

Impact Study

Playfair 2012 Project and Campaign

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Congress &
Labour Behind the Label*

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1. Impact Study Introduction & Methodology

The objectives of this impact study, commissioned by the Trades Union Congress (TUC), to assess the impact of the Playfair 2012 project and campaign and to capture learning from their implementation are:

- Review the documentation relating to the work of the Playfair 2012 project with reference to the outcomes in the project framework.
- Review the documentation relating to the work of the Playfair 2012 campaign with reference to the advocacy objectives.
- Assess the impact of the Playfair 2012 project and campaign based on the evidence collected with follow up interviews with trade union and NGO contacts on the steering group and partners involved in the international Play Fair campaign.
- Make recommendations that will contribute to improving the delivery of TUC and Labour Behind the Label awareness raising projects and joint campaigns with affiliates and NGO partners.

The study was carried out through document reviews and interviews between September and November 2012. Interviewees were chosen from members of the Steering Group, sportswear brands and I consulted two experts for independent views based on their experience of ethical codes and implementing workers' rights training projects. Not all those I would have liked to have interviewed were available within the timeframe. A range of views were collected and are reflected in the study. Thank you to all those who shared their views with me.

This report includes a project review, campaign review and recommendations for the future. Four case studies are provided to bring to life the experiences of the project and campaign and to illustrate good practice and lessons learned.

2. Playfair 2012 Introduction

“Every four years Playfair ignites a powerful and emotive campaign, the rights of the worker in the workplace, whether in Indonesia or east London.”
Guy Nicholson, London and South East Area Rep for Community Union.

Play Fair is a global campaign co-ordinated by international trade union federations and NGOs including the International Trade Union Confederation, IndustriALL Global Union, Building and Wood Workers’ International and the Clean Clothes Campaign.

The campaign calls on those who organise and profit from sports events to take specific steps to ensure that workers making sporting goods and building venues are not exploited, and that international labour standards are respected.

Formally launched in 2003 in the build up to the Athens Olympic games, each four year campaign is different, aimed at engaging the Olympics in its specific country. In 2012 the TUC and Labour Behind the Label coordinated Playfair 2012 for the London Olympics. The Trades Union Congress for the Americas (TUCA) and Brazilian unions will lead coordination of Playfair for the Rio2016 Olympics to be held in Brazil.

Labour Behind the Label is a campaign that supports garment workers' efforts worldwide to improve their working conditions, through awareness raising, information provision and encouraging international solidarity between workers and consumers. Its members include trade unions and their local branches, consumer organisations, campaign groups, and charities. It has three staff members and a management committee and is the UK platform for the Clean Clothes Campaign, by November 2012 it had become a worker co-operative.

The TUC is the voice of Britain at work. With 54 affiliated unions representing 6 million working people from all walks of life, it campaigns for a fair deal at work and for social justice at home and abroad. The TUC has a longstanding relationship with DFID, and the Playfair work was funded as part of a Partnership Programme Agreement to tackle poverty and increase workers' rights through capacity building for trade unions in other countries. The TUC has a European Union and International Relations Department (EUIRD) with 8 staff members.

The project, campaign and other TUC and International Play Fair projects are interlinked and complementary:



3. Playfair 2012 Project

Playfair 2012 aimed to raise UK worker and student awareness of the interdependence of global sportswear supply chains and their power to effect change as consumers. In turn this will strengthen the efforts of ethical suppliers and workers in developing countries to alleviate their poverty¹.

Staffing and Governance

The project received £300,000 over three years from the Department for International Development's (DFID) Development Awareness Fund², subsumed in the PPA

The project was staffed by three people, with wider input from other organisations: Project Coordinator, TUC – part time (0.6 FTE³) from September 2009, full time from April 2011

Policy Officer, TUC – 0.1 Full time equivalent and a Communications Officer, Labour Behind the Label, part time (0.4 FTE).

Key trade union project delivery partners were identified for the DFID funding proposal. Once the project started the Project Coordinator met with each partner to review and discuss project activities and to identify the best approach based on membership needs, capacity and resources. These were: GMB, Unite, National Union of Journalists, teaching unions (NUT, ATL and NASUWT) and Community as well as the National Union of Students.

Separate project and campaign steering groups were initially established, but later merged due to the overlap in their activities. The Steering Group met quarterly and received updates every two weeks on activities and plans from the Project Coordinator. Steering Group members included 21 trade unions and the non-governmental organisations (NGOs) Anti-Slavery International and War on Want.

Links with the international Play Fair campaign were maintained through periodic teleconferences to enable coordination with international activities and ongoing engagement with the main sportswear brands. This was also intended to provide the means to reflect workers concerns in the producer countries.

Project Plan, Indicators and Achievements

The key focus of the Playfair 2012 project was to engage and raise awareness and action among trade union members and students across the UK. As such, a series of ambitious targets was proposed. An impressive amount of materials, web content, films, information packs and media materials for union newsletters were produced and distributed across union membership at a range of events and in publications. The TUC, Labour Behind the Label and partner unions and NGOs monitored numbers of people reached carefully. A mid-term and final report were produced detailing activities, outputs, outcomes, barriers and lessons learned meticulously.

