LABOR LESSONS
SUPPLY CHAIN STANDARDS FOR SUSTAINABLE 21ST CENTURY BUSINESSES

IN PARTNERSHIP WITH:

NOMI network
Labor trafficking and slave labor are modern day challenges that represent historic abuses, appearing in nearly every industry sector and across all populated continents today. However, the 21st century offers new tools to help corporations move beyond such exploitative practices, for which there is no room in our society. These tools come from government agencies, non-profits, and corporations. Political and economic leverage, when coupled with innovation and technological advances, offer possible solutions to modern day slavery.

In Summer 2016, Concordia and the Nomi Network convened a roundtable to identify industry transferrable labor lessons that can help eradicate labor trafficking and slave labor. The organizers’ objective was to better define standard setting metrics that can be applied across industries in order to address the current ambiguity in the labor rights space. Participants included leading industry representatives, senior government officials, and human rights organizations with expertise in supply chain standards. The discussion highlighted numerous challenges faced across industries, while also pinpointing anti-trafficking successes and replicable achievements. At the end of the discussion, a series of recommendations and action steps were produced. The following white paper captures the roundtable’s key findings and seeks to contribute to an already rich discussion taking place amongst the Luxury Marketing Council and other industry leaders.

KEY TAKEAWAYS

- Celebrating wins and improvements through “five seconds of praise,” rather than shaming corporations, will more effectively move corporations to change and make supply chain improvements.
- Media partnerships are a good way to facilitate greater consumer awareness.
- The millennial generation has unique potential to demand change.
- Metrics should adopt population-centric methodologies at key points in the supply chain.
- Investors care about environmental, social, and governance (ESG) data from a risk management and profitability standpoint, but labor trafficking has yet to be categorized in the same group of evaluator metrics. Labor trafficking must be promoted as a relevant issue that investors will care about when considering ESG data as a whole.

LABOR TRAFFICKING: BAD FOR BUSINESS

Corporations are increasingly recognizing that exploitative and abusive labor practices are bad for business. ‘Slave Free’ and responsibly sourced commodities and services are growing in demand, and new domestic legislation such as the United Kingdom’s Modern Slavery Act and the United States’ Trade Facilitation and Trade Enforcement Act of 2015 (H.R. 644) is putting mounting pressure on corporations to secure their supply chains. Reputation, profit, and the ability to sell to lucrative markets are all at risk for businesses employing exploitative and abusive labor practices. Furthermore, prolific media coverage of abuses assures that slave trafficking in one company often taints the reputation of an entire industry. Corporations are increasingly looking to act proactively to ensure their supply chain is free of labor violations. However, achieving this level of good governance is not easy due to the many complexities within the supply and distribution chains.
The familiar adage that admitting you have a problem is the first step to recovery has relevance in the case of labor trafficking. In order to arrive at a meaningful solution to labor trafficking, corporations must be willing to partner and become fully aware of the extent of their challenges. Ignoring or neglecting the issue is not a sustainable approach; while some corporations have voluntarily made labor rights a priority in their business models, others have been forced by outside factors to join the dialogue. In the case of the fishing industry, targeted media efforts have successfully highlighted abuses on Thai fishing boats, and more cognizant and informed consumers are shying away from unverified seafood and even taking legal action. For example, groups of consumers filed class-action lawsuits last year against Mars and Nestle for failing to disclose forced labor practices in violation of consumer protection laws, related to the seafood in their pet food products. Failure to lead in this space has proven costly.

It is in the best interest of corporations to understand the full scope of the challenge and be willing to engage across all points. Absent full and transparent engagement from corporations, abuses will simply be pushed down the supply chain or transferred to new industries or different countries. This is not sustainable for the producer, consumer, or corporation. It is vital for corporations to take leadership and start participating in the dialogue to develop viable and attainable solutions.

Regrettably, the current landscape has not been conducive to an informed conversation. In many cases, private sector corporations truly want to engage in dialogue with other corporations to clean their supply chains, but they refrain from doing so because they fear negative media attention. Therefore, while the media is a powerful tool in exposing exploitative practices and raising consumer awareness about human rights in supply chains, it also prevents corporations from joining the dialogue for fear of negative association. Mainstream media reporting on this issue often lacks nuance and rarely presents the economic pressures or cultural considerations that enable labor trafficking and slave labor. Additionally, other competitors are keen to exploit bad publicity for their own gain. For these reasons corporations rarely wish to enter into the conversation and expose themselves to public scrutiny.

