

Changing Markets Foundation  
**Activity Report 2024**







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A letter from our Executive Chair

## A year of growth



*Joakim Bergman, Founder & Executive Chair*

2024 was another defining year for Changing Markets - a year of bold transitions, big wins and renewed purpose. In the face of escalating climate destruction, political instability and global uncertainty, we stayed focused on our fight for a fairer, more sustainable future.

After nearly a decade of impactful campaigning, we made a pivotal decision to shift our funding model. This move opened the door to new partners and diversified our income - laying the foundation for long-term resilience and strategic growth.

In just 12 months, we grew our grant funding exponentially from €157,000 to over €1.17 million. This milestone surpassed all our expectations and reaffirmed the significance of our mission. It's a testament to the incredible efforts of our CEO, Nusa, and our Director of Fundraising and Impact, Anne, whose tireless work, alongside our dedicated team, has set the stage for even greater impact in the year ahead.

It was also a landmark year for our campaigns. Our largest report to date, *The New Merchants of Doubt*, revealed the tactics of the world's biggest meat and dairy companies to delay, distract and derail climate action. Meanwhile, our Fossil Fashion campaign gained further traction with our *Fashion's Plastic Paralysis* report, and we welcomed long-overdue progress on critical EU legislation.

These wins prove what's possible when bold ideas are matched with determined action. As the stakes continue to rise, we're more committed than ever to confronting irresponsible corporate behaviour, demanding accountability and driving systemic change.

The groundwork we laid in 2024 puts us in a strong position to tackle these challenges head-on and drive the transformative progress the world so urgently needs.

A handwritten signature in black ink, likely belonging to Joakim Bergman, the Founder &amp; Executive Chair. The signature is stylized and fluid, with a long horizontal line extending to the right.

A letter from our CEO

# Small but mighty



*Nusa Urbancic, CEO*

We kicked off 2024 with the launch of our new website and visual identity. This was a massive project, requiring us to migrate all our publications since our founding in 2015. In the process, I was struck by the sheer volume and breadth of our work, of how much we have achieved in our relatively short existence. From exposing polluting antibiotic factories in India to cleaning up viscose production, it was good to remember and reflect on how far we had come.

Still, while we enjoyed visiting Memory Lane, we also knew we had to stay grounded in the present. As we predicted last year, uncovering and challenging the complex webs of mis- and disinformation in the food system became even more central to our work in 2024.

In the ‘biggest election year in history’, the World Economic Forum identified disinformation as a top global risk, citing its threats to democracy and social cohesion.

Following our earlier exposé of how conspiracy theories, junk science and aggressive pro-meat social media campaigns are undermining the shift to sustainable food and farming, we dug even deeper into this murky world. Our investigations uncovered, for instance, links between a transnational far-right network and a ban on cultivated meat in Italy.

This was just one of the cases featured in our most ambitious project to date, our mega-report released in July: *The New Merchants of Doubt*. The culmination of 18 months of research across four continents, the report reveals how Big Meat and Dairy is copying the insidious tactics used by Big Oil and Tobacco to manipulate science, influence policymakers and derail progress on climate action.

At 380 pages, it’s not only our biggest report ever, but the most extensive investigation of its kind anywhere. Yes, it’s a doorstopper, but the sheer audacity and extent of corporate manipulation also make it a page-turner. Most importantly, it provides



a comprehensive reference for policymakers, academics, researchers, civil society and the media, and is inspiring greater investigation of industry (mal)practice.

You'll see more about the report in the following pages. We're proud of the work we've done - but we know we are up against a formidable opponent. From co-opting science and enabling false carbon accounting to revolving doors with policymakers and relentless targeting of Gen Z, the industry is waging a full-scale narrative war. Armed with billions, influence and spin, they're working overtime to protect a system that's driving climate breakdown.

But we remain determined. And we're not alone. Across the world, people are pushing back. We saw the power of persistent, evidence-based campaigning in 2024 when a long-awaited reckoning with greenwashing (a close cousin of mis- and disinformation) began in earnest as the EU reached agreement on landmark legislation to ban vague claims like 'carbon neutral' and 'net zero'.

We also reached new heights in our fashion campaigning. Following the interest in our 2023 report *Trashion*, which revealed how low-quality synthetic clothing is dumped in Kenya, I was invited to participate in a panel featuring France's Minister of Ecological Transition, Christophe Béchu, to launch new legislation aimed at rein-ing in fast fashion. As I write, the new law has just made it through France's upper house, and we saw plenty of additional legislation discussed throughout the year.

We also saw industry start to publicly acknowledge that it cannot rely on synthetics in the future, and we saw continuously high media interest, including more than 150 hits for our September report *Fashion's Plastic Paralysis*. One of the joys of Changing Markets is our openness to new ideas and experimenting with different formats. Last year, I particularly enjoyed our collaboration with fashion campaigner Venetia La Manna, producing a hard-hitting video that exposed fashion's dirty practices to nearly 200,000 people.

As I look back on the year, I feel deeply proud of our small, but mighty, team: of how collaborative, supportive, creative and energetic we are. I am deeply grateful to them, to our extensive network of partners, and, of course, to our donors, without whom none of our work would be possible.

Thank you.

