? Like measurable, time specific, etc. They don't do that. So they can publish reports, after reports after reports, saying that they find it important that their workers receive a living wage, for example, which as a consumer might look very good like H&M wants to pay a living wage. But then when we looked into it, they didn't do anything to actually start paying a living wage, which is greenwashing, of course. So we do look at what brands put out there in their own communication, and use that in our campaigns because it's very strong. If you can call H&M a liar for example, I think that will resonate with a lot of people. It's something that they will remember, especially if it's a big brand like that. So we do look at their norms, we also do that by looking at their investors because some brands have really ethical investors for example. So sometimes, for example, now with the covid 19 pandemic, when brands started canceling orders, we know that a lot of work she didn't receive their poverty wages even. And then it's very easy for us to reach out also to the investors of those brands and say, well, for sure that you don't approve of this behavior. Like for example, H&M, again, they have a lot of ethical investors, a lot of Nordic banks and pension funds who invest in H&M and who have very clear in their code of conduct for example that they disapprove of not paying minimum wage, which is what H&M did and many other brands. So it requires some research, but then it's really often a good hook. Because if shareholders are threatening that they want to sell their shares or that they don't want to invest in your brand, that's a really good thing for brands. Yeah, that works. Yeah, we do look at the norms and I think it's good that we also see that a lot of consumers are getting more and more aware of how greenwashing works and they just don't buy it anymore, which is good.

Interviewer

Yeah, definitely. And how do you try to communicate and transmits these norms? What is your tone of voice? Is it more positively or negatively? How do you try to reach them?

Interviewee CCC

We always start with nonpublic communication. So we will always notify a brand first about something that's going on. If that's case work we will always write a letter to the brand first saying, Hey, we know that this and this is going on in your factory. Are you aware of that? If so, what are you planning to do about it. And then if a brand doesn't respond or responds not satisfactory to us, then we will notify them again, that we will start a campaign or that we will use material that we found publicly. And the tone can be different. It's also a little bit about what the issue is, but because the issues are often, like I also said in the beginning of the interview, about people's lives. But sometimes it can be a little bit playful.

For example, we had a campaign on H&M a couple of years ago, about our living wage commitment, because in 2013, they promised to pay all the workers in our supply chain a living wage by 2018. So in the beginning of 2018, we started a campaign saying, time is almost up. Are you just as curious as we are to see if H&M delivered on their promise. And we knew already, of course, that H&M wasn't being paying a living wage. So that campaign started quite playful, with a clock counting down to the end of 2018, which is when they would have to deliver on their promise. And then the tone was quite playful, but the campaigns are always fact based. So it's not like we just start campaigning, we first research or we try to find proof, for example, by collecting pay slips of workers and worker testimonies or whatever. And so, if we need to get more serious, we can always do that, because we always have proof. And I think it's also important to remember that what we're trying to do in our campaigns is trying to stick up for people who simply cannot stick up for themselves because either there's no freedom of association, so there's no union, or it's impossible for workers to speak out against brands, because it's so far away from each other. So I think we are truly the workers voice here in consumer countries. And in that capacity, I think it's really important to always be serious about what we're asking from brands. So I think, even though sometimes campaigns can be a little bit playful, usually the tone is quite serious. Yeah, because I think we all realize that these are not topics to make jokes about.

Interviewer

It is a really serious topic indeed. You already mentioned it a little bit. And my question is, do you create knowledge about these norms? And if yes, how you do it? It's about, for example, reporting, researching investigations, etc.

Interviewee CCC

Yeah, like I said in my previous answer, our campaigns or our case, work is always fact based. I think that's also one of the core principles of CCC. Because like I said, also earlier before, we are often seen as quite radical. And therefore, I think it's even more important that we are credible, that we are a credible player. And I think that's something that CCC has done really well over the 30 years of our existence, that we are seeing in the industry as a credible and serious group that brands are seriously a little bit afraid of, which is good, because someone has to do it. And it's us doing this. And they know that we will always come with proof or with research. And I think we have a lot of really good researchers in our network. And the fact that we have such short lines between us and union leaders on the ground, makes it also possible for us to collect pay slips or collect worker stories. And we always have first hand information on what's happening in factories, for example, when we do casework, which is not something I do, but I think is a little bit the backbone of the CCC work. It's all about making sure that what we go public with is actually true. And I think that's also in the principles of the CCC network that whatever you do, in terms of communication, should not harm the network. So I think remaining credible, and doing solid research is really something that is very important. Because if we're not seen as a credible player anymore, no one will care about our campaigns at all, will listen to is. So we have to.

Interviewer

Yeah really cool those short lines with the garment workers. Do you also share the knowledge about these norms? And if yes, which kind of platforms do you use?

Interviewee CCC

Yeah, for sure. I think one key principle here is that, we have to be sure that we can share the proof that we find because sometimes it's too risky for the worker or for the union leader. Because we have to make sure that we have a good understanding of the situation on the ground. Because I think a lot of a

lot of union leaders in our network have been imprisoned before. So it's really not something to think lightly off, because as you probably understand the situation in a lot of garment producing countries is not as free as it is here in the Netherlands. So we have to realize that sometimes if we publish something about what's happening in India or Pakistan, or wherever we have to do a risk assessments. And also always ask the union leader or the worker, if it's okay, that we published our story. And usually we will change the name of the worker, or even of the union leader before going public. And going public. Yeah, it depends a little bit on the strategy. Like I said, we always notified a brand first, and say, this is what we found. You know, what is your response to that as well? How are you planning to, to resolve this? And then often what we try to do is get a scoop in a newspaper. So we send it for example, to The Guardian, or to the New York Times, or if it's about a Dutch brands. It's more something that SKC knows about, but we can send it for example to the correspondents. Because, you know which journalists are friendly or are more likely to pick up our stories. In the Netherlands we have Emy Demkes who usually writes about our work. She's very good. So that's very nice. So she publishes on the Correspondent or one worlds I think, then nu.nl also sometimes picks up our stories, the Volkskrant, so we have a few sort of friendly journalists and I think we have a few of them in every country, which is very nice. But they cannot pick up on everything that we do, because I think CCC has a press release almost every two weeks or something. So we have to be a little bit selective in which stories we pitch with newspapers or other platforms. And we also know of course, which things are more juicy and more likely to be picked up than others. So that is more conservative media that we send it to. We always use our own social media platforms of course, Instagram is going crazy. We have I don't know how many followers now, that went really quickly. And so that's really nice. Yeah, I think Twitter, Instagram, Facebook, I don't think we're on tik tok yet. But who knows? Usually media will find us, if it's really a good story or a juicy story. And we have radio interviews. Christie, I think has been featured in a podcast before. So different kinds of platforms. And also, of course, another platform is reaching out to MEP, so members of European Parliament with our stories to try to bring it to the EU, or national level politics, if that's more relevant. But that's, I don't know if you can consider that platform. But that's also something that we often do.

Interviewer

Okay. And then another question maybe a little bit in a different direction is if you train and educate others about these norms, and, if yes, how do you do it? And who do you try to train and about which norms?

Interviewee CCC

Yeah, I think I wouldn't call it educating, but more raising awareness. And that's something that we definitely do with consumers. The way we do that is with different means like, we create facials, or short clips, in which we try to make it really simple. For example create a situation like with the covid 19 pandemic. A lot of brands didn't pay for their orders. But if you don't understand how the garment supply chain works, you might not fully understand the problem. So then sometimes we use a metaphor, for example, imagine that you go to a restaurant, you order something that the chef is already creating it and then right before it's served, you say, No, I don't want it. I don't want it anymore. And I'm not going to pay for it. Which is what happens on a really large scale during a pandemic, like brands made orders with factories, the workers already made the orders, they were ready to be shipped and then brand said No, we don't we don't want it anymore. We're not going to pay you for it. But the labor had already been done. So we try to make it easier for people to understand it. We know that most of our followers know something about the garment industry, because otherwise you don't follow us on Instagram, because then it's boring. And so we know that we don't have to use like Jip & Janneke taal, but we usually have to create a slightly more simplistic Yeah, image of a situation in order to make sure that people

understand what we're working on. So yeah, I would say that's something that would simplify things a little bit. Because also brands will always say that the supply chain is so complex, and which might be true, but also it's not that complex, you know? They used that to not have to change anything. What was the question again? How do we educate people?

Interviewer

Yes and also if you train people about these norms?

Interviewee CCC

I'm not sure if we can call it training. Because, I think the CC network is really there to amplify the voices of Workers, it's not like we come up with something that workers wouldn't support. We're there to make sure that what workers needs and wants is being heard by the brands. So it's not like, we come to the office and we're like, what can we do today? It's really driven by what workers ask us to do, or what unions ask us to do. So in that sense, we don't have to do trainings for unions, for example. But because, of course, the experts on EU legislation are in Europe and not in Asia. And what can sometimes happen, I'm going to use the covid 19 pandemic again, what we came up with, as a solution for all the unpaid wages that are there, because of the pandemic is a global severance funds. And because that's very technical, very much a legal thing. That is something that we would need to explain to unions, because they eventually want to bargain with brands about that agreements. But then, of course, unions do need to understand the agreement fully. So in that sense, maybe those are trainings. And sometimes we do trainings with new partners on how to do research, or like social media trainings, or whatever, like communication trainings. But for the public, I think it's mostly explaining what we do in a simplified way.

Interviewer

Yeah. So I read something in your annual reports about training women leaders and trying to empower them, do you think this is also something that counts for CCC as training?

Interviewee CCC

Yeah, I think so. I personally was not involved in a project. But that was indeed a project that I think ended now. But that was mostly about learning. We're not telling them, I don't really like that sort of power imbalance that it creates, but sort of talking about rights, women's rights, and making sure that people know what their rights are. I think it already can be called trainings. But like I said, I was not so much involved in that project. So I I'm not entirely sure in what ways these women were empowered. But I can imagine that it was about knowing what your rights are, and what means you have to address if those rights are violated or something. Yeah, for sure. That can also be called training. Yeah.

