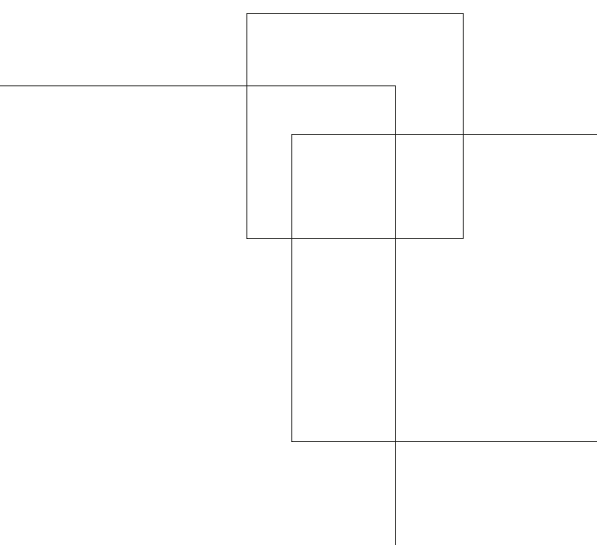




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Uneven practices in voluntary labour commitments: An exploration of major listed companies through the VigeoEiris database



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**Uneven practices in voluntary labour
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International Labour Office

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Abstract

Over recent decades, the emergence of new forms of private governance has been one of the most important features in global labour governance and a subject of extensive research. At the moment, as most research is based on case studies related to certain firms or sectors, our understanding of private governance is still fragmented and little is known about the degree to which major companies worldwide support these mechanisms. The aim of this paper is to provide a preliminary overview of voluntary labour commitments undertaken by major listed companies worldwide. In this article, we highlight the relatively uneven practices according to different socioeconomic characteristics. Companies originating from Western Europe clearly stand out as making more voluntary effort in general. A relatively small number of companies worldwide disclose strong commitment to freedom of association for example. These companies generally fare better in other CSR dimensions. Focusing on enterprises from Western Europe and North America, we also discuss the way companies might be affected by controversies in their global operations, and question the link between CSR practices and controversies.

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1. Introduction

Over recent decades, the emergence of new forms of private governance has been one of the most important features in global labour governance and a subject of extensive research. In most cases, this research has been carried out at the sectoral level, through the analysis of multistakeholder initiatives in certain industries particularly exposed to labour controversies (such as the garment and electronics industries), or at the firm level through the assessment of particular effects of codes of conduct on working conditions. This trend towards private labour governance is also related to the increasing importance of corporate social responsibility (CSR) and the need for enterprises to respond to growing societal expectations. CSR has also been a topic of intense scholarly discussion, particularly on the socioeconomic determinants of firms' social and environmental practices (Fifka, 2013) and the relationship between CSR and economic performance (Margolis et al., 2009). Nevertheless, due to data limitations, research rarely goes beyond the analysis of very general CSR categories such as environment, labour or corporate governance¹. There is also little analysis of the possible articulation of the various CSR dimensions in firms' strategies. An exception is the recent article by Cavaco and Crifo, which suggested a certain level of synergy and trade-off at firm level between the human resources, environment and business behaviour CSR dimensions (Cavaco and Crifo, 2014).

Even if public governance through labour administration and law should still be considered as the foundation of workplace compliance, the recent debate held at the 2016 International Labour Conference on global supply chains has highlighted the “complementary but different responsibilities” of governments, business and social partners in the promotion of decent work². As a matter of fact, the standards included in these private governance mechanisms commonly make reference to the 1998 ILO Declaration on Fundamental Principles and Rights at Work and other ILO Conventions, including those on occupational health and safety, wages and working time. It is therefore crucial for ILO to have a better vision of these private initiatives which complement (and often rely on) its normative action.

At the moment, as most research is based on case studies related to certain firms or sectors, our understanding of private governance is still fragmented and little is known about the degree to which major companies worldwide support these mechanisms. Data made available by the social rating agency VigeoEiris allows us to dig a little deeper and provide a more systematic overview of firms' labour-related CSR practices at the global level. This dataset covers more than 3000 of the most capitalized companies listed on the stock market worldwide. In this article, we chose to focus on five of the 37 CSR issues systematically monitored by VigeoEiris: 1) freedom of association, 2) non-discrimination at the workplace, 3) health and safety, 4) integration of social criteria in the monitoring of the supply chain and 5) socio-economic impact of operations. In comparison with other CSR rating agencies, we will see that VigeoEiris views CSR from a normative standpoint, relying on international standards, such as ILO conventions, to define the evaluation criteria.

¹ In the vast majority of cases, analysis of the link between CSR and economic performance is based on KLD methodologies and dataset which only covers United States firms. KLD provides ratings on 13 CSR activities: community, diversity, employment, environment, human rights, product, alcohol, gaming, firearms, military, nuclear, tobacco and corporate governance. The rating on employment relation synthesizes very diverse information on union relations, lay-off policy, employee participation, health and safety conditions and retirement benefit.

² ILO: *Report of the Committee on Decent Work in Global Supply Chains: Resolution and conclusions submitted for adoption by the Conference*, International Labour Conference, 105th session, Geneva, 2016, May-June.

The aim of this paper is to provide a preliminary overview of voluntary labour commitments undertaken by major listed companies worldwide. The idea is to present, mainly through descriptive statistics, the magnitude of these companies' support for and adherence to labour-related CSR practices using the VigeoEiris methodology. This article will help to answer questions such as whether we can identify issues that are more subject to CSR than others, and whether there are gaps for certain issues at the regional or sectoral levels.

The article starts with a brief recap of the background to this research and a discussion on the rise of private labour governance in recent decades. Next, we present the database and the methodology developed by VigeoEiris. In the following section, we provide an overview of the voluntary labour commitments undertaken by major listed companies and highlight the relatively uneven practices according to country or origin, sector and other socioeconomic characteristics. Companies originating from Western Europe clearly stand out as making more voluntary effort in all the above-mentioned issues. The better practices observed in a relatively small number of companies with strong commitment to freedom of association will lead us to discuss the potential positive influence of freedom of association on CSR. Focusing on enterprises from Western Europe and North America, we will finish by discussing the way companies might be affected by controversies in their global operations, and by questioning the link between CSR practices and controversies.

2. The rise of private labour governance

Owing to increasing societal expectations, an increasing number of companies communicate and undertake commitments related to the impacts of their operations on the environment, their workers, customers and third parties. CSR takes many forms, from the simple publication of CSR/sustainability reports to more binding initiatives. The ILO has defined CSR as “a way in which enterprises give consideration to the impact of their operations on society and affirm their principles and values both in their own internal methods and processes and in their interaction with other actors” and “voluntary, enterprise-driven initiative and refers to activities that are considered to exceed compliance with the law” (InFocus Initiative on Corporate Social Responsibility, 2006).

Regarding labour issues specifically, globalization and the expansion of global value chains in countries that lack the institutional capacity to fully regulate labour standards have led to a governance deficit, which has triggered a global demand for new governance institutions (Mayer and Gereffi, 2010). Political pressure exerted by various civil society actors, including unions, to enforce labour standards has also given impetus to multinational enterprises to act. CSR practices have often taken the form of private labour governance mechanisms, also known as private compliance initiatives (PCIs), which first appeared in the early 1990s in labour intensive sectors where international brand image is crucial, such as the garment, sportswear and electronics industries. ILO has defined PCIs as “private mechanisms voluntarily established by lead firms or groups of enterprises to monitor compliance with codes of conducts or other specific standards”³. These mechanisms might be led by individual enterprises, employers' organizations or industry associations and for the most part rely on codes of conduct, social auditing, and certification or labelling. Several multistakeholder schemes have appeared at sectoral level (such as the Electronic Industry Citizenship Coalition) in most cases involving private and non-governmental stakeholders and generally based on a process of checking conformity with standards that

³ ILO: *Decent work in global supply chains*, Report IV, International Labour Conference, 105th session, Geneva, 2016.

commonly make reference to the ILO instruments such as the Declaration on Fundamental Principles and Rights at Work and other ILO conventions (Marx and Wouters, 2016).

One sign of the growing importance of CSR has been the increasing number of companies regularly publishing a CSR report⁴. Firms' behaviour in this regard, however, still depends very much on their size, the industry and cultural factors (Fifka, 2013). In much of the available literature, authors regard CSR policies as being embedded in national institutions such as the regulatory framework, stakeholder relationships and capital/labour bargaining arrangements (Fransen, 2013). The national institutional setting may indeed affect the way firms approach CSR issues. It has been shown, for example, that companies from common law countries, where ex post settling up mechanisms (judicial resolutions) are more prevalent, have fewer CSR practices than companies from civil law countries where firms' behaviour is generally more restricted ex ante by rule-based mechanisms (Liang et al., 2017). Stakeholder or media pressure is also a strong factor affecting CSR practices such as reporting (Lucchini and Moisello, 2017; Fifka, 2013) or joining a multistakeholder initiative (Marx, 2008). In that regard, differences are nevertheless significant between firms from developed or developing countries where CSR policy can be more heavily influenced by foreign stakeholders (international buyers, foreign investors, international media, and international regulatory bodies) (Ali et al., 2017). To sum up, not all companies have the same interest in implementing CSR initiatives or in private governance mechanisms in particular. This depends heavily on the importance of reputation for certain products, the ease of mobilizing collective action among social actors and the possibility to align the firm's commercial interests with the social concerns of customers and investors (Mayer and Gereffi, 2010).