Jana Velentz

2024 IN NUMBERS

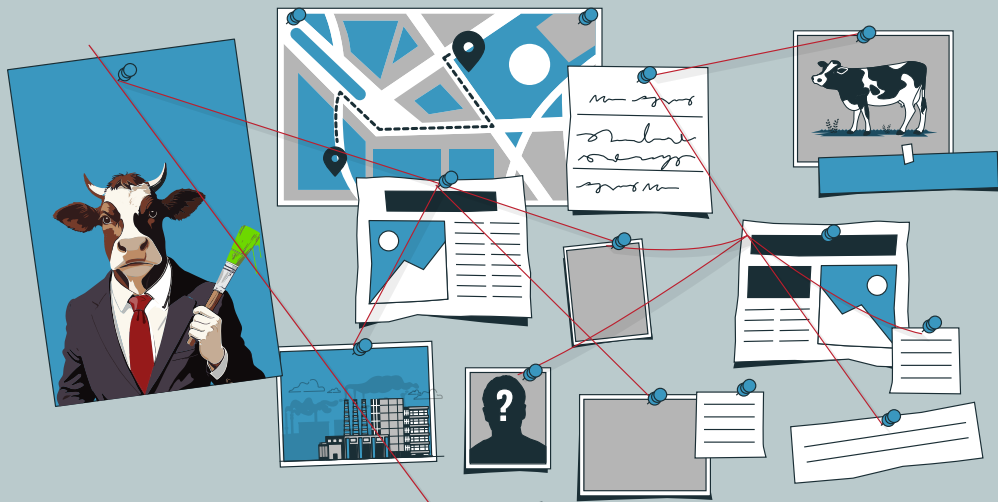
REPORTS

4 REPORTS  
547 PAGES

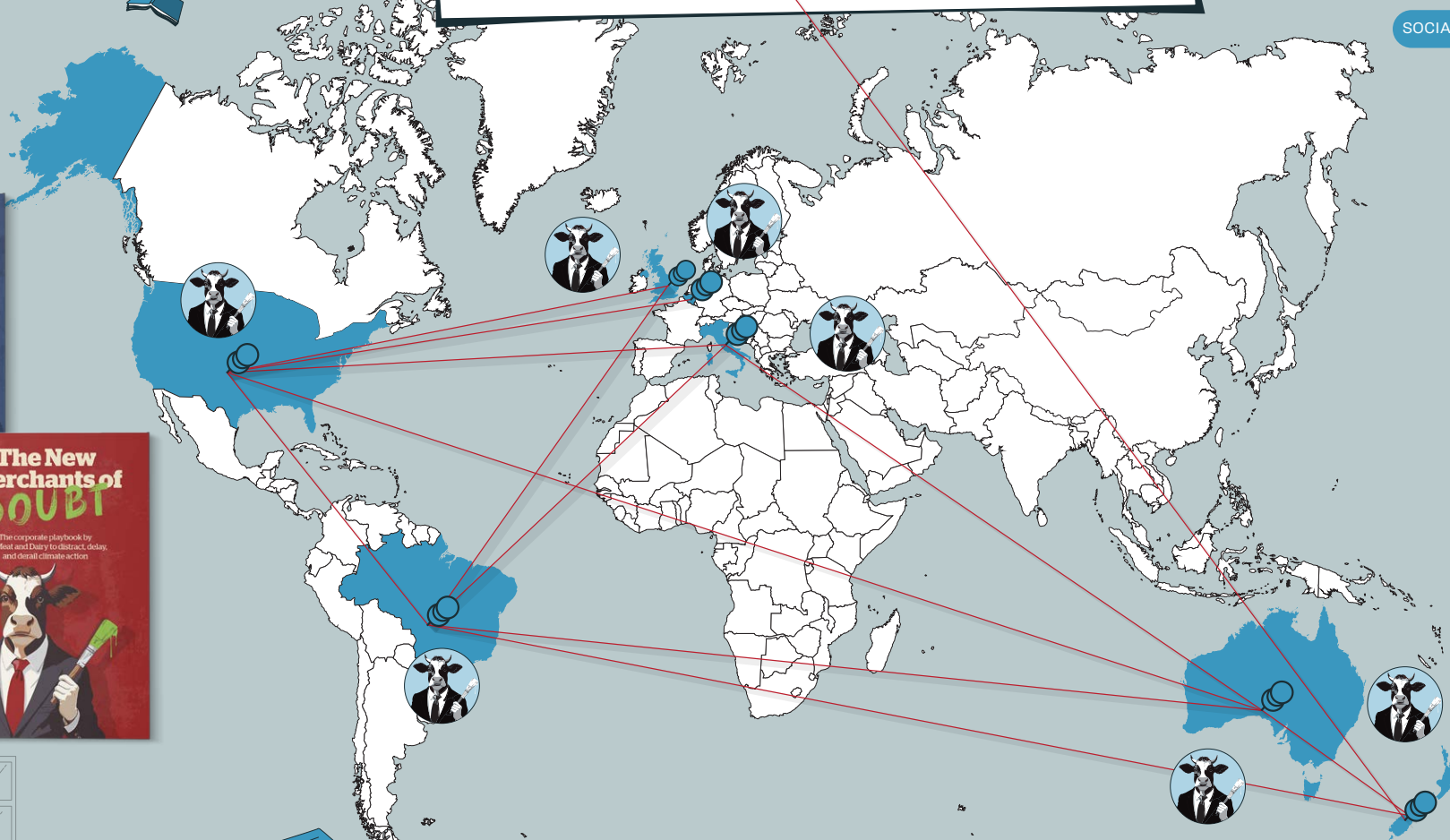
6 LANGUAGES  
7 COUNTRIES

- ENGLISH
- FRENCH
- GERMAN
- PORTUGUESE
- ITALIAN
- SPANISH

RESEARCH FOR  
NEW MERCHANTS OF DOUBT



7 REGIONAL AND COUNTRY CASE STUDIES



Fashion's Plastic Paralysis

Big Emissions, Empty Promises

The New Merchants of DOUBT



GLOBAL NEWS

MEDIA

8 OP-EDs

OVER 300 MEDIA MENTIONS

- Bloomberg
- DeMorgen
- The Grocer
- les Echos
- FT FINANCIAL TIMES
- BBC
- THE IRISH TIMES
- AFTONBLADET
- VOGUE
- The Guardian
- DER SPIEGEL
- P
- O GLOBO
- LAVANGUARDIA
- La Libre
- Altinjet

INVESTIGATIONS

14 HOSTED OR CO-HOSTED EVENTS AND WEBINAR IN PERSON AND ONLINE

EVENTS



SOCIAL MEDIA

OVER 36,000 FOLLOWERS across Changing Markets social media channels.



ORGANIC ENGAGEMENTS: 10,528  
ORGANIC IMPRESSIONS: 375,127

VIDEO

OVER 560,000 VIDEO VIEWS ACROSS OUR CHANNELS



WEBSITE

REDESIGN AND LAUNCH OF THE CHANGING MARKETS WEBSITE



GREENWASH.COM 18,000 VISITS

NEWSLETTER

6 NEWSLETTERS OVER 4K SUBSCRIBERS





## Growing the Good

### The problem

In a decade of relentless climate extremes, the world passed a grim milestone in 2024. Not only did global temperatures reach record levels for the second consecutive year, but for the first time, the world temporarily surpassed the 1.5°C warming threshold. While this does not yet mean the Paris Agreement targets have been formally breached, it serves as a wake-up call: we are hurtling towards irreversible climate impacts, and need urgent, decisive action to put the brakes on.

Agriculture is responsible for nearly a quarter of global greenhouse gas emissions, the majority from meat and dairy production. In 2024, leading climate and agricultural scientists made it clear that to stay within 1.5°C, livestock emissions must peak by 2025 in high- and middle-income countries and must reduce by 50% globally by 2030.

Instead of setting the ambition needed, Big Meat and Dairy is doing everything in its power to weaken and delay action. The industry has largely succeeded in selling to policymakers worldwide the myth of ‘agricultural exceptionalism’ – the idea that the sector does not have to play by the same rules as everyone else.