This outcome is damaging to broader progress because corporations can offer two valuable streams of information in solution building: a nuanced understanding of what the barriers to clean supply chains are in practice, and examples of practical steps that have been successful. It is problematic that these streams of information are rarely highlighted in media under the current, headline grabbing tactic of naming and shaming.

Corporations alone can present the economic and regulatory challenges to achieving a clean supply chain. They provide an important counter perspective to many of the well-meaning but simplistic “solutions” suggested in the public domain. Their participation in the abolitionist conversation is vital for stakeholders to fully understand the scope and complexity of the challenge. Further, they can provide a level of detail regarding supply chain operations that is necessary to devise actionable solutions. Until the private sector is more comfortable talking about the work they’re doing in this space, the response to labor abuses will be regulation based and top-down. By engaging as partners in the conversation, corporations will have a greater opportunity to help develop solutions that reflect the true complexities of labor trafficking and slavery.
MAJOR CHALLENGES: ONE ENCOURAGING CORPORATIONS TO JOIN THE DIALOGUE

PRACTICAL STEPS FOR SUCCESS

Many corporations are looking to ensure human rights in their supply chains but don’t know how to. Solution-oriented discussions with other corporations facing similar challenges provide roadmaps or specific resources that have been successful in similar instances. Peer-to-peer industry conversations are highly valuable in this regard.

Corporations and the public alike must realize the difficulty involved in transforming scattered dialogue into concrete action. Private sector corporations are more likely to take realistic and impactful action when they see that there is sufficient public demand for improvements in supply chains. Corporations must also be willing to initially settle for small victories and grow from there, building momentum and experience along the way.

But identifying small successes can be a difficult task in itself. Corporations should take action to discover their own minor victories by parsing the usual data to look for hidden bright spots. Even small statistics, when scrutinized, can indicate small but significant improvement that can be built upon. For example, one private sector participant at the roundtable admitted that a recent report found an increase in the absolute number of child laborers within their industry. However, when that corporation accounted for the amount of new producers that entered the industry, it saw that the ratio of children among all laborers actually decreased. The company knew it was a major problem that the absolute number of child laborers increased, but identified a small bright spot that they could build on. These small successes should be celebrated with what the roundtable labeled “five seconds of praise.” That public praise is important for the corporations’ continued efforts against labor trafficking, as well as for moving the industry forward. But, during their five seconds of praise, it is imperative that corporations acknowledge the long road ahead and further work to be done. That way each tiny improvement can serve as a foundation for positive change and bigger improvements in the future. This process must be repeated until a company’s supply chain is verified to be completely devoid of any forced labor or abuse of any kind in violation of human rights.

On the road to a clean supply chain, corporations should also take quick and decisive action when scandals emerge that may threaten their reputations. Instead of reacting slowly with weak responses—such as “We are investigating these matters”—corporations should immediately issue strong-willed statements that acknowledge the problem, apologize to those affected, and clearly inform the public how the problem will be mitigated and prevented in the future. If corporations know how to react in a way that minimizes public shaming and damage to their public image, they will be more inclined to openly engage in industry dialogue, expressing both the good and the bad.
SPEAKING ABOUT THE GOOD AND THE BAD – PATAGONIA WOOL STANDARD

Outdoor apparel company Patagonia presents a model example for how to respond to a highly publicized scandal involving a key supplier. In August 2015, People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals (PETA) posted a video depicting a sheep on the farm of a major Patagonia supplier being slaughtered in an especially cruel manner. In response, Patagonia’s CEO Rose Marcario issued a statement announcing that it would immediately end its business relationship with the supplier and take responsibility for failing to ensure the humane treatment of all animals in its supply chain. Additionally, Patagonia showed it was dedicated to resolving the problem by declaring that it would not buy any new wool until the company could ensure its products are derived from a humane process based on verifiable standards.\(^2\)

In late July 2016, Patagonia released those standards for animal treatment, sustainability of its wool, and land-use practices. Dubbed the Patagonia Wool Standard, it details zero-tolerance policies suppliers must follow and ensures more reliable third-party auditors, demonstrating to the public that Patagonia is delivering on the promises laid out in its August 2015 statement.\(^3\)
SETTING A POSITIVE EXAMPLE  