To assess the impact of private compliance initiatives (or CSR initiatives) on workers' rights and working conditions would be far beyond the scope of this article. The issue has been extensively debated, especially in literature on the use of codes of conduct and social audits, the limitations of which are now well known (see for example ILO, 2016; Barraud de Lagerie, 2016; Marx and Wouters, 2016). Several studies have shown, for example, that PCIs are more likely to emphasize the most easily detectable violations of labour standards such as wages, working hours and occupational health and safety. PCIs can be also criticized for their selectivity, emphasizing certain issues such as child labour and being weak to ensure enabling rights such as freedom of association and non-discrimination. Another recurrent criticism pertains to the lack of inclusiveness of these mechanisms, which arises from the low levels of involvement of workers at the top, in the design and the monitoring of the PCI, as well as at the bottom, as the control of their rights is often entrusted to a third party, the external social auditor (Barrientos and Smith, 2007; Anner, 2012; Marx and Wouters, 2016).

Despite their substantial limitations, private governance mechanisms are a part of an increasingly complex global labour governance (Hendrickx et al., 2016) which also includes ILO conventions and various intergovernmental and governmental initiatives. Going beyond acknowledging ILO fundamental principles in private mechanisms, the potential for interaction between these elements is important. Several international institutions, including ILO, have led a variety of initiatives to promote corporate social responsibility standards. The most referenced international instruments are the United Nations Guiding Principles on Business and Human Rights (2011), the ILO Tripartite Declaration of Principles concerning Multinational Enterprises and Social Policy (MNE Declaration, four versions since 1977), the OECD Guidelines for Multinational Enterprises (seven versions since 1976) and the United Nations Global Compact (2000). These initiatives aim to provide guidance and clarify the obligations of public authorities, enterprises and other stakeholders on various issues, including labour,

⁴ According to the KPMG annual report, 95% of the Global Fortune 250 companies undertake reporting (KPMG 2015).

trade, investment and environment⁵. In 2017, the ILO MNE Declaration was revised to take better account of current economic realities such as the growth in international investment flow and the increasing importance of global supply chains. Consistent with United Nations Guiding Principles, it also provides guidance on due diligence processes in achieving decent work and sustainable businesses⁶.

More recently, an increasing number of legislative interventions by national or regional authorities, which aim to promote the transparency of enterprises through disclosure of information on specific aspects of their operations, have started to erode the purely voluntary nature of CSR. According to Phillips et al., these pieces of transparency legislation all have one thing in common: they rely on the purchasing decisions of better informed consumers and investors to try to draw focus to labour rights and working conditions. In the large majority of cases, legislation situates CSR more broadly, including environment and labour issues, in the whole economy (European Union directive 2014/95 on the disclosure of non-financial information) or in a specific natural resources and mineral sector (United States Dodd-Frank Act Section 1502, South Africa's Mineral and Resources and Petroleum Bill). In a few cases, however, legislation can be specific to labour standards, especially forced labour, slavery and human trafficking (United Kingdom Modern Slavery Act, California Transparency in supply chains) (Phillips et al. 2016).

3. Methodology: An introduction to VigeoEiris database

VigeoEiris is a European rating agency, specialized in measuring responsible performance, with more than 15 years' experience. Its clients are mostly investors and assets managers who aspire to sustainable and responsible investment performance. In the past 10 years, VigeoEiris has gathered a large dataset covering more than 3,000 of the most capitalized listed companies in the world from 36 sectors. In this paper, the analysis is based on a cross-sectional extraction of VigeoEiris's dataset containing the latest scores for 2,719 companies worldwide. We merged this dataset with another database extracted from Factset on firms' characteristics (employees, sales, financial performance, age, degree of internationalization, etc.). Of these 2,719 companies, 1,636 are included in the Stoxx Global 1800 Index which lists the world's 1,800 most capitalized companies in three developed regions: Europe (590/600 in the sample), North America (559/600) and Asia Pacific (487/600). The 1,083 other companies in the sample come from several regions: Africa (67), Arab States (15), Central & Western Asia (24), Eastern Asia (352), Eastern Europe (51), Latin America and the Caribbean (147), North America (133), Western Europe (94), South-East Asia and the Pacific (127) and Southern Asia (73) (see table 5 in appendix for the number of companies per country).

VigeoEiris measures the societal performances of companies in six macro-domains of corporate social responsibility (environment, corporate governance, human rights, human resources, business behaviour and community involvement) and 37 sub-domains or "sustainable drivers" (Table 1). The sustainable driver definitions are based on a comprehensive list of international standards, among them ILO conventions, United Nations conventions, the Global Compact, OECD guidelines for multinational

⁵ For a comprehensive discussion of these multilateral initiatives, see Peels and Cavanna (forthcoming).

⁶ "Enterprises, including multinational enterprises, should carry out due diligence to identify, prevent, mitigate and account for how they address their actual and potential adverse impacts that relate to internationally recognized human rights, understood, at a minimum, as those expressed in the International Bill of Human Rights and the principles concerning fundamental rights set out in the ILO Declaration on Fundamental Principles and Rights at Work."

enterprises, among others. As explained by Philippe Zarlowski, VigeoEiris promotes a relatively “normative” approach to CSR, which assesses firms' accountability under international standards, while other rating agencies might promote a more “instrumental” approach, emphasizing the business or industrial risk faced by enterprises (minimizing the costs of potential environmental and social risks). In this normative approach, the rating agency can be considered as an “intermediary” between the firm and its stakeholders (Zarlowski, 2007).

Table 1: The 6 macro-domains and 37 sustainable drivers monitored by VigeoEiris

Human Rights	Human Resources	Business Behavior	Corporate Governance	Environment	Community Involvement
Human Rights in Society	Promotion of labour relations	Product Safety	Board of Directors	Environmental Strategy	Promotion of the social and economic development
Freedom of association	Responsible management of restructurings	Information To Customers	Audit and Internal Controls	Pollution Prevention and Control	Societal Impact of Products and Services
Non Discrimination on the workplace	Career management and promotion of the employability	Customer Relations	Shareholders	Green Products and Services	Philanthropic Contributions
Forced Labour and Child Labour	Remuneration Systems	Sustainable relationships with suppliers	Executive Remuneration	Protection of biodiversity	
	Health and Safety	Integration of environmental factors in the supply chain		Protection of water resources	
	Working Hours	Integration of social factors in the supply chain		Minimising environmental impacts from energy use	
		Prevention of corruption		Management of atmospheric emissions	
		Prevention of anti-competitive practices		Waste Management	
		Transparence and integrity of influence strategies and practices		Management of local pollution	
				Management of transport and distribution impacts	
				Impacts of Product Use and Disposal	

Source: VigeoEiris

In this article, we have deliberately chosen to retain a limited number of sustainable drivers. These have been selected primarily for normative reasons as we wanted to highlight some of the aspects at the core of ILO actions, namely those included in the Declaration on Fundamental Principles and Rights at work. The choice was also made for methodological reasons: several of the dimensions included in the

VigeoEiris database are unfortunately not available for a set of firms large enough to allow for comparison at global level (such as remuneration systems and regulation of working hours).

The first three issues are related to companies' own employees and include: respect for freedom of association and the right to collective bargaining; non-discrimination and diversity in the workplace; and improvement of health and safety conditions. Since 1998 and the adoption of the Declaration on Fundamental Principles and Rights at Work, both freedom of association and non-discrimination are considered as fundamental rights by the ILO and are defined by a series of conventions⁷. Unfortunately, the elimination of forced or compulsory labour and the abolition of child labour, which are also fundamental rights, are only monitored for a small set of enterprises in the database and therefore cannot be used for comparative analysis. The sustainable driver on freedom of association seeks to measure the extent to which the firm ensures that employees have the right to unionize and promote collective bargaining internally, for example through awareness-raising campaigns or providing infrastructure and time for employee participation. The sustainable driver on non-discrimination in the workplace assesses the quality of the policy on eight potential discrimination factors⁸ with regard to working conditions, vocational training, promotion, salary and other benefits. At the score level, it is unfortunately impossible to distinguish between these eight factors. The sustainable driver on improvement of health and safety (H&S) conditions evaluates how the company ensures that H&S policies are shared and respected, and whether the company has put in place systems to prevent accidents, occupational diseases and mental health issues.

The next two issues are not related to companies' own employees but rather to external stakeholders, such as suppliers' employees or neighbouring communities. The sustainable driver on integrating social factors into the supply chain is an evaluation of the policy imposed by the outsourcing company to its suppliers regarding fundamental labour rights and working conditions⁹. The score synthesizes information on the definition of social standards to be used in the selection and evaluation of suppliers, the mechanism of monitoring of their production, and corrective measures in case of non-compliance. The promotion of social and economic development seeks to measure the way a company optimizes the economic and social impact its activities, investments or restructuring has on local communities or labour pool. This driver includes support for local economic development (local business, suppliers and workforce), social development (health, education etc.), transfer of technologies and the mitigation of potential negative impacts that its activities or restructuring may have on local communities.

The labour relations dimension, which measures the company's commitment in terms of information, consultation and collective bargaining at the workplace, would have also been interesting to analyse but its coverage remains relatively limited across companies from emerging economies. This dimension is also highly dependent on performance in freedom of association, which is already being taken into account. The driver on responsible reorganization, which refers to companies' commitment to limit layoffs and ensure the effectiveness of measures to address restructuring, would be more interesting to

⁷ ILO Freedom of Association and Protection of the Right to Organise Convention, 1948 (No. 87), Right to Organise and Collective Bargaining Convention, 1949 (No. 98), Equal Remuneration Convention, 1951 (No. 100) and Discrimination (Employment and Occupation) Convention, 1958 (No. 111).