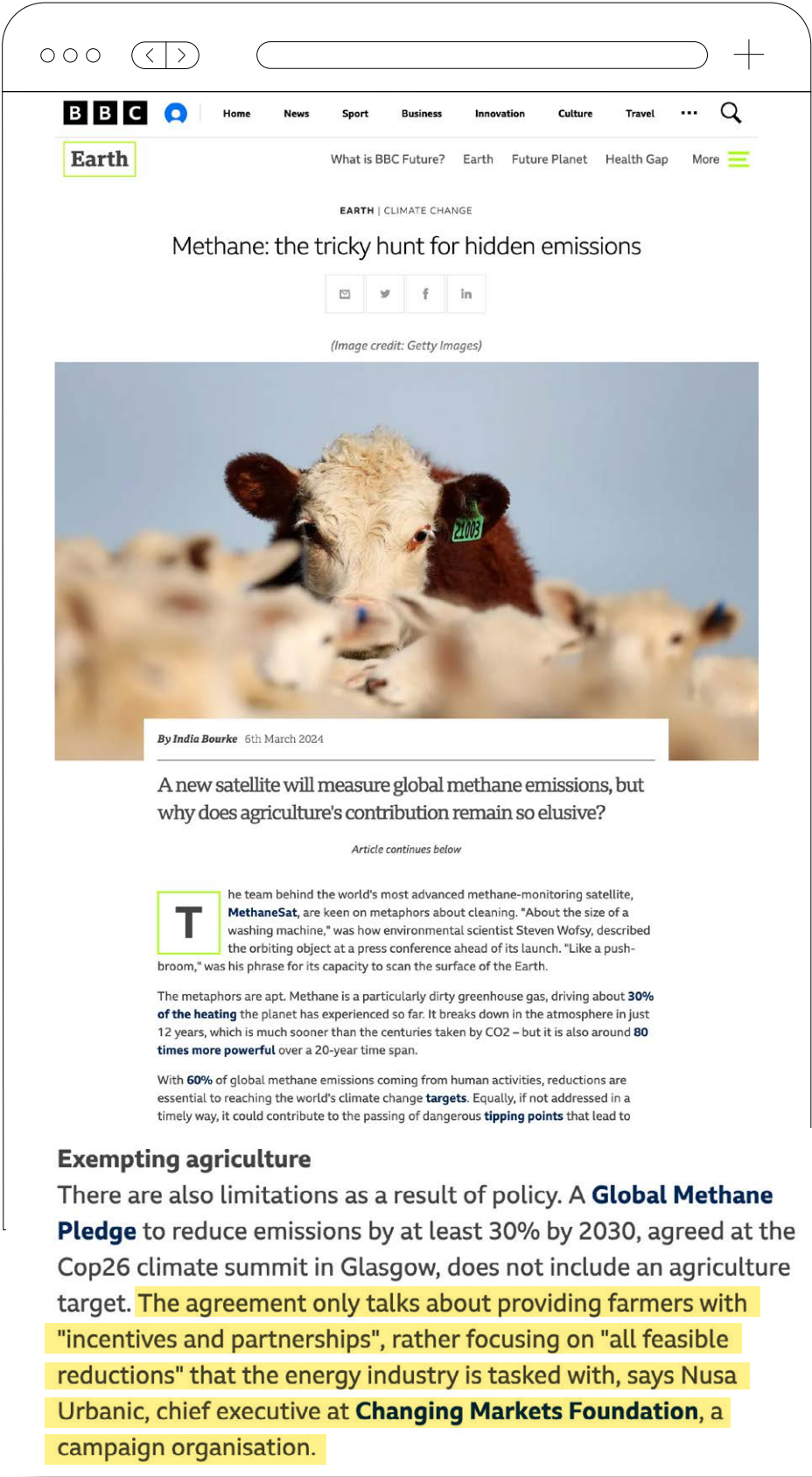
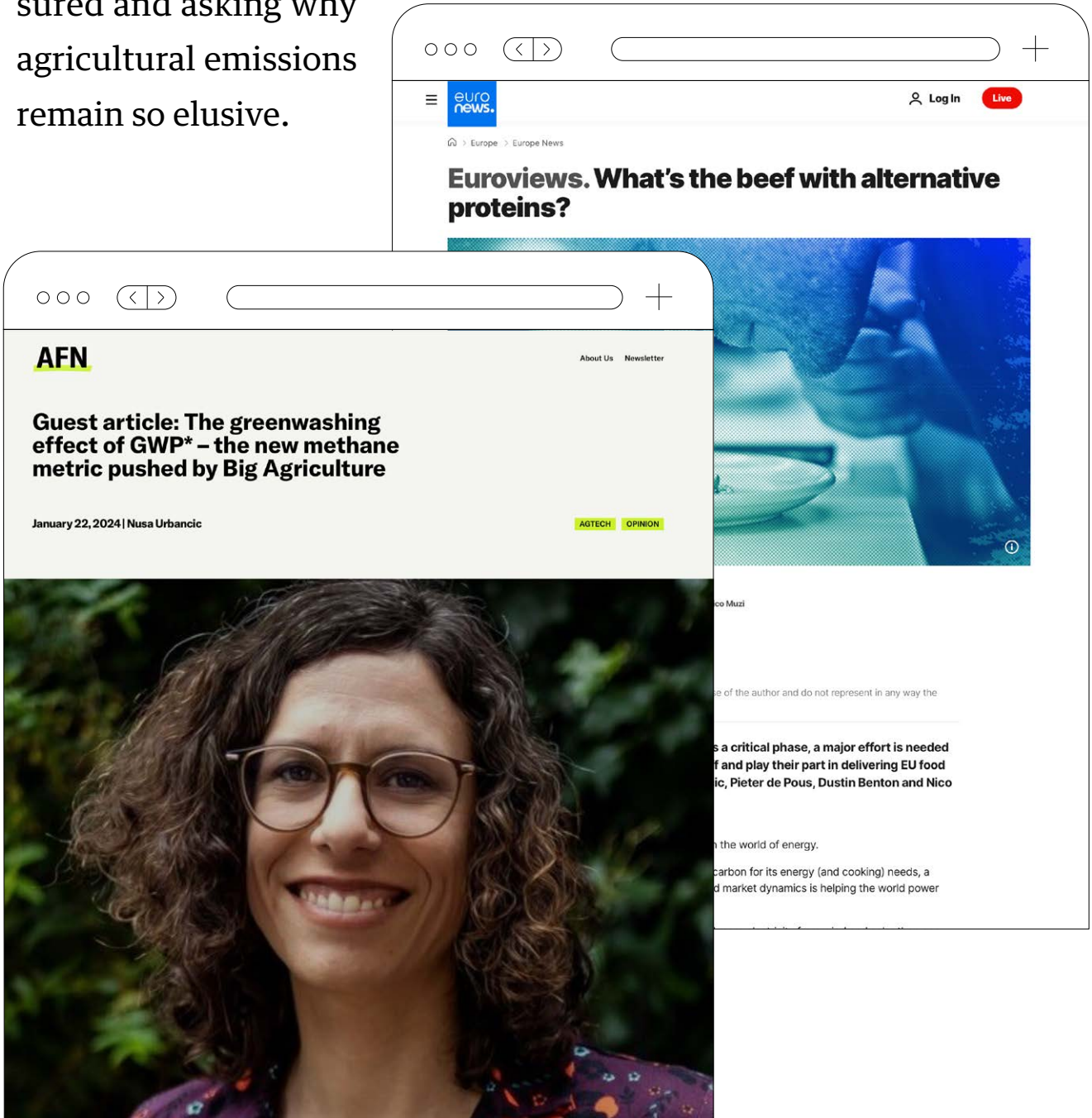
In 2024, as part of our ongoing work to expose these practices and build pressure for change, we published our most extensive investigation to date: *The New Merchants of Doubt: The corporate playbook by Big Meat and Dairy to distract, delay, and derail climate action.*<sup>1</sup> The report reveals how the agriculture industry uses the same tactics as Big Oil and Tobacco to manipulate science, greenwash its products and practices, influence policymakers and derail progress.

The report is part of our wider *Growing the Good* campaign, which advocates for a just, science-based transformation of food systems worldwide. Building on our recent work, in 2024, we continued to place a particular emphasis on methane, a greenhouse gas 80 times more potent than carbon dioxide in the short term. The livestock sector is the single largest source of human-made methane emissions worldwide. With global meat and dairy production continuing to rise, the stakes couldn’t be higher.

Our work in 2024

Getting methane on the agenda

We opened the year with two op-eds related to agricultural methane by our CEO, Nusa Urbancic. The first, in AgFunderNews, called out the ways in which the agricultural industry is pushing for the use of the controversial GWP\* metric to measure methane emissions – a clear example of agricultural exceptionalism.<sup>2</sup> The second, in euronews, was written together with partners E3G, Green Alliance and Madre Brava, and outlined why alternative proteins need to be central to EU food and climate security.<sup>3</sup> In March, we were quoted in a BBC article investigating how methane emissions are measured and asking why agricultural emissions remain so elusive.