Interviewer

Yeah. And you mentioned the garment workers, of course, quite often and the unions. And so my question was, actually, if CCC involves them in its activities? But I think for you, it's the other way around. Can you maybe tell me a little bit more about that?

Interviewee CCC

Yeah, we are actually worker driven. So if there's no ask or not demand coming from workers, which would mean that everything was okay, which would be good, then we don't have to do anything. Yeah. And I think that's also something that we're very proud of is that we are really doing it together. And we're all equal. And I think that's one of the core values of the network. And also that won't change. And also what we seen as we are getting more and more partners in Asia, that it used to be that the

majority of our partners was in Europe, but now I think the Asian regions are getting bigger and bigger. Yesterday, our new board was presented and it makes me just so happy to see, because they are the experts. I went to Cambodia to interview workers and they are the experts about their problems and the issues that they face. And it's really not up to us to do it. Out of the blue started campaign, and that's something that is happening so far away. So not only do we involve them, I think it starts with them.

Interviewer

So then not the foreign norms, so the Dutch norms, for example, are involved with local actors, the garment workers, but perhaps they decide upon the norms, and you try to act on them, if I understand that correctly?

Interviewee CCC

Yeah, it's also a little bit of a mix, maybe. For example, there is currently a campaign going on, about gender based violence. So I am convinced that also women in other countries feel uncomfortable or feel that there is a power imbalance in factories, but for example, here, we probably would, if you're working somewhere and your boss is using inappropriate language with you, then I think you would understand that that's really not okay. And I think in some other countries, as long as you're not raped, I think they think it's normal, or that they should accept it. So I think that's not something that CCC necessarily does, but for example Asia Floor Wage Alliance, which is a partner of the CC network, they do trainings on gender based violence, and also tell people like if your boss says something about your body, or about whatever being a woman or something that is just making you feel uncomfortable or abused. That is not okay, that's up to you to decide when that is. And you don't need to be raped or even touched for that to already be crossing a line. But there, I think that's also a little bit cultural. Because Indian culture, for example, or Pakistani culture is, of course, different from our culture. And I think, in the Netherlands, a lot more women would understand. Those norms are just a little bit more outspoken here, then I think it's also easier for us to speak out than it is there. Especially if you're a government worker, because you're always afraid to lose your job. And you might be physically abused, and then it's less of a scandal. Here if something would happen like that, it would be in all the newspapers. In India, if something like that happens, it's like whatever. Yeah. So there, of course, is a little bit of that difference. I'm not sure that garment workers themselves would have started a campaign on gender based violence, for example. So that is something Yeah, I don't actually know where that came from. But it's not something that we come up with, because we do get the complaints about these things happening in factories. Yes. workers do report them.

Interviewer

Yeah. And you decided upon campaigning on it, because you think: we get the complaints and we want to do something about it?

Interviewee CCC

Yeah

Interviewer

And then another question. It's more about funding, does CCC fund other organizations to contribute to your norms?

Interviewee CCC

Um, yes. Yeah, that's a little bit how the funding landscape in our sector works is that often when we apply for funding, the donor requires us to give part of our funding to global South organizations. So

usually, our projects involve partners, so people from the CCC network in the global south (production countries). So in that way, yeah, we do fund them, to do certain activities. But it's not often that we ever just give money to another organization to do whatever. Usually it's project based or something like that. But we do get funding. And in the first months of the pandemic, we also asked some of our donors if we could use money for emergency relief, because some workers were locked up in factories without foods, and a lot of workers lost their job and didn't have any income. So they were in immediate needs of foods and drinking water. So some of the unions in the network asked if we could provide them with emergency funding. And then we just started giving them money to do that. So that was very basic, almost humanitarian help, which is something that we don't usually do. But because the situation was pretty severe we decided to do that.

Interviewer

How do you select which organization you will give money to? How do they help you contribute to propagate your norms?

Interviewee CCC

It depends a little bit. It depends on the donor because sometimes they have a preference in terms of geographical location. For example the Dutch ministry of foreign affairs is always very interested in Indonesia, because of our colonial history I guess, because they feel guilty. But there can also be other donors who have a special interest in Bangladesh for example or in Ethiopia or in Eastern European production countries. So it depends a little bit on that. For example we currently get funding from the European commission and they say which countries are eligible or not. So for example Turkey cannot be included in there and almost all the Balkan countries cannot receive funding. So that already narrows down the selection of partners that we choose from. And then usually we kind of know a little bit which organizations in our network work on certain topics. It also depends on capacity of course. If organizations have the capacity to work on something. I also think that we do try to not always select the same ones. So for example in the project that you were referring to earlier: the women leadership project, there was quite a bit group of partners and for example in the living wage group program that I work on not so many of the same groups were selected to get funding. So it's a little bit what the priorities of the organizations are, if they have the capacity, something like that. But sometimes you have to make very difficult choices, because of course you want to give everyone funding, but we cannot.

Interviewer

So you already mentioned something about politics. Can you maybe explain me a little bit more how CCC tries to influence those norms in the politics.

Interviewee CCC

Through lobbying. We have a few working groups with people from the European network mainly who I think always try to assess where do we have some leverage. It's really important there to understand EU legislation to see if there's a gap or a hole that we can jump in to improve something. Again there it is really important that our research is solid, so that we can present sometimes that is strong and credible. We also try to build relationships with specific politicians or members of the European parliament who we know that are kind of friendly to our issues. So in the past for example Lilianne Ploemen she was always very open to our ideas and in the Netherlands we still have a few people, the labor party, PvdA, who are usually really open to our ideas. Also sometimes (Bram will know more about this) it's really building up a personal relationship with those people, making sure your material is correct, making sure that we have the right evidence and make it as easy as possible for politicians to cooperate with you. Be

willing to prepare material for them, to co-write the parliament to vote on sometimes, that piece of legislation. We also really try to be very specific about what we want. We will never say that we want a living wage for all garment workers, because of course, so we try to be really specific how we want that and what actors need to be doing for that to make it as concrete and simple as possible for politicians and others to understand what we want. There's a lot of lobbying going on at national level, EU level, OECD level, UN level, ILO. I'm not sure if you can even call that politics anymore, but yeah.

Interviewer

Good to take with me. Okay, so do you also have different ways in which you propagate the norms of CCC that we have not discussed yet?

Interviewee CCC

No I don't think so. The last C in CCC stands for campaign of course so we are a campaigning network so that is our main way of propagating our vision, and mission and principles. And then lobby is another one, and I also mentioned the need to do credible research. So I think that are the main things.

Interviewer

Okay great. Is there anything else that you would like to add that has not yet been discussed in this interview?

Interviewee CCC

No maybe not. Well, I think sometimes that a lot of people, for example when people ask me where I work and then I explain them. People always find it difficult to understand because then immediately the first question they ask is where do you buy your clothes. That's very frustrating sometimes. I do try to always provide them with the sad reality, an honest answers that there are hardly any good brands. But i think it's important to understand that we as CCC we do have an opinion about, but now I'm making it really big, the way that currently the world is consuming. For example black Friday is horrible. The fact that clothes are being sold for so cheap. The fact that people buy a dress to wear only ones for Christmas like all of that. We don't usually say so much about it, but I think it's a little bit, a longer term vision. That in a way this industry now is all about fast fashion. Everything has to be fast and cheap and quick. And we will never advocate and ask consumers to stop buying at H&M or don't buy clothes anymore at Zara because their supply chain is horrible, but what we're trying to do of course, to make those jobs that already exist, 60 million people work in the garment industry. We're trying to make those jobs good jobs, decent jobs. But of course that would go hand in hand with receiving a fair wage, a living wage, making sure that factories are safe, but also that there's just less production. They cannot continue producing so much and work under so much pressure. So maybe that's something to also add that we do have vision on that but it's just something that we not often speak about.

Interviewer

Perhaps the last question. How do you think the norms, for example the living wage, how do you think they can be normalized. What do you think there has to be done before those norms are really not only norms of CCC but norms of the world?

Interviewee CCC

That's a good question. If only we knew. I don't know, I think like I already said in the beginning, sometimes a crisis helps, because I think if you would go to the Kalverstraat right now and ask people how you think this sweater is made, under what circumstances. I think a lot of people actually say it's probably made in a factory far away where a young woman has to work very hard, very long hours to

make this and she probably doesn't earn so much. So I think people know, but it's just because they don't see it. it's the same with food. You know that all the food we eat is not produced under the right circumstances, but because you don't really see it, or your iPhone, it's the same. A crisis can increase the visibility of a problem and then all of the sudden a lot of people's eyes are opened. For example, the Oeigoeren campaign is really big for us and I think so many people are ... about what is happening. I feel the same way of course about everything what is happening in the garment industry. I find it horrible that people have to go day after day after day to a factory where there are cracks in the wall which can collapse every minute, to a factory where there is no way to get safely out of the building when there's a fire and to be working for a poverty wage every day. I know all of that and that's why I work for CCC. I'm horrified by all those facts, but I also understand that these days consumers are being told so much about what is good and what is not good. I think a lot of people pick their battles. So they choose I'm going to focus on migration issues, or I'm going to focus on the plastic ocean or whatever. Which I think makes sense, because I chose to focus on the garment supply chain. That feels that I cannot focus for example also on the plastic ocean. So I think people feel a little bit like, it's so much, and everything is bad and what can I do. And I also want to make it really clear that we're not asking consumers to do anything, brands need to really change their behaviors, not consumers, so in that sense it's good that we're not restricting people in what they can and cannot do. But if only we knew how our norms can be normalized. Well, I remember a couple of years ago, I'm not even sure if that was in the Netherlands, but it was a television commercial that started with Lisa starting her new job today and I think she went to work in a restaurant. That it was a horrible job, and I think sometimes like that works really well.