⁸ The main grounds of discrimination in the workplace are: ethnicity, race or colour; national origin; religion; social background; political opinion; age; health and disability; sexual orientation; and trade union membership.

⁹ The sustainable driver on integrating social factors into the supply chain synthesizes information on monitoring the social performance of suppliers with regard to: freedom of association and right to collective bargaining; abolition of child labour; abolition of forced labour; non-discrimination; health and safety; decent wages; working hours; and responsible sourcing of minerals.

analyse in specific sectors that have been affected by intense restructuring in recent years, such as the automotive sector (Pardi, 2017).

In addition, not all of the 37 sustainable drivers are investigated across all sectors. A pre-analysis is done to identify the relevant CSR issues within each business sector and determine which sustainable drivers in each of the six domains will be activated. According to VigeoEiris, on average 22 sustainable drivers are activated per sector. For each company in the database, VigeoEiris collects information through different channels: corporate public information, and questionnaires and feedback from partner unions (IndustriALL, UNI Global Union and IUF). For each sustainable driver, VigeoEiris calculates three kinds of sub-score, established on a scale from 0 to 100, which are then summarized in an overall score (the mean of the three sub-scores):

- the level of commitments (known as “leadership” in VigeoEiris methodology) measuring the visibility, exhaustiveness and degree of ownership by the company;
- implementation of these commitments measuring the means, the coverage and the scope; and
- the results measured through stakeholders’ feedback and company responsiveness to public controversies.

In this article, our analysis is based mainly on the commitment or leadership scores. We will also provide information on the implementation scores in order to understand the extent to which the commitments undertaken by enterprises translate (or not) into concrete actions (section 3.4.). For methodological reasons, we will not use the last series of results scores in this analysis. As we will explain in more detail in Section 4, the public nature of the information used to calculate the results score may introduce a bias that could bring into question the comparability of the data. Instead, we will restrict our analysis to a smaller sample of enterprises from Western Europe and North America, and use another database provided by VigeoEiris (the controversy database), which lists and provides information on all the controversies affecting these enterprises.

Scoring is based on a box checking method. In his assessment of the level of commitment (leadership score), the staff analyst from VigeoEiris has to follow a list of items and measure the degree of fulfilment of three criteria (visibility, exhaustiveness and ownership). The number of items approved determines the score. The visibility criteria measures the degree of disclosure the company wants to give to a certain CSR issue. It ranges from no disclosure at all to a strongly mediated public commitment. The exhaustiveness criteria will vary depending on coverage of all duties related to a given issue. In the case of non-discrimination for example, it will vary according to the number of discrimination factors specified (ethnicity, religion, etc.). Lastly, the ownership criterion depends on the internal support granted to the commitment inside the enterprise. Following the methodology, a score of 0/100 for commitment in a particular dimension simply means that the company has not disclosed any public commitment (in a CSR report for example), or taken part in any initiative at the sectoral or global levels regarding this specific dimension¹⁰.

¹⁰ The following example, which relates to freedom of association, might be helpful to understand how the scores are calculated: Company A is a European company in the automotive industry. It receives a score of 100 for its commitments in terms of freedom of association. This score comes from the following: Visibility: Company A has signed an international framework agreement (IFA) with a major global union federation and involving local unions. The company has also signed specific agreements with unions on labour rights in some countries of operation, is a signatory to the Global Compact and communicates on its principles. Exhaustiveness: The company's commitment undertaken in the IFA is detailed and addresses most of its responsibilities, such as the protection of freedom of association and the right to organize, respect for the right to

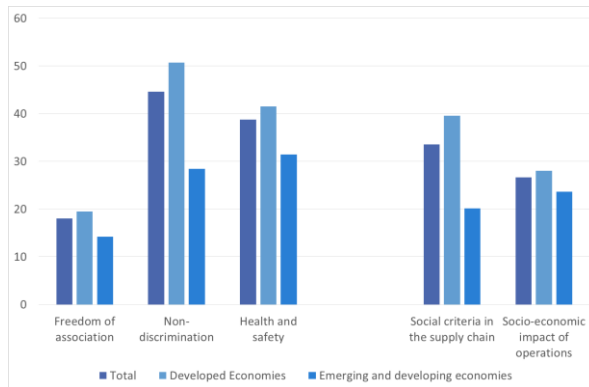
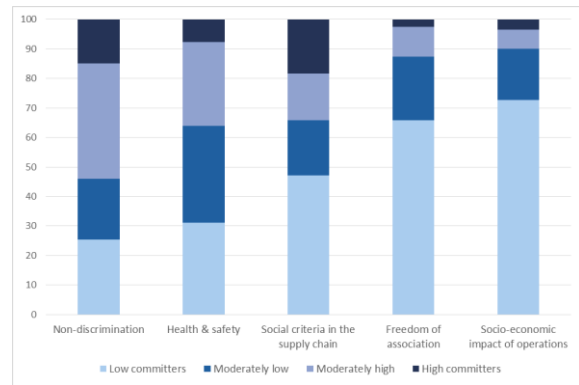
4. What have major listed companies voluntarily committed to do?

4.1. Few major companies worldwide undertake strong voluntary commitment to freedom of association

The level of commitment by individual companies varies significantly across issues (Figure 1). Generally, companies are most committed to non-discrimination in the workplace in their internal policy and regulation, followed by the improvement of health and safety and the two issues related to third parties (supply chain and socio-economic impact of operations). In non-discrimination, 54% of all the enterprises have a score of 50/100 or more (Figure 2).

These results contrast dramatically with the level of private commitment to freedom of association, which is globally very low. This is due to a very small proportion of companies worldwide, mostly from Western Europe, that consider freedom of association as a self-regulation priority and choose to disclose commitments to promote it internally. Only 2.5% of all the companies in the VigeoEiris database score 70 or above on commitments related to freedom of association and only 12.5% are above 50/100. In comparison, 15% of all enterprises are highly committed to non-discrimination and 18.4% to social monitoring in the supply chain. Of all the enterprises with at least 500 employees, 50% score 0 in freedom of association, which means that they do not disclose any commitment at all to this issue. It is worth noting that, while not free from possible subjectivity, the VigeoEiris indicator for freedom of association is based on a comprehensive list of international standards, including ILO Conventions No. 87 and No. 98.

collective bargaining, the respect for and protection of workers' representatives and the prevention of discrimination against employees' representatives. The commitment explicitly supports implementation of ILO Conventions Nos. 87, 98, and 135. Ownership: The commitment applies throughout the company and is supported by senior management. Company A also collaborates with union representatives on this issue through local social observatories in major countries of operation, which aim to monitor IFA application on an annual basis.

Figure 1: Average scores in labour-related commitments**Figure 2: Distribution of enterprises according to level of labour-related commitments**

Notes: Four levels of commitment have been defined: low committers (between 0 and 29/100), moderately low (between 30 and 49/100), moderately high (between 50 and 69/100) and high committers (70 and above).

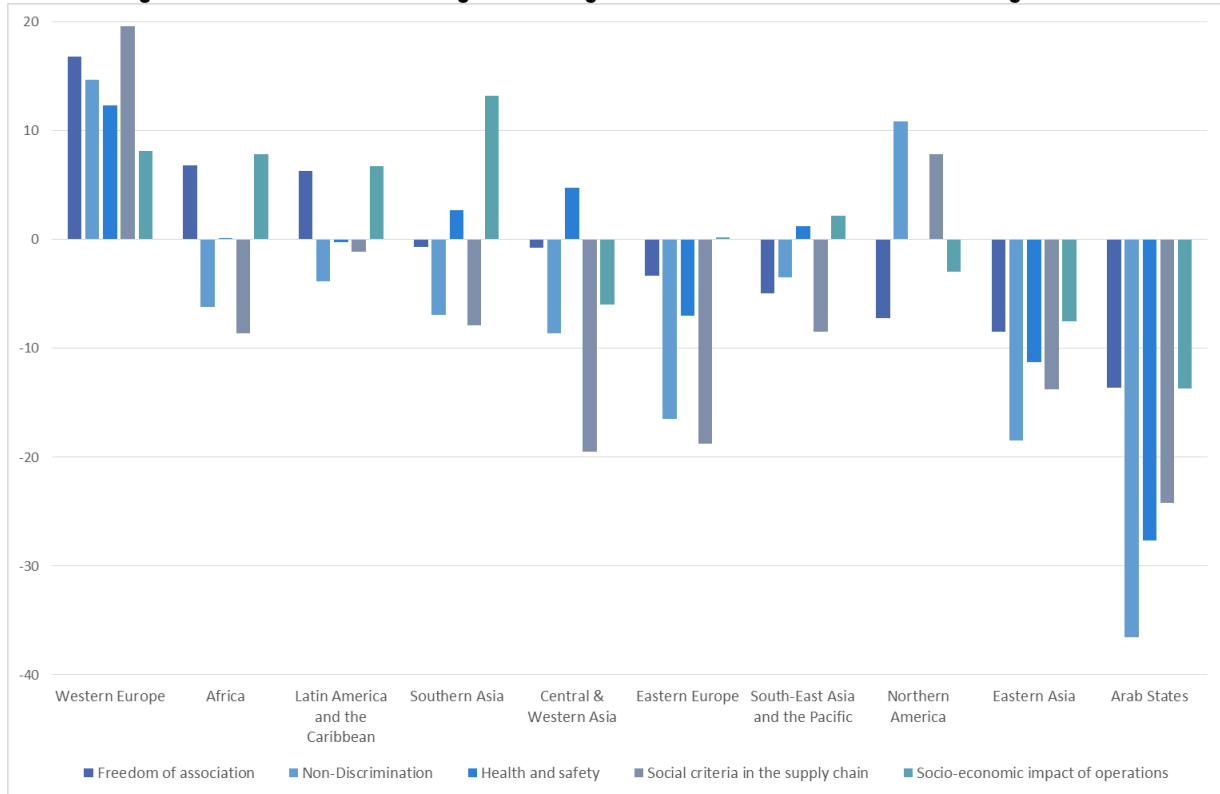
Source: Author's own estimation based on VigeoEiris database