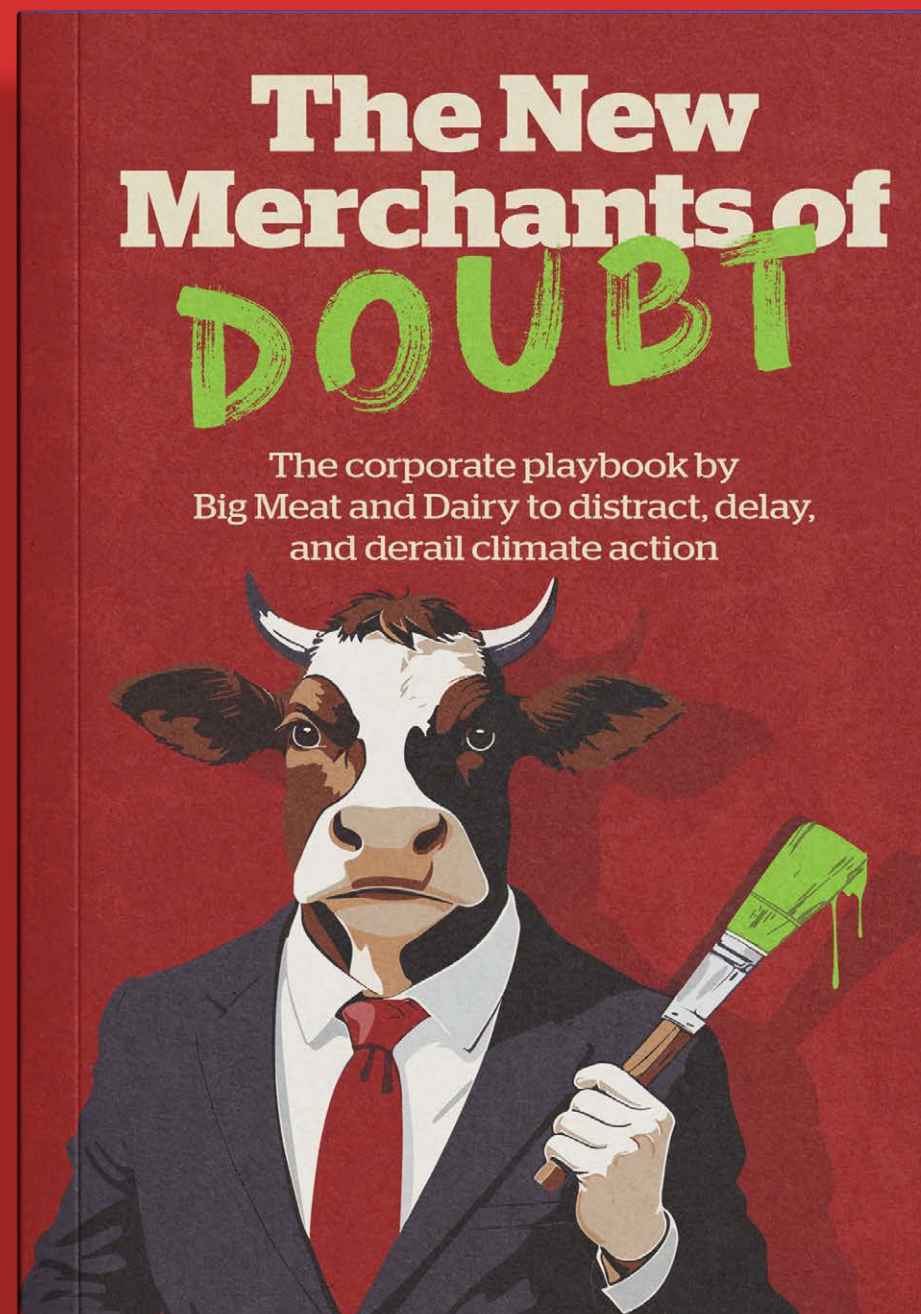
## The New Merchants of Doubt: a major exposé of corporate influence

*"We had Big Tobacco, we had Big Oil, now we have Big Meat and Dairy. The New Merchants of Doubt is a stunning exposé of Big Meat and Dairy tactics."*

Professor Paul Behrens, British Academy Global Professor, University of Oxford.<sup>A</sup>

In July 2024, we published *The New Merchants of Doubt: The corporate playbook by Big Meat and Dairy to distract, delay, and derail climate action*. At nearly 400 pages, it is the biggest report we have ever produced, and the largest investigation of its kind anywhere.

The culmination of 18 months of research by investigators worldwide, the report scrutinises the actions of 22 top meat and dairy companies, including Danish Crown, Fonterra, JBS and Nestlé, over four continents. It reveals how Big Meat and Dairy mimic the tactics of the fossil fuel and tobacco industries to distract, delay and derail climate action. The New Merchants of Doubt draws on data from freedom of information requests, academic literature reviews, and media and social media analysis. It includes seven country and regional case studies: Australia, Brazil, the EU, Italy, New Zealand (Aotearoa), the UK and the USA.



### Political access derails legislation

The investigation uncovers conflicts of interest, with politicians benefiting from the agricultural subsidies they are meant to reform and revolving doors between industry and public office. It reveals how lobby groups use intimidation tactics and fearmongering, such as falsely claiming green policies will harm small farmers and capitalising on farmer protests to pit ‘farmers’ against the ‘elite’. *The New Merchants of Doubt* exposes the extraordinary level of political access enjoyed by the agricultural lobby: in the EU alone, lobbyists enjoyed more than 600 top-level meetings with the European Commission in the last decade. Combined with political donations and money spent on lobbying, this has enabled meat and dairy companies to circumvent or derail regulation - from scrapping a key agricultural tax in New Zealand to watering down or removing 10 environmental policies within the European Green Deal.

### Misleading advertising and greenwash

The investigation shows how Big Meat and Dairy green- and health-wash their products, with overstated or misleading environmental or health claims on packaging. The industry spends more on advertising than climate solutions, with a particular focus on younger generations. This includes misleading advertising and social media campaigns, supported by the same PR consultants who helped Big Oil and

<sup>A</sup> At the time, Professor Behrens worked at Leiden University.

Tobacco, including the use of (mis)influencers to promote false narratives – such as disingenuous claims about the health benefits of meat and dairy and attacks on vegan diets and alternative proteins.

### Weak targets

The report also highlights the minimal investments the industry makes towards climate action. While 15 of the 22 companies have net-zero targets, none of these meet UN standards, and just one company – Danone – has a specific methane reduction target. JBS, the world’s biggest meat company, spends just 0.03% of its total revenue (and just 6.2% of its annual advertising and marketing budget) on its net zero plan, while Arla, Fonterra and Nestlé spend more on advertising than on climate solutions.

### Co-opting the science

Instead of investing in proper plans and trajectories to cut emissions, companies are opting for diversionary tactics and inadequate solutions. These include co-opting the science to downplay the impact of methane and using the controversial GWP\* metric<sup>B</sup> to justify ‘business-as-usual’ approaches; relying on often unproven ‘techno-fixes’, often at the expense of the taxpayer; and promoting vaguely defined ‘regenerative agriculture’ practices.

<sup>B</sup> Greenhouse gases are measured according to their global warming potential (GWP). In 2018, industry started to push for a new and controversial way to measure methane, GWP\*, instead of the internationally agreed standard for greenhouse gas emissions, (known as GWP100). If used, GWP\* could have a staggering impact on how methane emissions are reported, with high polluting countries and companies able to continue with business as usual and claim ‘no additional warming’ while making only small reductions in methane emissions, or present minor reductions as ‘negative emissions,’ or ‘cooling’. For more information, see our report Seeing Stars: the new metric that could allow the meat and dairy industry to avoid climate action (2023). [www.changingmarkets.org/report/seeing-stars-the-new-metric-that-could-allow-the-meat-and-dairy-industry-to-avoid-climate-action](http://www.changingmarkets.org/report/seeing-stars-the-new-metric-that-could-allow-the-meat-and-dairy-industry-to-avoid-climate-action)

### The need for regulation

The report concludes with our calls for governments and regional bodies such as the EU to take ambitious action on methane and livestock, including:

- Plans which include established science-based emissions reduction targets aligned with a 1.5°C trajectory.
- Measures to reform subsidies to support farmers to reduce herd sizes and switch to more sustainable food production methods, such as organic farming or agroecology.
- An end to public promotions of meat and dairy products, and sales reduction targets, facilitated by changes to national dietary health guidelines.
- Clear guidelines on what constitutes a genuine green claim and enforced penalties for greenwashing.

*“Livestock methane emissions are a major driver of climate change, creating a crisis for the environment, public health and future food security. Instead of addressing this issue seriously, our research reveals that Big Meat and Dairy, including major global brands, have lobbied against progressive legislation, greenwashed their products to mislead consumers, and resisted the shift towards healthier, plant-based diets.”*

Nusa Urbancic, CEO, Changing Markets Foundation



Policy work with The New Merchants of Doubt

Following the publication of *The New Merchants of Doubt* in July, we used the report to engage with companies, policymakers and the public, including as a resource to help push for action on the Global Methane Pledge.<sup>c</sup> In the UK and EU, we used the findings in meetings with policymakers across political parties and in submissions for policy processes, including a UK House of Lords inquiry on methane.

In August, we published an op-ed in E&E Leader, highlighting the investigation from *The New Merchants of Doubt* that showed the bias of the UN Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) towards the livestock industry.<sup>4</sup>

In October, we held a launch event in Brussels, which brought together members of the European Parliament and NGOs to share experiences of lobbying by Big Meat and Dairy and strategise on how the new Parliament could most effectively take urgent action on methane. The length of the report meant that we were able to present the event as a ‘book launch’, and we gave all participants a printed copy to use as a reference document.