¹ Summarised from Development Awareness Fund funding proposal

² <http://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/+/http://www.dfid.gov.uk/working-with-dfid/funding-opportunities/not-for-profit-organisations/daf/> The Development Awareness Fund has now closed as a funding source.

³ FTE – Full Time Equivalent

There is not space in this report to review each target and each outcome, and they are recorded on Playfair's [website](#) .

The project's ability to be flexible in its plans was important during the project period in which government cuts, union responses to these, ballots and actions on UK focused workers issues became urgent. Some plans had to be refocused to achieve the maximum impact with reduced capacity. Proposed twinning of textile unions in the UK and developing world was not possible despite initial links made during speaker tours. Barriers included union capacity and language barriers.

Teaching unions provide a valuable platform to achieve national awareness and action. To this end, teaching packs produced for Key Stage 2 & 3 and for Key Stage 4 / A level. 680 were distributed by teaching and other unions and 1,500 downloaded. The related online game Unfair Factory had over 19,000 visitors. The packs were developed collaboratively by Playfair 2012 partners working with teachers coordinated by a facilitator. The resources developed made workers' rights relevant to teachers and pupils via the Olympics and generated initial interest. While feedback was not returned by busy teachers, unions know that most packs ordered will have been used by at least one teacher if not more, and anecdotal feedback was very positive.

"We liked the fact that the pack offers opportunities to consider solutions as well as problems, which is empowering for young people and gives them hope. Great materials, thank you!" Kathryn Kabra, Geography tutor, Primary PGCE course, University of East London, Stratford.

Stakeholders felt that greater media coverage could have been achieved had the TUC press office had the resources to do more. A media plan seemed to be lacking, and the Labour Behind the Label media contacts could have been used to pitch specialist articles.

Building partner effectiveness was a project aim and in place of proposed conferences, a Brazilian delegation met with partners and LOCOG to learn valuable lessons for their campaign. Feedback from one delegate was that this was extremely useful and that lessons would be transferred to the Brazil context.

Playfair 2012 Project Impacts

"Before it never really had traction and felt like someone else's campaign. We were using the Olympics in our country. People could own it here. That was the biggest thing taken forward." Beverley Hall, Prospect Union

- Playfair 2012 produced good quality, understandable materials for union members about sportswear supply chains helping to raise awareness
- A distant concept of overseas workers conditions was made relevant for UK workers. This provides a strong platform for continued TUC and union support to tackle workers' rights issues globally
- Playfair 2012 used online surveys at stages during the project to measure awareness and ability to take action. A significant increase in awareness exceeded the 25% target, measured by self-selecting website users
- Over 30,000 leaflets were distributed and 19 events covering 21 unions attended by speakers or seminars – getting the message out
- 235 articles were placed in union media/publications

- Two unions and the TUC Congress passed motions in support of Playfair 2012
- Actions that people could take were provided – over 12,000 people signed actions calling on sportswear brands and the IOC to act to protect workers' rights
- TUC leadership gained a deeper understanding and gave active support to Playfair 2012
- National Union of Students supported National Union of Students Services to sign up to the Workers' rights Consortium⁴
- The TUC, affiliate unions and NGOs formed a robust campaigning partnership which can be built on for future campaigns
- Three overseas speakers came to speak about the working conditions and challenges faced in their own countries, Indonesia, Sri Lanka and Turkey, , taking back a strong message of support
- Unions and NGOs improved their knowledge and capacity through working together on the Steering Group.

Lessons learned

External factors affect the best laid plans – project plans relied on time and resources of affiliate unions which were diverted to UK based priorities tackling government cuts. The Steering Group was flexible and focussed on actions with the most impact, adjusting and refocusing plans.

Regular Steering Group meetings and updates kept unions already on board with Playfair engaged and enthusiastic. While speaker tours were important in engaging grassroots members, speaker tours were more likely to be organised in unions more heavily involved in delivery of the Playfair Project in the first place. Interviews were generally with unions which were heavily involved so did not throw light on unions that were less engaged.

Student engagement – People and Planet already had a project under way which made it hard to build direct links between students and Playfair. However, Playfair 2012's flexible approach meant they could provide support without focusing on the campaign brand, and important impacts were achieved.

Greater media coverage could have been achieved with tactical use of the Labour Behind the Label press office links to specialist journalists working alongside the TUC media officers and using project officers to respond rapidly to journalists' queries.

Social media could be used more to share successes rapidly with the Steering Group and wider audience.

⁴ WRC deploys staff into clothing factories across the world to assess labour standards and resolve issues locally by working with workers and management.

4. Playfair 2012 Campaign

The campaign aims to influence the policies and practices of major sportswear brands and the organisers of the London 2012 Olympics to ensure respect for International Labour Organisation Conventions and workers' human rights, in their global supply chains.

Staffing and Governance

Policy officers from the TUC and Labour Behind the Label led on engagement with brands and the London Organising Committee of the Olympic Games and Paralympic Games Ltd (LOCOG). Play Fair international played a role in the approach to the brands which has to be continuous between each Olympics.