4.2. Companies from Western Europe clearly stand out in terms of labour CSR commitments

Companies from Western Europe receive better scores in all domains and reach scores higher than 50/100 in three of them (non-discrimination, health and safety, and social monitoring of the supply chain) (Figure 3). Conversely, major companies from Arab States, Eastern Asia and to a lesser extent Eastern Europe receive scores below average in all (or almost all) labour issues. Firms originating from Africa and Latin America and the Caribbean generally fare better in freedom of association and socio-economic impact of operations and worse in non-discrimination and social monitoring of the supply chain. Non-discrimination is also a notable top priority for many North American companies, as is the supply chain. In other regions, the situation is more varied but relatively negative for the majority of issues.

Caution should nevertheless be taken when comparing the level of commitment undertaken by companies according to their country of origin. If we agree that CSR is a voluntary initiative, not all companies operate in the same institutional framework. In many countries, public authorities guarantee a stable and solid framework for workers' rights, such as freedom of association, or can enforce labour legislation, such as with regard to health and safety. In other settings, these rights and standards might be very limited or poorly enforced. Furthermore, the same company can operate in multiple locations and consequently be embedded in different contexts and institutional frameworks. Each enterprise will therefore adapt its CSR policy not only to the principles and values it would like to promote but also to the location in which it operates. Unfortunately, due to data limitations, it is not possible to analyse the scores in relation to countries of operation at the global level. This could be the object of future sectoral level research.

Figure 3: Differences between regional average scores in commitment and total average score



Source: Author's own calculation based on VigeoEiris database

4.3. Levels of commitment also vary considerably depending on the industry and other socio-economic characteristics

Top priorities also differ significantly between sectors (Figure 4). The analysis shows a relative concentration of CSR policies in a small number of sectors. Out of the 36 sectors, 12 combined a score above the average in two of the three internal domains at the same time¹¹. Regarding commitment to third parties, only six sectors combined a higher than average score in both dimensions¹². While no sector reaches a score of 50/100 in terms of commitments to freedom of association, only three – luxury goods and cosmetics, beverages and aerospace – managed to reach a score of higher than 50/100 in at least two sustainable drivers at the same time (non-discrimination / health safety / supply chain).

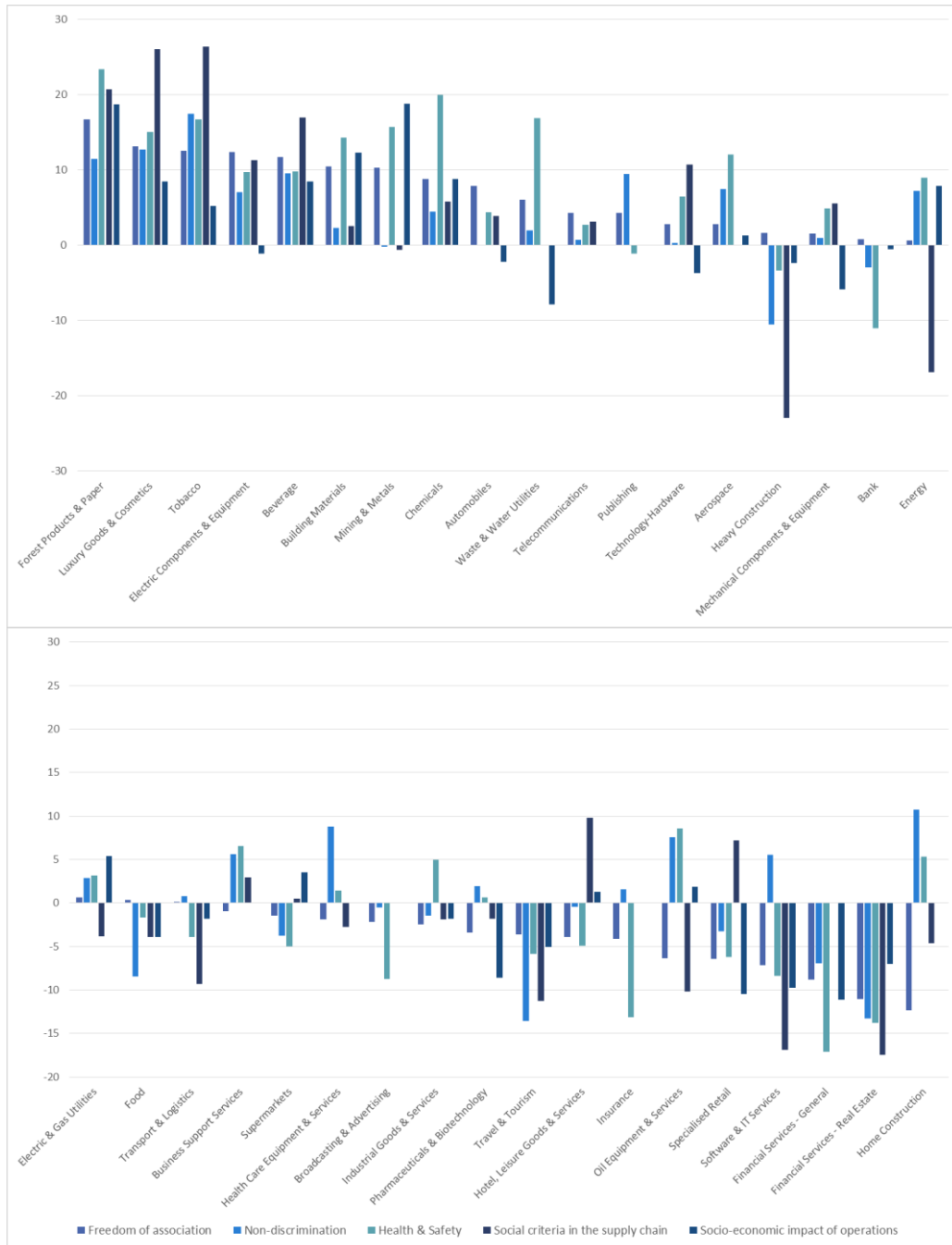
There could be several reasons for this relative concentration of high committers in certain sectors. One reason might be the relative polarization of trade union, consumer or NGO pressure on certain sectors or on certain types of products, especially where international brand image or reputation is crucial, which in turn has encouraged these enterprises to unite in multistakeholder initiatives. This could be the case for sectors such as luxury goods and cosmetics or technology hardware. Another reason might stem from the relative concentration of the economic sectors themselves, which could induce an easier diffusion of good

¹¹ Luxury goods and cosmetics, electronic components and equipment, beverages, building materials, chemicals, automotive, telecommunications, technology hardware, aerospace, mechanical components and equipment, energy and electric and gas utilities.

¹² Building materials, chemicals, beverage, luxury goods and cosmetics, supermarkets and hotel, leisure goods and services.

practices and stronger emulation between companies. Luxury goods and cosmetics, beverages and aerospace are among the most concentrated sectors in the sample (between 30 to 40 companies per sector). Regarding the social monitoring of the supply chain, unsurprisingly some of the most committed sectors are also those in which the industrial production is known to be particularly fragmented, such as electronic components and equipment, technology hardware, specialized retail, chemicals and automotive¹³.

Figure 4: Differences between sectoral average scores in commitment and total average score



Source: Author's own calculation based on VigeoEiris database

Levels of commitment also vary greatly depending on firms' other socio-economic characteristics (Table 2). Whatever the issues (relative to internal workers or third parties), the level of commitment increases

¹³ See WESO report 2015 on the changing nature of jobs for a measure of industrial fragmentation by sector.

depending on the degree of internationalization as measured by the percentage of foreign sales or foreign assets. There also seems to be a positive correlation with size as measured by the number of employees and by revenue, and with the age of the enterprise (in number of years). These results look quite logical as the biggest and most internationalized companies are likely to be more exposed to stakeholder unrest and are consequently more inclined to take commitments to protect their reputation. Nevertheless, commitments seem to decline in most cases for the biggest enterprises (more than 300,000 employees or US\$ 100 billion in sales) and the most internationalized (those with foreign sales or foreign assets accounting for 80% or more of the total). This first observation will need further investigation.