Launch event for *The New Merchants of Doubt*, Brussels, October 2024.

<sup>c</sup> The Global Methane Pledge was adopted at COP26 in November 2021. For more information, see: [www.globalmethanepledge.org](http://www.globalmethanepledge.org)

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FOR A SUSTAINABLE TOMORROW

Op-Ed: How Big Livestock has Hijacked the UN Food and Agriculture Organisation



Nusa Urbancic, CEO of Changing Markets Foundation, explores the ways in which the FAO has been captured by agriculture lobbyists and what this means for addressing the urgency of climate-food nexus. (Photo Credit: Changing Markets Foundation)

Posted Tuesday, August 20, 2024 10:30 am

Nusa Urbancic

Founded in 1945, the United Nation’s (UN) Food and Agriculture Organisation (FAO) is the world’s primary source for agricultural data. Governments from 194 nations, as well as the European Union, fund the global organisation, as well as routinely use its reports to inform their agricultural policies. But recently, its neutrality in assembling data on greenhouse gas emissions from livestock has come under scrutiny.

Changing Markets Foundation’s report “**The New Merchants of Doubt: How Big Meat and Dairy Avoid Climate Action**” revealed the FAO’s overwhelming bias for the livestock industry, prompting key recommendations for the organisation’s overhaul. This comes on top of **concerns from academics and NGOs** about the FAO’s recent studies, which put it at odds with the scientific consensus on the urgency to reduce livestock emissions and shift to more plant-based diets.

FAO first to recognise the need for livestock industry change

Ironically, the FAO was the first international institution to suggest that the world’s livestock production model needed to be changed. Back in 2006, the FAO’s ground-



## Co-creating a coalition to tackle methane in Europe

In July, we co-created a new alliance: the Methane Matters coalition.<sup>D</sup> The consortium of NGOs aims to significantly reduce methane emissions across the agriculture, waste and energy sectors in Europe, while strengthening the EU's leadership role in implementing the Global Methane Pledge.

With coalition partners, we created a short explainer document, *Make Methane Matter*, and developed a more in-depth policy briefing outlining the key issues and changes needed in the EU.<sup>5</sup> We shared the papers with MEPs across various committees, including agriculture, environment, industry, research and energy.

In October, the coalition hosted a Methane Matters Day in Brussels, attended by members of the EU Commission, journalists, companies and civil society organisations. We took responsibility for the session on agriculture, which featured investigative journalists discussing the influence of the agricultural lobby in the EU and globally. We highlighted key areas of action for the EU Commission and Parliament to take.

The coalition builds on existing partnerships, including a joint letter in February to Commission President



Delegates at Methane Matters Day in Brussels, October, 2024.

<sup>D</sup> For more information, see: [www.methanematters.org](http://www.methanematters.org)





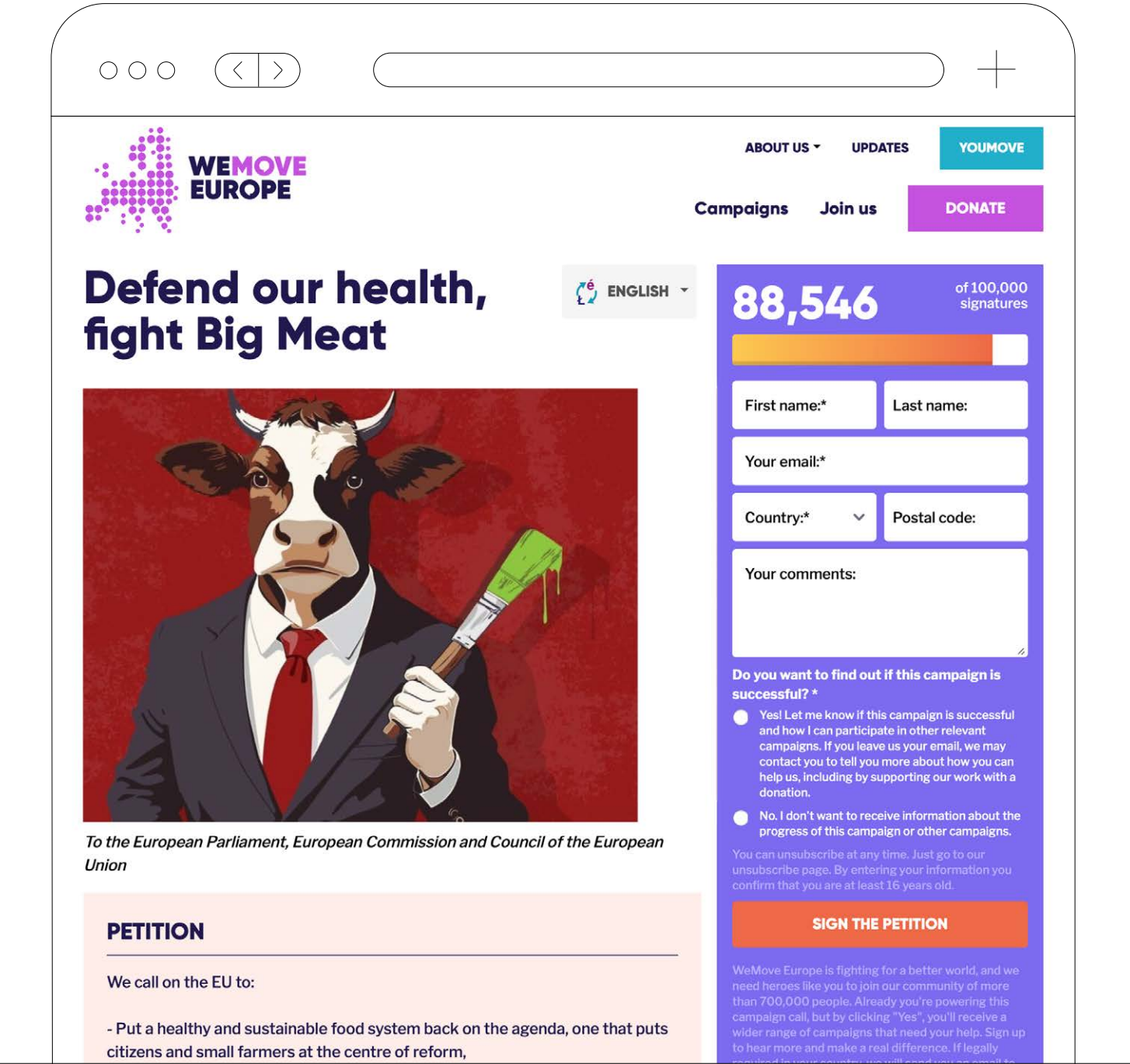
Ursula von der Leyen following the removal of an agricultural emissions target from the EU’s 2040 Climate Target proposal.<sup>6</sup> We continue to advocate for agricultural methane reduction targets and transformational food policy in the EU.



Mobilising public action

June’s elections saw a significant shift to the right in the new EU Parliament, meaning a less favourable environment for climate action. To highlight public concern about the need for regulation of Big Meat and Dairy, we launched a petition with WeMove Europe.<sup>7</sup> The petition has nearly 89,000 signatures to date. In the autumn, more than 1,400 signatories wrote to MEPs calling for sustainable farming and food systems ahead of the Agriculture Commissioner’s hearing<sup>8</sup> - a key opportunity to influence incoming commissioners’ priorities. Our campaign was bolstered by the Italian documentary team Food for Profit, creating a short video inspired by our work, which received over 19,000 engagements across its social media channels.<sup>9</sup>





UN climate negotiations

At the global level, we drew attention to the need for regulation of agricultural methane emissions within the UN climate processes. In June, we organised panels at the intersessional meetings in Bonn, Germany. In November, at the COP29 conference in Baku, Azerbaijan, we partnered with the Action on Food Hub, hosting several events and workshops on agricultural methane and the role of Big Meat and Dairy in delaying climate action. These included a fireside chat with investigative journalists, representatives of agroecological farming, and youth negotiators;



roundtable discussions on shifting food systems and the need for reductions in methane emissions; and a panel event highlighting the impact of misinformation on policymaking. We participated in a press conference emphasising the need for institutions like the FAO to show leadership in transforming food systems. As part of the Methane Matters coalition, we hosted an official side event on reducing methane emissions.