Additional financial resources of £31,576 and time were provided by Playfair, the TUC, Labour Behind the Label and Play Fair international to fund research and reporting.

Project Plan, Indicators and Achievements

Brands

The Playfair 2012 Campaign was a continuation of engagement by Play Fair internationally with brands. This was recorded in the Clearing the Hurdles⁵ campaign for the Beijing Olympics. Better relationships between some brands and the Play Fair movement were forged after Beijing 2008. These were consolidated through long-term engagement by international unions, TUC and NGO partners in country-based initiatives such as the Freedom of Association (FOA) Protocol negotiated in Indonesia and signed in 2011. Further active implementation of this is underway.

The Playfair 2012 campaign focused its objectives for a UK audience for the 2009 – 2012 project period by reducing targeted brands from the previous eight to three, *Adidas*, a sponsor of London 2012, *Nike* a leading brand and *Pentland (Speedo)*, due to its prominence in the games. Its targets were:

- At least three companies publicly commit to eliminating short term contracting
- At least three companies make progress towards developing a positive climate for freedom of association and collective bargaining
- At least three companies take steps to improve worker incomes, with the goal of reaching a living wage for all workers

A series of public actions were planned and as detailed in the project pages above, saw a large uptake of signatories and public actions by unions, NGOs and students.

Exchanges between Playfair and the brands were provided on the website behind a chart using gold, silver, bronze medals and wooden spoons. This provided an easy to understand overview for the campaigning audience without losing the subtleties of company progress and responses.

⁵

www.clearingthehurdles.org

It is difficult to assess the exact impact of a campaign on its targets because organisations are subject to so many drivers to act on corporate responsibility from a range of stakeholders from investors to consumers, media to pressure-groups. They may also be reluctant to admit that campaigns have been a factor in making changes. Play Fair's main company contacts with Adidas and Nike were interviewed for this study and were very open and frank. They both recognised the value of the ongoing relationship with Play Fair but also its core campaigning role.

“Playfair is an important part of the Olympic cycle, but there has to be joint work to take it forward as no one brand can dictate an holistic, inclusive, solution” Sonya Durkin-Jones, External Partnerships, Nike

As a London 2012 sponsor, Adidas was a main target for the campaign. The brand already disclosed production sites and factory information on its website, and played a key role in the FOA Protocol Agreement in Indonesia. It recognises the tension between simplistic campaign and media messages and the reality of what they can deliver in complex political situations. The Playfair demands were the same as the previous cycle. Adidas say this had less impact on their company, while Nike used it to review their ongoing progress. Nike felt less involved or targeted by this campaign cycle than the 2008 Beijing campaign, perhaps because their production sites were not as prominent in the reports. Engagement with Next failed to secure disclosure of production sites of the GB team uniforms, due to fundamental disagreement. However this engagement has led to longer term relationship building and an ongoing project with the TUC. Pentland were not deeply engaged through lobbying and were not interviewed for this study.

There is an important opportunity in this brand relationship with Play Fair, the global unions and NGOs to undertake specialised joint research and to develop country-based projects to tackle freedom of association and living wage in particular. This was also a view reflected by Nike, Next, Adidas and other ethical trading experts interviewed. This would build on the trust established by the group working on the Indonesia FOA Protocol and could pilot models for change on workers' rights in practice. These could be used as examples for future campaigns, or to inform the complexities of how to deliver the key demands made by Play Fair. This would add strength to the campaign and deepen practical understanding of the union role in protecting workers' rights effectively. Companies are willing to tackle issues of freedom of association and workers' rights awareness, and create enabling environments for this, however simply putting in union access agreements does not deliver these rights. The unions need to be able to deliver in complex political situations. The role of international unions in building their soft skills and wider capacity is critical, as this is something the global brands cannot do on the unions' behalf. There is a clear role for Play Fair partners in this. In depth projects that give NGOs and unions a deep understanding of the whole supply chain would be valuable to target future campaigns. Funding for such work would be required, but example models are to be found in the DFID funded RAGS programme of which IndustriALL is already a partner⁶.

Yet there remains the tension between engagement and the right to create a big strong outspoken campaign on issues that are very live, very real, affect many workers and that must be tackled. This is further explored in the Case Study on page 17.

⁶ <http://www.dfid.gov.uk/Work-with-us/Funding-opportunities/Business/Responsible-and-Accountable-Garment-Sector-RAGS-Challenge-Fund-/RAGS-projects/Impactt-Limited/>

LOCOG

“We wanted a complaints procedure with the Ruggie Principles⁷ in the process. Without the TUC and Playfair we might not have got that traction in the first place.” Phil Cumming, Corporate Sustainability Manager, LOCOG

The TUC supported the London bid and had a positive relationship with the Olympic Delivery Authority to ensure union support in delivering the Olympics. The move to LOCOG, a temporary private company, with its evolving structures, legal and contractual roles and decision-making processes was difficult.

LOCOG was working on a tight timescale putting in place processes that covered sustainability in its widest sense for a diverse range of procurement (from buildings to food, clothing to flags). Playfair, much more aware of the complexities of achieving compliance on workers’ rights in the garment and merchandise sectors, was pushing LOCOG hard on this. Early on, Playfair used scenario planning to discuss potential issues, such as child labour and overtime, to engage LOCOG.