Interviewer

Yes, it's my favorite video of SKC

Interviewee CCC

Was that a video of SKC? Oh see how I'm influenced, I thought that it was a television commercial. I think CCC Norway also did a really good thing, where they invited influencers to come to Cambodia and have a look in the factories. Stuff like that really helps because of course if you get a really big influencer to spread the news so to say. Imagine that Anna Nooshin would be on our side instead of getting deals with Na-ked and H&M. But I don't know, I don't have the answer to that question. But if you find it in your research, you have to tell us.

Interviewer

I think your conclusion is visibility

Interviewee CCC

Yeah visibility and also that people are a little bit saturated with all the issues that are going on, climate change, women's rights, black lives matter. It feels a little bit much maybe for people. So we're all fighting for attention.

Interviewer

Can I contact you if I need clarification on any issues?

Interviewee CCC

Yes of course.

8.3 Interview Clean Clothes Campaign / Schone Kleren Campagne

Interviewer

Can you please briefly introduce yourself and your position at SKC?

Interviewee SKC

My name is Wyger Wentholt and I work at SKC, that is the Dutch branch of CCC, Clean Clothes Campaign, and I'm mainly responsible for external communication focussing on Dutch society on behalf of CCC. That is in a nutshell my position. Of course we also have additional tasks, responsible for certain themes like for example the issue of transparency in the industry and being a sort of self-managed organisation that is horizontal we also have overhead tasks and inner tasks with regards to managing the organization, finances, etc. reporting, fund raising, but my core task is communication.

Interviewer

Can you maybe give an example of a main activity that you recently worked on in your position?

Interviewee SKC

One activity is that we recently had a week of action for the pay your workers campaign that is about the salary that the workers did not get because of the impact of the covid pandemic on the industry, so people are fired, people are not paid their salaries, salaries are decreased. So we're trying to make garment producers pay, to jump in the financial gap. So we organised a week of action internationally and together with colleagues I was responsible for organizing some events in Holland to try and raise attention in Holland. That's a very typical example of one of my core responsibilities.

Interviewer

So can you name an example of the activities? What kind of activities did you do in the week of action?

Interviewee SKC

One of the things that we organized was projecting a short video that we made ourselves, with the help of video footage from Cambodia and Thailand and different places and production countries. One of my colleagues, Sierra, helped us to make a, I would almost say a little artwork of a video that was like two minutes long, and that we put in a loop. So it was repeated all the time. And then we put up a screen on a houseboat, one of the canals in Amsterdam, at the point where that it was relatively busy, because the challenge in Corona times to do something that that can generates relatively much attention, I'm not sure if we really succeeded in getting a huge amount of attention, but we put up a screen we had a projector, you know, projecting the film on the screen. So that was one of the activities we organized.

Interviewer

Okay. Moving on to the next question. I identified nine sustainability norms in fashion industry, from the social and economic council and I wrote them down, as you see here, so and discrimination and gender, no child labor and no forced labor, freedom of association/trade unions, living wages, safe and healthy workspaces, raw materials, and water pollution and use of chemicals, water, energy, and animal welfare. Which of these norms are the most important for SKC?

Interviewee SKC

Yeah, well, given that you might rephrase the norms a little bit at a later stage I think it's basically the top six. I'm not sure what you mean by their raw materials norm. But definitely, you know, the discrimination and gender, the no child labor, no forced labor, freedom of trade unions, or freedom of

association, living wages, safety and health workspace. Those ones are definitely for us as CCC, the more important ones.

Interviewer

Okay, great. And why these norms especially?

Interviewee SKC

Not because in itself, we think that they are more important than the others, but it is good if an organization kind of focuses on specific things that we have expertise on and that we have experienced with and that we have special connections or networks, etc. You can't be a master of all trades. So we focus on social aspects of sustainability. And these first norms touch more on diversity rather than the environmental ones or the animal welfare ones.

Interviewer

Yeah, exactly. And are their norms not covered? That you think your foundation thinks are important?

Interviewee SKC

Yes, I did. I think that for us, there's also other norms that are important, like, for example, for activists in production countries or in any country really to be able to do their thing, that there's an kind of enabling environment for people to have agency to change their situations that are social economic situations, their human rights situations. So that ties very much with another norm, I think and that is good governance. And then there's another norm, which is kind of touched upon already with safe and healthy workspaces. But social protection in general, that is, if you have an accident at work, and you can't work anymore, that there will be some measure of income for you, if you lose your job that you don't fall into destitution immediately. All these forms in the rich countries we take for granted are not for granted at all for their so I think that it also has social protection, in the large sense of the word is also really important.

Interviewee SKC2

Maybe to add: it is more of a means than a goal. But transparency, we expect companies to be transparent about their value chain, but also about the human rights in their value chain. So I would think you can see it as a norm as well.

Interviewee SKC

Yep. True.

Interviewer

Good. Okay. Thank you. And can you maybe elaborate on the good governance? What do you mean with good governance? How do you see this as a norm?

Interviewee SKC

I think particularly rule of law. I'm doubting whether to say democracy or not. I don't think that democracy is the only system that can work. So I would say rule of law.

Interviewer

Okay, and what kind of rules?

Interviewee SKC

Well, basically, that those rules that a country decides upon are respected. That's what I mean by rule of law, so that whatever rules they create, that they apply to everybody, without exceptions. And that it is observed, I think that's what people mean by rule of law. And then, of course there are others, I'm not sure if those are norms, but things like that the government is really there for the people, rather than this attitude that the people are there for the government.

Interviewee SKC2

Having unrealistic minimum wage in place.

Interviewee SKC

Yeah, and enforcing it had, because I think that all countries these days have a minimum wage, apart from the fact that the minimum wage is often outdated and too low. But the bigger problem is that it's not being enforced. And in a lot of countries, which have a poor or a weak governance system, people who have a lot of money have an undue amount of influence. It's easy to kind of buy influence upon the politicians. So, in those kinds of countries, it's often the owners of factories, industrials, big entrepreneurs, who have much more influence on decision making than even trade unions. Right, so that's why rule of laws immediately are of importance to our world.

Interviewer

Yeah, great, I think I understand it then. So, you have a lot of those norms and how does SKC try to diffuse these norms in the fashion industry and towards whom, towards which actors does it try to diffuse?

Interviewee SKC

This is, I think, the question where I was really wondering, should I talk from the perspective of CCC Netherlands? Do I talk for the wider CCC movement? Because obviously, there's two different answers about. Maybe to start with CCC in general. I think for us, the most important targets are really those people who can make a difference. And people who have influenced direct influence on the situation. So those are very often the garment producers, who own the brand names, or the brands, as we briefly call them. All our politicians, who are in a policy, decision making type of situation. All those people who have real influence. Also factory owners and in some instances, even trade union federation. All these institutions are individuals who can actually make a difference for the workers in the factories. Those are, I think, our prime target in terms of influencing, and in trying to promote these norms. But then, of course, they're not always easy to reach, they also have their own interests. So, sometimes you need to play the power game of influencing the people who influence them.

Interviewer

The consumer are you talking about?

Interviewee SKC

Well, that depends. Indeed, for the brands, that would be either the consumer or the investor, that is the bank or the financial worlds, indeed, everybody who they depend on to do their business and then, of course, for the politicians, it can be also the electorate, but it can also be a branch organization, or there's this whole networks of different influencers. And that's why for each campaign, we always made the kind of power map of who is influencing whom, but yeah, indeed, think of the general public, because they are consumers, because they are electorates think of politicians, Members of Parliaments, as well as government, oppositions, as well as ruling parties. And this goes for the Netherlands, this goes for other rich or Western or consumer countries, but those same things are by the organizations that are part of the CCC in production countries. They are also influencing factory owners, political parties,

politicians, trade unions, trade union Federation, branch organizations. So there are a lot of parties that we're dealing with, and that we're trying to influence.

Interviewer

And how do you try to do it? How do you try to influence them? How do you try to influence to diffuse these norms towards this public?

Interviewee SKC

You have to look at what moves these people. So who do they depend on and why? A politician is quite easy to influence, in the sense that a politician will mostly listen to his or her electorate. And because their success depends on how many people support them, so talking to the electorate is one way. But of course, politicians are also in a sense idea of this there are people who make a living/make it their profession to work on society and to work to make society work well. So they are often very convinced of certain norms and values and to appeal on that, and to make that connection between our values and our norms, in my experience, it's always really important to imagine what the perspective of somebody that you try to influence is. What is their perspective? What is their ambition? And where's the synergy? How can our ambitions and theirs match? How can we further their ambition? So that they see what we want them to do, that they see it as a form of self-interest.

Interviewer

Yeah. So are you trying to link it to their pre-existing norms?

Interviewee SKC

Yes, that's a good way of putting it. And I think that that actually applies to both big groups like consumers and individual industrialists, entrepreneurs, politicians. If you want to have kind of sustainable impact on people, they have to see it as their self-interest. So I think that that is an important criteria.

Interviewee SKC2

I think you explained it well, on a higher level. Maybe in practice an example, how to transmit those ideas is, for example, by appicate, writing publication, doing research, doing campaigns on the street, making a video to show consumers, hey, you like to buy Nike, but Nike is not is not paying their workers.

Interviewee SKC

Yeah. But then also talking to Members of Parliaments, for example, it does work definitely. Now, in terms of COVID, it's a bit difficult, but to have personal meetings, and to have that kind of more emotional impact on people. I do have that experience with, for example, talking to brands, you can send them an email and a letter, and we want this, this and this a few. And then you might get an email back or not. But I feel that once I pick up the phone, and do some effort to get in touch with somebody. And then most of the time after four or five times you finally get to speak to somebody, that kind of interaction works much better than any email you can ever send. So there's a whole different technique that applies. But I think the essence is that you don't want to kind of put a knife on somebody's throat and then somebody will cooperate, but very briefly, for as long as necessary and not a minute longer. They have to see it as their self-interest.

