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RESEARCH ARTICLE

Collaborative governance or state regulation? Endless efforts but little capacity for sustainability transformation of the German textile sector

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Abstract

Collaborative governance is increasingly demanded in multiple sectors and considered promising to address wicked sustainability challenges. Whether it meets these expectations remains uncertain, particularly as such initiatives take place within a broader landscape of public and private policies and projects. We explore how collaborative governance initiative is shaped by its broader landscape to deliver on its goals. To do so, we provide a framework for analysing governance modes and social interactions in collaborative governance. We use an exploratory case study of the German Partnership for Sustainable Textiles (hereafter: Textiles Partnership). The partnership is a multi-stakeholder, collaborative governance initiative that links to a variety of different initiatives, and highlights barriers and transformation potential both within and outside its boundaries. Based on qualitative interviews, analysis of policy documents and a focus group discussion, we show that the complexity of the landscape field is accompanied by capacity constraints for all actors involved. Such complexity raises questions about whether this governance mode influences actual change on the ground, or diverts energies into navigating and proliferating complexity with low levels of meaningful outcomes. There is a growing call from actors within the partnership towards more state-centred regulation, resulting in a Due Diligence Act in 2021, to regulate corporate action across national borders. The evidence we present shows the need to reconsider the balance between state regulation and collaborative governance arrangements.

KEYWORDS

collaborative governance, corporate social responsibility, due diligence act, modes of governance, social interactions, sustainability transformation

1 | INTRODUCTION

In multiple sectors, collaborative governance shows promise towards enabling the necessary system changes to address sustainability challenges. It is defined as “the processes and structures of public policy decision making and management that engage people constructively

across the boundaries of public agencies, levels of government, and/or the public, private and civic spheres in order to carry out a public purpose that could not otherwise be accomplished” (Emerson et al., 2012, p. 2). It builds on the idea that the state cannot cope with dynamics and complexity of climate change and urbanisation (Brink & Wamsler, 2017), or global production alone (Bair & Palpacuer, 2015),

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without including different kinds of knowledge (Swyngedouw, 2005). In considering the benefit or successes of collaborative governance, authors have examined how factors relating to the processes and actors have shaped the successes and failures of collaborations (see e.g., Ansell & Gash, 2008; Newig et al., 2018). However, to understand the role of collaborative governance, there is a need to zoom out, and see these collaborative arrangements as part of a much larger governance landscape. This landscape includes the legislation, multiple policies and initiatives, and actions of government and non-governmental actors that are engaged in governing a sector.

In this paper, we aim to understand how the broader governance landscape shapes ability of collaborative governance to deliver on its promise of effective environmental governance. We do so by exploring the social interactions between actors within and beyond a collaborative governance initiative. We define social interaction as “the myriad ways in which governance actors [...] interact and respond to each other” (Eberlein et al., 2014, p. 2). A focus on social interactions between heterogeneous actors in the field of collaborative governance can help us understand how individuals navigate the complexities of the landscape, as this represents their daily work, interacting, negotiating and lobbying with actors and initiatives. Furthermore, the form of social interaction shows how the heterogeneous actors collaborate. By heterogeneity in collaborative governance, we refer to the different intentions, values and beliefs of the actors involved between the state, business and civil society (see e.g., Lange et al., 2013). Eberlein et al. (2014) adds that a focus on interactions helps to “understand the implications [...] for regulatory capacity and performance, and ultimately for social and environmental impact” (p. 1).

We apply our aim to a study of collaborative governance within the global textile industry, as a sector recognised as a driving force behind wicked sustainability challenges (see e.g., Grimm, 2019). The textile industry is known for precarious working conditions, exemplified by the collapse of the Rana Plaza factory in Bangladesh with more than 1000 deaths (Jacobs & Singhal, 2017), and job losses for thousands of migrant workers during the COVID-19 pandemic (Choudhari, 2020). The industries are also associated with environmental pollution (Madhav

et al., 2018), social exploitation of labour (Smestad, 2009), resource dependencies between producing and consuming countries (Chapagain et al., 2006), and overconsumption with fast fashion as the underlying paradigm in Western societies (McNeill & Moore, 2015). The European Commission's Green Deal specifically highlights the textiles system as a key area of focus for sustainability transformation under the new Industrial Strategy for Europe (European Commission, 2019). Against this backdrop, the industry embodies a large and complex conglomeration of diverse public and private governance initiatives (Beyers & Heinrichs, 2020). Governance initiatives include various formal and informal, binding and voluntary, constellations between market actors, civil society organisations and the state, but also single-actor entry points such as legislation that indirectly affect other actors (Lange et al., 2013).

We look into a case study of the German Partnership for Sustainable Textiles (Textiles Partnership) as a rich example of complex collaboration; It includes more than 130 member organisations and forms many links with other governance initiatives. In the Textiles Partnership, participants have recognised their responsibility for textile sustainability along the supply chain, as Germany is one of the largest textile-consuming countries in the world. Drawing on the case, we ask how collaborative governance unfolds in the German textile industry and divide the question into two objectives. First, we examine the governance landscape by outlining the diversity of governance initiatives that links to the Textiles Partnership (Objective 1). Then, we explore how actors navigate through this landscape while bearing responsibilities for political decision-making. We do so by exploring their social interactions to understand how they interact across this complex landscape of governance initiatives (objective 2). In the following section of this paper, we construct our analytical framework based on theories of governance modes and social interaction. The methodology outlines the case of the Textiles Partnership and explains how we applied our framework. The results are presented in relation to the two objectives, before being discussed. We close with the argument that after multiple attempts at voluntary self-commitment by companies, there is now a growing consensus on the need for state legislation across national borders.

TABLE 1 Objectives, concepts and analytical framework

Objective	Concepts	Analytical framework
1. Identify initiatives and distinguish modes	Modes of governance (Driessen et al., 2012; Lange et al., 2013)	<p><i>Definition:</i> Initiatives are formal or informal constellations between state, civil society and market, or single-actor initiatives (e.g., legislation), that strive for (collective) sustainability objectives.</p> <p><i>Distinction:</i> Centralised, De-centralised, Public-private, Interactive, Self-governance</p> <p><i>Indication:</i> Polity (institutional structures): actor constellation, rules of interaction, models of representation, mechanisms of social interaction; Politics (political processes): policy level, initiating actor, stakeholder position; Policy (policy content): sustainability objectives, instruments, policy-science interface</p>
2. Social interactions are shaped by and influence the interplay	Social interaction (Eberlein et al., 2014)	<p><i>Definition:</i> Social interaction are the myriad ways in which governance actors and institutions interact with each other, within and beyond initiative boundaries.</p> <p><i>Distinction:</i> Competition, Co-ordination, Co-optation and Chaos</p> <p><i>Indication:</i> Perception of quality of interaction between state, market, and civil society representatives</p>

2 | THEORY – GOVERNANCE MODES AND SOCIAL INTERACTION

We provide a framework for the study of collaborative governance based on the theory of governance modes and social interaction of governance actors. Table 1 shows the different concepts and the analytical framework in relation to our two objectives.

The first dimension of our framework unpacks the diversity of governance initiatives by categorising them according to governance modes. We define governance modes as “*forms of realising collective goals by means of collective action*” (Lange et al., 2013, p. 407). Initiatives such as legislation, certification schemes, and so forth, can thus be characterised by the type of collective action and goals they embody. Initially, we understand governance modes as relating to the three dimensions of governance (after Lange et al. (2013): polity (institutional structures), politics (political processes) and policy (policy content) (Treib et al., 2007). Within this broad categorisation, further details are added to delineate modes. These draw on five different modes according to Driessen et al. (2012). These five modes can be placed along an axis, which ranges from hierarchical, state-led modes of governance (decentralised & centralised modes), and through participatory action by representatives of the state and industry (public–private modes) and institutionalised forms involving all actors (interactive modes), as well as voluntary initiatives between the market and civil society (self-governance modes).

For institutional structures, initiatives can be differentiated based on their actor constellation, distinguishing between the governance triad of representatives of the state (representatives of ministries), market (representatives of companies and industry associations) and civil society (representatives of NGOs, trade unions, standards organisations and advisory members). Within these distinctions, we examine the models of representation from corporatist models to institutional or partnership arrangements (see e.g., Glasbergen & Groenenberg, 2001). We also investigate rules of interaction and compare laws with voluntary and binding agreements (see e.g., Ostrom, 1990). We additionally look at the mechanisms of social interaction, that is, from top-down state-led mechanisms towards interactive deliberative decision-making, and bottom-up negotiations (see e.g., Hanf & Scharpf, 1987).

For the policy processes, initiatives are located at different governance levels. In the context of the textile industry, we can distinguish between initiatives from the national sustainability strategy, the European strategy and the international focus on specific sectoral risks, including internationally recognised agendas and codes or guidelines that shape the governance landscape. We further examine the initiating actors of initiatives (see e.g., Kickert et al., 1997), because this already provides us with first assumptions about the position of stakeholders in respective initiatives. In considering stakeholder position, we distinguish autonomy, involvement and equal roles of all participants (see e.g., Driessen et al., 2001), based on the roles of actors and their influence in decision-making. Additionally, we distinguish the instruments of governance, such as laws, contracts, incentive-based instruments, negotiations and voluntary arrangements (see e.g., Richards, 2000), and differentiating the policy-science interface from integrating expert

knowledge, issue- and time-specific knowledge, transdisciplinarity and expert and lay citizen knowledge (see e.g., Bäckstrand, 2003).