SETTING A POSITIVE EXAMPLE - TALLEY’S FISHING VESSELS IN NEW ZEALAND

Sometimes small successes can consist of simply doing the right thing when other corporations in your industry are not, setting a positive example of what all corporations should aspire to. New Zealand has had major issues with labor trafficking occurring on foreign-chartered vessels that operate in New Zealand’s waters and supply fish to some of its largest fishing corporations. For example, in 2011 migrant workers aboard the ship Melilla 203, which supplied fish to New Zealand’s eighth largest seafood company, were found to suffer from severely exploitative conditions that amounted to modern-day slavery. In New Zealand waters, the ship’s operators physically and sexually abused Indonesian workers and paid them as low as 50 cents per hour, a far cry from the minimum of $12 per hour under New Zealand law. Physical and sexual abuse also occurred aboard a foreign-chartered ship that supplied fish to New Zealand’s second-largest seafood company, even though that company’s observers reported seeing no labor abuse issues.

Bloomberg Businessweek both exposed the stories of these abused migrants and highlighted Talley’s, New Zealand’s third-largest seafood company, whose efforts at sustainability contrasted sharply with its seafood competitors. Although 62.3% of New Zealand’s deep-water catch occurred on foreign-chartered ships around that time, Talley’s stood out for refusing to source from such vessels. Whereas observers from other corporations aboard foreign-chartered ships were looking the other way instead of reporting abuses, Talley’s accepted third-party audits of its labor standards as a condition of a lucrative contract to supply Hoki fish to McDonald’s for the fast-food chain’s Filet-O-Fish sandwiches.  

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The current anti-trafficking and abolition landscape largely reflects disparate practices at the industry level. This is to the detriment of meaningful change to the status quo for two reasons: first, corporations must remain competitive and respond to their shareholders, which runs counter to many of the upfront costs required for clean supply chains; second, labor trafficking is a cross-sector challenge that cannot be sufficiently tackled by just one entity or sector.

Corporations trying to tackle this challenge absent a coalition or cross-sector effort will face challenges in terms of process and procedure. A current obstacle to industries is a lack of solution providers. For example, many corporations are seeking to eliminate worker and recruitment fees in their supply chain. However, in many areas there is a lack of independent or third party auditors available to assist in this. Here, there is the problem of both supply and demand. Until there is more of a demand across an industry, many of the resources necessary will be more challenging to acquire. But until resources or solutions exist, an industry can’t be expected to be successful in many of these complicated areas. In this manner, tackling slavery becomes a chicken-or-egg challenge for corporations. An industry-wide effort to alter the recruitment fee structure, however, would reset this challenge and the supply would meet the demand.

An additional challenge is the expectation that the private sector alone can provide a solution. As many of the drivers of exploitative tactics stem from economic and political circumstances, individual company efforts are insufficient and unnecessarily costly. However, if a coalition or industry-wide effort was made, it would force the government to the table and bring about the evolution of regulations to combat exploitation. Public-private partnerships can play a positive role in meaningfully engaging the public sector as well. Findings from the roundtable highlight the importance of coordination between all actors in the supply chain including corporations, suppliers, governments, consumers, and workers across industries. Peer-to-peer industry movement, coupled with the sharing of resources and best practices, helps in burden sharing, maximizing benefit, and minimizing the individual cost of action.

PRACTICAL STEPS FOR SUCCESS

Roundtable participants emphasized the need for more population-centric action to tackle labor issues in supply chains. Corporations following this approach would focus primarily on the social and cultural components of supply chains, rather than a balance of environment, social, and governance considerations. This approach would entail conducting an in-depth social supply chain analysis at a highly localized level, which would provide more action-oriented recommendations framed in context of a company’s profit-oriented demands.