A significant achievement was that LOCOG included in its Sustainable Sourcing Code (covering environmental, social and ethical issues) requirements on all suppliers and licensees to comply with labour standards in the Ethical Trading Initiative [Base Code](#), which includes payment of a living wage. Compliance was monitored by audits recorded on Sedex (Supplier Ethical Data Exchange).

The failure of ethical audits to effectively monitor ethical code compliance is well documented by research into global garment, sportswear and merchandise supply chains. Playfair 2012 pushed for additional safeguards of workers’ rights.

By late 2010, with support from Labour Behind the Label, LOCOG agreed a Complaint and Dispute Resolution Process with a Stakeholder Oversight Committee to handle grievances about non-compliance with its Sustainable Sourcing Code. This was included in the update to the Sustainable Sourcing Code in July 2011. There was no way workers could know about it as it was not communicated more widely until 2012.

For effective campaigning materials Playfair 2012 needed to research what was happening in actual production sites for London 2012. However, brands and LOCOG had not disclosed specific production sites. Research for the campaign started very late in the cycle, a lesson for future campaigns.

Even with well established trade unions and management agreement, workers’ rights research is a slow and complex process. Much more so if production sites have not been disclosed, and if research has to be covert. Worker interviews beyond the factory gate can be carried out and often reveal more than an audit process but workers can still be fearful of repercussions.

The time window for research in the Olympic merchandise and sportswear supply chains is narrow. Licensing was agreed in 2008 with Honav and Adidas. During 2009 procurement was started and suppliers appointed, the design and sign off process

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www.unglobalcompact.org/issues/human_rights/The_UN_SRSG_and_the_UN_Global_Compact.html The Protect, Respect and Remedy Framework

takes up time and production peaked in late 2009. Merchandise was available in the online store in April 2010. During this timeline products and designs change and production sites are changed, making it challenging to locate production sites. This last minute approach also demonstrates how suppliers to brands and licensees are under pressure to deliver on time making the likelihood of excessive overtime more likely.

In 2011, with LOCOG support, Playfair reached agreement with Olympic merchandise licence Golden Bear to allow external research into its suppliers. This enabled research to begin. Similarly in July 2011 Adidas (which does disclose its production sites), shared data on specific sites producing for London 2012.

The report *Toying with Workers' rights*, documenting significant workers' rights abuses, was published in January 2012. A storm of media coverage followed, led by The Sun which published a 'much stronger article than the TUC would ever have done' according to a Policy Officer. This pressure led to a conversation with Sebastian Coe and the TUC General Secretary Brendan Barber and a meeting between key LOCOG officials and Playfair. This led to an agreement between Playfair and LOCOG being signed in February 2012, providing for disclosure of production sites (72% of sites covered), giving information in English and Chinese to workers on employment rights and LOCOG's code plus a hotline to report violations, worker training and a commitment to work with Playfair 2012, Rio 2016 and the IOC to ensure future Games benefit from lessons learned.

Concerns documented by The Sun and in the Playfair report were investigated by LOCOG using their Complaints and Dispute Resolution Process and their response was produced in June 2012 detailing their own findings and corrective actions put in place. The pin badge supplier, Victory Link Arts & Jewelry (Honav UK Ltd), is an official licensee to Rio 2016 and the corrective actions will be monitored by RioCOG⁸.

In May 2012, a second report, *Fair Games?* was published by Playfair 2012 detailing conditions in sites producing sportswear. It included examples of workers' rights abuses in the Mactan Processing Zone in the Philippines. As a result of complaints submitted to LOCOG by Playfair 2012, a mediation meeting was organised by IndustriALL and the ITUC in August in the Philippines bringing together Adidas, Brooks Running and New Balance, together with their key suppliers the Sintex corporation, the Department of Labor and Employment, unions and labour rights NGOs. They agreed a Memorandum of Cooperation on the promotion of freedom of association and full implementation of labour laws and standards in the apparel industry. Stakeholders committed to working together on a number of issues including precarious work, the lack of authentic worker representation, the low awareness of workers' rights, wages and inadequate grievance mechanisms.

Playfair 2012 admits that the reports took a very long time to research, check, edit and publish. The delay between research findings and publication date also meant that when LOCOG and Adidas in particular investigated worker conditions, many workers had left for Chinese new year, and not returned. This delay led LOCOG to believe that the campaign was perhaps more important than acting on findings to resolve workers' rights violations.

There is no doubt that worker training is a vital element of enabling workers to know and claim their rights, but LOCOG continues to question whether their commitment to worker training was appropriate (case studies, pages 17 & 18). Playfair maintains it

⁸ [LOCOG Response 21 June 2012](#)

asked for companies to provide training on workers rights under the sourcing code at an early stage. It might be useful to explore whether training might be included as a corrective action as part of the remedy in the complaints mechanism, or as a corrective action to a failed audit. Unless the right conditions are in place to give workers the means to assert their rights, training can actually cause serious problems to factory owners but also to workers who may be dismissed or persecuted.