We can then further distinguish the sustainability objectives of governance initiatives (policy content) by differentiating between social, environmental, economic and more holistic sustainability targets. Together with the actor constellation and the governance levels, it provides us with a clearer picture of the different modes of collaborative governance in the field. This provides us with a general overview of the landscape and initial assumptions about the structures, processes and content of the respective initiatives (Lange et al., 2013; see Appendix A (Table A1) for a full list of identified governance initiatives including a brief description and its mode).

In the second dimension of our framework, we focus on the social interactions of governance actors within and between initiatives (objective 2). In looking at social interactions, we focus primarily on the micro level of interactions and examine the interactions of individual governance actors, which, however, have implications for the meso and macro levels, that is, implications for the German textile industry level (meso) and the international global industry level (macro).

To understand social interactions, we examine the perception of interactions between actors and their quality. Social behaviour and forms of exchange are indicators that show connections between individuals as representatives of organisations and thus initiatives. We distinguish between representatives of the state, market and civil society as indices of heterogeneous worldviews and opinions, while noting that they are not direct proxies for diversity of worldviews (Cuppen et al., 2010); thus we consider background information on the actors involved. We draw on exemplary cases and experiences of individuals and distinguish perceptions of four types of interaction (competition, coordination, co-optation and chaos) (Eberlein et al., 2014, p. 11); while competition stands for competitive interactions in the governance process (see e.g., Bernstein & Hannah, 2008), coordination means conscious and purposeful cooperation. Here, dual memberships between initiatives create intention for coordination (Haufler, 2012) but also hierarchical arrangements (Aggerwal, 1998). Co-optation refers to repressive action by individual actors (Koppell, 2010), and chaos to unpredictable, undirected interactions. The forms of interaction help us better understand how actors navigate the complex governance landscape and whether cooperation results in collaborative action or comes with challenges.

3 | METHODOLOGY

3.1 | Case – The German Textiles Partnership and related institutions

The Textiles Partnership is an established multi-stakeholder initiative consisting of seven stakeholder groups (state, companies, industry associations, non-governmental organisations, trade unions, standards organisations, advisory members). After 6 years of existence, and as a flagship project of the German government, in 2021 it consists of over 130 member organisations and aims to support economic actors on a

voluntary basis to address their sectoral risks and contribute to a sustainability transformation through joint projects and learning (Textiles Partnership, 2017). So far, however, organisations with less than 50% of the turnover of the German textile and clothing industry participate in the partnership (Textiles Partnership, 2018).

The partnership has formed numerous collaborations and strategic alliances with other initiatives, and is an example of individual commitment and multi-mode governance. For example, it has committed to the UN Due Diligence Guidance, that contributes to how countries and companies perceive and fulfil their human rights obligations (United Nations, 2011). It is part of a broader government textile strategy in response to the UN Guiding Principles with the publication and monitoring of the National Action Plan on Business and Human Rights (NAP) from 2018 to 2020, the Green Button as a government-led textile label for social and environmental standards (BMZ, 2019), and the Due Diligence Act adopted in 2021. It has also developed formal and informal partnerships with many other privately organised initiatives that address specific sectoral risks, such as, Action Collaboration Transformation, which aims to improve wages in producing countries through “industry-level collective bargaining” and joint action of retailers and trade unions (Textiles Partnership, 2019).

3.2 | Materials & methods

We initially drew on two data sources for this research. First, we examined 22 qualitative, semi-structured interviews with heterogeneous Textiles Partnership members from all stakeholder groups (see Table 2.), originally conducted for a previous research project. Here, participants were asked to share perceptions on their goals and engagement in the partnership, their interaction with other members and space created for social learning. Many participants reported that they collaborate with other initiatives to address sector risks and that collaboration is shaped by individual actors, but that they also feel constrained in their actions by competing governance initiatives. We used these transcripts as a starting point to frame our research question for this current paper, and the research reported in this paper follows these leads and builds on them. We therefore supplemented transcripts with website information from the Textiles Partnership and added policy reports to our dataset to create a better understanding of the governance landscape (see Appendix B (Table B1) for a full list of the reports consulted in this research). Reports were selected based on two criteria: (1) the content had to be specifically related to the Textiles Partnership (e.g., government reports, annual reports), and (2) they were mentioned in the interviews or referenced on the website of the partnership (e.g., international guides, press releases).

Analysis of these data sources was via iterative coding of transcripts and reports. We used the MAXQDA software (VERBI Software, 2019; see Appendix C (Table C1) for coding scheme for all data sources). To understand modes of governance (objective 1), we performed content analysis to identify initiatives that were referred to by participants and reports. These were listed and then categorised into

TABLE 2 Interviewee list and focus group discussion separated by the different groups of actors

Stakeholder	Interview transcripts	Focus group discussion
State	2	1
Company	5	—
Association	2	1
NGO	6	2
Union	1	—
Standards organisation	2, 1 written response	1
Advisory member	3	—

the five modes based on the constellation of actors and the different indicator types of polity, politics and policy. We then used five explanatory cases, one for each mode, to obtain more depth and quality in our analysis. We select examples of initiatives based on relevance in relation to our case, the Textiles Partnership, and recurring description by participants. Then, using these explanatory cases, we focussed on the roles of individuals and social interaction (objective 2). We primarily used the qualitative interviews to better understand which actors from the Textiles Partnership played which role in collaborative governance.

Following the emergence of initial results, we conducted a focus group discussion with stakeholders from the Textiles Partnership to verify and deepen our understanding. A purposive sampling strategy was used to select respondents to ensure representatives from the governance triad of state, market and civil society (see Table 2.). In the January 2021 session, which was held online due to the COVID-19 pandemic, there were three rounds based on the sub-research questions and objectives. For each of these rounds, we gave a brief input before the different participants could discuss and share insights. In the first round, participants were asked to validate and add to the identified governance initiatives related to the Textiles Partnership (objective 1). In the second round, stakeholders were asked to describe their experiences and concrete examples of drivers and barriers within different governance initiatives (objective 1 & 2). In the third round, participants were able to discuss the impact and forms of individual engagement and collaboration in the complex governance landscape (objective 2). The session was then transcribed and added to the dataset to be analysed using the same coding scheme (Appendix D, Table D1).

4 | RESULTS: GERMAN TEXTILES & CLOTHING GOVERNANCE

4.1 | Governance modes

The governance landscape relating to the Textiles Partnership is diverse, consisting of a multitude of collaborative governance

initiatives (we identified 31 in total) with varying actor constellations, different sustainability goals, and positioned at different political levels (see Figure 1). In the inner circle, the German sustainability strategy is illustrated, and different governance modes appear that are related to the Textiles Partnership, such as the national due diligence law or the Green Button.¹ In addition, the Textiles Partnership has entered into nine formal and eight rather informal collaborations, visualised in the middle circle, ranging from multi-actor partnerships such as the Agreement on Sustainable Garments and Textiles from the Netherlands, to issue-specific self-governance agreements such as Zero Discharge for Hazardous Chemicals. The content of these partnerships differs, between cross-thematic partnerships that address issues “such as promoting the due diligence approach at EU level, aligning standards and mutually recognising each other's efforts. Partnerships on specific topics deepen dialogue on issues such as living wages, grievance mechanisms, the use of chemicals and fibres” (Textiles Partnership, 2020, p. 12). For example, in the latter, members jointly coordinate the development of training materials and other support services on chemicals management. The eight informal collaborations mentioned by participants or featured in reports are project oriented, such as the Global Living Wage Coalition, which is working with members of the Textile Partnership to address the sectoral living wage risk. According to the Partnership, “[t]hese partnerships have two overarching objectives: on

the one hand, they are designed to support Partnership members in pursuing the Partnership's goals and thereby increase its impact in producing countries. On the other hand, they have the aim of aligning sustainability requirements for companies in the textile sector” (Textiles Partnership, 2020, p. 12). In addition, in the outer circle, there are 10 international standards and codes that create the internationally agreed guidelines of the industry, most notably the OECD Due Diligence Guidance (OECD, 2017), which adapted the UN Guiding Principles on Business and Human Rights (United Nations, 2011) to the sector.

We found three decentralised governance initiatives such as the EU Due Diligence Act. (Table 3, column 1). It aims to lead to standardisation by a unifying authority. In January 2021, the EU Legal Affairs Committee voted in favour of a supply chain law that was confirmed by the EU Commission on the 10th of March. Similar to national due diligence acts, a legally binding law will then apply to all companies in Europe. Especially in the European context of converging markets, unilateral governance is questionable and requires a common approach for change. The current formulation of the unfinished draft differs significantly from the German Supply Chain Act, as it considers the entire supply chain regardless of the size of the company, includes civil and possibly criminal liability, and has a broader understanding of due diligence that also includes environmental aspects such as climate, deforestation and loss of biodiversity.