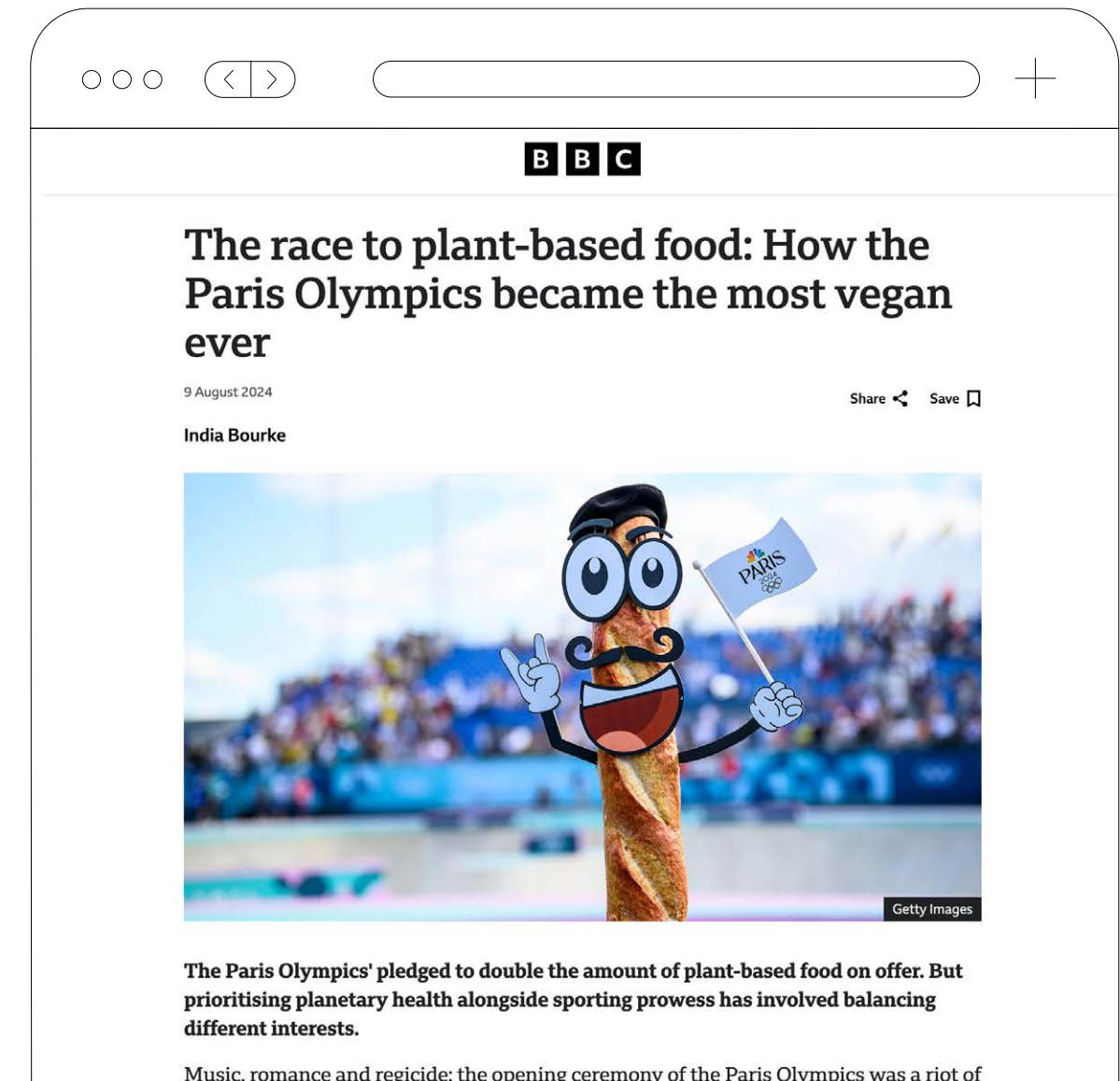


The Changing Markets team at COP29 in Baku, Azerbaijan, November 2024.

We also saw positive results from our pre-COP outreach work, when methane was included as part of the guidance to signatories of the Food Systems Call to Action, by the Climate High-Level Champions.<sup>E</sup>

Unfortunately, and as anticipated, COP29 failed to acknowledge the role of agricultural methane emissions. We were, nonetheless, encouraged by the progress

E Climate High-Level Champions support the COP process. Their role is to facilitate ambitious climate action from businesses, cities, regions, and financial institutions to support governments to achieve the goals of the Paris Agreement. The Food Systems Call to Action has been signed by more than 300 organisations convened by the Champions:  
For more see [www.climatechampions.net/themes/food-systems-call-to-action](http://www.climatechampions.net/themes/food-systems-call-to-action)



Nestlé, however, has been criticised over its failure to adequately support emissions reductions in animal agriculture. In a recent report, the Changing Markets Foundation, a UK campaign group, analysed what 22 of the largest global meat and dairy companies invest in low carbon solutions relative to what they spend on advertising. Where the data was available, it found that these companies' overall annual spending on research and development made up, on average, less than 1% of their latest revenues.

"It is commendable that Paris Olympics are offering healthier meals with more plant-based options, as part of the strategy to reduce the overall carbon footprint of the Games. However, as a parent company of Garden Gourmet, Nestlé desperately lacks a holistic approach to scaling up plant-based products," says Nusa Urbancic, Changing Markets' chief executive.

"Our analysis shows that despite some steps in the right direction, Nestlé still does not have a target to increase its sales of plant-based products, seeing it as a purely consumer driven market. This is a missed opportunity, as science clearly shows that the transition to plant-based products offers huge climate mitigation potential," says Urbancic.



made in bringing the issue further onto the agenda. In the wake of the conference, we published an op-ed on the Thomson Reuters platform, Context, in which we underscored the need for meat and dairy methane emissions to be firmly on the agenda at COP30 in 2025.<sup>10</sup> The conference will take place in Brazil, the world’s second-largest beef exporter, presenting important challenges and opportunities.

Corporate accountability

We continued to build momentum for companies to adopt methane reduction targets and plans. This included further pressure on Nestlé - from hand-delivering the company a copy of *The New Merchants of Doubt*, to publishing an op-ed critiquing its use of regenerative agriculture on popular sustainability platform Green Queen,<sup>11</sup> running social media campaigns and seeing our work quoted in media such as the BBC and Reuters.