Table 2: Average scores of commitments for labour-related CSRs by firms' various socioeconomic characteristics

		Commitments towards workers			Commitments towards third parties		
		Freedom of association	Anti-Discrimination	Health and safety	Social criteria in the supply chain	Socio-economic impact of operations	
Internationalization	% of sales	0 to 19%	10.0	37.1	30.1	22.1	21.0
		20% to 49%	16.4	45.8	38.7	35.9	26.1
		50% to 79%	26.5	52.5	48.6	43.9	31.7
		80% and over	24.5	49.0	44.2	39.2	30.2
		0 to 19%	11.0	36.0	29.4	20.7	20.9
	% of assets	20% to 49%	19.8	47.3	41.4	33.8	30.0
		50% to 79%	23.0	49.9	46.5	38.8	30.6
		80% and over	21.2	48.7	42.5	39.6	28.2
		less than 5 000	12.0	39.7	31.9	22.0	22.6
	Size	in employment	5 000 to 10 000	13.8	41.2	37.1	29.0
10 000 to 50 000			19.6	46.5	41.5	35.8	27.6
50 000 to 99 000			26.4	53.3	45.2	47.6	32.3
100 000 to 299 000			30.6	56.6	47.9	51.2	33.6
300 000+			29.2	51.0	48.2	54.5	39.2
in revenue (USD)			less 1 billion	8.4	31.2	24.8	10.3
	1 to 5 billions	14.7	40.3	36.3	16.7	23.6	
	5 to 9 billions	19.5	48.8	42.8	20.3	26.6	
	10 to 49 billions	23.5	51.4	44.5	29.7	31.8	
	50 to 99 billions	31.7	61.5	51.2	39.1	40.6	
	over 100 billions	34.0	58.1	45.2	37.3	39.3	
Age	Years of existence	less than 10	13.5	37.4	30.9	24.5	20.0
		10 to 20 years	14.9	37.9	33.4	26.4	23.6
		20 +	21.0	50.2	43.7	39.5	29.2

Source: Author's own calculation based on VigeoEiris database

4.4. Labour commitments do not always translate into concrete implementation measures

Commitment and implementation indicators are partially related. Logically, a company that does not disclose or discloses little commitment to labour issues would not disclose any implementation measures. In the majority of cases, companies that score higher than the average in terms of commitment also score above average in terms of implementation. It is worth noting, however, that in certain extreme cases, the commitments might be only declarative and are not accompanied by concrete actions such as training for workers and managers, internal communication, reporting and monitoring measures (including external verification or risk mapping) or a plan of audits of suppliers. In some cases, the coverage of these actions might be insufficient, covering only a small portion of the company's global operations or its suppliers, and not its operations in countries where workers' rights are not guaranteed.

This gap between commitment and implementation is particularly visible in the case of freedom of association (Figure 5). More than 40% of all companies with at least a moderately high score of

commitment (above 50/100) do not disclose any implementation measures in this domain (the implementation score is equal to 0). Likewise, around 40% of all the high committers for freedom of association (those with a commitment score above 70/100) are low implementers (with an implementation score below 30/100) (Figure 6). To a much lesser extent, cases of enterprises failing to translate their high level of commitment into concrete implementation measures are also noticeable in the domains of social monitoring of the supply chain and non-discrimination.

Figure 5: Share of firms with a commitment score above 50/100 and not disclosing any implementation measures

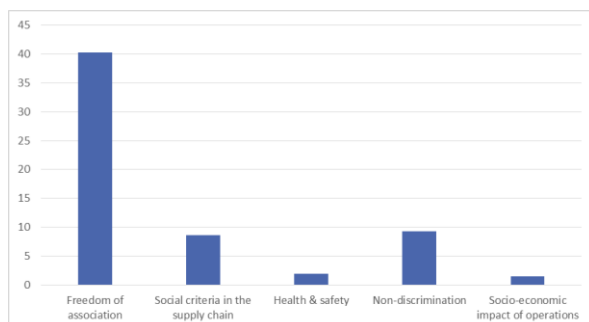
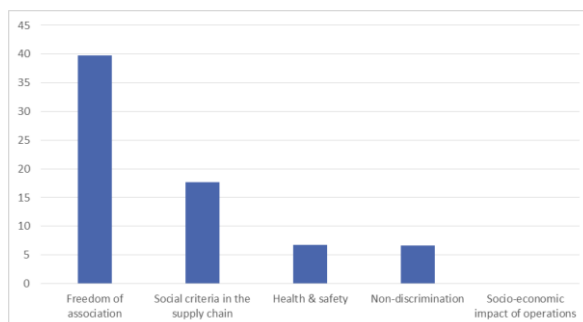


Figure 6: Share of firms with a commitment score above 70/100 (high committers) and an implementation score below 30/100 (low implementers)



Notes: Four levels of commitment have been defined: low committers (between 0 and 29/100), moderately low (between 30 and 49/100), moderately high (between 50 and 69/100) and high committers (70 and above).

Source: Author's own estimation based on VigeoEiris database

4.5. Companies are, however, increasingly prone to disclose on labour commitments

If we limit our analysis to Western European and North American firms for which data are available from 2005 (Western Europe) or 2010 (North America), we can observe an unquestionable push for more CSR in over the past 10 years (Figures 7 and 8). An increasing number of companies tend to disclose commitments towards their workers and third parties. This evolution, which can be observed – to varying degrees – for all of the issues, has also been accompanied by an increase in means of implementation over the same period. Social monitoring of the supply chain, which was clearly not a top priority for these Western European firms 10 years ago, has now reached the same level of awareness than non-discrimination or health and safety issues. The increase has also been significant for North American companies over the past five years. There is no doubt that the pressure exerted by social actors and the international mobilization in response to recent severe accidents in labour-intensive sectors, such as the garment and electronics sectors, have prompted these companies to raise their level of requirement to their suppliers. However, the level of awareness regarding freedom of association or socio-economic impact of operations has grown more slowly, especially in North American firms.

Among Western European firms, the standard deviation in commitment scores has reduced dramatically for all dimensions (between -13.2% for social monitoring of supply chain to -30.6% for health and safety) except for freedom of association (+5.8%). This means that CSR practices of Western European companies have tended to converge over the course of the decade, but freedom of association has not. The evolutions have varied somewhat from industry to industry (Appendix, Fig.16). While downward

trends are relatively rare, certain sectors distinguish themselves by a relatively general and strong upgrading in all (or almost all) issues. These sectors are automotive, electric and gas utilities, mining and metals, chemicals, food and technology hardware.

Figure 7: Evolution of average scores in labour-related commitment in Western Europe since 2005

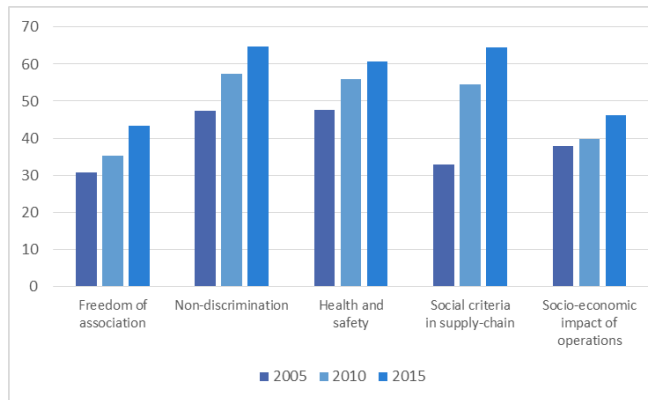
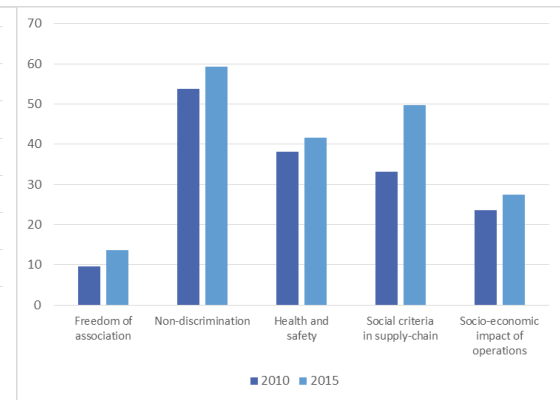


Figure 8: Evolution of average scores in labour-related commitment in North America since 2010



Note: calculations based on two panels of 378 Western European companies and 426 North American companies
 Source: Author's own estimation based on VigeoEiris database

4.6. Companies with a higher commitment in freedom of association generally fare better in other aspects of CSR

In the previous sections, we have shown that despite a growing trend, freedom of association is much less subject to corporate social responsibility than other labour-related issues, and that companies often fail to translate their commitment into implementation. These observations are globally consistent with previous research showing that private compliance initiatives are more likely to emphasize easily detectable violations of labour standards than lack of respect for enabling rights such as freedom of association (Barrientos and Smith, 2007; Anner, 2012)¹⁴.