Governance landscape related to the Textiles Partnership

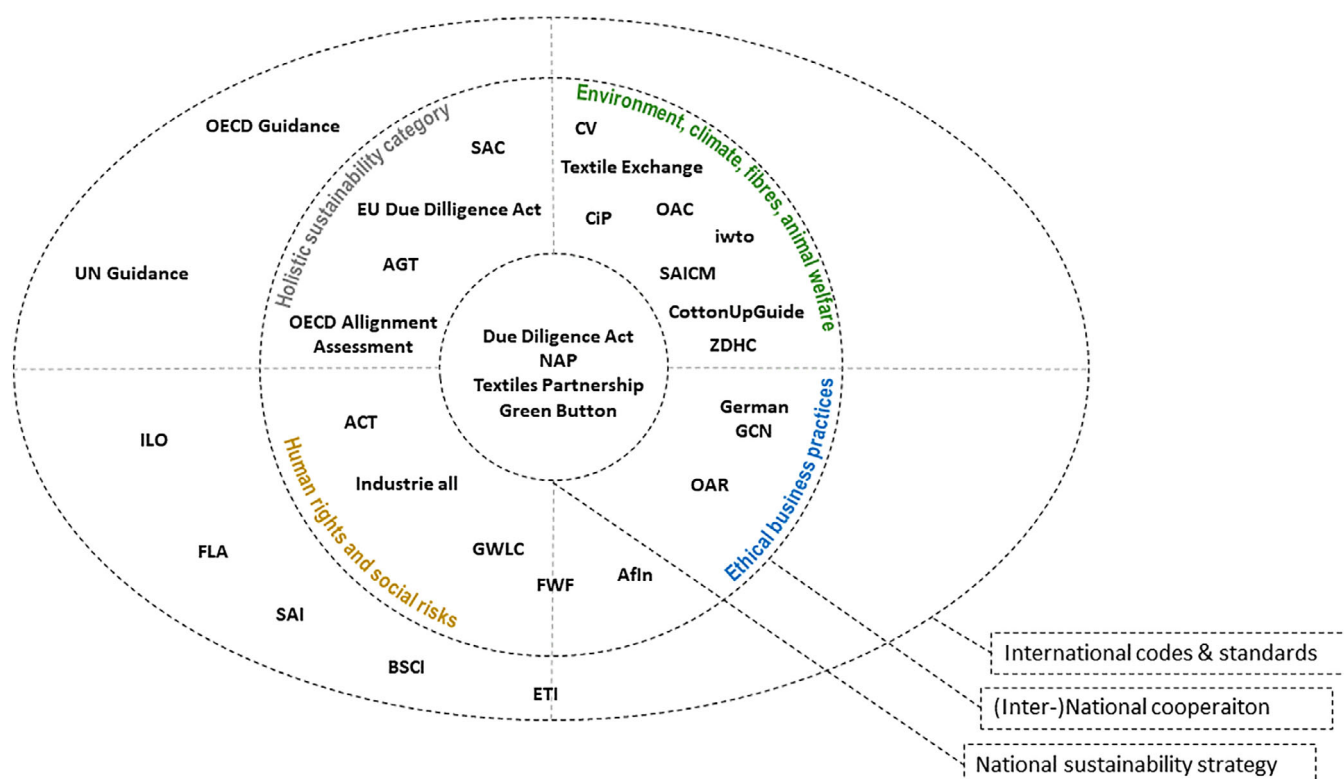
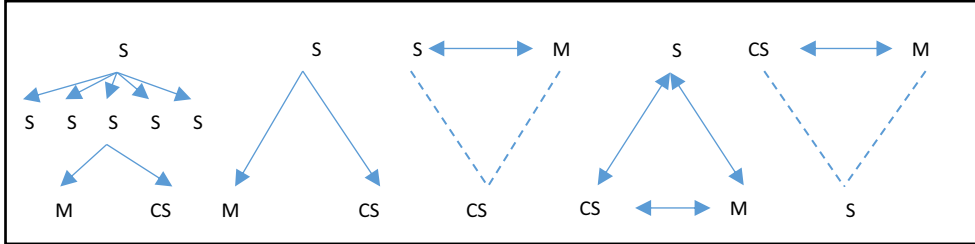


FIGURE 1 Wide variety of governance initiatives related to the textiles Partnership first by the German sustainability strategy in the inner circle, (inter-)national cooperation in the middle circle and international standards, guidelines and codes in the outermost circle, distinguishing social sustainability risks in yellow, economic sustainability risks in blue, environmental sustainability risks in green and a mixed category in grey. Appendix A (Table A1) lists all initiatives with brief descriptions and abbreviations

TABLE 3 Exemplary cases of governance modes in the German textile industry, differentiated according to Driessen et al. (2012) and adapted by authors through five different governance modes on the horizontal axes and structures (polity); processes (politics) and contents (policy) on the vertical axes ➡; dominant role ➡; equivalent role - - - -; background role

Column no.	1	2	3	4	5	
German textile industry	EU – Due Diligence Act	German – Due Diligence Act	Green Button	Textiles Partnership	Action Collaboration Transformation	
Key features (modes)	Decentralised governance	Centralised governance	Public–Private governance	Interactive governance	Self-governance	
Driessen et al./authors						
Polity	Actor constellation Model of representation Rules of interaction Mechanisms of social interaction	European Parliament Corporatist (supra) national election EU Law – formal rules National governments decide autonomously	State Corporatist, national election Law – formal rules Top down; command & control	State, Market, Independent monitors Corporatist (informal) Voluntary, incentive based State sets standards, private actors decide voluntarily	Seven stakeholder groups (State, Market, Civil Society) Partnership institution Binding roadmaps, voluntary commitment Deliberative negotiations – steering committee main-decision making	Market, Civil Society Partnership (private-private) Voluntary, self-crafted organisation. Bottom-up, deliberations & negotiations
Politics	Policy level Initiating actor Stakeholder position	Supranational European commission Nat. gov. lobbying	National Central gov't agencies (BMAS& BMZ) Nat. gov. agencies & lobbying	National Central gov't agencies (BMZ) State sets criteria, industry volunteers	(Inter-)National Central gov't agencies (BMZ) Equal roles for all 7 stakeholder groups	International Companies & unions – ACT Self-crafted organisation
Policy	Sustainability objectives and targets Instruments Policy integration Policy-science interface	Monitoring of respect for human & environmental rights (holistic) EU-Legislation, under dev. & approval EU Strategy Primacy of generic, expert knowledge	Monitoring of respect for human rights (risk specific) Legislation, under dev. & approval National strategy Primacy of generic, expert knowledge	Improve accessibility of sustainable textiles to customers (holistic) Compliance (26 soc. & ecol. + 20 corporate criteria), independent inspectors National strategy, Sectorial – textile specific Expert and lay knowledge, independent advisory board	Improve supply chains (holistic view) Roadmaps – negotiated agreements National strategy, Sectorial – textile specific Expert and lay knowledge (7 stakeholder groups)	Achieve living wages (risk specific) Collective bargaining Sectorial – textile specific Expert and lay knowledge (companies & unions)

Abbreviations: CS, civil society; M, market; s, decentralised state; S, central state.

We classified seven private and public centralised governance modes. The former relate to international private standards and codes. The latter represent the National Action Plan on Business and Human Rights (NAP) monitoring process and the subsequent first draft of the

National Due Diligence Act (see Table 3, column 2). The NAP-monitoring process carried out by the state reviewed the extent to which German companies comply with their due diligence as set out in the National Action Plan on Business and Human Rights (NAP).²



The monitoring-process was carried out under scientific standards between 2018 and 2020. Following publication in 2020 (Federal Foreign Office, 2020), it became apparent that targets were not met, because 50% of companies did not implement sufficient due diligence requirements (Federal Foreign Office, 2020), whereupon the government prepared a first draft for a Due Diligence Act to be implemented in the legislative period until 2021. Following other European countries such as the Netherlands, Great Britain and France, a law is intended to ensure that German companies can be held legally responsible in the event of non-compliance with human rights standards by their suppliers in producing countries (Klinger et al., 2016). From 2023, companies with 3000, and from 2024, companies with 1000 employees based in Germany will be affected. The core is the introduction of a risk management system. Companies face fines and exclusion from public procurement procedures, but cannot be held liable under civil law. In terms of content, the law refers primarily to human rights due diligence, whereby environmental concerns are included if environmental concerns lead to human rights violations. Concluding, it refers to a graduated understanding of responsibility, as the focus is on the company's own business areas, that is, the direct suppliers, and does not consider the entire supply chain.

There is one initiative that we classified as public-private mode. The Green Button, which was initiated by the German Government (Table 3, column 3). It was introduced in a trial phase between 2019 and 2021, and serves as a state-led meta-label in the German textile sector (BMZ, 2019c; Table 3, row 4). It aims to unravel the labyrinth of various private sustainability labels and “[...] covers the consumer side, to increase demand for sustainable textiles, because [...] consumers are not properly informed” (Focus group discussion (FGD), State 01). Currently, the product label has 26 social and environmental requirements and 20 additional corporate criteria, thus it covers social, ecological and economic concerns. As a public-private mode, it engages industry stakeholders and independent auditors in development and implementation through feedback mechanisms to incorporate expert knowledge (BMZ, 2019c). This is confirmed by a standard organisation representative arguing that: “[...] we have to develop the Green Button this year so that it is useful, [...] as a real benefit to consumers and also remains applicable for companies. And the entire design has to meet the highest possible standards, so that there is also something for the workers at the bottom and it is not just a sign [...] for consumers, but that also really creates added value in the supply chain” (FGD, Standard organisation 01). It remains to be seen how the label will develop after the trial phase and whether it can become a recognised meta-label for the industry, but economic and governmental as well as independent monitors are in close exchange, with the decision-making power remaining with the state. NGOs can only influence indirectly through their evaluation.