Interviewee SKC2

Yeah. But we sometimes use a knife, of course, when we target brands, but maybe the movement behind these consumers as well.

Interviewee SKC

Yeah, I wouldn't agree that that is the knife. But that's the difficulty of these metaphors. I mean they have a certain weakness and that is that they sell in fact not clothes, because there are only sold clothes, it would be much cheaper. Well, they sell in fact, this design, an image and because of that they are very vulnerable to what people think.

Interviewee SKC2

And I think you explained it well that we use different tactics to achieve our goals, and sometimes some tactics that just don't work. For example, we try to engage with brands and start the dialogue. But often there's no response and then in some cases you switch to a more knifey approach.

Interviewee SKC

The carrot and the stick

Interviewee SKC2

Yeah, exactly. Yeah.

Interviewer

Okay, coming back on those pre-existing norms. Can you name an example, when you use the pre-existing norms with consumers, brands, politicians, etc.?

Interviewee SKC

Take, for example, the Dutch liberals, the VVD, who are not necessarily our natural allies in a lot of political issues, but if we would, talk to a Member of Parliament from that party. Rather than go and elaborate about how sustainable a certain approach is, you would rather try to find arguments that are in line with their view. So for example freedom, or that things are good for entrepreneurs, and good for the economy. So we would go and look for those norms and arguments that are in line with their interests. And I think that is an example of how you align from a technical point of view your norms with those pre conceived norms of the partner that you try to influence.

Interviewer

Yeah, great example. Very clear. Let's move on to question five. Do you create knowledge about norms? If yes, how do you do this?

Interviewee SKC

By research mainly, I'm not even sure which one is to chicken into actually creating knowledge and research. But indeed, we often try to quantify certain things in order to have stronger arguments. And also to inform ourselves to have a good analysis of a certain situation. And then sometimes you come to surprising conclusions or statistics that are like an argument in itself, that are clearly not in line with people's norms.

Interviewer

Can you name an example?

Interviewee SKC

Yeah, I was pretty shocked by a report. The first example that comes to mind is a report yesterday that was actually brought out by a partner of ours, the workers' rights consortium in the US. That was about

hunger caused by COVID. And I find it a very hard hitting report and one of the statistics was that 77% of the garment workers have had to deal with not having enough food in the last few months, either for him or herself, or a member of their households. 77%, I mean, I was shocked by that. Yeah, I knew that the situation was grave. But this was again, you know, like, whoa, whoa. And there were other figures that were around it, but this one was particularly hard. And we often ourselves come up with similar new figures, new statistics, and in this case, it was another organization, but, it's that kind of research that indeed creates this kind of knowledge. Until now, there was a big suspicion and worry about what the economic impact of COVID was on garment workers. There was a big concern that it would imply that there would be malnutrition and health problems. This report really confirms that that is the case, confirms that it's actually worse than I even thought. And so, thanks to the news hard, and it creates facts, while the facts were already there on the ground, but it creates a vehicle to bring this to the doorstep of politicians.

Interviewer

Yeah. And how does this knowledge links to your norms and values?

Interviewee SKC

Well, of course, it's very much against our norms and values, these facts. And so in that sense, it stimulates us to really do something about it and to communicate it and to indicate to add those target groups that we have, and that we discussed before. How far the situation is from where we want things to be.

Interviewer

So in terms of communication. Do you share your knowledge about these norms?

Interviewee SKC2

Maybe something to add. That our norms are based on international human rights and international agreed standards. So we're talking about our norms, but maybe it's good to mention that they were based on their universal norms, international standards, and also human rights. So it's more evidence creating and seeing the gaps. Yeah, the norms we promote and see what's happening on the grounds. And in depth, that's our way of evidence collecting information, sharing this link to norms.

Interviewee SKC

Yeah, that's true. And I think that it's a good addition that you made, but also, of course, there's already a basic ethical norm that even a criminal mafia boss would not deny. And there are norms of good and bad, don't steal, don't appeal, and even a mafia boss will acknowledge that. So there's already a sort of gut feeling like this is right, and this is wrong. And companies making huge profits, the workers in the factories, being hungry, everybody knows, you don't need an international law to see the difference between norms and the situation. But it does, from a political point of view, help incredibly much to have these norms indeed, being laid out in international treaties and accords, and all sorts of international instruments that you have. Why is that so important? Because we do have the rule of law, and then you know, you have something in your hand that you can go to a judge with, and that you can show this is not normal. In that sense, by the way, little sidestep of this case of milieudiffensie and shell. It's in that sense, really bloody interesting. Because that is taking exactly that reasoning, a step further. That is also actually a good example, I think of where norms that we already had are now sort of being upheld in an area where before they were not upheld. And in that sense, I think that this court case is, whatever the outcome is, already ground breaking, because before a judge, norms are being upheld, against, not against government that already has a sort of duty of care, but against a private enterprise. I

think that in the context of what you're researching, that is also a really interesting case to follow. And that it's no coincidence that it's an organization that is a bit of a partner to the CCC in many ways, including official ways, because we are in one coalition with them in terms of where we get our funding from, for example. So, and also in other ways, and I'll come back to that in a later question.

Interviewer

Yeah, on to the next question. These reports, etc., the knowledge that you create, do you share the knowledge?

Interviewee SKC

Sure, we do. That is one way of trying to influence different parties. And we share it by personally handing out information to, let's say, policymakers or politicians, but of course, also using media, both traditional and social media to distribute messaging and information and knowledge. We try to build up and maintain these followers or a community/constituency to see or in social media terms it is communities. Who are big influencers in themselves. And in that way, kind of like a snowball rolling snowball effect trying to spread the message. We're considering teaming up with influencers, social media influencers, to possibly carry the message. Yeah, so we basically try just as many ways as possible to spread the message.

Interviewee SKC2

From another angle, also being part of the network, there's a lot of sharing. So back and forth, of course. If there's really interesting research now in Switzerland, for example, a really interesting research is going on, and the outputs, the results of the research could be of great use for us, for the entire European network.

Interviewee SKC

I mean, indeed, there's so many advantages of being part of the network, because it's indeed one way to influence others, but indeed, to be open to the influence of others, who have good intentions, etc. It's just enriching that we can share with American partners. I mean, I just came out of a meeting, where it turns out that some American network of activists is having a lot of influence among young people, as students in the US who are going to take on our pay your workers campaign, and go and run with that one. So they influence us in a good way. We hopefully them also. So yeah, that's another important aspect of the network movement that we are.

Interviewer

Okay. And how do you try to transmit the knowledge like in what sort of way? For example is it more positively or negatively?

Interviewee SKC

Well, I tend to think that we really look depending on the target to put it in technical terms, which one will work best? So I think we would employ most of those things that you mentioned. Really, depending on the target, whether it's the general audience and people who are not necessarily have a lot of knowledge about these issues. We do think it would be important to have a positive tone. And again, for the reasons that I mentioned earlier as people are more inclined to take you seriously and to listen to you, if you talk a bit their language, and being confrontational or negative just doesn't help. So I think that with a lot of it, in practice, we are often very positive. But strictly speaking, it really depends on who you have in front of you. And if you have a certain experience with a specific company, or the CSR representative, or the supply chain management representative of a specific company who has been

behaving in a specific way, in some cases, it might work better not to be so positive or to be a bit more confrontational. Whatever works best, according to our analysis. So yeah, that would involve positive messaging, confrontation, threatening. Of Course within limits of decency.

Interviewee SKC2

I agree, totally. But I think, for example, the Brands would think we use a very negative tone of voice, like in the spectrum of all the NGOs. I think they see SKC as the most critical one, they're like, telling us what we do wrong, for example. So I think it's interesting, depending on the audience. But for us, it's also the message, it is a positive message, and I could pay a living wage, it's a positive thing. But the audience, I think, they receive it as a negative one.

Interviewee SKC

There have also been huge discussions within SKC itself about what should we do and what works best? There have been years where we've been saying, brands don't pay living wages. And there have been years that we've been saying, some brands are really doing a great effort to pay living wages, so we've also been trying these different things. I don't think that there's really one answer to this question.

Interviewer

Good to know. So about training and education. Do you train and educate others about these norms?

Interviewee SKC

Yes, we do. For a long time, we used to have a bit of an educational program running whereby we worked together with this organization called Young & Fair. And the way I understand it from my predecessors, there was for quite some years quite a successful and good collaboration. And I don't know the numbers, but they went to quite some schools and actively spread the message in schools. We also know that from schools and other educational institutions, there is quite a number of questions for support coming to us either for materials or specific questions or certain knowledge. It's clearly a topic that is popular in schools or that people really consider to be important as part of civics (maatschappijleer). So that is mostly secondary schools. Primary schools are not concerned to be suitable, but then again on a university or high school level it could be. Well obviously the fashion directions and there is more than just designing academies, there is also like indeed more academic approaches to the garment industry and to fashion as a phenomena. So all of those are educational institutions that are on a certain level that we either had contact with them or had collaboration or we're talking about it for the further. I do see a task for us, because it's part of conveying these norms to the general public. If you want to influence the industry, those who will be working in the industry, they are a clear target group. The same goes for people who will be regulators or go into politics. It's just a broad society problem and it basically involves everyone who wears clothes, and that's almost all of us. So it's clear that we have an educational task and it's mostly due to capacity issues that it has been a bit neglected and as you know we're very serious in picking up this task again.

Interviewer

And what about training, do you also train people about these norms?

Interviewee SKC2

Maybe to add to the former questions, consumers and education that is one thing, but this is again, we have multiple ways to transmit the norm. For example also we're in the expert committee of the FWF foundation and this is of course also a way to discuss our view of our standards and norms of how the

supply chain should be, or how the sector should be and what's the case in this particular. Again we have multiple ways to transmit and educate.