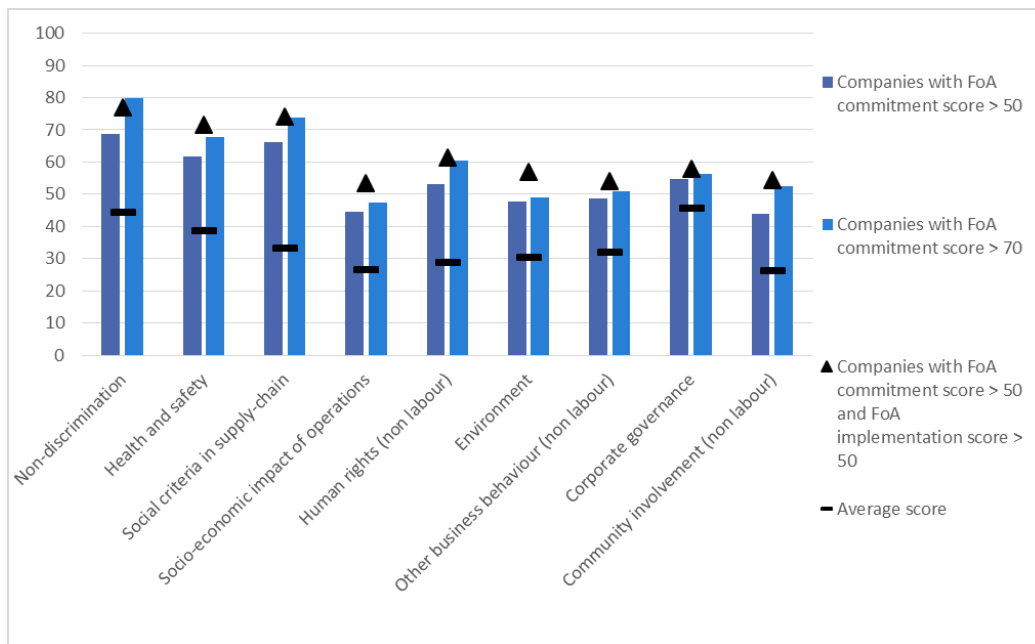
That notwithstanding, even if detecting violations of freedom of association might be relatively complex, especially in subsidiaries or in the supply chain, it also depends on managerial willingness. Since the late 1980s, for example, several multinational enterprises have taken innovative measures, jointly with trade unions, to promote freedom of association in their global operations, particularly through international framework agreements (IFAs). IFAs are agreements signed by multinational companies and global union federations representing workers at the global level by sector, which aim to formalize their relationship with a view to solving problems and working in the interests of both parties (Papadakis, 2008; Papadakis, 2011). VigeoEiris generally gives a higher score to the firms that

¹⁴ The enabling nature of freedom of association is clearly explained in this quote from the report of the committee of experts on the application of conventions and recommendations (International Labour Conference, 101st session, 2012): "Freedom of association is essential for the pursuit of social justice in the process of globalization and interlinks closely with all other fundamental rights covered by this General Survey. It is a basic human right with universal scope enabling the enjoyment of other rights, a process with substantive content, and opens the door to participatory actions against forced labour, the protection of children from abuses and responsive measures based on non-discrimination and equality beneficial to all. Freedom of association is at the heart of democracy from the grassroots to the higher echelons of power."

have signed this type of agreement because they clearly prioritize freedom of association and social dialogue by recognizing social partnership across national borders, even in countries where local unions have structurally weak negotiating capacities. Case studies have shown that IFAs have been successfully invoked to facilitate union organizing efforts and involvement. In recent years, IFAs have also improved qualitatively, building on international instruments, through stronger implementation, monitoring and dispute resolutions procedures and making clearer references to global supply chains (Wills, 2002, Hadwiger, 2015).

It is also important to note that the promotion of freedom of association as an enabling right is likely to have a crosscutting positive influence on all dimensions of CSR. Indeed, putting in place the conditions for effective social dialogue in an enterprise creates an environment that enables the firm to better conciliate all of its economic, social and environmental responsibilities. Top scorers in terms of freedom of association generally have higher than average commitment scores in all the other labour-related dimensions (related to internal workers and third parties) as well as in other CSR dimensions such as human rights, environment or corporate governance, especially when a high level of commitment is combined with concrete implementation measures (Figure 9). Almost three quarters of companies with a high score (above 50/100) for freedom of association combine a high score in both other internal issues (non-discrimination and health and safety) at the same time, while this is only true of 28% of low scorers. CSR commitments therefore seem to be strongest when they are backed by a real willingness to ensure social dialogue inside the enterprise.

Figure 9: Average scores for high committers in freedom of association in other dimensions



Source: Author's own calculation based on VigeoEiris database

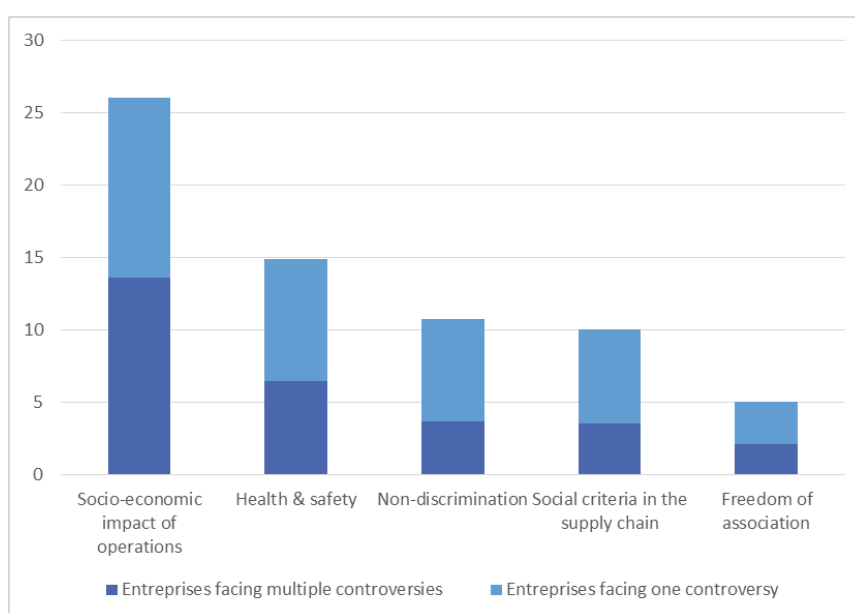
5. How are major listed companies affected by controversies?

5.1. Companies from Western Europe and North America are affected by controversies in different ways

Even if firms commit to promoting social dialogue and agree to set up internal mechanisms for social governance, companies involved in worldwide operations might still be subject to criticism and, in some cases, legal grievances. Controversies are a relevant indicator of a firm's ability to face these types of labour and social risks. In VigeoEiris's methodology, a controversy is an information or a chain of convergent or contradictory information or opinions of public nature, which can be documented and involve a company, on one or more subjects of social responsibility. Through continuous monitoring, VigeoEiris is able to document all the controversies that publicly affect the enterprises in its database.

Due to the public nature of the information used to monitor controversies, we might expect a bias at the expense of potential controversies occurring in countries where freedom of association or press freedom (and more generally the rule of law) are challenged. In such countries, when a controversy is taken up by the media, it is often due to the activism of European or North American social actors. With this in mind, and to maintain – as far as possible – a comparable data, we are limiting our analysis to Western European and North American firms. The timeframe covers the period from January 2013 to July 2016 (3.5 years). During this period, almost 40% of all these enterprises have been subjected to at least one controversy (of varying severity) related to labour issues. The first subjects of controversy are the socio-economic impact of operations (26% of the firms) followed by health and safety (14.9%). Enterprises have been much less subject to controversy on freedom of association (5%) (Figure 10). A significant proportion of the enterprises have had to face multiple labour-related controversies during this period (from 34% on non-discrimination or social monitoring of the supply chain to 52% on socio-economic impact of operations).

Figure 10: Proportion of Western European and North American firms having faced labour-related controversies between 2013 and 2016



Source: Author's own calculation based on VigeoEiris database

Not all sectors are affected by labour-related controversies in the same way (Table 3). The controversies related to third parties, such as the socio-economic impacts of operations or supply chain, are particularly concentrated in a small number of sectors: the five main sectors regroup respectively three quarters and two thirds of all controversies in this domain. Conversely, controversies related to freedom of association and non-discrimination are more spread across the whole economy. Sectors such as automotive, food, mining and metals, and electric and gas utilities are particularly prone to controversies in general.

Table 3: Proportion of the five main sectors in total number of controversies

Towards workers					Towards third-parties				
Freedom of association		Non-discrimination		Health & safety		Social criteria in the supply chain		Socio-economic impact of operations	
Automobiles (2.6)	10.3	Specialised Retail (5.5)	9.4	Energy (4.5)	19.6	Specialised Retail (5.5)	22.2	Energy (4.5)	21.0
Food (2.5)	10.3	Electric & Gas Utilities (3.9)	6.7	Electric & Gas Utilities (3.9)	13.4	Food (2.5)	20.1	Electric & Gas Utilities (3.9)	20.2
Mining & Metals (3.0)	9.4	Automobiles (2.6)	5.8	Mining & Metals (3.0)	10.4	Supermarkets (1.7)	10.4	Mining & Metals (3.0)	12.9
Heavy Construction (0.9)	6.8	Pharmaceuticals & Biotechnology (4.0)	5.8	Oil Equipment & Services (3.0)	7.3	Beverage (1.5)	7.6	Banks (5.6)	12.8
Beverage (1.5)	6.0	Food (2.5)	5.4	Automobiles (2.6)	5.7	Luxury Goods & Cosmetics (1.7)	6.3	Oil Equipment & Services (3.0)	8.6

Note: Each sector's jobs share as part of the whole sample is indicated in brackets

Source: Author's own calculation based on VigeoEiris database

The geography of controversies reveals the variety of challenges faced by enterprises in their global operations. At the same time, as the VigeoEiris database on controversies principally relies on controversies made public in the media, it also informs us about the issues that might be particularly prioritized by social actors and public opinion (Table 4). When operating at the global level, companies have to confront public opinion in their country of origin and in their countries of operation. There is no doubt that public opinion and social priorities can vary substantially from one place to another. Furthermore, the capacity of civil society to question enterprises' actions in terms of social responsibility, which has a strong impact on the effectiveness of private compliance initiatives (Distelhorst et al. 2015), can also vary considerably between countries. This must be kept in mind when analysing the geography of controversies.

One outcome is that Western European and North American firms are globally affected to the same relative degree by controversies related to health and safety, social monitoring in the supply chain and socio-economic impact of operations. This is not the case for freedom of association and non-discrimination. Freedom of association seems to be more a matter of concern for European firms in their foreign operations, while discrimination is more significant for North American companies. A large majority of controversies related to discrimination occur directly in North America, even when they involve European firms.