There are five initiatives identified as an interactive governance mode. The key example is that of the Textiles Partnership consisting of seven stakeholder groups who deliberately seek joint solutions (Table 3, column 4). Approximately 130 organisations are represented, ranging from representatives of ministries (state), business and

industry associations (market), to NGOs, trade unions, standardisation organisations and advisory members (civil society). Decisions are deliberatively negotiated in sector-specific expert groups and passed on to the elected steering committee, which is the main executive decision-making body (Textiles Partnership, 2018). In terms of content, the Textiles Partnership pursues the relatively broad goal of “significantly improving working and environmental conditions in the value chains of the textile and clothing sector” (Textiles Partnership, 2020, p. 2), and thus addresses the totality of sustainability challenges. The baseline represents alignment with the UN Guiding Principles for Business and Human Rights (United Nations, 2011), the OECD Due Diligence Guidance (OECD, 2017), and a veritable conglomerate of other standards and codes reflecting various industry-specific risks³ (Textiles Partnership, 2016). The partnership aims to provide guidance to their members through three pillars: individual responsibility, joint commitment, and mutual support. The first pillar, in particular, is intended to make the sustainability successes of members visible. To this end, the platform acts as a monitoring authority through annual roadmaps, which are now binding for all members (Textiles Partnership, 2018). In addition, projects in multi-stakeholder constellations are implemented in the second pillar to bring about change on the ground. However, there are currently only three projects with few participants from the partnership. Thus, it remains to be questioned, what effects the partnership really has, as described by an NGO representative: “I think the interest of civil society in particular [...] is often seen in the fact that the partnership could bundle interests and leverage to tackle problems in the supply chain more effectively [...]. Nevertheless, this is precisely where the partnership still needs to improve” (FGD, NGO 01).

Finally, modes of self-governance initiated by civil society and the private sector, alone or in partnerships, have evolved to address sectoral risks, and we identified 15. Initiatives either exploit market power of industry actors or use campaigning skills to raise awareness among consumers. A good example is Action, Collaboration, Transformation (ACT)⁴ (Table 3, column 5). ACT is a partnership that brings together major retailers, global brands and unions to organise collective bargaining at the industry level to achieve living wages for workers. Here, civil society and major multi-national businesses are working closely together to put pressure on the industry and the governments of producer countries, with great potential for change at market level described by an association representative: “The best example is the question of Living Wages. [...] The only practicable instrument, and I have been working intensively on this for almost six years now, is collective bargaining. We are now on the right track [with ACT]. And even that is not easy, because it presupposes that you have something like free trade unions, free employers' associations, it is free of state intervention, in other words everything that we [in western countries] have fought for in a good 200 years, or 150 years. You can't impose that on any country from one day to the other.” (Interview transcript 08 (IT), Association 01). They use and merge the different strengths of the actors involved in order to jointly address certain industry risks on a voluntary basis and thus show that cooperation is also possible beyond the previous competition.

4.2 | Social interaction in collaborative governance

Engaged individuals from all stakeholder groups navigate the complex landscape through active participation and partnership building, but are also constrained by their capacities, political differences and different strategies of the respective modes of initiatives. This is partly due to the role that individuals play or can play in each initiative as representatives of their stakeholder group.

Civil society actors have changed their role in the complex landscape, moving away from pure activist campaigning towards targeted networking and solution-oriented coordination. NGOs, in particular, have long been engaged in highlighting grievances in global supply chains. In Germany, however, their engagement and the form of interaction with other governance actors have changed, also due to the interactive governance mode of the Textiles Partnership. In the past, customers were the focus of NGO campaigns to highlight human rights violations or environmental pollution in global supply chains to build pressure on industry through loss of legitimacy. These days, NGOs and trade unions are now building targeted partnerships with industry actors to jointly address sectoral risks. Solution-oriented paths are negotiated in consultation with heterogeneous actors within and outside the partnership. One example is ACT, with whom the partnership has formed collaborations to pool resources and tackle the problem together. The Textiles Partnership often forms collaborations through the work of the risk-specific expert groups and specifically with people using their own networks: *"It was very helpful that some of the members of the Textiles Partnership joined another broader initiative. It's called Act, which basically said, [...], the best wage is the one that is collectively bargained, above which you can basically go beyond what is paid in statutory minimum wages in many countries. [...]"* (Interview (IT) 16, Union 01). An NGO representative agrees, that a major benefit of the partnership is to make use of the individual networks and experiences: *"I believe that this point of cooperation between the partnership and other initiatives [is] to make use of learning experiences that have already been made in good selected international initiatives by individual companies and to carry these out more broadly in the partnership"* (FGD, NGO 02).

Such network building and bridging requires individual commitment and meticulous work, sometimes hampered by capacity constraints. Individuals build formal and informal connections to other representatives, prepare knowledge through aggregates and share expertise, but also negotiate and continuously bring in their critical perspective. Active NGO representatives seek exchange with industry representatives, rather in the role of an advisor exemplified by the statement of a representative: *"[...]we have to see it more as a learning platform for companies and where we, as civil society, are of course happy to support and also want to help drive the process forward"* (FGD, NGO01).

The shift in role from activist to networker, leading to debate about whether civil society should remain part of the Textiles Partnership or whether pulling out of the multi-stakeholder initiative creates a better outcome by sending a signal towards state-led legislation. This is explained by a standards representative: *"I think many NGOs*

feel similarly, away from "we campaign" to [...] "yes, we also advise and then it becomes more difficult to campaign", [...] It remains to be evaluated, however, whether this will be more effective through a collaborative approach for NGOs, i.e. also for standard organisations, as well as for companies" (FGD, Standards organisation 01). However, empirical evidence shows that committed civil society representatives are very active in the Textiles Partnership and contribute their expertise in the interactive governance mode, thus influencing proceedings. In public-private modes, such as the Green Button, they are not formally involved and can only indirectly influence what happens through critical assessments and publications. An NGO representative describes: *"[In our assessment of the Green Button reports, there was] far too little monitoring; we also saw that with the Textile Partnership, [...] that is the lack of logic and coherence between a risk analysis and measures. [...] and the interesting thing is of course the parallelism. I think we can learn a lot from each other"* (FGD, NGO 01). The different constellations thus create an influence on co-determination and the question arises to what extent this is reflected in the design of such initiatives.

Industry representatives who have to implement the requirements and codes in their daily practice, compete with each other, but also seek coordination beyond stakeholder boundaries. Competitors in global markets need to adapt daily practices to meet due diligence requirements. There is a demand that standards and norms that apply to companies in Germany are also secured across company and country borders with suppliers and producers. Currently, this is based on voluntary self-commitments, so that the efforts of companies are seen as an additional effort. The company representatives are therefore in favour of harmonising the codes between the initiatives in order to avoid duplication in reporting and to reduce the individual efforts: *"I think the keyword "harmonisation" is particularly important for us from an economic point of view. [...] the question we [associations] get asked again and again [by companies] is, to what extent does my involvement in the Textiles Partnership play a role for the Green Button and vice versa? [...] why is it not possible to find a recognition system, [...] for the members, in terms of reporting obligations?"* (FGD, Association 01). Non-complementary governance initiatives with different objectives and governance structures thus create barriers for companies to participate due to multiple reporting requirements highlighted by an industry association representative: *"And they really have to be careful, especially with regard to a coming due diligence law, that they don't break this self-commitment of companies, that they can prove added value [in the Textiles Partnership], because [...] we all know that we can only spend our resources once, so you have to ask yourself why [companies] should still participate if [the initiatives] don't interact or build on each other in a meaningful way."* (FGD, Association 01).

The experience of industry representatives is not universal, and a distinction has to be made between more ambitious and more conservative market actors for whom implementation means different efforts. As one state representative puts it: *"Of course we have actors, also companies that partly do not participate, but companies that are very, very committed"* (FGD, State 01). This is another reason why more and more industry representatives are now calling for government regulation, that is, a supply chain law, to create a level playing

field for all. This discourse has also emerged through the intense interaction between stakeholder boundaries with other actors. By participating in the Textiles Partnership, entrepreneurs can show what is feasible so that they can contribute their sector-specific expertise and also use market networks to establish contacts with producing companies. At the same time, the Textiles Partnership serves an added value for the companies, as one company representative explains that all information about the successful implementation of the NAP monitoring process is prepared by the partnership for the companies: “[s]o, if I as a company want to know [...], what are my reporter obligations, what problems do I have [in the supply chain], do I want to prepare myself for the NAP monitoring process? [...], then you can sit back in your armchair if you are a member of the partnership because you get all the information. We are so well organised now in the members' area where webinars are offered on all kinds of topics” (IT 03, Company 01).

NGO representatives agree and argue that participation in the MSI offers great learning potential for market actors through meaningful exchange: “[...] through the Textiles Partnership, many can actually learn how to make their own supply chain more resilient. And that is in the self-interest of all companies, because otherwise they would probably not be able to survive” (FGD, NGO 01). The partnership thus serves as a complementary tool to the NAP and the subsequent Supply Chain Act, where all due diligence information is deliberately discussed, defined and prepared by and for its members.