Interviewee SKC

Because these are people that do know a lot about the industry and about the problems and the issues and even there I dare to say that we as an organisation do have a certain influence even in those certain circles and setting new standards and new norms therefore. Even in that kind of circles, and that we're happy that we're on the committee of experts of the Fair Wear, but it is a little bit the same like last year when you (Interviewee SKC2) went with a few of us went to the big OECD conference in Paris which was also dedicated to these issues. And there again, together with others, we're not the only ones, we're one of the parties that really, in terms of setting new norms, are there and in the beginning people are often sceptical when, they think it's not realistic, and ten years down the line everybody is talking that language.

Interviewer

And how do you do that?

Interviewee SKC

I think that it has been, first of all because of the vision that is carried within the organisation. The constantly looking for practical solutions to things and really listening to what the people on the ground and the factory level and especially trade union, human rights organisation and women rights organisations level in those countries what are their priorities and then together trying to see what are workable solutions and then you often come with solutions that go way to far for a lot of industry people, but like I said, it's really true that things that were by in the sky ten years ago are industry jargon these days and that's really true. So that's really a way of setting norms.

Interviewer

Shaping norms over time! And does SKC involve local actors in its activities?

Interviewee SKC

You have to elaborate on that question, local actors where?

Interviewer

So it depends if you're talking from SKC it's the local people in the Netherlands, but you can also see it as the local garment workers in Europe, in Asia and I think I would mainly focus on the local garment workers. So do you involve them in your activities about norms, and if yes, can you tell me how?

Interviewee SKC

Yeah I think that we mostly try to listen to them. I think that one of the more hidden norms within our worldwide movement is that we want to go very much away from a world where the rich countries dictate what people in the poor countries are doing and try to reverse that power imbalance. So we're more inclined to have organisations and people in the production countries take a lead. So in that sense I think we try to take a listening attitude and see where we can fit in, in the struggles that they're weighing.

Interviewee SKC2

Maybe to add, it would also make sense to turn it around. The why of SKC is because of the workers over there. We're in service of the workers over there.

Interviewer

So the local workers use/involve you?

Interviewee SKC2

Yes, exactly

Interviewee SKC

That is also indeed what I try to say, where do we fit in? Where are we a strategic extension of their struggle, and I think we have a clear niche as CCC/SKC in terms of bringing the struggle of the factory workers and the factory trade unions right to the doorstep of the brands that are in our countries. And that is a clear added value that we have and I think that that is why we can collaborate with them. But then it would be, in terms of local actors, as you put it, kind of listening attitude. I mean, to be honest, but that is a side thing, local actors is often a bit, I would try to find another way of phrasing it. It tends to be Eurocentric.

Interviewee SKC2

Yeah for example human rights holders or garment workers.

Interviewer

Does SKC fund other organizations that contribute to your sustainability norms?

Interviewee SKC

Yes, we do. Well here again, very much a question if I'm talking for the SKC Netherlands or for CCC as a movement. We also don't do it because they contribute to our norms, that is a side effect rather. But there are some organizations that we co-finance, here in the Netherlands or as CCC wider also abroad. For example, we finance certain activities of partners in Cambodia or other production countries. Cambodia is a concrete example of what we do. That is of course in accordance with whoever funds us.

Interviewer

So they decide who you may fund again?

Interviewee SKC

Well we often come with a proposal and they agree or they don't agree.

Interviewer

And how are they selected by you?

Interviewee SKC

According indeed to norms and values and experience with them. We look at what their objectives are and how they do things. If their norms are aligned, in terms of transparency, in terms of their vision on politics or gender issues. And then of course there's all the reporting that comes along with a funding relationship.

Interviewee SKC2

Maybe it's good to add that we're not a funding organisation, but you could see it as a strategic partnership and sometimes there's also a financial relationship. But the shared values and norms are already there. So we amplify each other.

Interviewee SKC

It is indeed very much a strategic relationship where the funding is part of the collaboration, which often also is exchange of info, mutual advice, it can all sorts of non-financial parts as well. You can also be together in a coalition that works on certain political issues. So it's often part of that relationship. But to be honest, the same can be said for many other funding relationships.

Interviewer

Is SKC active in politics to influence sustainability norms in the fashion industry? I think you already answered that, but perhaps you can give an example of how do you do it as an organisation?

Interviewee SKC

Obviously Bram will be able to tell it much more in detail and out of his own experience, but it is having contact with politicians, knowing what the agendas are that are coming up in the parliament, working together with other organizations who have aligned interests. Basically trying to influence the political process so that it's just a way to empower people and to give them the proper knowledge to make the right decisions, but it is also in practice a bit of a counterweight. There is a lot of influencing and lobbying going on from all sorts of directions. There is also a bit of providing a counterweight against that sort of lobbying.

Interviewee SKC2

Maybe to give an example, you already touched upon it in the beginning. We're now working on having mandatory human rights due diligence. We hope in the Netherlands, but on different scales, but also on the EU level and also on the UN level, and this is also a way of lobbying through politics. Also a way of getting these norms/ to achieve these norms. If it's another strategy, directly lobbying towards brands doesn't work, we try another way talking with politicians to see if we can see if we can change the law so those norms will be normalized/adopted.

Interviewer

We're coming to an end now, so do you think there are different ways in which you propagate the norms of SKC that have not yet been discussed? Is there anything missing that you would like to add?

Interviewee SKC

Well, I can't think of anything now in terms of influencing and the transfer of norms and knowledge. I think we're pretty much gone through the whole scala. Can you think of anything?

Interviewee SKC2

Not how to propagate, but maybe within the network to check in also with our partners in production countries that we are still on the same level. That is also really important. Are we still doing the right thing. Is this strategy still propagating these specific norms, is this still necessary for the garment workers there. This connection is a really important part, to be sure that you're still on the same page.

Also because norms are ideas, so sometimes on the ground or in practice they can be different. So these are of course very general norms that we discussed earlier, but in practice what is a living wage, how should it look like. Therefore it is really important to stay in touch with the people/the garment workers for example.

Interviewer

Anything else you would like to add?

Interviewee SKC

Yes there was one thing that I was thinking of. Because it struck me more often when I was thinking about norms really and there's one striking thing that often we find ourselves in coalitions with other organizations that also aim for sustainability, but don't necessarily work in human rights or on the garment industry. They may work for example for the environment or on other issues of sustainability and the interesting thing I find is that very often we are in coalitions with them either for funding or for influencing politics or other types of collaboration and the interesting thing is that we often have a lot of overlap in the solutions that they need for their problems and the solutions that we need for our problems. For example due diligence legislation is a solution for both our social issues, but it's also a solution for the environmental problems connected to production abroad. So I find it very typical that having the same norms, or very similar norms, lead to the same solutions. That you can then collaborate to try and get these solutions a reality and I think that somewhere, I don't know where exactly the nexus is, but somewhere indeed it is having the common norms that cause this. Then you see that you aim for the same solutions. You also do your protesting or your political, everything that you undertake you agree with each other on because you have the same kind of thinking. So I thought if we're talking about norms in this interview I thought it was important to mention.

8.4 Interview Fair Wear Foundation

Interviewer

Can you please briefly introduce yourself and your position at the fair wear foundation?

Interviewee FWF

Yes, of course, my name is Lotte Schuurman and I work in Communications and Public Relations at Fair Wear.

Interviewer

Right. So I identified norms of sustainability in the fashion industry and from the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development, and the Social and Economic Council. And they are in no particular order and no child labor, no sexual harassment, discrimination and sexual and gender based violence in the workplace. No forced labor, reasonable working times, occupational health and safety, freedom of trade unions, associations and collective bargaining, living wages, no use of preset hazardous chemicals. And diminished water use and water pollution diminish greenhouse gas emissions, no bribery and corruption, responsible sourcing from home workers and animal welfare. So which of these norms are the most important for the fair wear foundation?

Interviewee FWF

As I scan through the list you just sent me and I think that like the first part of the list are sort of similar to our code of labor practices. And that goes from no child labor to living wages, it's a bit of a different way of formulating, but in essence, it's sort of the same. The rest I not because I think they're all related to either environmental topics or animal welfare. And that's not what we're doing. And the only thing I was missing is legally binding employment relationship. That's one of the standards that's in our code. So that has everything to do with steady contracts in the industry.

Interviewer

Yeah. Okay. Great. I already read it in your annual reports. Why these norms especially?

Interviewee FWF

I think these norms, because we've always wanted to make sure that our current labor practices would be based on internationally recognized standards, which have been set through a tripartite negotiation. And there has always been the case. So the core of this code is made up from eight labor standards. And those are derived from ILO conventions, and the UN's declarations on human rights. And they cover most parts social sustainability.

Interviewer

Okay, great. How does the Fair Wear Foundation tries to diffuse the sustainability norms in the fashion industry? And towards whom, towards which actors?