Most of the time, health and safety is a matter of concern for firms in their region of origin. It is unsurprisingly the opposite for social responsibility in the supply chain, where Western European and North American firms predominantly face controversies elsewhere in the world, in the countries in which they operate. The last issue, the socio-economic impact of operations, is paradoxical: European firms tend to be questioned more on their operations abroad while the North American companies are mostly put under pressure regarding their domestic operations.

Table 4: The geography of controversies for Western European and North American firms from 2013 to 2016

	Region of origin	Share in all related controversies	Location of controversies		
			Western Europe	North America	Rest of the World
Freedom of association	Western Europe	66.7	35.9	14.1	48.7
	North America	33.3	5.1	61.5	33.3
Anti-discrimination	Western Europe	27.7	29.0	56.5	14.5
	North America	72.3	3.1	93.8	3.1
Health and safety	Western Europe	53.1	57.8	16.0	24.9
	North America	46.9	7.0	85.9	7.0
Social responsibility in the supply chain	Western Europe	50.7	16.4	5.5	78.1
	North America	49.3	1.4	21.1	77.5
Socio-economic impact of operations	Western Europe	54.0	34.0	15.2	50.8
	North America	46.0	7.3	70.4	22.4

Note: the share of enterprises from each region is almost the same (49.7% from Western Europe and 50.3% from North America)

Source: Author's own calculation based on VigeoEiris database

5.2. Firms with the highest commitments are generally more affected by controversies but seem to respond better when those controversies occur

How might CSR commitments be associated with potential controversies? CSR policies can be adopted in reaction to past controversies, and because companies know that they might, for various reasons, be affected by controversies in the future. A firm that invests (or uses the services of suppliers) in a country where freedom of association is not a guaranteed right, for example, might undertake a particular commitment and implement specific measures in that regard. Another example would be firms in sectors with particularly hazardous working conditions, which might be willing to go beyond the local law to improve the health and safety of their workers. In this regard, CSR policies might have three different objectives: to reduce the risk of controversies; to reduce the severity of controversies; or to improve the quality of the response when controversies occur. To test these three assumptions, longitudinal data would be needed to check the causality relationship between labour-related commitments, the risk, the type of controversies and the quality of responses. Unfortunately, such an analysis is not possible with this cross-sectional dataset and for now we must therefore limit ourselves to the observation of potential correlations.

The observed probability of a firm being affected by at least one controversy generally goes up with its level of commitment to each labour-related dimension (Figure 11). This is particularly true for companies with the highest levels of commitment (over 70/100) with regard to four of the five dimensions (freedom of association, non-discrimination, health-safety and supply chain) and from a moderately high level of commitment in the last dimension. That said, if this probability is controlled by the four main characteristics of the firm (sector, region, jobs and age), we can see that it is significantly reduced for the highest committers whatever the dimension (Figure 12). With regard to freedom of association, there is no positive correlation between commitment and risk, meaning that high commitment to freedom of association is not related to a higher risk of controversy. For other

dimensions, the relationship still exists, which might suggest that companies' investment in CSR policies is related to risk. This observation needs to be investigated further to understand why the logic differs between freedom of association and the other CSR commitments.

Figure 11: Observed probability of being affected by at least one controversy since 2013 according to level of commitment

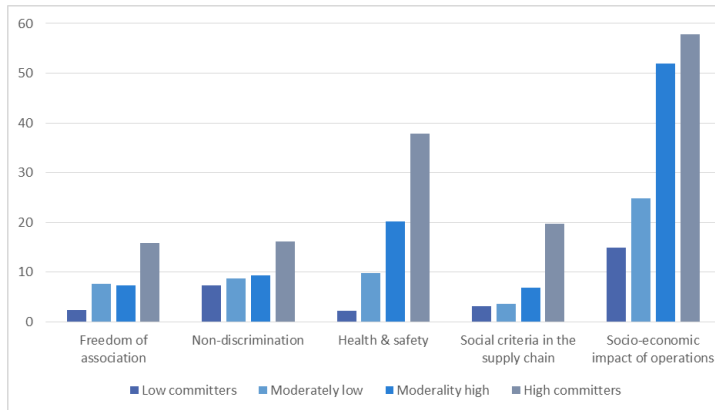
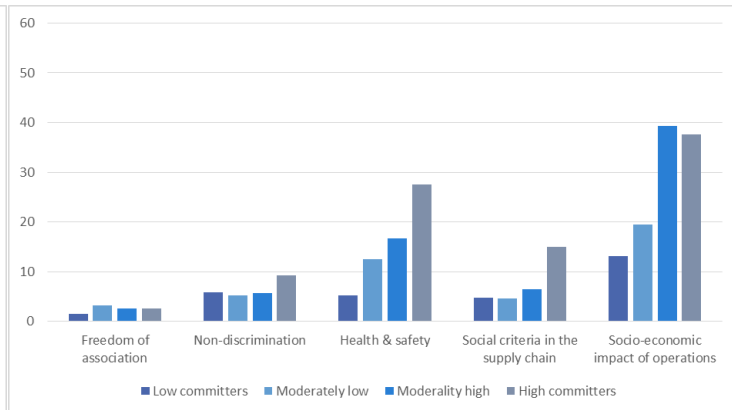


Figure 12: Controlled probability of being affected by at least one controversy since 2013 according to level of commitment (logit regression)



Note: In figure 7, for each issue we apply a logit regression on the risk of being affected by at least one controversy from 2013 to 2016 according to level of commitment. The probability is controlled by sector, region, number of jobs and age of the firm. Four levels of commitment have been defined: low comitters (between 0 and 29/100), moderately low (between 30 and 49/100), moderately high (between 50 and 69/100) and high comitters (70 and above).

Source: Author's own estimation based on VigeoEiris database

Finally, the VigeoEiris database also scores the severity of the controversy and the responsiveness of enterprises. The severity is based on the criticality, scale and reversibility of the impacts of controversies on stakeholders and the enterprise. The responsiveness score reflects the quality of dialogue with impacted stakeholders and the remedial actions taken by the enterprise. The severity indicator ranges from minor to critical, and the responsiveness indicator from proactive to non-communicative. We converted these indicators into numerical values ranging from 0 to 3.

Whichever dimension is considered, descriptive statistics do not show a clear relationship between the level of commitment and the average level of severity of the controversies (Figure 13). We can see, however, that companies with the highest levels of commitment are slightly more reactive (Figure 14). This is especially observable for companies with a high level of commitment to freedom of association and social responsibility in the supply chain, and to a lesser extent health and safety. This might be explained by the fact that, where they exist, CSR and social dialogue mitigate the problems that might arise.

Figure 13: Average level of severity of controversy according to the level of commitment

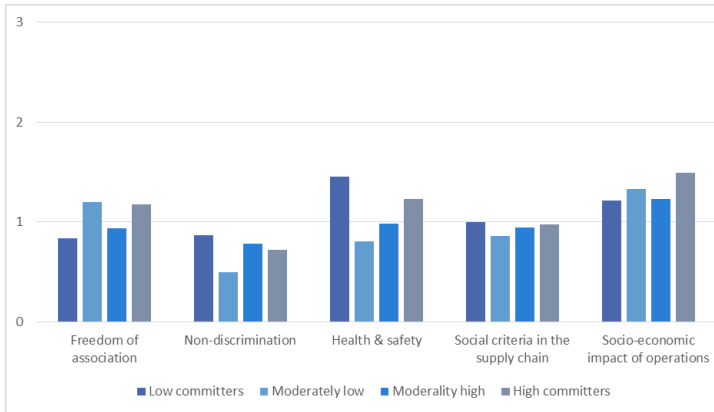
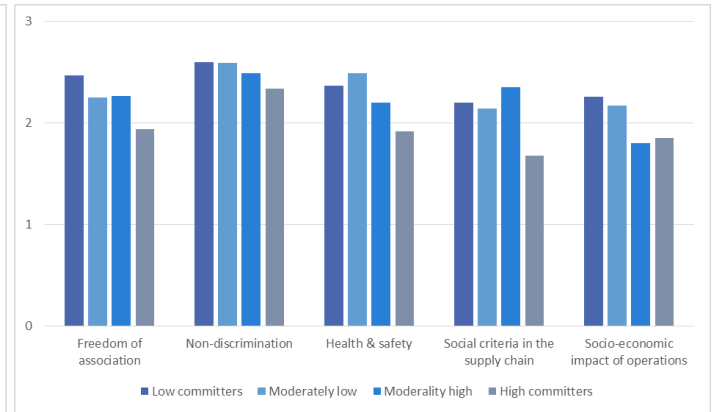


Figure 14: Average level of firms' responsiveness to controversy according to their level of commitment



Note: Four levels of commitment have been defined: low committers (between 0 and 29/100), moderately low (between 30 and 49/100), moderately high (between 50 and 69/100) and high committers (70 and above). The severity score ranges from 0 (minor) to 3 (critical). The responsiveness score also ranges from 0 (proactive) to 3 (non-communicative).