State actors aim for complementary solutions through coordination, but are increasingly challenged by growing demands for state regulation and legislative action on global markets. Representatives express their role as follows: “I believe that as the federal government we are there to first create the framework conditions for such an exchange, the political and the legal framework with a Due Diligence Act, and also to promote the discussion between the actors and to bring them together and, as I said, to find a compromise in this area” (FGD, State 01). As market and civil society actors have claimed co-determination in regulatory and governance processes in recent years, state actors play rather mediating, moderating and facilitating roles in more institutional or partnership arrangements of governance. They create the space for exchange between the different actors and can thus also exert political pressure. On the one hand, there is a growing discourse for state-led legislation on global markets, so they want to fulfil their role in centralised modes of governance as well. Here, a state representative illustrates that the first drafting of a law is difficult in an international context and that content specifics are currently addressed through private initiatives: “we are currently working on the Due Diligence Act [...] to create a binding state regulation, which, if we were to work specifically on the issue of living wages, for example, would set a kind of minimum standard for generally applicable requirements for actors, to create a level playing field. Whereby, of course, concrete technical details have not yet been elaborated, [...] which is why this is currently being supplemented by initiatives such as the Textiles Partnership. [...] that's what a law can do at this point, give a framework, [...], but the elaboration, [...], has to lie with the initiatives” (FGD, State 01).

In the German political context, there are national inter-ministerial conflicts and negotiation processes that are expressed in

the formulation of laws. Coordination and political competition between ministries are particularly relevant for more central governance initiatives. The question remains to what extent national initiatives work in global markets. Therefore, there is a growing dialogue with governments beyond national borders, so that European-wide approaches are increasingly sought. One example is the Due Diligence Act, which is to be implemented even more strictly in Europe. However, it is still recognised that the expertise of civil society and business representatives needs to be strongly incorporated through the interaction of multiple governance initiatives.

5 | DISCUSSION

Our results indicate that the diversity of private governance initiatives emerging over recent years result in an overly complex governance landscape that actors struggle to navigate. Individuals and their interaction are crucial for creating cooperation between governance initiatives and for carrying out processes of negotiation but they are pushed to their capacity limits by the multitude of tasks and initiatives. In addition, all those initiatives are never agreed and concluded, but are subject to constant change and negotiation, so that the actors involved are never necessarily regulated and can rely on this lack of ambiguity. Although interactions have changed strongly towards coordination rather than competition through the work of the Textiles Partnership, the individual efforts of all stakeholder groups are influenced by competing modes of governance with different underlying goals initiated by differing stakeholders. Here, various actors have opportunities for political influence, which, however, also leads to a general lack of understanding of what is to be achieved. The benefits of alignment and harmonisation are highlighted by our respondents, but only if leading to better visibility of objectives for all stakeholders and can be defined and achieved through collaborative action.

The large variety of governance modes that have emerged in our case, reflect the diversity of sustainability challenges when it comes to human rights violations, environmental impacts and unethical business practices in complex international markets (Beyers & Heinrichs, 2020). This is linked to the fact that since the 1990s, more and more non-state actors have become involved in the state regulatory process (Rose & Miller, 1992). It reflects and is confirmed by our study that state actors have recently increasingly turned to multi-stakeholder initiatives and other more collaborative modes to address the challenges of market transformation together with civil society and business. What seems to be forgotten, however, are the benefits of state regulation that is democratically justified and formally backed by law to be implemented and properly monitored. Although state actors argue that they need lay and expert knowledge because global markets have become too complex (Swyngedouw, 2005), we need to accept that alternative governance arrangements do not function holistically, because then we can begin to affirm the need for effective government policy. This realisation is slowly gaining ground as, for example, there is a growing consensus among actors that there is a need for state-led regulation on global markets. In our research, civil society

and industry actors repeatedly argue that private governance mechanisms can only play a complementary role to public regulation, yet without that public regulation, much undue responsibility is placed on industry actors and civil society. Indeed, this extension of the private sector and civil society into gaps left by state withdrawal is framing collaborative governance as an extension of neoliberalism (see also Blanco, 2015). We, and indeed our participants from within the sector, argue for, new efforts of strict, cross-border legal laws need to be established at national and international level to meet challenges of sustainability in global markets. Here, there is a need for global agendas for states to create harmonised international regulations. These should be continuously informed by non-state actors, so that sufficient space for exchange and constructive conflict must continue to be created, but there should not be expectation that these actors assume a role as pseudo-government. These finding are in line with increasing loud voices from non-state actors in Europe now, calling for legal requirements to be enforced by national legislators, because private governance efforts are failing to bring about this change in complex global markets and ensure a level playing field. The question arises whether, after the emergence of countless private forms of governance over decades, and the resulting complexity for and burden on the actors involved, a new phase is now arising in which state intervention and international cooperation once again play a stronger role.

Our case study suggests that this path may have been paved by the interactive mode of such multi-stakeholder initiatives involving all stakeholder groups (such as the Textiles Partnership), in which a form of cooperation and appreciation developed between former competitors despite competing perspectives. The intensive work of the interactive Textiles Partnership has significantly changed the interaction between NGOs and business representatives from a culture of campaigning, that is, blaming and shaming, on the part of NGOs to cooperation and joint interaction. Today, engaged NGOs and trade unions prepare information and share knowledge, almost as advisory services, on how companies can address and overcome challenges in the industry to meet certain standards and promote change. The discourse among civil society on the strict withdrawal from such initiatives as a strong signal is not ending, whereby the opportunity to shape the content is then lost. Some company representatives act as advocates for sustainability and, together with NGOs and trade unions, build pressure on the market in producing countries. And finally, the state is involved in or creates these private initiatives and spaces of exchange by working to establish the framework conditions through national and international legislation.

Despite the role of the state in creating spaces of exchange, if collaborative governance is to be a pathway to sustainability transformation in this sector, the state also needs to respond to the outcomes of collaborative governance, that is, the need for greater state regulation. In our case study, actors are committed to working towards sustainability, and are asking for state engagement to create conditions for outcomes, and not just further talking and collaboration. They are looking for deeper change within formal policy systems and laws to shape the space they are collaborating within. The key question to ask is therefore “what next?.” Topics of the formal governmental policy process therefore come

into play, in exploring how the outcomes of collaborative governance make their way into the policy sphere, what impact they have, what policies result, and on which level of governance. Given this call for greater state engagement, deeper critical attention should also be paid to the extent to which such partnerships serve to replace the role of state in regulating the textile system, and the democratic legitimacy reflected therein. We must stop putting our faith in collaborative governance without paying critical attention to its relationships and interactions with state structures. We therefore look forward to studies that engage with the future of collaborative governance, considering deeper explorations of power, lobbying and influence dynamics in collaborative governance within the broader governance landscape.

6 | CONCLUSION

This empirical study serves to gain insights into how actors navigate complex governance landscapes in a collaborative governance arrangement. It draws on a case study of the German Textiles Partnership, and embedded it within the broader textiles governance landscape. We find that the number of individual governance initiatives have proliferated and take multiple modes, requiring actors to take multiple (sometimes conflicting or uncomfortable) roles. At the same time, collaborative governance is increasingly dependent on the participation and social interaction of governance actors who shape collaboration but reach the limits of their capacity because they are entangled in the complexity. Thus, there is a growing call away from voluntary engagement towards public regulation and legislation, as both the effectiveness and efficiency of private governance initiatives are currently being questioned. These can only complement state-led legal frameworks by bringing in participatory expert knowledge from non-state actors. We therefore find that the potential for this collaborative governance arrangement to create a sustainability transformation of the German textiles system is limited by a need for strong state regulation. Similarly to other sectors, we argue that coordination of interactions must be sought at the international or at least European level, as the sector crosses borders, and that policies must be shaped and complemented by favourable structures and processes for engaged governance actors through targeted collaboration pathways. Our study shows that the ever-increasing complexity of collaborative governance will not itself lead to sustainability transformations. Rather, a stronger role is needed for state regulation. We recommend, therefore, that future work follows the continued evolution of collaborative governance mechanisms, such as the Textiles Partnership, to critically explore their role (and the democratic and sustainability implications therein) in shaping state responses and regulation for sustainability.

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CONFLICT OF INTEREST

The authors declare that they have no known competing financial interests or personal relationships that could have appeared to influence the work reported in this paper.

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ENDNOTES

- ¹ The Green Button (in German “Grüner Knopf”) is a certification scheme developed by the German government in 2019 that serves as a meta-label with social, ecological and company criteria.
- ² NAP based on the UN Guiding Principles for Business and Human Rights - On this basis, the German government has also developed the NAP, which was adopted by the Federal Cabinet on 21 December 2016 (Materialie295_textilbuendnis, p. 35: 136), and is based on the coalition agreement which states “If the effective and comprehensive review of the NAP 2020 concludes that the voluntary commitment of companies is not sufficient, we will take national legislative measures and advocate EU-wide regulation” (CDU, CSU, and SPD, 2018, p. 156). In August 2020, BAMS and BMZ published a first version of the German Due Diligence Act and with the German EU Council Presidency since autumn 2020, an EU Due Diligence Act is also on the way.
- ³ That is, Better Cotton Initiative (BCI), Business Social Compliance Initiative (BSCI), Cotton made in Africa (CmiA), Ethical Trading Initiative (ETI), Fair Labour Association (FLA), Fairtrade, Fair Wear Foundation (FWF), Global Organic Textile Standard (GOTS), Global Social Compliance Programme (GSCP), Social Accountability International (SAI) (Textiles Partnership, 2016).
- ⁴ Action Transformation Collaboration - <https://actonlivingwages.com/>.