Training was too complex to deliver just months before the actual Olympic event. Playfair had been calling for training many years before the Games. It is to Playfair 2012's credit that training was included in the agreement with LOCOG, and that LOCOG worked with Impactt to attempt to deliver it. Some worker benefits were achieved through this, such as a remedial programme on child labour. The truth is that many production sites do not even have in place the basic management systems or worker-management communications committees to enable training to have a positive effect. This reflects Playfair's conclusions that after 15 years of corporate responsibility, for many workers their rights, pay, working hours and ability to voice their concerns have not been achieved through a process of codes and ethical audits and codes. A living or fair wage remains a challenge even for the brands that have made significant progress in disclosing and engaging with their suppliers. Unless workers can play an active role in organising and asserting their rights, top down change does not have sustainable, effective impact.

LOCOG has commissioned a report by Verité to examine the overall lessons of their approach to workers' rights in their Sustainable Sourcing Code and related processes. These lessons will be shared with the Rio 2016 organisers. They are also holding a meeting on the Complaints and Conflict Resolution Process in December.

International Olympic Committee (IOC)

Face to face engagement with the IOC was not prioritised during this campaign period, with significant focus rightly given to LOCOG. The IOC is notoriously difficult to engage. It holds the power to require host countries to include respect for international labour laws in contracts, it insists that this is each organising committee's own responsibility. Playfair 2012 held demonstrations, supporters sent thousands of emails and lobbying using torch relay cards took place, yet little response was made by the IOC. However Play Fair Project and Policy Officers and TUC General Secretary Brendan Barber did secure a meeting with the IOC, the first to be held between the IOC and Play Fair in two years to discuss demands.

Playfair 2012 Campaign Impacts

"We would have liked more and earlier. Was it too little, too late regarding actual production of 2012 merchandise? But by then it had set a benchmark for future games". Mike Smith, TUC

"There is a role for the IOC and IPC⁹ to provide more consistent guidance on what is expected of organising committees with regards to sustainability matters. For example, all organising committees should be expected to have a sustainable procurement strategy in place which as a minimum should include policies to ensure international labour rights are respected." Phil Cumming, Corporate Sustainability Manager, LOCOG.

⁹ International Paralympic Committee

- LOCOG went further than any previous Olympic organising committee in taking steps to protect workers' rights, setting a benchmark for the future
- LOCOG Sustainable Sourcing Code required supplier/licensee compliance with ETI Base Code which includes living wage
- LOCOG developed a Complaints and Dispute Resolution Process with a Stakeholder Oversight Committee
- The process drew on the Ruggie Principles and provided for a remedial process with moderation
- The Complaints Process was used for complaints, and media and report allegations were also investigated using the process
- The testing of the process provides lessons for the future use of such a process
- Corrective action plans were put in place in a number of factories as a result of complaints being brought
- Awareness of workers' rights in the Olympic merchandise and clothing supply chains was raised by media coverage of Playfair 2012 reports
- The agreement signed between LOCOG and TUC in February 2012 provided for the disclosure of 72% production sites, commitment by LOCOG to information in English and Chinese to workers on employment rights and LOCOG's code plus a hotline to report violations, worker training and a commitment to work with Playfair 2012, Rio 2016 and the IOC to ensure future Games benefit from lessons learned.
- LOCOG's lessons learned will be shared with Rio2016 and the IOC
- Memorandum of Cooperation on the promotion of freedom of association and full implementation of labour laws and standards in the apparel industry signed by stakeholders in Macatan Processing Zone, Philippines which will benefit over 10,000 workers.¹⁰
- Freedom of Association Protocol Indonesia signed in 2011. There is continuing multi-stakeholder engagement to roll out the protocol to more factories and to include more of the unions and to agree collective bargaining agreements that go beyond the legal minimum and enhance workers pay and conditions.
- Company reporting and engagement on progress on the hurdles e.g. Nike committed to 0% contract deployment in Indonesia where they felt the system was regularly abused.

Lessons Learned

- Strong campaigning early in the Olympic organising cycle creates space in the host organising committees to tackle and discuss issues
- Delays in doing and publishing research push activities to the end of the project timeline. This means that immediate remedies cannot be put in place to improve workers' rights before Olympic production is over for that specific event. The campaign could explain that the research provides evidence of the challenges faced and illustrations of violations of workers' rights rather than collating individual cases to remedy through a complaints process.
- Big reports are slow to produce and delays can mean accusations of putting campaign before remedying workers' rights can be levelled
- Get in at the top – LOCOG decision making was hard to understand
- The staff at the host COG may be on a fast learning curve, they will learn from brand experience and Playfair can assist that

¹⁰ From *How Fair They Play* – research report by ITGLWF January 2012

- Partnership working needs careful management with those you're lobbying and engaging with particularly when there are several people involved in different elements of a project/campaign
- To gain real impacts for workers in the supply chain, more detailed project work is really required by brands, NGOs and unions, not just focused on the Olympics but continuously
- Brands don't call for union based Freedom of Association, so local unions need to increase their capacity and skills with the support of the international union movement
- It is effective to use leading brands' progress in tackling workers' rights issues to request the same from others e.g. Adidas disclosure of production sites
- The international Play Fair movement needs to be ready and willing to utilise structures secured through campaigning i.e. once the complaints mechanism was put in place it needed to be used to see how it worked.