This strategy revolves around the idea that when dealing with supply chains rooted in non-western societies, corporations should focus less on traditionally western-style practices like self-certification, international laws, and environmental, social, and governance (ESG) considerations. Instead, they should closely scrutinize typical behavior on the ground at key chokepoints in the supply chain, including their real effects on communities and the men, women, and children who work in them. For example, it might focus on mapping employment relationships across a company’s supply chain, rather than trying to tackle recruitment fees more broadly. Only once individual supply chains are analyzed at the population level can critical threats in the supply chain be identified, understood, publicized in the media, and targeted with specific legislation or governance.
A proponent of this approach at the roundtable referred to the well-documented case of how certain deeply ingrained cultural ideals of Korean Air’s individual crew members impacted the airline’s dismal safety record in the late 1990s. Korean Air eventually realized its poor safety record was a result of its distinct organizational culture; in keeping with cultural hierarchical ideals, subordinate crew members were not adequately correcting or warning captains about mistakes prior to crashes, out of deference to their superior ages or positions. While outside of the labor trafficking space, this example shows the importance of outside analysis and a population-centric approach.

Advocates of this population-centric approach believe it can only gain traction if it achieves a positive outcome for both the individuals that make up a community and the corporations that hire from the community. Many human rights organizations would argue that such a population-centric analysis has already been conducted in the development of supply chain standards, although the suppliers of this suggestion argue that some stakeholders, such as corporations, were not included in the original assessment. Therefore, action must also be taken to entice the private sector to come on board by demonstrating a clear return on risk benefiting corporations’ profit margins. Champions of this strategy must share case studies with the private sector that revolve around profit while highlighting past successes that can be duplicated.

Another recommendation for action raised at the roundtable is the creation of a repository of information accessible to private sector corporations, serving as a one-stop source that lists all relevant reporting requirements and applicable standards certifications. That same repository could also be accessible to consumers and civil society organizations so they can view corporations comparatively and hold them accountable. As more and more government legislation is passed concerning supply chains, such a repository would also make for easier enforcement, greater awareness by corporations of all sizes of their requirements, and more overall accountability. A number of civil-society led initiatives have begun this process, but a more exhaustive and user-friendly resource is still needed.

The positive impact of third party auditors cannot be minimized. Companies who have achieved successes in combatting labor trafficking often credit partnerships with auditors; long-term relationships with auditors have achieved greater success. Third party auditors provide additional expertise in recognizing indicators of abuse or exploitation. Importantly, they can evaluate Human Compliance & issue Corrective Action Procedures (CAPs) if faults – small and large – are found. Third party auditors should be mandated to extend their role to subcontractors and non-traditional employees who are often made especially vulnerable.
LEADING THE WAY IN PEER-TO-PEER ENGAGEMENT –
THE HERSHEY COMPANY’S COORDINATION OF THE COCOA INDUSTRY

The Hershey Company is making major improvements to how it produces its products, and it’s taking the cocoa industry with it. The corporation has set targets and is on track to meeting them through the usage of independent audits, ending recruitment fees, entering into long-term relationships with their farmers, and having 100% certified sourcing assurances. Further, it is communicating to consumers and other industry peers how exactly they are doing this, extending its impact to others in the industry. By feeding lessons learned and insights back into the cocoa certifying body, The Hershey Company has shown the industry and consumers alike that slave labor has no role to play in its products, or in anyone else’s.
MAJOR CHALLENGES: THREE

CONSUMER AWARENESS

Corporations and broader industries face a daunting task: they are increasingly being held to a higher regulatory and moral standard, but face immense pressure to keep costs low for their consumers. To remain competitive in a crowded market, corporations rely on cheap labor within their supply chain. This demand fuels labor trafficking and slave labor around the world. Until consumers are willing to demand slavery-free products with their wallets as well as their voices, this cycle will continue.

A number of public polls and reports indicate that human rights is important to the average consumer. The 2015 Nielsen Global Sustainability Report revealed that 66 percent of global consumers claim they are willing to pay a higher price for brands committed to environmental and social sustainability. Among those 66 percent of respondents, 69 percent want products derived from natural and/or organic ingredients, 58 percent want corporations to be environmentally friendly, and 56 percent say they prefer corporations committed to social values. However, these polls represent consumer claims that do not always reflect real purchasing patterns. When faced with a choice between comparable goods at the store, a consumer can often be assumed to act rationally and purchase the lower priced good.

An exception to this is when sustainably sourced products provide instant, tangible gratification to a consumer, such as through the Toms or Warby Parker buy-one-give-one models. The extra markup for a socially conscious product is amorphous and does not resonate with the average consumer. When that markup translates into a product that they can relate with, it becomes a more compelling offer.