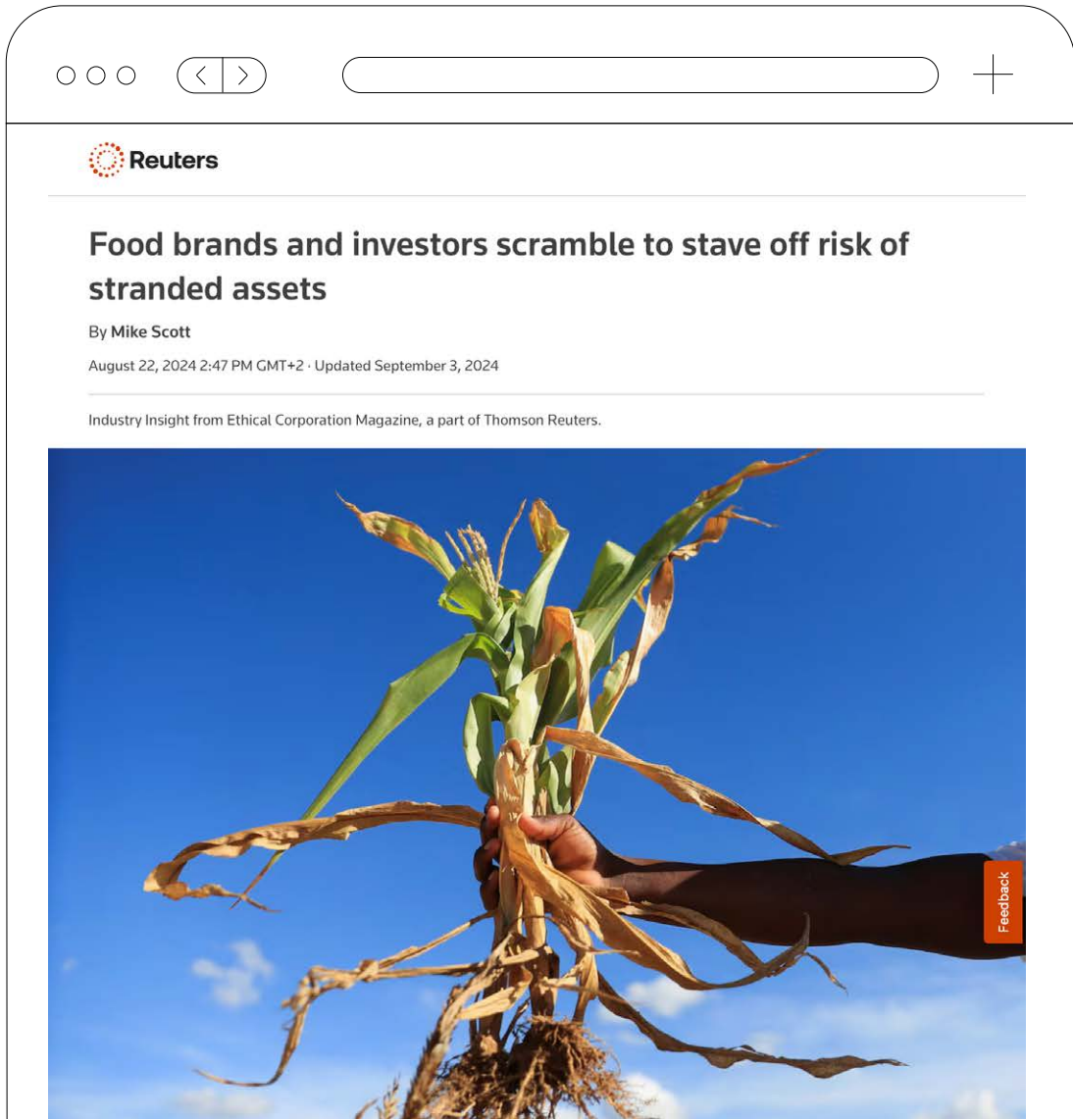
We continued to engage with the Science-Based Targets initiative (SBTi), a voluntary initiative to measure corporate climate action, valued by policymakers and investors. Across the year, we participated in meetings and public consultations, and mobilised others to join us. While we continue to advocate for the SBTi to improve its reporting standards for net zero to align with UN targets, we were pleased to see progress within the SBTi. In March, we supported a move by the SBTi to remove the Brazilian meat giant JBS, a major climate polluter, from its website<sup>12</sup>.



Environmental campaign groups have been quick to praise the SBTi for refusing to validate JBS's climate control efforts.

Alma Castrejon-Davila, a senior campaigner at the Changing Markets Foundation, said: "It is great to see that finally they [SBTi] have chosen to do the right thing and remove the commitment from a major polluter like JBS."

We also supported partner organisations including Mighty Earth, Global Witness and Greenpeace with their campaigns to stop JBS being listed on the New York Stock Exchange. Together with other NGOs and investors we called on shareholders to suspend investment in JBS, participated in events and spoke to the media.<sup>13</sup>



Those risks are increasingly manifesting themselves, according to Nusa Urbancic, CEO of Changing Markets Foundation. In 2023, for example, beef prices in the U.S. hit a record high as drought caused feed costs to rise and the amount of cattle fell to its lowest level for 61 years. Heatwaves and droughts from the Mediterranean to West Africa and Asia have also caused soaring prices for products ranging from olive oil to rice and cocoa while wet weather in northern Europe has caused a sharp rise in the cost of potatoes. "Although we're increasingly seeing the impact in the real world, the sense of urgency has not reached many in the farming sector," Urbancic warns.

impacts of climate change. At the same time, it is also a major contributor to planet-warming emissions, particularly methane.

The Smith School for Enterprise and the Environment at Oxford University warned more than a decade ago that many agricultural facilities were at risk of becoming stranded, where investment costs become liabilities, a concept more



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Op-Ed: What Do the Meat Industry, Far-Right and Major Internet Conspiracy Theories Have in Common?

By Caitlin Smith

ALT PROTEINCLIMATE CHANGECONSUMER TRENDS & INSIGHTS

Published on Feb 27, 2024 — Last updated Feb 20, 2025



Graphic by Green Queen Media

7 Mins Read

With 2024 a year of major elections around the world, Caitlin Smith, senior campaigner at corporate watchdog Changing Markets Foundation, highlights the non-profit’s research into alternative protein misinformation on social media, and why it’s more important than ever for our leaders to take a stand for human and planetary health.

SB SUSTAINABLE BRANDS

CHANNELS ▾EVENTS ▾NETWORK ▾

MARKETING & COMMUNICATIONS

Is Misinformation Derailing Climate Action in Agriculture?

In this, the biggest election year in history, Changing Markets Foundation investigates the damaging spread of misinformation online concerning the meat and dairy industry and how it is influencing both policy and public opinion.

Brand Provided | By Nusa Urbancic | Published 1 year ago | About a 6 minute read



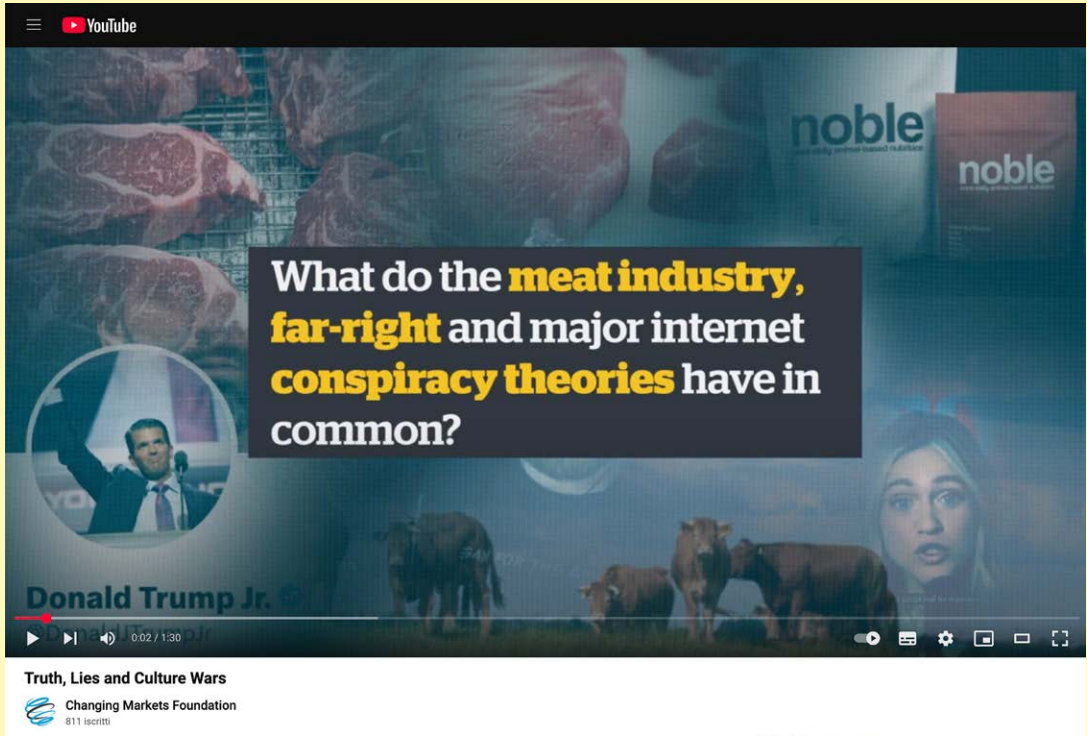
Image: Changing Markets Foundation



Caitlin Smith, Senior Campaigner, Changing Markets Foundation, speaks about food misinformation at the Bonn climate talks, Germany, June 2025.