More about good practice and lessons learned through engagement with LOCOG is provided in the Case Study on page 18.

5. Recommendations: Partnerships and Play Fair

Future Awareness Raising Projects and Joint Campaigns with affiliates and partners

- Spend time drawing together a checklist of lessons to share with other organisations or to use on event specific campaigning
- Invest time in a planning timeline (e.g. workshop to include delivery partners, take into account their capacity/commitments, check risks to project, check partner 'gives' and 'gets' – what they can provide, but importantly, what they need whether that be materials, media copy, specialist links to their union's sector, or simply good news and feedback).
- Include research in the planning timeline, if it's a big partnership and with complex organisational sign-off allow time for this. Check what partners might need out of the research – is there specialist information they need to justify their involvement or add to their own core work?
- Map the targets – do you know them (as with Adidas/Nike) can you review theirs and your targets/expectations to find common ground? With a new organisation investigate their approach to stakeholder engagement, work out what the person is doing in their day job, how can your campaign further their objectives whilst shaping them, rather than pull them away from their role and alienate them?
- Press strategy - with input from TUC press office and partner press officers or staff. (e.g. workshop to map out your targets and press office strengths e.g. TUC press releases get coverage; LBL has network of journalists it can pitch ideas to; how can you use social media?)
- Don't assume the campaign is press worthy because it is worthy, it will need a hook (see courses including *'what journalists want'* for more information¹¹)

¹¹ http://lastwordevents.com/?page_id=71

Play Fair

- Everyone agrees that the IOC needs targeting to retain the gains made during Playfair 2012, they hold the power to make these gains sustainable and to build on them. Continue analysis of IOC structure to find way in
- If the IOC will not act (although its sustainability report suggests there is an opportunity, unless that is talk and not action) look at alternatives to retaining benchmarks with Rio2016 but also with brands and retailers
- Consider how to put in place a project of Olympic supported training programmes for workers in production factories. How can the Play Fair umbrella organisations work with brands and licensees to put in place training in order to demonstrate by 2016 it can be done. Four countries, linking Brazil with China, Indonesia with the Philippines, sharing lessons and experiences through common brands or licensees like Honav.
- Consider producing shorter, faster reports if possible, along the lines of urgent actions. This could keep up media coverage, but might risk damaging relationships with brands if it is seen as relentless. Be clear about needs of local campaign and their deadlines
- Provide input/coordination into local campaigns. Clarify their expectations, possible risks (where sudden support is needed)
- Consider taking hostCOG or IOC staff on factory visits to meet workers, unions, NGOs, factory owners and brands to increase their understanding
- Play Fair with the Playfair 2012 policy officers needs to be ready to react to and engage with the LOCOG Verité report findings and to share its own lessons with Playfair Brazil in order to retain the benchmark reached by LOCOG.

Case Study: Strength in Partnership

“A broad campaigning coalition is an immense strength” Fiona Gooch, Private Sector Policy Advisor, Traidcraft & member of LOCOG’s Stakeholder Oversight Committee

Good Practice

“The TUC got us into meetings we’d never have got into on our own”

- The project planned to use the wide range of skills, resources and membership of TUC affiliates and NGOs to maximum effect
- The TUC brand has great reach and is very well respected by stakeholders interviewed, it is viewed as willing to campaign and engage
- Excellent teaching resources developed by Anti-Slavery International, NUT, NASUWT, ATL and TUC steering group working with a development group to create *Fair’s Fair* resources and Labour Behind the Label’s *Step into her Trainers* resources for older learners. Packs distributed by teaching unions and other unions whose members ordered packs for their children’s schools
- The broad coalition gives the Playfair movement strength and options for bold campaigning combined with more discrete solutions-focused engagement
- The third round of Play Fair campaigning sees a strong team built up, dented slightly by job losses, but gaining in strength and experience
- Steering Group members reported learning from one another – the CSP learned about engaging its own student members from the NUS – LBL learned about lobbying from the TUC.

Lessons Learned

“When you’ve got good news shout about it!”

- UK campaign base led to less international involvement from Play Fair international partners – everyone had rallied round the challenges of Beijing
- UK / overseas, union / NGO cultures, big / small organisations have different ways and pace of working. This was very obvious in frustrations about lost press opportunities and the speed of international research. Strategies need to be in place to manage this in future.
- The worker voice and worker-led solutions from overseas workers was fainter than during the Beijing campaign – this was a strong NGO view – but explained by UK location of the Games and related campaign. Unions talk collectively, NGOs tend to bring worker’s case studies and individual experience to life to engage audience empathy in campaigning. Strong efforts were made to locate worker case studies through research in produce countries. The UK led aspect of Playfair 2012 meant this felt different to previous campaigns.
- Steering Group partners need to get back what’s important to them from the project – Anti-Slavery International were frustrated by lack of solid research on forced labour which was their mandate for involvement
- It’s vital to share the good news, especially from overseas, immediately in the press and via social media with a Playfair 2012 brand

Case Study: Awareness to Action

"The Olympics and Paralympics are a perfect platform to engage on workplace rights – doors can be opened because people want to join in." Guy Nicholson, London and South East Area rep for Community union.