Pressure is extending beyond direct consumers to investors. According to research conducted by a leading financial analysis firm represented at the roundtable, 61 percent of investors feel that corporations should be required to report annual figures related to sustainability indicators, checked by independent auditors. All sides should also embrace the opportunity to frame the ESG conversation as it relates to labor-trafficking in clear profit-oriented terms.

While this data clearly shows the importance of social impact from an ethical and profitability standpoint, it was less clear to roundtable participants how supply chain security and slave labor fits into this conversation. All actors must take action to extend the ESG conversation in a way that specifically includes labor-trafficking related issues, ensuring they aren’t forgotten as investors and corporations become increasingly tuned into ESG considerations.

PRACTICAL STEPS FOR SUCCESS

There are a number of mechanisms available to corporations to help consumers and investors achieve gratification through their dollars that do not require a major change in a company’s business model.

Exposé journalism has played an important role thus far in educating consumers of the horrible crimes occurring within the supply chains of big name American corporations and household products. Taking a more positive approach, a number of roundtable participants see a need for the private sector to develop media partnerships to celebrate corporations that are ahead of the curve and worthy of their aforementioned “five seconds of praise.”

Increased media coverage and the development of media partnerships can help enhance consumer awareness. By communicating across multiple channels what the additional cost at a cash register translates into in terms of improved labor practices overseas, socially conscious buyers will begin to connect their dollars to action. A savvy media campaign
could help to drive an industry-wide conversation, helping individual corporations overcome the cost of action.

A media campaign can be coupled with product branding options. As has been done in the coffee industry through the Fair Trade movement, an industry-wide designation on the enforcement of labor standards would help customers not only recognize socially responsibly-sourced products at the marketplace but also subtly reinforce the need for such a conversation. It would remind consumers that they should be more aware of where their products came from and how they were produced.

Providing assurances, such as a “100% certified sourcing” label on products, can raise awareness at two levels: first, consumers become acclimated to the notion that products and goods are often produced with some degree of forced labor, and second, that corporations who invest in clean labor practices are investing in solutions. Participants at the roundtable discussed the important branding impact that can be achieved by striving to source 100% of products from certified suppliers. Corporations working toward this 100% certification goal could advertise this to consumers with labels on their products. Even if the 100% goal is not yet achieved, initial labels can convey the importance of the goal to consumers and inform them how close corporations are to achieving it.

Some participants also raised the idea of adding labels to products that celebrate specific small successes, which could be certified as true from an external monitoring organization. For example, a product might include a label informing consumers that the item was made in a way that helped save five lives, along with a certification from the UN.

This certification should not just come from individual corporations focusing on improving their own supply chain to improve competitiveness; it should be developed with input from civil society organizations and governments so that corporations feel responsible to outside stakeholders when policing their own supply chains.

A drawback for some is the possibility that the first company to dedicate itself to 100% certified sourcing, although presenting itself as a leader, will face significantly higher costs than the competition until other corporations in the industry get on board for the same purpose. Therefore, the first company to strive for this goal must take a leap of faith and be willing to take on this cost of action in the hopes that other corporations will soon follow. Once the industry has united together for this common purpose, a shared network will be created that will theoretically allow costs to go down for all corporations. First adopters should thus be celebrated for taking the bold but difficult first steps.

The roundtable suggested that corporations should be ahead of the curve in adapting these messaging and branding strategies. Studies indicate that the millennial generation, the buyers of the future, will increasingly demand this type of transparency. Corporations who adopt these practices before it’s demanded of them will be seen as industry leaders. They’ll also be more profitable. Patagonia, for example, has seen its profits triple since 2008 when current sustainability-minded CEO Rose Marcario first joined the company as CFO. Patagonia has made major investments in its ethical supply chain, building human rights into the DNA of the company. Patagonia’s Supply Chain Social Responsibility Department has the power to veto a vendor or factory if they do not comply with the company’s human rights metrics. This bucks common practice in the fashion industry, where quality, price, and economies of scale often force factory conditions down the priority list. However, Patagonia has managed to remain competitive in a market driven by
increasingly conscious consumers. Participants agreed that the millennial generation has the potential to demand improvement in supply chains with a higher intensity and dedication than older generations. Some had noticed that younger people have responded positively to the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), which have yet to gain traction with other age groups. More digitally connected than any other generation, millennials have the propensity to absorb massive amounts of information on a constant basis, possibly leaving them more informed and concerned about world issues in general.