Interviewee FWF

Yeah. Well think this question covers like most of what we're doing. So this is really at the core of our work. Because these standards really lay at the basis of the collaboration between Fair Wear and our members, which are garment brands. And that means that we together with our brands implement these labor standards in everything we're doing. So it comes back at every level that we work on. For example, for the most important four are first of all, the brands performance checks, which is really aimed as if you look at specific/extra at the brand. So our member brands, the garment brands who want to do better. So every year we go to their headquarters to assess how well they've been working towards the labour conditions and the steps they've made. This because we think and we know that the way a brand manages its clothing production has a huge influence on factory conditions. And they should be addressed if you want to change the way the clothes are made. So it's not enough to only look at the factory for sustainable changes. You also have to look at the brands here in the West, to see how are the decisions they make on a daily basis and the consequences that enhance on the factory floor positions. So the performance checks we use are to figure out how the decisions that our brands make, their business practices, how they improve labor conditions. And every year, we go there and assess these steps and all of the labor standards we just talked about, are implemented in the over 40 indicators that form the brand performance check. So for example, we will check as the company's production planning is realistic, making sure that there are no late orders or that there are no unreasonable deadlines, for example, that could lead to excessive overtime. So, for example, at the catwalk, all of a sudden the fashion color is not yellow anymore, but it's green. And the fashion brand says to the factory, you need to change the whole order, it needs to be green, but the deadline is still the same. Then it's very clear that the cause of excessive overtime at the factory floor is caused by the brand. So that's an example of the brand performance check and has everything to do with motives and forced labor standards. And what we do is once we have assessed these performance, that we openly share the findings with the public. So the brands that joint Fair wear are very transparent about how well they're doing. And yeah, what still needs to be done as well. So there's one thing, the other thing that we're doing also covers all labour standards are the factory audits in the production country. So we work in 11 clothing production countries, mainly in Asia, and also in Europe, Eastern Europe and Africa. And this is, because in order to actually improve something, we need to know what happens on the factory floor. And that's why we audit. And the question is how well these factories comply with the code of labor standards. So with these eight standards that we just talked about, and it's not like a fail or pass exercise, it's not to say you're perfect or not perfect. There are no perfect of factories, it's just a way for us to see where we need to run a little bit faster, and where we need to follow up and how we can successfully make changes. And of course, together with the brands that source from these factories. The third one is an important Fair Wear activity are the factory trainings we do. Because we know that if you really want to make a change, you need to empower workers, and that starts with education. And in our case, that starts with factory training. And

it's called WEP workplace education programs. So we train managers, and we train workers. And again, that's on the Fair Wear code of labor practices. So again, on these eight labor standards, so everything that constitutes from what are reasonable working hours through what is the living wage. So they get to understand a little bit more what their rights are. And they have a better understanding of when their rights are being violated. So that opens the door also to voice their concerns and to make improvements. And then the final ones are the complaints helpline we have.

Yeah, because this is just the basis of what we do. Our four main activities and we have more, but I think these are very clear about how we use these labor standards. The complaints helpline; If workers feel that their rights are being violated, again, based on the eight labour standards or feel that they need to work and excessive amounts of hours, they don't get paid well enough, they are being shouted at by supervisors anything like that, they can call the complaints helpline. And yeah, so the next step is to launch an investigation from our side, and then a brand need to work together with the factory to try to fix the problem. So these are the four activities that I think really are clear about how we use these labor standards at every level that we work.

Interviewer

Yeah, okay. And follow up question on that. Do you think that eight labor standards are more or less your norms?

Interviewee FWF

Like the norms of our organization?

Interviewer

Yeah, like the norm you wants to see for the social sustainability of the fashion industry?

Interviewee FWF

Yeah, so your actual question is like, if all these standards are implemented, the social sustainability factor would be really high. Yeah, right. Yeah. That is the case.

Interviewer

Yes. Okay. Great. Good to see that you're working on multiple levels. So do you try to relate the norms that are recipients have in order to make your communication more effective? Like to pre-existing norms?

Interviewee FWF

Well, I'm not sure if this is the answer you're looking for. But I think that, for example, when we think about the activities we just talked about, like trainings, and complaints helplines, and all those kinds of things, those people that work at those complaints helplines and do the factories trainings, and do the factory audits, they have a lot of knowledge about local laws and local regulations and cultural concepts. And that is super relevant and essential information in order to make a difference, because surely, the way we work in North Macedonia cannot be copy pasted to the factory in Vietnam.

Interviewer

Yeah, and do you also share knowledge about these norms? So, for example, that you share knowledge on platforms, or you try to transmit to norms in webinars and that sort of things?

Interviewee FWF

Yeah, I think, again, it goes back as well, with the activities that we just discussed. If you look at, for example, the performance checks and how we work with our brands, we share a lot of knowledge on all these labor standards. So for example, if you spoke about living wages, we'll be sharing knowledge with our brands, are we actually really guide them very closely in order to make sure that higher wages are being paid in the factories. So first of all, we need to make sure that they understand what exactly a living wage contains in certain countries, in a certain area, a certain factory, then they need to make sure that they know what is an actual living wage and if they're in the factory steps to actually make sure that you come to that wage level, together with other brands, together with the factory that you work in. And so we give them the knowledge they need in order to negotiate properly with that factories. To come to this higher wage, it's just one example. But for example, audit teams need to know where they need to look out for when they come to factories, they need to make sure how to keep the keep eyes and ears open. For child labor, for example, they need to make sure that they know when a building is safe or when it's not. So lots of knowledge is actually needed to make sure all the labor standards are implemented. And the same goes for factory trainings of course, if you want to make sure that workers really understand their rights, you need to have attractive ways of doing that. And yeah, so lots of examples there.

Interviewer

Yeah. And how do you try to community communicate those norms? Do you try to make it for example, more positive or negative or a more serious tone? Or just very neutral.

Interviewee FWF

I think our tone of voice is mainly positive. Because we know there is a better way to make clothes, and we have seen it, and we are still seeing it. But it's also fairly serious because the topics we work on are quite serious. And the labor rights violations are quite serious. But I know and I've witnessed also in Bangladesh as well, that when there is a factory training with a group of women, for example, there's also a lot of humor and laughter and just having fun. I mean, that's also part of it.

Interviewer

Amazing. Yeah. And is this the same tone of voice as you communicated to, for example, the brands or to the general public, or the government?

Interviewee FWF

Well, government is usually face to face. When we talk about legislation, for example. And to the general public, we have increased our social media reach for example. To reach out to consumers and through influencers and popular media, and there, we try to be very, or, yeah, we've learned that little bit the hard way. Because I think what happens fast is that you try to explain a topic where a lot of people don't know a lot about. So we used to use a little bit of difficult language and made it a bit technical. But now we really try to start at the beginning like to get people conscious about the fact that there's still a lot going on, but also have brands doing better and which brands they can chose. So it's more like a simplistic, maybe it's negative. It's a negative way of saying it. But it's very simple way, we try to do it very simple. And from our brands, we can expect, of course, a different level. And sometimes it's really going in depth. If you work on wages, for example, you need to physically do the math, so then it becomes technical very quickly. But the human component is always there, because what we want to do is to put the people who make our clothes in front and center. It's also always about human about humans.

Interviewer

Yeah. Okay. And so does the fair wear foundation involve local actors in its activities? And I think yes. So can you maybe tell me and explain a little bit how you do this?

Interviewee FWF

Yeah, our work would not be possible without local teams. To be able to work in production countries where we work, you need local knowledge, and you need people on the ground. In the audits, we did trainings to lobby local governments, for example, about social security laws. Yeah. So they are a very important part of the work we're doing. Of course, we have our headquarters here in Amsterdam, and lots of things happen there as well, of course, to work with the brands here in Netherlands and other European countries. But yeah, you need the local teams in the production countries to make sure both ends of the supply chains are worked on.

Interviewer

Yeah. And are their norms different than yours? Is it sometimes hard to explain what you want in terms of your labor standards, for example? Or in terms of living wage? Are those more or less the same?

Interviewee FWF

Yeah, I find it difficult to talk about all these different countries. But no, they're not. No, they're not the same. I think a lot of times when audit teams, for example, come in, then other standards are practiced in certain factories than we think should be the level. And that is, indeed difficult. Because you don't want to be like, you don't want to have this white men burden when you come in certain factories and say, hey, this needs to be different. So that's why we always do it through to brands. So brands use their economic position to make sure that the level that we want to see is being implemented. And it's not us who come into the factory and say, Hey, we need to change all of this. No, it's them. Actually bringing money to a factory and to a country and then asking for improvement together with the factory. And that we think is a good way of working, but you're right. I mean, the difficulties are still there, and they will be there.

Interviewer

Yeah, yeah, I understand. And quite a different question. Does the fair wear foundation also fund other organizations that contribute to your sustainability norms?

Interviewee FWF

I think that happens only on occasion. I think we've recently funded a NGO in Myanmar about a specific topic, I can't remember but I can send it to you, but it's not on a regular basis. So it's not part of our job or part of our methodology to fund other organizations. That's not how we work. But I can look it up for you, but it's not like a part of our core work. Yeah.

Interviewer

And you're already said that you're active in lobbying. Can you maybe name an example of how the fair wear foundation is active in lobbying?

Interviewee FWF

Yes, at this point, it mainly has to do with legislation. And then, for example, in close contact with the Dutch and German governments who are very active. When it comes to legislation, there is European legislation being developed. But there's also national legislation such as child labor law in the Netherlands, and in France, and in Britain, which is interesting for us to see what happens on the country level, but we're very much in favor of European legislation. And Germany will be leading the way

probably with their new German supply chain law. And in lots of cases, Germany is leading for the rest of Europe. So we mostly follow that and we are in contact with German governments to make sure that or to try to convey our high standards, because we have pretty high standards, at Fair Wear I mean, in the industry, and we don't want a law in which brands just need to make sure they are doing the basic stuff and don't have to do anything else. And that's not what we want. So that is an example of how we're in contract with the German government to try to really, yeah, do that. It's not really explained well, so maybe I can send you some more information. But, yeah, that is sort of what we're doing. Yeah.

Interviewer

Yeah. I would really like to know more about the topic. If you could send me something. That would be really nice.

Interviewee FWF

Yeah, maybe I should do that. Because it's not really my thing I'm working on, but I mean, it's happening in our team. So yeah,

Interviewer

Yeah, if you want to, please. Are there different ways in which the fairway foundation propagates and the norms?

Interviewee FWF

Then you mean through the communication channels?

Interviewer

For example, yeah, that we did not discuss yet?