Playfair 2012 reinforces wider understanding on global links and ethical procurement by creating a positive atmosphere for discussion and focus on empowering people with actions. This 'Playfair thinking' shows that it achieved the wider aim of not only raising awareness of the linkages in global supply chains, but inspired workers to act in new ways beyond the Olympics..

- Brendan Barber and TUC Executive Council Members met LOCOG senior leaders and immediately raised workers' rights in the sportswear and merchandise supply chain, as well as discussing bus drivers in London
- Community union's Nottingham & Derby region members put forward a [motion](#) to conference in support of Playfair 2012 after speaker tours from workers in the garment industry had visited them.
- Teaching unions distributed Playfair 2012 teaching packs for use in class
- Playfair informs NASUWT strategy and policy on international campaigns, particularly on the global campaign for education, at EU and international levels. Labour rights and living wages influence whether children go to school and this informs other campaigns within the union.

'As trade unionists and consumers we are linked to these millions of women workers and by acting together we have the power to bring about change and demand that London 2012 is the first ethical Olympics -providing Decent Work and dignity for all.' Diana Holland, Unite's Assistant General Secretary at the TUC Women's Conference in 2011

Good Practice

Prospect union gives training and support to Development Advocates (DAs) who engage with their employers' business practices such as corporate responsibility, sustainable development, supply chains and charitable works. Prospect's Bargaining for International Development¹² project supported workers from a range of professions in developing projects.

Prospect members for Natural England, Clare Mumford and Martin Banham became Development Advocates and did awareness raising and training for staff in making ethical and pro-poor purchasing choices. Three Prospect members at the Marine Management Organisation joined forces to secure agreement on the purchase of women's workwear and PPE (Personal Protective Equipment) which had been researched and checked for ethical sourcing and environmental impacts.

Lessons Learned

Unions can build on Playfair 2012 awareness by providing deeper opportunities for members to act on their own chosen global issues within their own organisations. Ownership of their actions makes for stronger engagement.

¹² http://www.prospect.org.uk/dl/40123_2429290621.pdf/as/2011-04095-Leaflet-booklet-World-of-Difference-Version-11-11-2011.pdf?ts=59731&ts=59731

Case Study: Burning Platform vs Joining Forces?

“We expect to be scrutinized. Behind the scenes we do good things. We understand that there’s engagement and campaigning – we get that.” Sonya Durkin-Jones, External Partnerships, Nike

The tension between bold public campaigning and solutions-based engagement arose repeatedly in interviews. Different approaches are encompassed by the wide partnership of the Playfair 2012 campaign. NGOs and companies did not expect Playfair 2012 to have all the answers, but to campaign, creating space and impetus for brands and LOCOG to bring the issue to their boards and to work on ways to tackle these issues.

Playfair 2012 understands what works to further workers’ rights in practice. They actively engage but cannot act as ‘consultants’. They must respond when a campaign target offers dialogue. Playfair’s approach is to support workers in leading their own organising and asserting their rights. Yet, as many brands are engaging on this agenda more meaningfully, delivering training to factory managers on the systems that would create a more enabling environment, the union and NGO movements are expected to provide worker training including the ‘soft skills’ that enable union-management negotiation and communication to encourage mature industrial relations which deliver benefits for workers and suppliers alike. This requires more detailed specific engagement beyond the Play Fair demands. IndustriALL is believed to have these resources.

Good Practice

- Post Beijing discussions to agree to work together with brands, international unions, NGOs, local unions and suppliers in Indonesia, leading to the Freedom of Association Protocol in Indonesia being signed in 2011. Continuing experience of working together has forged links with Play Fair and global brands. Collective experience and learning has taken place.
- Multi-stakeholder meeting convened in the Philippines after the *Toying with Workers’ rights* complaint to LOCOG catalysed discussion and signing of a Memorandum of Cooperation including the Ministry of Labour
- Recognition of company progress on the Playfair 2012 website
- Simple clear demands enable companies to benchmark their progress, yet other companies find them repetitive and stale, tailored engagement is needed, but is difficult to transform into punchy public campaigning actions
- Establishing positive communications with key individuals in companies

Lessons Learned

- Without training and organisation, audits and ethical codes do not empower workers to claim their rights – change is needed ‘top down’ and ‘bottom up’.
- Brand training of factory management combined with union training to improve union capacity and for unions to deliver worker training (or NGOs/Worker Education Associations if unions are not in place in some countries) is probably where training will impact workers’ rights
- Multi-stakeholder initiatives in producer countries are very effective in reinforcing Play Fair’s real commitment to help protect workers’ rights rather than just ‘going after’ brands or Olympic organising committees
- The knowledge of what some companies are doing and what does work to improve workers’ rights can be used for vigorous, informed, detailed campaigning for improvements by other companies.