Many participants agreed that it is too early to tell whether millennials will actually put greater pressure on corporations and governments or be more willing to take action to solve the world issues they care about. But there was a general consensus that the millennial generation has the most potential to come forward in a unified manner to demand change to a degree that has never been attempted by previous generations.

The private sector should identify new ways of tapping into this millennial potential by bolstering their corporate social responsibility efforts and generating positive publicity for their sustainable efforts that millennials will notice and appreciate. Such actions are crucial, because this portion of the population that represents America’s future may increasingly choose to buy only from corporations with reputations for having clean supply chains.

Other pressures may also arise from future generations. It’s conceivable that millennials will also self-elect to work for corporations with strong social missions. A 2015 study in Britain found that 62% of surveyed millennials born between 1981 and 1996 want to work for a company that makes a positive impact on the world, compared to 42% for survey participants of all ages. To remain competitive in the hiring and retention space, corporations may wish to consider how their sourcing and other production practices contribute to social well-being.
IMMEDIATE GRATIFICATION: THE WARBY PARKER BUSINESS MODEL

Warby Parker was discussed as a model example of a company that has built a successful business model by donating an item to those in need for each similar item purchased by customers. Warby Parker, a for-profit eyewear retailer launched in 2009, has used the one-for-one business model to attract a greater number of potential customers; whereas its traditional customers are primarily interested in fashionable eyewear, Warby Parker’s donations attract an additional group of customers that are socially conscious above all else.

Since Warby Parker mainly sells its products directly to customers online, spending less on brick-and-mortar stores, optical labs, and licensing of its brand, it can use the lower operating costs to fund its donations. As a result, Warby Parker sells fashionable eyeglasses for as little as $95, cheaper than typical eyewear retailers but still high enough to pay for its donations. The company matches the value of money that each customer spends on its eyeglasses and donates those funds to its partner nonprofit organization VisionSpring, which sources and distributes eyeglasses to those in need.

Warby Parker’s business model has three significant benefits: customers are convinced to buy the product because the social impact is simple, tangible, and more personal; it strikes a chord with customers’ personal passions, increasing their loyalty; and it helps the company attract skilled, social impact-minded employees. Its business model has clearly paid off in sales; between 2013 and 2015, its yearly revenue jumped from $35 million to more than $100 million.
CONCLUSION

Corporations are increasingly feeling the pressure to ensure human rights exist at all points in their supply and distribution chain. At the same time, supply chains remain incredibly complex, and there is no silver bullet to the complicated political, economic, and societal drivers of labor trafficking and slavery. However, there are an increasing number of resources and practices for tackling this challenge.

Ultimately, there is a profit-oriented argument for eradicating slave labor. As industries move in this direction due to both market and political forces, first adopters and champions of human rights will more and more be recognized for their efforts in this space. Corporations can make real progress through public-private partnerships aimed at fostering constructive dialogue for reform, coordinating an industry, and informing consumers about their laudable efforts.

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Concordia is a registered 501(c)(3) nonprofit, nonpartisan organization that enables effective public-private partnerships to create a more prosperous and sustainable future. We aim to identify new avenues of collaboration for governments, businesses, and nonprofits through campaigns, programming, and research. Concordia officially launched its Campaign Against Labor Trafficking in July 2015 to fight labor trafficking in corporate supply chains, specifically in the Thai fishing industry. Over the course of the Campaign, Concordia will direct its programmatic, research, and networking focus to catalyze action for maximum social impact.

For more information about the July 2016 Labor Lessons Roundtable and its findings, Concordia membership, or the Concordia Campaign Against Labor Trafficking, contact Hanne Dalmut, Concordia’s Director of Social Impact, at hdalmut@concordia.net.

Nomi Network is a vital non-profit economic development agency fighting human trafficking in India and Cambodia. We provide training and job opportunities for survivors and women at risk of human trafficking, workforce and community development services in areas where human trafficking is prevalent, and products made by survivors and women at risk of human trafficking for brands aiming to develop a more ethical supply chain.

For more information about the July 2016 Labor Lessons Roundtable and its findings, and the Nomi Network, please contact Diana Mao, Nomi Network’s Executive Director, at diana@nominetwork.org.