Interviewee FWF

Well, we have like the basic stuff that you've probably seen, like the website and social media journals, and newsletters, and all those kinds of things face to face. Events, there is an event starting in half an hour with 300 people, including minister Kaag and eligible production countries. So that's also what we're doing. We're working on that with other organization. And this event is called the industry we want, for example, and we're working with our counterparts in the UK, which is ETI, but also with organization in production countries and unions and we try to really come up with a shared vision on how we actually want to change the industry. And through Joining Forces, so that is what happening, it happened now, for example, we're following up on that. And we never wanted to do it on our own, we can't, we're very small and the brands that are representing are only a very small percentage of the whole industry. So we can't do it alone. We need others to do together. And more than ever, I think we're now joining forces with other organizations. And it's very nice to see that ETI also represents the big boys and girls of the industry, like H&M and ASOS and all those kinds of people. And we hope to really make a change in the coming years. Doing it together.

Interviewer

I hope so too. Great. Um, so yeah, if there's anything else that you would like to add, maybe you can send it to me by email. I think that's a better way. And can I contact you if I need clarification on anything?

Interviewee FWF

Yeah, sure.

8.5 Interview Fashion Revolution

Interviewer

Can you please briefly introduce yourself and your new position at Fashion Revolution?

Interviewee Fashion Revolution

Yes, of course. So my name is Yophi Ignacia. And I'm a fashion designer, and a MA fashion futures graduate. And I have my own company called the future mode. And since of last year, I'm also involved with Fashion Revolution. So my role is mostly on education. I also teach part time as a freelancer and also organizing with events. So as you might know, this week is also Fashion Revolution Week. We're really hands on working on that.

Interviewer

My second question is that, for my research, I identified norms, and I identified them deducting from the SER and the OECD. Which of these norms are important for fashion revolution?

Interviewee Fashion Revolution

Well, I went through them just now. And I think they're all really important. But for for us, I think at the moment, it does shift as well, it's the first one, no child labor, the second one, no discrimination and gender equality. And then the third one, no forced labor. I think those are the key ones, which we are focusing now during this Fashion Revolution Week. But also, I think, Number eight, sustainable use of materials. Number nine, diminish water pollution and use of any chemicals, water and energy, and then also number 10, diminished greenhouse gas emissions, those for us fall under kind of the same umbrella. And those are always really important to us as well. And within our team, we have also some people who are vegan. And even though you're not vegan, or you are vegan, animal welfare, something that's also super important. But for now, I think the most important ones are the first three years.

Interviewer

Interesting that they can shift. Do you know why they shift and why the focus can lie at one or another sometimes?

Interviewee Fashion Revolution

Well, I think when looking at previously what fashion revolution did and I think this will come up in one of your later questions as well. But you know, it's a really big organization. So we are just a small part Fashion Revolution, the Netherlands, but it started as fashion revolution in the UK. And it was Orsola de Castro and Carrie summers, who started after the really horrible accident in Bangladesh. Many years ago, and still to this day, nothing really has changed for things to be totally different. And for us, I think at this moment, it's not enough, especially in the Netherlands. But we'll come to that later. To only focus on who made my clothes. Although we understand that approach. We want to go deeper and go to the root causes of why, for example, the systems that have been created many years ago, are still in place. And why do we need to have talks about forced labor and things like that if we maybe focus more on localism and a different type of way of doing things and having a supply chain that's transparent and sort of as small as possible and as local as possible. So I think for us now, one of our main themes as well, during fashion revolution week for the Netherlands is going to talk about fashion and colonialism, because we think that that is actually the root of where everything lies and why those different systems are still place in this modern day and age. So we're having a lot of conversations around that topic.

Interviewer

Interesting. Now you say it's especially those three norms. Why is it those three norms for this moment especially?

Interviewee Fashion Revolution

I think because they're really closely linked to what I said, what we want to talk about. I think, for us, no discrimination and gender equality is super important within this system. The sort of modern colonialism that is still alive is still a way of here in the West, mostly white people have their supply chains in a way that you produce it somewhere else. And those people are mostly brown and black people. So that system of hierarchies is still in place. And I think, for us, that's super important that there's no forced labor, no child labor. And there's also a lot of other things which fall under that that are not on the list. But that's your next question.

Interviewer

Yes, tell me please?

Interviewee Fashion Revolution

So I think one of the things that could or should be on there is no modern slavery, which also is linked to number one, two, and three, which we talked about. And then I think, we would like to dismantle colonialism. So we want to first have an honest conversation about why this is still something in the 21st century that is rooted in history, that's not a great history to be very proud of, unfortunately. So I think that is really important. Then, additionally to that, we would love to talk about, or we are going to talk about intersectional and violent environmentalism. So what that means is that you look at, it's a form of environmentalism, where you look both at social and environmental justice. And you want to take into account both with having a conversation, for example, about sustainability and things like that, because we want to have a future that is good for everyone. And not only from a white Western perspective, but also from other communities involved. And those are mostly people from black, indigenous, or people of color. And I think it's really important to look at it from a health perspective, and also from well-being perspective to really think about what do we do here in the West, that has an effect on someone else, and probably a different culture, we don't have any idea that that's related. So those conversations need to happen. And that also translates into looking at supply chain and waste. I have seen this interesting documentary, it was shown, I think, on a Dutch channel, it's called goodwill dumping. Maybe you've seen it. And it basically talks about what happens to your clothes, when you put it in clothing bins, and you have the idea that that's a good thing to do. But actually, it goes back to Africa, for example, they even have a Swahili word for those really big plastic bales, and it's called Mitumba. This is basically the unwanted items that they receive from the west that they don't really need or use. Because it also decreases kind of their own values and what they want to do and sort of their own systems of how they do fashion or how they make fashion.

Interviewer

Interesting. Something that I find in your impact reports often was transparency. Should this also be a norm? Or how would you see this?

Interviewee Fashion Revolution

Um, I think, yes, but then I would sort of go back a little bit more to the beginning and want to change that word to traceability or have that hand in hand. Because I'm also a lecturer so I coach fourth year students as well and their work on their thesis also, one of them is doing research into the supply chain looking at transparency, traceability, accountability and doing that in a sustainable way. And I think one of the issues is that you can be as transparent as you want. If you have nothing to say you just say, well,

there's nothing and we couldn't find anything. So here's our transparency. But I think we need to go back to actually being able to trace back everything from within the entire supply chain. So going back to the raw materials in the beginning, and where does it go from there, and then and when it's assembled, and you really want to know where everything is made, and especially how and who made it as well. So I feel that we should focus on traceability, and then communicate it in a transparent way.

Interviewer

Yeah, go beyond transparency?

Interviewee Fashion Revolution

Yeah, yeah.

Interviewer

Interesting. Okay. And do you as Fashion Revolution, try to relate to the norms that your recipients have in order to make your communication more effective?

Interviewee Fashion Revolution

Well, I thought about that question. And I'm not really sure if I can answer it yet. Or maybe you can clarify exactly what you mean. Because for now, as we are a new team, and so in the beginning of sort of creating this new way of working together, and this new way of what we as fashion Revolution, the Netherlands want to focus on. That is something that we haven't really done yet, because we are just getting started and going into that at the moment. So probably after we've completed like fashion revolution week and some more things, then I can probably have a clearer answer on that question. To be honest.

Interviewer

Yeah, I can imagine. In 2016, for example, Fashion Revolution Germany had a really nice video of children calling in Germany to brands like, Hey, can I work here? Yeah. So that's something that I thought was a perfect example of relating something to your pre-existing norms already, because everyone here in the Netherlands thinks children cannot work and they should not work. And that was the exact answer that they got from the brands as well. So this was something that I found out that Fashion Revolution Germany were really good in doing. We move on to the next question. Do you create knowledge about these norms? And if yes, how do you do this?

Interviewee Fashion Revolution

So for now, this will probably be answered to a lot of questions. I'm sorry. We are just creating our setup. And we not only want to focus on one week, a year approach, which is like Fashion Revolution. I know lots of other fashion revolution teams do things outside of that week, as well. And that is something we really want to focus on. So how can we educate through either workshops or other methods to explore and share knowledge? So that's definitely something that we are thinking about. It's on our agenda. Definitely. We just haven't figured it out yet. So yeah, it will come Definitely. We do not know in what form yet. What I do think is interesting is that we never want to be kind of telling that it should be done in a specific way or you need to do it like this or there's wrong. I think it's more about having an equal conversation that everyone can contribute. So we also learn from other people, not only us teaching everything, we want to have an open dialogue and then all this conversation.

Interviewer

Yeah. Okay. And do you perhaps know how the previous team did create knowledge?

Interviewee Fashion Revolution

I think they did a lot through fashion revolution week. And I think it's more about that week spreading awareness about these topics. And I'm not sure and probably cannot answer if they also went into a specific tactic on knowledge and probably yes, but I don't know how they did that exactly.

Interviewer

Okay, I get it indeed. Do you share knowledge about these norms?

Interviewee Fashion Revolution

Well, yes, we do. So especially within Fashion Revolution week, it's all about sharing. Sharing knowledge in that sense, but also having conversations because we have an event plan, we have a kickoff session this Friday. The topic on that session for Friday is kind of like an introduction towards fashion and colonialism. So it's called redressing the colonial fashion system. And then the week after, and the week after that, we have four sessions. And those will be sort of deep dives into either fashion and mental health or cultural appropriation, a topic that is not knowledgeable for everyone yet. I think within the fashion sort of bubble, you might heard of a cultural appropriation versus appreciation, it is basically, where you take another culture that's not yours, and you use it to your benefit. So we want to have a conversation around it and what's the balance between approved appropriation and appreciation? And is that something you can really say, Oh, it's either this or it's either that or is it more difficult? Probably the answer's yes. Because I might find something totally appreciating and someone else would say no, oh, my God. That's awful. They cannot do that. So and then other topics, we are going to discuss are supply chain and waste. And then intersectionality. We're really excited about that and we share that on different social media channels. So we do Instagram, of course, we have LinkedIn, Facebook, as well, our own Fashion Revolution website, that's the main like global website, there, you can find all of the other fashion revolution countries as well, what they're going to do. And then our kickoff session, which is this Friday, is hosted by Pakhuis de Zwijger here in Amsterdam. So it's also available on their website as well.