Case Study: Engaging with LOCOG

The TUC gave support to the London 2012 Olympic bid, and worked closely with the Olympic Delivery Authority with a union-nominated member of the board. Wider relations with LOCOG were good and were governed by the TUC's principles of cooperation. As pressure to deliver the details of the Sustainable Sourcing Code in practice grew, the fact that LOCOG did not have a labour rights expert on board meant that relationships were undoubtedly strained at times during the campaign.

Playfair 2012's ability to engage with the Organising Committee in the UK, impossible in China where NGO activities are so constrained, meant the nature of the campaign was different that of 2008. *"We did much more lobbying than we expected and much less public facing campaigning"* Anna McMullen, *Labour Behind the Label Project Coordinator*. Much more detailed knowledge of how an organising committee can deliver in both policy and practice on workers' rights was needed. This was incredibly detailed work. The choice of ethical codes for the Sustainable Sourcing Code, from a range of codes in use across many industries, where most sportswear brands are members of the Fair Labor Association¹³ merchandise licensees may be signed up to the International Council of Toy Industries¹⁴ (ICTI) code is complex, and how to ensure compliance in an imperfect auditing system is even harder. NGOs, unions and brands have been tackling this over years. Several of those interviewed, from companies, NGOs and unions said that the lack of a *specific workers' rights expert* on the LOCOG team was a barrier to greater progress. LOCOG did take advice from many quarters including John Lewis, Marks & Spencer, Traidcraft and the ILO.

Good Practice

- Early engagement, scenario planning on workers' rights risks to LOCOG, giving early warning on publications and engaging constructively
- Development and testing of a mediated, remedy focused Complaints and Conflict Resolution Process with a Stakeholder Oversight Committee was very useful to provide a structure through which LOCOG could process and investigate complaints, from Playfair 2012 reports, press reports, NGOs and workers
- Massive media coverage catalysed more action when Playfair 2012 felt stalled and achieved additional commitments from LOCOG.

Lessons Learned

- LOCOG found it harder to deal with wide coalition than brands do. They were confused when Playfair 2012 supporters issued separate reports.
- LOCOG felt they were doing something very special in this Olympics, yet felt their human face and efforts were not always understood.
- LOCOG were process driven and never appointed staff members with a background experience of labour rights issues, which are very complex, and this led to a lack of understanding and stalling on basic issues.
- The delays between report research and publication caused integrity problems for Playfair 2012 with LOCOG because corrective action could not happen promptly. This was caused by lack of urgency in processing and checking by overseas partners to an extent.
- In a fast, high pressure timeframe working with an Olympic Organising Committee is going to be difficult. Trust built up can fall down if something goes wrong or is too slow, it is completely different to brand stakeholder relations because of the deadline.
- Playfair 2012 should have developed a better understanding of LOCOG's structure earlier, and could have been more forceful earlier on to move round barriers and apply pressure at different levels, as happened with the publication of its reports.

¹³

www.fairlabor.org

¹⁴

www.toy-icti.org/info/codeofbusinesspractices.html

Documents Reviewed

Proposal Form – Development Awareness Fund 2009/10 (DFID)
Project Framework
Project Budget 2009/12
Playfair 2012 campaign strategy for the sportswear industry: 2009 – 2012
The Playfair Campaign Statement
Mid-term Report July 09 – March 10
Mid-term Report April 10 – March 11
Final Report

Toying with Workers' Rights: A Report on Producing Merchandise for the London 2012 Olympic Games, Playfair 2012. January 2012

Fair Games? Human rights of workers in Olympic 2012 supplier factories. May 2012

LOCOG: Taking action to ensure respect for workers' rights in global supply chains
Agreement between The London Organising Committee of the Olympic Games and Paralympic Games and Trades Union Congress on behalf of Playfair 2012 Campaign 21 February 2012

LOCOG Response to Allegations by The Sun and the Playfair 2012 Campaign Regarding Working Conditions in China. 21 June 2012

Interview list

Listed in alphabetical order. I would like to thank those who agreed to be interviewed for their time and frank and constructive discussions.

William Anderson, Head of Social & Environmental Affairs, Asia Pacific, Adidas Group
Maggie Burns, Ethical Trading Initiative, Board Member & Independent Ethical Trade Consultant
Pam Collins, National Union of Teachers
Phil Cumming, Corporate Sustainability Manager, London Organising Committee of the Olympic Games and Paralympic Games Ltd (LOCOG)
Joanna Ewart-James, Supply Chain Programme Co-ordinator, Anti-Slavery International
Fiona Gooch, Private Sector Policy Advisor, Traidcraft
Sam Gurney, TUC
Beverley Hall, International Development, CSR & Procurement/Supply Chains, Prospect
Anna McMullen, Labour Behind the Label
Kate Moran, Chartered Society of Physiotherapy
Guy Nicholson, London and South East Area Rep for Community Union.
Alexandre Praca, Trade Union Confederation of the Americas (TUCA)
Jackie Simpkins, War on Want
Mike Smith, Head of Secretariat, TUC
David Stubbs, Head of Sustainability, LOCOG
Sharon Sukhram, Project Officer, European Union & International Relations Department, TUC
Owen Tudor, Head of European Union and International Relations, TUC
Chris Weavers, NASUWT
Murray Worthy, War on Want

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