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APPENDIX A

TABLE A1 Governance initiatives related to the Partnership for Sustainable Textiles. The descriptions were taken from the respective websites and adapted accordingly

No.	Name of initiative	Brief description	Mode
1	Partnership for Sustainable Textiles (Textiles Partnership)	German multi-stakeholder initiative initiated by the German government to find joint solutions to improve conditions in global textile production – all the way from raw material extraction to disposal. This is done both through joint projects on the ground and through the exercise of individual responsibility by each member and encompasses diverse fields of action and issues (adapted and retrieved from https://www.textilbuendnis.com/).	Interactive
2	National Action Plan Monitoring (NAP)	The monitoring process of the National Action Plan for Business and Human Rights (NAP) was initiated by the Federal Government and observes from 2018 to 2020 the extent to which German-based companies with more than 500 employees are complying with their due diligence obligations arising from the NAP (adapted and retrieved from https://www.auswaertiges-amt.de/de/aussenpolitik/themen/aussenwirtschaft/wirtschaft-und-menschenrechte/monitoring-nap/2124010).	Centralised
3	National Due Diligence ACT	The Federal Cabinet has approved the draft of a “Corporate Due Diligence in the Supply Chain Act 2021.” The so-called Due Diligence Act creates legal clarity for business and strengthens companies' compliance with human rights: Through the law, companies based in Germany above a certain size will be obliged to better fulfil their responsibility in the supply chain with regard to respect for internationally recognised human rights by carrying out human rights due diligence (adapted and retrieved from https://www.bmas.de/DE/Service/Presse/Pressemitteilungen/2021/bundeskabinett-verabschiedet-sorgfaltspflichtengesetz.html).	Centralised
4	EU Due Diligence Act	The EU intends to legislate on corporate due diligence through a due diligence law to improve working conditions and environmental standards in supply chains. As voluntary corporate due diligence has not gained acceptance, the Commission wants to establish a law in 2021 to ensure that global companies from Europe also take responsibility along their supply chains and at their production sites outside Europe. Once a European law is implemented, all member states must comply with it (adapted and retrieved from https://www.europarl.europa.eu/doceo/document/TA-9-2021-0073_EN.html).	De-centralised
5	Green Button	The Green Button is a government-led meta-label developed by the Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development in partnership with GIZ GmbH and implemented in a trial phase in 2019. The code of conduct specified for the use of the label is intended to ensure demanding ecological and social standards for textile goods placed on the German market (adapted and retrieved from https://www.bmz.de/de/entwicklungspolitik/gruener-knopf).	Public-private
6	Action, Collaboration, Transformation (ACT)	ACT (Action, Collaboration, Transformation) is a pioneering agreement between textile brands, retailers and trade unions to change the garment and textile industry and achieve living wages for workers through industry-wide collective bargaining connected to sourcing practices (adapted and retrieved from https://actonlivingwages.com/).	Self-governance
7	Agreement on Sustainable Garments and Textile (AGT)	Dutch multi-stakeholder initiative of companies and other organisations that signed an agreement on international good governance in the garment and textile industry with the aim of improving labour conditions, preventing environmental pollution and promoting animal welfare in the countries of production (adapted and retrieved from https://www.imvoconvenanten.nl/en/garments-textile).	Interactive
8	Collaboration for Sustainable Development of Viscose (CV)	The initiative provides a platform for viscose fibre manufacturers to achieve sustainable viscose and support their customers in meeting their sustainability commitments. It was established by 10 viscose fibre producers in collaboration with two trade associations. As part of this self-regulatory initiative, members will adopt a much required sustainability pathway for the viscose industry (http://www.cvroadmap.com/en.html).	Self-governance
9	Fair Wear Foundation (FWF)	The Fair Wear Foundation is an independently run, not-for-profit organisation that works to improve garment factory workers' conditions through four main activities: Brand Performance Audits, Factory Audits, Complaint helplines and Factory training (adapted and retrieved from https://www.fairwear.org/).	Self-governance
10	Open Apparel Registry (OAR)	The Open Apparel Registry (OAR) is a database of global apparel factories that is organised in an open-source manner, with affiliations and unique OAR IDs assigned to each factory (adapted and retrieved from https://info.openapparel.org/).	Self-governance

(Continues)

TABLE A1 (Continued)

No.	Name of initiative	Brief description	Mode
11	Organic Cotton Accelerator (OCA)	A multi-stakeholder organisation entirely dedicated to the organic cotton sector. The global platform works to achieve integrity, assurance of supply and measurable social and environmental impact on organic cotton (adapted and retrieved from https://www.organiccottonaccelerator.org/).	Interactive governance
12	Sustainable Apparel Coalition (SAC)	A multi-stakeholder initiative from the US whose goal is to transform the economy for exponential impact through pioneering tools, a collaborative partnership and trusted industry sustainability leadership. Bringing a global consumer goods industry that gives more than it takes – for the planet and its people – is their vision (adapted and retrieved from https://apparelcoalition.org/).	Interactive/self-governance
13	Strategic Approach To International Chemicals Management (SAICM)	SAICM was developed by a multi-stakeholder and multi-sector preparatory committee and assists in reaching the 2020 target agreed at the World Summit on Sustainable Development in Johannesburg in 2002. The SAICM's overall objective is to reach sound management of chemicals throughout their life cycle, so that by the year 2020 chemicals are produced and used, in ways that minimise any significant adverse impacts on the natural environment and human health (adapted and retrieved from saicm.org).	Self-governance
14	Textile Exchange	Textile Exchange is a global nonprofit organisation. Through a robust membership that represents leading brands, retailers and suppliers, the organisation is positively impacting the climate by accelerating the use of preferred materials in the textile industry globally (adapted and retrieved from https://textileexchange.org/).	Self-governance
15	Zero Discharge of Hazardous Chemicals (ZDHC)	Initially initiated by 6 brands after a Greenpeace campaign, the ZDHC today is an organisation that brings together 160 contributing organisations and companies to enable brands and retailers in the textile, apparel, and footwear industries to implement sustainable chemical management best practice across the value chain. Through collaborative engagement, standard setting, and implementation, we will advance towards zero discharge of hazardous chemicals (adapted and retrieved from https://www.roadmapzero.com/).	Self-governance
16	OECD – Alignment Assessment	The OECD Due Diligence Guidelines for Responsible Supply Chains in the Apparel and Footwear Sector are the benchmark, negotiated and supported by government, for due diligence by industry, multi-stakeholder and government-supported initiatives. To support a mutual understanding of due diligence while enabling mutual recognition of programmes, the OECD has started a voluntary process to evaluate the alignment of these initiatives with the OECD Guidelines. This process, called the OECD Alignment Assessment Process and is a voluntary one (adapted and retrieved from https://www.oecd.org/daf/inv/mne/alignment-assessment-garment-footwear.htm).	Centralised governance
17	IndustriAll	IndustriALL Global Union is representing 50 million workers in 140 countries in the mining, energy and manufacturing sectors and is a global solidarity force leading the fight for better working conditions and trade union rights around the world (adapted and retrieved from http://www.industrialunion.org/).	Self-governance
18	Global living wage coalition (GLWC)	The Global Living Wage Coalition (GLWC) is a coalition of Fairtrade International, the Rainforest Alliance and Social Accountability International (SAI) in association with ISEAL and international living wage experts Dr Richard Anker and Martha Anker. The GLWC meets with a shared mission to see continuous improvements in the wages of workers on farms, factories and supply chains taking part in their respective certification schemes and beyond, and with the ultimate long-term goal of ensuring that workers are paid a living wage (adapted and retrieved from https://www.globallivingwage.org/).	Self-governance
19	CottonUpGuide	CottonUP is a hands-on tool to inform and guide business leaders and sourcing teams on the issues, benefits and options for sourcing more sustainable cotton. The guide is part of Cotton 2040, a multi-stakeholder initiative to significantly increase the use of sustainable cotton internationally (adapted and retrieved from http://cottonupguide.org/).	Self-governance
20	International Wool Textile Organisation (iwto)	The International Wool Textile Organisation (IWTO) is the global standards authority for the wool textile industry. IWTO has represented the collective interests of the global wool trade since 1930. IWTO's 33 members are based in 23 countries across the world and represent all stages of the wool textile supply chain, from farm to retail. Through scientific research, wool textile education and knowledge sharing, the IWTO ensures a sustainable future for wool (adapted and retrieved from https://iwto.org/).	Self-governance

TABLE A1 (Continued)