Source: Author's own estimation based on VigeoEiris database

6. Conclusion and further questions

The aim of this article was to fill a gap in knowledge on private governance mechanisms, especially on the magnitude of support of major listed enterprises to these mechanisms. An analysis based on the VigeoEiris database has allowed us to provide a general overview of the adherence of major listed companies worldwide to labour-related CSR practices. The popular belief that companies are increasingly prone to disclosing commitment towards their workers and third parties, such as their suppliers' workers or communities, is correct. That said, we have brought to light significant contrasts between regions. West European companies receive far better scores in all domains. Non-discrimination is also a notable priority for many North American companies. On other issues, and in other regions, companies largely lag behind Western European companies in terms of commitment. We have also shown that generally the level of commitment increases with the degree of internationalization, the size and the age of the enterprise.

For the majority of companies, the promotion of freedom of association is not an issue of CSR commitment unlike non-discrimination, health and safety and commitment to suppliers' workers. As an enabling right, however, freedom of association is likely to have a positive influence on all dimensions of CSR. CSR commitments are strongest when they are backed up by a real willingness to ensure social dialogue inside the enterprise.

The geography of controversies affecting companies shows significant differences between Western Europe and North America. Freedom of association is mainly a matter of concern for European firms in their foreign operations while non-discrimination impacts more North American companies and the North American operations of European companies. Regarding the socio-economic impact of operations, European firms are questioned more on their operations abroad in the rest of the world while North American companies tend to come under pressure for their domestic operations. After controlling by using observable data, we found that the risk of facing a controversy was higher for the companies with the highest level of commitment, except in the case of controversies related to freedom of association. The logic behind this observation still needs to be investigated. Finally, although

descriptive statistics do not allow a clear relationship to be observed between level of commitment and severity of controversies, they do show a positive relationship between commitment and reactivity to controversies.

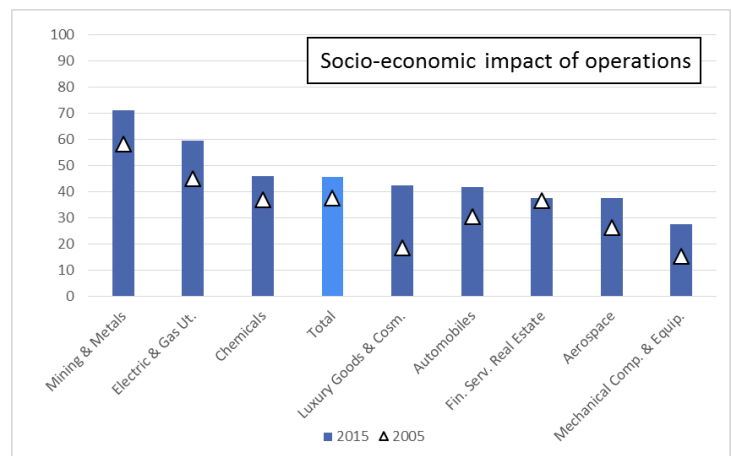
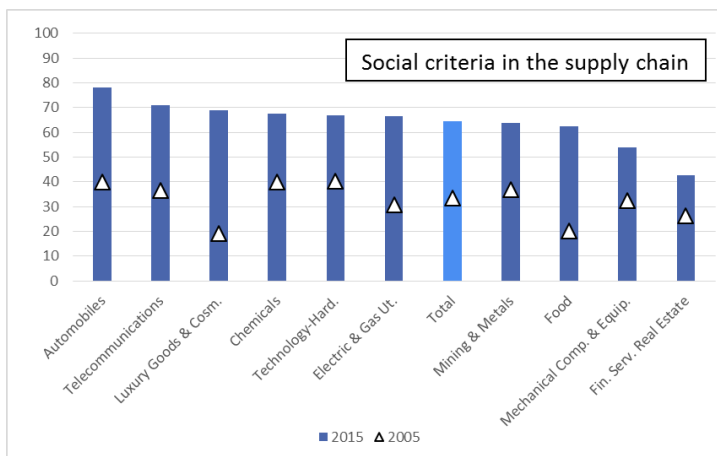
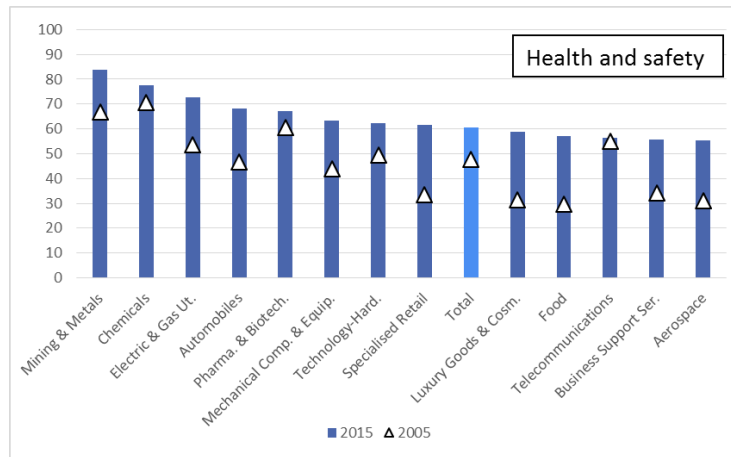
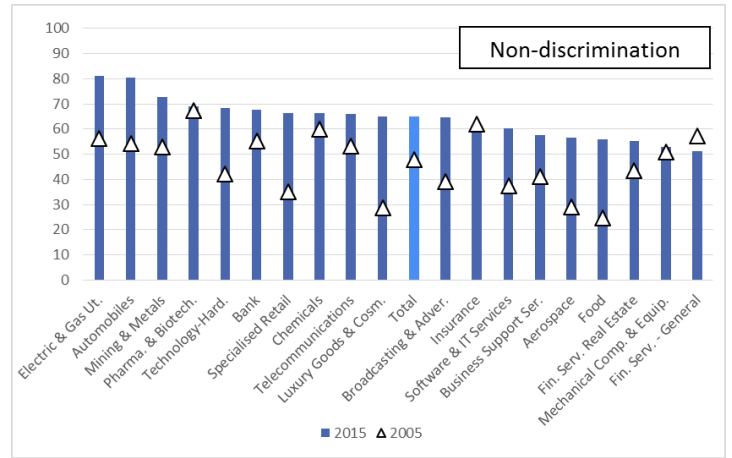
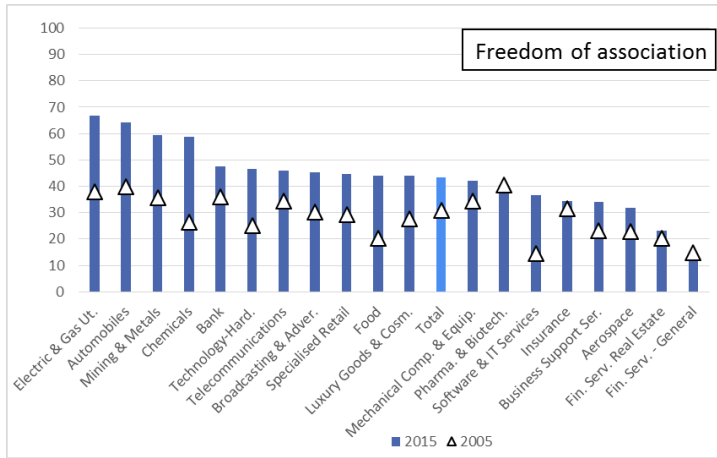
This snapshot of the practices of major listed companies worldwide needs to be completed by further research on the basis of VigeoEiris data. In the next stage, we propose to concentrate our analysis on two sets of questions. The first will aim to analyse in detail the CSR policies implemented by companies. From a sectoral perspective and relying on both quantitative information (the database) and qualitative information (the detailed companies' files) made available by VigeoEiris, we will try to identify distinct strategies and trends between companies. We propose to start looking at the automotive sector, as it is a relatively concentrated but global sector. The second set of research will aim to analyse the articulation of CSR practices in firm strategies. For this we propose to broaden our analysis to issues that are not directly labour-related, such as environment. In continuing the research carried out by Cavaco and Crifo, we will try to identify the potential of complementarity and substitutability of labour and environmental practices.

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Figure 16: Evolution of average scores in labour-related commitment in Western Europe since 2005 by industry



Source: Author's own estimation based on VigeoEiris database

Table 5: Number of companies per country

	Total	included in the Stoxx Global 1800 index		Total	included in the Stoxx Global 1800 index
Africa	68	1	Western Europe	682	588
Egypt	5		Austria	10	8
Morocco	12		Belgium	14	14
South-Africa	51	1	Denmark	23	21
Arab States	15		Finland	18	15
Qatar	7		France	114	82
Saudi Arabia	1		Germany	72	65
United Arab Emirates	7		Greece	5	
Central & Western Asia	24		Ireland	14	12
Turkey	24		Italy	38	31
Eastern Asia	738	386	Luxembourg	7	5
China (PRC + Hong Kong)	196	46	Norway	12	9
Japan	349	340	Portugal	4	3
Korea	93		Spain	35	29
Taiwan	100		Sweden	43	42
Eastern Europe	53	2	Switzerland	50	48
Bulgaria	2		The Netherlands	32	30
Czech Republic	3	2	United Kingdom	191	174
Hungary	3		South-East Asia and the Pacific	228	101
Poland	23		Australia	77	69
Russia	21		Indonesia	30	
Slovakia	1		Malaysia	42	
Latin America and the Caribbean	147		New Zealand	7	7
Bermuda	2		Philippines	20	
Brazil	67		Singapore	28	25
Chile	25		Thailand	24	
Colombia	14		Southern Asia	73	
Mexico	30		India	73	
Peru	9		Total	2719	1636
Northern America	691	558			
Canada	83	51			
United States of America	608	507			

Source: VigeoEiris