Interviewer

Cool. How do you try to communicate the norms? How do you frame the knowledge that you share?

Interviewee Fashion Revolution

We really thought about that a lot. Because I think in the beginning, we had a theme, and it was called decolonialization the fashion system. And then we thought, and we read some articles that that's actually not the proper term to use. You can only decolonize a specific land or specific type of area in that way, but not how we are saying it. So we really thought about changing the wording, which we did. And also from sort of like the talks and the discussion that we're planning, we want to focus on the root causes and the issues and where does it come from? We want to end on a positive note, and want to end on people having a thought provoking feeling at the end, they continue to think about what we just discussed, and have probably also a closing question on what could be a possible solution or a possible thing to do. But I think it's important that we are not afraid to have hard conversations. But we don't want people to only feel the negative thing. Because we want to uplift people and see where they make a change and not be so doom and gloom, but also a little bit more positive.

Interviewer

Interesting. You also told me about the workshops. And perhaps this is something which has to do with the next question. Do you train educate others about this norm, and how do you do it and who do you try to educate?

Interviewee Fashion Revolution

Well, not yet. That is something that we really want to do. And I can share something that is not a Fashion Revolution thing, but it's my personal thing, but they've done kind of a similar thing like that. During my masters graduation project in London, I did an exploration on durable design methods, where I interviewed different designers outside of fashion to see what their design process was. One of the methods that I found was, I wanted to know more about their favorite garments. So I asked them to write a love letter to one of their favorite garments. That is something that fashion revolution had in a program, I think, a couple of years ago, and they might still do it. But that was something that I found in this interesting book about a love letter writing and breakup letter writing, to whatever. I just decided that I wanted to engage in a different way rather than an interview or a questionnaire. I formed this workshop many times before, all the time in sort of different ways. It's really effective and it's so nice at the end for everyone to share as well, what they found, and see sort of what came out because it's a lot about memories. With this you go deeper than me just asking, how do you feel about your garment? Instead of seeing it more as a person than an object? I would presume we would not per se do exactly that. But think about it from a perspective, that's a little bit different than the usual thing.

Interviewer

Nice. A creative way of teaching.

Interviewee Fashion Revolution

Yeah. Yes.

Interviewer

Let's move to question six. Does Fashion Revolution involve local actors in its activities?

Interviewee Fashion Revolution

Yeah, we we plan on doing that. And how that would work is what I said before, we're now really still in the sort of planning and finishing fashion revolution. And then we'll dive more deep into that for the upcoming years. We work a lot with educational institutions, students, fashion media, also to spread the word around what Fashion Revolution is doing or want to do. We're sending out a press release this week, as well. And of course, there are so many local actors that organize their own Fashion Revolution initiatives as well. So I think from our perspective, we support that 100%. And we share that within our own network as well. And I think we would like to incorporate that even more on a global level next year, and the years after that. We know exactly who does what, and then we can sort of tell and share to the community while this is happening there and you can find it, but I think it's nice to have it all in one place. So you know exactly what's going on when and where. But that's something we need to think about from a structural level to see if and how that's possible, and how we would do that.

Interviewer

Yeah, indeed. And do you also involve local garment workers, for example, or local factories? Are they also involved in fashion revolution?

Interviewee Fashion Revolution

Well, I think so. But at the moment there are a few, for example, Enschede Textielstad, I'm not really sure what she's doing, but I know her and it's great what she's doing. I also know Noss from a beautiful mess in Amsterdam, and she has this local production company in the Netherlands. And we are planning to do something together. However, it's such short notice. So as a team, we decided that we are just going to focus on a really small event this year and see how we can collaborate later. So we have meetings set up and planned with people that we would really love to work with. But it was just too short notice to do that in a proper way. So we plan on doing that for sure.

Interviewer

So a lot of collaboration is going on?

Interviewee Fashion Revolution

We hope so, yes!

Interviewer

Interesting.

Interviewee Fashion Revolution

Talking about that, from a personal perspective, I think the only way forward is to collaborate together and not just do things on your own and be isolated. I think it's about sharing knowledge and sharing information. And don't be afraid to sort of do that because that's what you see a lot within the fashion industry that then that brands just want to keep everything to themselves and not share knowledge and information. But I think it's a good way to actually improve and move forward faster. There's this really great material that's been developed. It's called Mylo. It's made of mycelium, which is kind of like a mushroom growing. And they did that collaboratively with different brands or different initiatives. So that's also a good thing. Because most of the time with those type of things, it's about scaling up so you could do something really small and then it works, but then you have to do it bigger for a bigger demand as well. So I think now they made a top and trousers from the material for Stella McCartney. I also saw Adidas make Stan Smith's with mycelium as well. So I think that's really cool. That should be done more often, because it's the material and anyone can use that material. It doesn't have to be a secret or or anything, in my opinion.

Interviewer

I agree. Does Fashion Revolution fund other organizations as well to contribute to your sustainability norms in the fashion industry?

Interviewee Fashion Revolution

Well, if you do mean fund as in with a monetary element, we don't because we are a nonprofit organization, or NGO. We are all doing this at the moment on a voluntary basis. It could be that we will change that at some point when we feel the need for that. So no, not yet.

Interviewer

Yeah, I already thought so, because you get funding from Fashion Revolution, England?

Interviewee Fashion Revolution

It could be on several projects, but not for Fashion Revolution week, there's this project coming up and it might be that there's some funding available for that. But that's a project that's probably a year or maybe a year and a half, that they want us to sort of focus on something within the Netherlands

specifically. And they have selected a few other countries as well, but where they see us as key actors in that. I just spoke to two country coordinators in the Netherlands, so they have to split the roles together. It's Dieuwertje de Wagenaar and Willa Stoutenbeek. And yeah, I will know a little bit more about that after Fashion Revolution week. So I can follow up with that later, I'm not really sure if that's still in time for your for your thesis.

Interviewer

I will ask it if it's necessary. Thank you. Is Fashion Revolution active in politics to influence the sustainability norms for the fashion industry?

Interviewee Fashion Revolution

Yeah, so for this upcoming event, I think it's the last one on sixth of May. We invited Michantely de Jong and she was a candidate of the political party Bij1 during the last elections. She mostly focuses on sustainability, Animal Welfare Rights, and also climate crisis. She's really an advocate also for environmental intersectionalism. So that is really, really interesting, because she worked as a model before. She really saw the ineffectiveness and how wasteful the fashion industry was. So she likes to do things from a holistic perspective. She connects different social economic issues, and try to incorporate that in fashion and tell a story around climate and injustice as well. So we're really lucky to have her and we also wanted some other politicians, but it's quite difficult. And sometimes when you have a direct link to someone, it is easier to ask. She said yes and it was nice and she also had a really strong connection with the themes as well, because it could be that you will find a politician and they would love to do it, but they're not really knowledged on what we're talking about. So we feel really lucky to have her on board.

Interviewer

Yeah, I can imagine. So it's mostly collaborating politicians?

Interviewee Fashion Revolution

At the moment it is. We would also love to have conversations with more politicians and with different sort of ministries in that sense. That we can really talk about those key issues. I feel they have, at the moment, a little bit other problems that they need to fix within the Dutch politics. I see it as a great opportunity to sort of talk to Michantely and ask her also what's a good way to approach this? And how and with whom exactly so? We would love to do that as well. Definitely. But in in due time, also.

Interviewer

I can imagine. Okay, one of the last questions. Do you have different ways in which you propagate the norms of fashion revolution that we did not discuss yet?

Interviewee Fashion Revolution

We touched upon it a little bit, but I can say it again, from our perspective, also looking at the Netherlands, from their history, and also within colonialism and everything that happened. I think, for us, it's not enough to just talk about who made my clothes, or who made my fabric, but more of the root cause of those specific systems. So I think that is really important for us. Because I think people forget about kind of like the Silk Route, and how that was 150 years ago, and that actually still is happening today, maybe more in the modern way. But it is something that we forget. And I think it's something that we forget that we want all these things here in the West, but it has a direct effect on the people who are making our garments and their environments. So we are taking again away from other countries to better ourselves here. And that is something that we need to discuss. And people need to be aware of

those specific terms like, what does it mean, cultural appropriation versus appreciation? Or be it intersectional, environmentalism? What does that mean? And how does it work? And who does it affect the most and why? And can we have conversations about or around creating a different system where we not take or where we don't take? I feel mostly that garment workers should have a right to sort of create their own type of micro or mini production company, maybe locally or in a different way. And from our perspective, that would be great if we could nourish that and help them and have them be owners of their own craft or their own work or their own things. But it's still about other people making our stuff. And those people live in communities, in cities, in countries that have less than us. So we keep them in in place. And I think we need to break that in order to move forward. But yeah, it's that's so complicated. That's such a big thing. But that would be ideal. And also, I was talking to one of the Fashion Revolution colleagues, and she said, it would be also nice if we ask the garment workers, if we can use whatever we want to use and if they are willing to help and if they find it okay, that we use a specific thing within their culture. But now we just take it without asking.

Interviewer

Do you as Fashion Revolution also try to mobilize people?

Interviewee Fashion Revolution

Well, we do not at the moment, but I think that would be really great to do that as well. I think that the Fashion Revolution and especially Roosmarie Ruigrok, which was the previous country coordinator, she did a lot of projects abroad, she went away a lot to really look at different communities and try to help in in different ways. That would be really one of our top things to do as well. But as you know, the world is a bit crazy now. So, we are focusing on the things that we can do from here. And then we are going to reflect at the end of Fashion Revolution week and we're going to see what our next year two, three years will look like. And then we are really got to make plans of what's important to us. And how we are going to do that.

Interviewer

Interesting. Great. Is there anything else that you would like to add that we didn't yet discuss?

Interviewee Fashion Revolution

No, I think I think I said plenty of things.

Interviewer

Great. And can I contact you if I need clarification on anything?

Interviewee Fashion Revolution

Yeah, of course.