No.	Name of initiative	Brief description	Mode
21	Chemicals in Products (CiP) Programme	The Chemicals in Products (CiP) programme is a worldwide initiative that seeks to manage chemicals in products in an attempt to ultimately reduce the risk posed by these chemicals to humans and the environment. Access to chemical-inproduct information is a necessary prerequisite to enable sound management of chemicals throughout the product life cycle and supply chain (adapted and retrieved from https://saicmknowledge.org/program/chemicals-products):	Self-governance
22	Fashion Industry Charter for Climate Action (UNFCCC)	Under the umbrella of the UN Climate Change Secretariat, stakeholders in the fashion industry worked throughout 2018 to identify ways in which the broader textile, apparel and fashion industry can move towards a holistic commitment to climate action. They created the Fashion Industry Charter for Climate Action, which sets out a vision to achieve net zero emissions by 2050. It was launched at COP24 in Katowice, Poland, in December 2018 (adapted and retrieved from https://unfccc.int/climate-action/sectoral-engagement/global-climate-action-in-fashion/about-the-fashion-industry-charter-for-climate-action).	Self-governance
23	The Alliance for Integrity (Afln)	The Alliance for Integrity (Afln) is a German business-led initiative involving organisations from the private sector, civil society and the international community to work together to reduce corruption risks in partner countries (adapted and retrieved from https://www.allianceforintegrity.org/de/).	Self-governance
24	German Global Compact Network (GCN)	The UN Global Compact is the world's leading and largest initiative for responsible corporate governance. The vision of the UN Global Compact is an Inclusive and sustainable global economy based on 10 universal principles – today and in the future. The Global Compact Germany supports companies and organisations in aligning their strategies and activities with the sustainability goals and vision of the UN Global Compact (adapted and retrieved from https://www.globalcompact.de/en/).	Self-governance
25	UN Guiding Principles on Business and Human Rights (UN Guidance)	The UN Guiding Principles on Business and Human Rights constitute a set of guidelines for states and companies to help prevent, address and remedy human rights abuses committed in the course of business activities. They have been proposed by the UN Special Representative on Business and Human Rights, John Ruggie, and endorsed by the UN Human Rights Council in June 2011. Under the same resolution, the UN Human Rights Council established the UN Working Group on Business and Human Rights (adapted and retrieved from https://www.business-humanrights.org/en/big-issues/un-guiding-principles-on-business-human-rights/).	Centralised governance
26	OECD – Due Diligence Guidance (OECD Guidance)	The OECD Due Diligence Guidance for Responsible Supply Chains in the Garment and Footwear Sector, adopted in 2017, sets out a shared understanding of due diligence in the sector to help brands and companies to meet the due diligence expectations set out in the OECD Guidelines for Multinational Enterprises (adapted and retrieved from https://www.oecd.org/industry/inv/mne/responsible-supply-chains-textile-garment-sector.htm).	Centralised governance
27	International Labour Organisation (ILO)	Since 1919, the ILO, the only tripartite UN agency, has been bringing together governments, employers and workers from 187 member states to establish labour standards, formulate policies and develop programmes to advance decent work for all women and men (https://www.ilo.org/global/lang-en/index.htm).	Interactive governance
28	Business Social Compliance Initiative (BSCI)	BSCI is an industry initiative open primarily to European, but also to international trading firms and associations. Through their voluntary membership, the participatings pursue the goal of improving compliance with workers' rights and raising social standards in the global value chain. The member organisations have committed themselves to a defined code of conduct, the compliance with which they have verified externally in regular audits (adapted and retrieved from https://www.amfori.org/content/amfori-bsci).	(Private) Centralised governance
29	Ethical Trading initiative (ETI)	The Ethical Trading Initiative (ETI) is a leading alliance of companies, trade unions and non-governmental organisations committed to upholding workers' rights around the globe. Its shared vision is a world in which all the workers are free from labour exploitation and abuse, and enjoy conditions of freedom, security and justice (adapted and retrieved from https://www.ethicaltrade.org/).	Self-governance
30	Fair Labour Association (FLA)	FLA is a multi-stakeholder initiative to improve the lives of workers. The initiative aligns universities, civil society organisations (CSOs) and companies – to identify sustainable solutions to work-related systemic problems (adapted and retrieved from fairlabor.org).	Self-governance

(Continues)

TABLE A1 (Continued)

No.	Name of initiative	Brief description	Mode
31	Social Accountability International (SAI)	Founded in 1997, Social Accountability International (SAI) is a global non-governmental organisation that promotes human rights to labour. SAI's vision is decent work anywhere – driven by the belief that socially responsible workplaces benefit the economy while ensuring basic human rights (adapted and retrieved https://sa-intl.org/).	(Private) Centralised governance

APPENDIX B

TABLE B1 Policy documents related to the textiles Partnership: Government reports, annual reports, international guides, press releases

Cat.	Nr.	Original title	English translation (title)	Author & date of publication	Reference
Principles	1	Leitprinzipien für Wirtschaft und Menschenrechte – Umsetzung des Rahmens der Vereinten Nationen “Schutz, Achtung und Abhilfe”	Guiding principles for business and human rights	United Nations, 2011	(United Nations, 2011)
	2	OECD-Leitfaden für die Erfüllung der Sorgfaltspflicht zur Förderung verantwortungsvoller Lieferketten in der Bekleidungs- und Schuhwarenindustrie	OECD Due Diligence Guidance for Responsible Supply Chains in the Garment and Footwear Sector	OECD, 2017	(OECD, 2017)
NAP	3	Nationaler Aktionsplan Umsetzung der VN-Leitprinzipien für Wirtschaft und Menschenrechte 2016–2020	National Action Plan: Implementation of the UN guiding principles for Business and human rights 2016–2020	Federal Gov't (Federal Foreign Office), 2017	(Federal Foreign Office, 2017)
	4	Final Report of the NAP Monitoring (2018–2020)	Final Report of the NAP Monitoring (2018–2020)	Federal Gov't (Federal Foreign Office), 2020	(Federal Foreign Office, 2020)
Textiles	5	Gute Arbeit weltweit	Good work worldwide	Federal Gov't (BMZ & BMAS), 2015	(BMAS & BMZ, 2015)
	6	Beitrag der Bundesregierung zur Förderung von nachhaltigen Textilien Textil-Maßnahmenplan der Bundesregierung 2018 und Fortschrittsbericht zu den Maßnahmen aus 2017	The Federal Government's contribution to the promotion of sustainable textiles: Federal Government's Textile Action Plan 2018 and progress report on the measures from 2017	Federal Gov't (BMZ), 2018	(BMZ, 2018)
	7	Beitrag der Bundesregierung zur Förderung von nachhaltigen Textilien Textil-Maßnahmenplan der Bundesregierung 2019 und Fortschrittsbericht zu den Maßnahmen aus 2018	The Federal Government's contribution to the promotion of sustainable textiles: Federal Government's Textile Action Plan 2019 and progress report on the measures from 2018	Federal Gov't (BMZ), 2019	(BMZ, 2019a)
	8	Nachhaltige Textilien – Eine Frage der Verantwortung	Sustainable Textiles – A question of responsibility	Federal Gov't (BMZ), 2019	(BMZ, 2019b)

TABLE B1 (Continued)

Cat.	Nr.	Original title	English translation (title)	Author & date of publication	Reference
Partnership	9	Das Bündnis für nachhaltige Textilien	The Partnership for Sustainable Textiles	Federal Gov't (BMZ), 2015	(BMZ, 2015)
	10	Aktionsplan Bündnis für nachhaltige Textilien	Action Plan Partnership for Sustainable Textiles	Bündnis für nachhaltige Textilien, 2015	(Textiles Partnership, 2015)
	11	Bündnis für nachhaltige Textilien – Beschluss des Steuerungskreises am 31.08.2016: Soziale Bpndnisziele und -standards	Partnership for Sustainable Textiles – Decision of the Steering Committee on 31.08.2016: Social Partnership Goals and Standards	Bündnis fpr nachhaltige Textilien, 2016	Textiles Partnership, (2016)
	11	Bündnis für nachhaltige Textilien – Jahresbericht 2016/17	Partnership for Sustainable Textiles – Annual Report 2016/17	Bündnis für nachhaltige Textilien, 2017	(Textiles Partnership, (2017)
	12	Bündnis für nachhaltige Textilien – Wir sind auf dem Weg – Jahresbericht 2018	Partnership for Sustainable Textiles – We make things work – Annual Report 2018	Bündnis für nachhaltige Textilien, 2018	(Textiles Partnership, (2018)
	13	Bündnis für nachhaltige Textilien – Weiter auf dem Weg – Jahresbericht 2019	Partnership for Sustainable Textiles – Further along the way – Annual Report 2019	Bündnis für nachhaltige Textilien, 2019	(Textiles Partnership, (2019)
	14	Bericht zur Mitgliederversammlung 2020	Report to the 6th Members Meeting	Bündnis für nachhaltige Textilien, 2020	(Textiles Partnership, 2020a)
	15	Die Ausrichtung von Industrie- und Multi-Stakeholder-Programmen an den OECD-Leitlinien für Bekleidung und Schuhe – Bewertung des deutschen Bündnis für nachhaltige Textilien	The Alignment of industry and Multi-stakeholder programmes with the OECD Garment and Footwear Guidance – Assessment of the German Partnership for Sustainable Textiles	OECD, 20	(OECD, (2020)
	16	OECD Alignment Assessment – Response PST	OECD Alignment Assessment – Response PST	Bündnis für nachhaltige Textilien, 2020	(Textiles Partnership, 2020b)
Green Button	17	Der Grüne Knopf – Sozial. Ökologisch. Staatlich. Unabhängig Zertifiziert	The Green Button – Social. Ecological. State. Independently Certified	Federal Gov't (BMZ), 2019	(BMZ, (2019c)
	18	Der Grüne Knopf. Bekanntgabe und Teilnahmeaufruf zur Einführung des Siegels “Grüner Knopf”	The Green Button Announcement and call for participation for the introduction of the “Green Button” label	Federal Gov't (BMZ), 2019	(BMZ, (2019d)
Due Diligence Act	19	GUTACHTEN: Verankerung menschenrechtlicher Sorgfaltspflichten von Unternehmen im deutschen Recht	EXPORT REPORT: Anchoring human rights due diligence obligations of companies in German law	Prof. Dr. Remo Klinger, Prof. Dr. Markus Krajewski, David Krebs & Constantin Hartmann, 2016	(Klinger et al., (2016)
	20	Entwurf für Eckpunkte eines Bundesgesetzes über die Stärkung der unternehmerischen Sorgfaltspflichten zur Vermeidung von Menschenrechtsverletzungen in globalen Wertschöpfungsketten (Sorgfaltspflichtengesetz)	Draft for key points of a federal law on strengthening corporate due diligence to prevent human rights violations in global value chains (Due Diligence Act)	Federal Gov't (BMZ, BMAS), 2020	(BMAS & BMAS, 2020)
	21	Von der menschenrechtlichen zur umweltbezogenen	From the human rights to environmental due	Federal Gov't (UBA), 2020	(UBA, (2020)

(Continues)

TABLE B1 (Continued)

Cat.	Nr.	Original title	English translation (title)	Author & date of publication	Reference
		Sorgfaltspflicht Aspekte zur Integration von Umweltbelangen in ein Gesetz für globale Wertschöpfungsketten	diligence aspects of integrating environmental concerns into a law for global value chains		
	22	Corporate due diligence and corporate accountability – 2020/2129(INL) – 10/03/2021	Corporate due diligence and corporate accountability	European Parliament, 2021	(European Parliament, 2021)

APPENDIX C

TABLE C1 Coding scheme with codes, subcategories and descriptions

Codes	Subcategories	Description
<i>Initiatives</i>		
Modes of governance	Modes	# Items related to mode of governance <ul style="list-style-type: none"> + De-centralised + Centralised + Public-private + Interactive + Self-governance
	Polity	# Items related to model of representation <ul style="list-style-type: none"> # Items related to rules of interaction # Items related to mechanisms of social interaction
	Politics	# Items related to initiating actor <ul style="list-style-type: none"> # Items related to stakeholder position # Items related to policy level # Items related to power base
	Policy	# Items related to goals and targets <ul style="list-style-type: none"> # Items related to instruments # Items related to policy integration # Items related to policy-science interface
Governance interplay	Regime	# Items related to codes, principles, standards
	Co-dependencies	# Items related to reasons for interplay
	Effectiveness & fit	# Items related to effect of interplay <ul style="list-style-type: none"> + Social + Environment + Economic # Items related to effectiveness <ul style="list-style-type: none"> + Output + Outcome + Impact
Social interactions	Interaction:	# Items relating to modes of interactions <ul style="list-style-type: none"> + Competition + Coordination + Cooptation + Chaos
	Actors	# Items relating to perception of roles of actors <ul style="list-style-type: none"> + State + Civil Society + Industry

APPENDIX D

TABLE D 1 Variety of governance initiatives according to modes, actor constellation, sustainability focus and objectives

No.	Organisation	Abbreviation	Source	Formal cooperation/ informal cooperation/ International Standards & Codes/National strategy/EU Strategy/Membership	Sustainability objective	Sustainability focus (specifics)	Actor constellation	Mode
1	Partnership for Sustainable Textiles	Textiles Partnership	(Textiles Partnership, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020a	Membership	Rather holistic	na	State, market, civil society	Interactive
2	National Action Plan Monitoring	NAP	(Federal Foreign Office, 2017, 2020)	National Strategy	Human rights and social risks	na	State	Centralised
3	National Due Diligence ACT	na	(BMAS & BMZ, 2020)	National Strategy	Human rights and social risks	na	State	Centralised
4	EU Due Diligence Act	na	(European Parliament, 2021)	EU Strategy	Rather holistic	na	EU – State	De-centralised
5	Green Button	na	(BMZ, 2019c, 2019d)	National Strategy	Rather holistic	na	State – Market	Public–private
6	Action, Collaboration, Transformation	ACT	(Textiles Partnership, 2019)	Cooperation	Human rights and social risks	Living wages, freedom of association and collective bargaining	Market, civil society	Self- governance
7	Agreement on Sustainable Garments and Textile (Netherlands)	IRBC	(Website information, Textiles Partnership)	Cooperation	Rather holistic	na	State, market, civil society	Interactive
8	Collaboration for sustainable development of viscose	CV	(Website information, Textiles Partnership)	Cooperation	Environment, climate, fibres, animal welfare	Viscose	Market, civil society	Self- governance
9	Fair Wear Foundation	FWF	(Website information, Textiles Partnership)	Cooperation/Guide	Human rights and social risks	Living wages	Hybrid – civil society & market	Self- governance
10	Open Apparel Registry	na	(Website information, Textiles Partnership)	Cooperation	Rather holistic	na	Civil society	Self- governance
11	Organic Cotton Accelerator	na	(Website information, Textiles Partnership)	Cooperation	Environment, climate, fibres, animal welfare	Cotton (Natural fibre)	Civil society	Interactive governance
12	Sustainable Apparel Coalition (United States of America)	na	(Website information, Textiles Partnership)	Cooperation	Rather holistic	na	Market, civil society	Interactive/ self- governance

(Continues)

TABLE D1 (Continued)

No.	Organisation	Abbreviation	Source	Formal cooperation/ informal cooperation/ International Standards & Codes/National strategy/EU Strategy/Membership	Sustainability objective	Sustainability focus (specifics)	Actor constellation	Mode
13	Strategic Approach To International Chemicals Management	SAICM	(Website information, Textiles Partnership)	Cooperation	Environment, climate, fibres, animal welfare	Chemicals and environmental management	Market, civil society	Self- governance
14	Textile Exchange	na	(Website information, Textiles Partnership)	Cooperation	Environment, climate, fibres, animal welfare	New Wool & Silk (animal)	Civil society	Self- governance
15	Zero Discharge of Hazardous Chemicals	ZDHC	(Website information, Textiles Partnership)	Cooperation	Environment, climate, fibres, animal welfare	Chemicals and environmental management	Market, civil society	Self- governance
16	OECD – Alignment Assessment	na	(Textiles Partnership, 2020b)	Informal cooperation	Rather holistic	na	Hybrid – civil society & market	Centralised governance
17	Industrie All	na	(Website information, Textiles Partnership)	Informal cooperation	Human rights and social risks	Freedom of association and collective bargaining	Civil society	Self- governance
18	Global living wage coalition	na	(Website information, Textiles Partnership)	Informal cooperation	Human rights and social risks	Freedom of association and collective bargaining	Civil society	Self- governance
19	CottonUpGuide	na	(Website information, Textiles Partnership)	Informal cooperation	Environment, climate, fibres, animal welfare	Cotton (Natural fibre)	Civil society	Self- governance
20	International Wool Textile Organisation	IWOT	(Website information, Textiles Partnership)	Informal cooperation	Environment, climate, fibres, animal welfare	New Wool & Silk (animal)	Hybrid – civil society & market	Self- governance
21	Chemicals in Products Programme	CIP	(Website information, Textiles Partnership)	Cooperation	Environment, climate, fibres, animal welfare	Chemicals and environmental management	Hybrid – civil society & market	Self- governance
22	Fashion Industry Charter for Climate Action	UNFCCC	(Website information, Textiles Partnership)	Informal cooperation	Environment, climate, fibres, animal welfare	Climate	Market, civil society	Self- governance
23	The Alliance for Integrity	na	(Website information, Textiles Partnership)	Informal cooperation	Ethical business practices	Transparency	Civil society	Self- governance
24	German Global Compact Network	na	(Website information, Textiles Partnership)	Informal cooperation	Ethical business practices	Transparency	Civil society	Self- governance

TABLE D1 (Continued)

No.	Organisation	Abbreviation	Source	Formal cooperation/ informal cooperation/ International Standards & Codes/National strategy/EU Strategy/Membership	Sustainability objective	Sustainability focus (specifics)	Actor constellation	Mode
25	UN Guiding Principles on Business and Human Rights	UN	(United Nations, 2011)	Guide	Human rights and social risks	na	State	Centralised governance
26	OECD – Due Diligence Guidance	OECD	(OECD, 2017)	Guide	Rather holistic	na	Hybrid – civil society & market	Centralised governance
27	International Labour Organisation Convention Basic Paper	ILO	(Textiles Partnership, 2016)	Guide	Human rights and social risks	na	Hybrid – civil society & market	Interactive governance
28	Business Social Compliance Initiative (BSCI)	BSCI	(Textiles Partnership, 2016)	Guide	Human rights and social risks	na	Hybrid – civil society & market	(Private) Centralised governance
29	Ethical Trading initiative (ETI)	ETI	(Textiles Partnership, 2016)	Guide	Ethical business practices	na	Hybrid – civil society & market	Self-governance
30	Fair Labour Association (FLA)	FLA	(Textiles Partnership, 2016)	Guide	Human rights and social risks	na	Hybrid – civil society & market	(Private) Centralised governance
31	Social Accountability International	SAI	(Textiles Partnership, 2016)	Guide	Human rights and social risks	na	Hybrid – civil society & market	(Private) Centralised governance