# Spotlight on mis- and disinformation in the food sector

Misinformation is false or inaccurate information shared without intent to deceive, while disinformation is deliberately created to mislead. Disinformation both builds on and drives misinformation, as once it spreads it is frequently reshared by well-meaning individuals, making it harder to distinguish fact from fiction. This cycle creates confusion, undermines trust in science and institutions, polarises debate, and delays progress on urgent issues like climate change, food systems and public health.





Unfortunately, the agricultural sector provides fertile ground for conspiracy theories. We found ourselves faced with a web of mistruths when we started our research into methane from meat and dairy, which led to our first report in this area in 2023, *Truth, Lies and Culture Wars*.<sup>14</sup> Among other findings, this exposed how an industry-linked study on cultivated meat, which had not been peer reviewed, shaped the false narrative that these emerging technologies are worse for the environment than traditional meat.

In 2024 we continued to investigate moments where mis- and disinformation impacted public debate and policy on food systems. One case study in *The New Merchants of Doubt* revealed how false messaging spread by a far-right transnational network appeared to be coordinated with the lead up to Italy’s ban on cultivated meat and restrictions on plant-based labels in late 2023. In 2024, two US states enacted similar bans, echoing language about ‘fake’ or ‘synthetic’ foods and invoking conspiracies like the ‘Great Reset’.<sup>F</sup>

We continued to shine a spotlight on these findings, engaging with civil society, policymakers and investors in alternative proteins. We highlighted our research and some of the most pervasive narratives and how these derail policy discussions with op-eds in Green Queen<sup>15</sup> and Sustainable Brands.<sup>16</sup> We further explored these narratives and agricul-

The Great Reset, initially a term about economic recovery from Covid-19, became a global conspiracy theory about elites imposing authoritarian control, including forcing people to eat insects or fake meat. See for example: What is the Great Reset - and how did it get hijacked by conspiracy theories? (2021), BBC News, 24 June 2021. [www.bbc.co.uk/news/blogs-trending-57532368](https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/blogs-trending-57532368)

Wall Street Apes  
@WallStreetApes

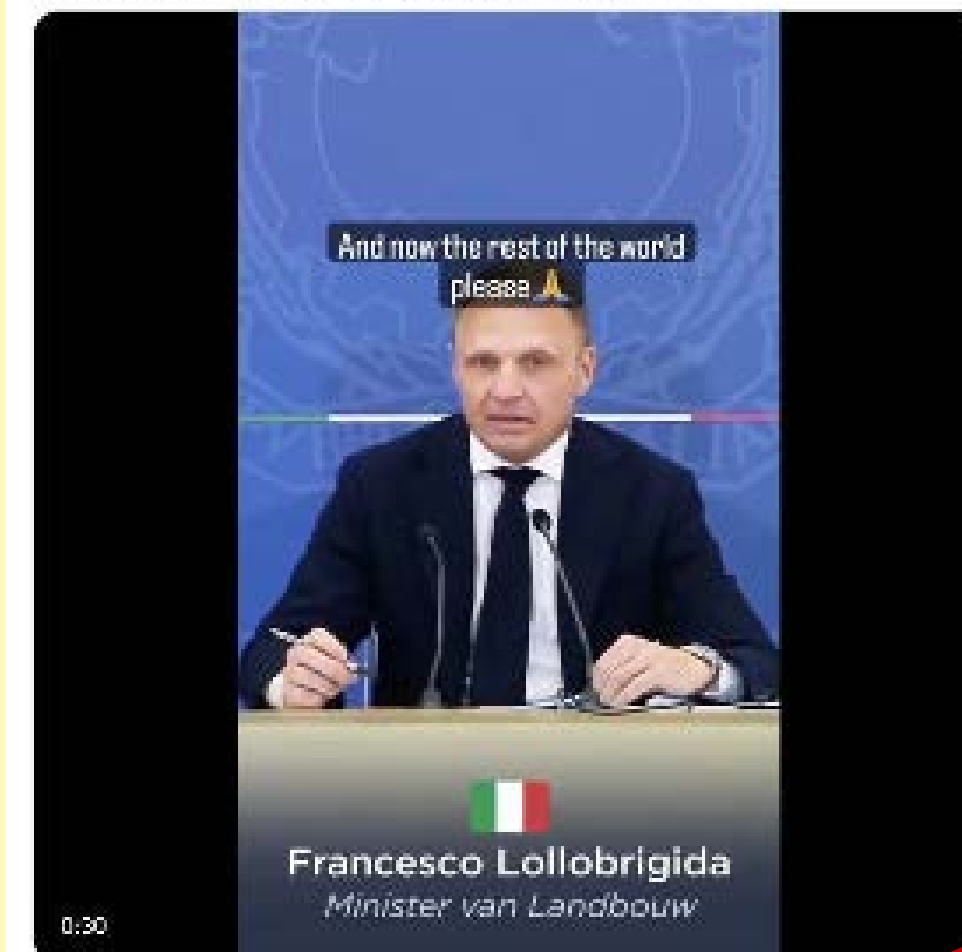
Italy Says No To Bill Gates! Italy Has Recognized The Health Risks Of Synthetic Foods & Meats & Has BANNED Them ❌

"Italy is the first nation to say no to synthetic food, to so-called synthetic meat. It does so with a formal and official act. The resolutions call for a commitment to ban the production, marketing and import of synthetic foods within our territory.

These regulations aim to regulate situations where the environment or public health could be at risk or when there is uncertainty regarding the effects of certain products that are being or will be introduced to the market or consumed.

It is crucial to have measures in place to address these potential risks and ensure the safety of the environment and public health in such cases."

Why won't the United States do the same thing? Is it because they're all lobbying and selling us out to the highest bidders?



8:32 AM · Oct 20, 2023 · 627.4K Views

○ 339

1758

18K

**Misinformation**

Italy Becomes First Nation To Ban Bill Gates' Fake Meat Due To 'Serious Health Concerns' Nations pushing back against the [#GlobalistParasites](#) [#Italy](#) its time to send this anti human [#DepopulationAgenda](#) scumbag packing. [#BillGates](#) [#WEF2030Agenda](#) [#USA](#) [#UK](#)



Free thepandemic.com

3:42 PM · Oct 24, 2023 · 37.7K Views

**Emerald Robinson**    
@EmeraldRobinson

Italy just banned the fake meat that's being introduced by Bill Gates.

Every nation should do the same.

2:32 PM · Oct 24, 2023 · 153.3K Views

tural methane emissions at the Bonn climate talks in June, co-hosting and participating in a panel discussion on protein diversification in the Global South, alongside speakers from the FAO and the World Bank.

In September, we released a new briefing paper, *Myths and Misinformation*,<sup>17</sup> which further exposed the false narratives being propagated by Big Meat and Dairy. The paper was launched with an interactive event during



New York Climate Week involving around 80 people, including journalists, academics, other organisations and philanthropic foundations working on food systems change.

At COP29, youth activists used the briefing paper confront Big Meat and Dairy by distributing printed copies and calling out corporate greenwashing at industry events. We also launched another new briefing paper at COP29, *Big Emissions, Empty Promises*,<sup>18</sup> exposing the lack of adequate methane reduction targets in the countries where the world's largest meat and dairy corporations are based.



Our growing expertise on mis- and disinformation has been widely recognised by NGO partners and the alternative protein industry. We will carry on exposing false narratives and sharing what we've learnt about how it spreads, the powerful networks behind it and its pernicious impact - empowering the wider climate movement to confront and push back against it.

# Big Meat and Dairy narrrratives to derail climate action

Pier 60, Chelsea Piers - New York, NY 10011  
Time: 3.30-4.30pm

A cartoon illustration of a cow with brown and white patches, wearing a dark suit, white shirt, and red tie. The cow is holding a large, tilted sign that reads 'CAN YOU TELL FAKE FROM FACT?' in blue and red capital letters.

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**Changing Markets**  
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Outcomes and impact

In 2019, when we published *Blindspot*, our first report on agricultural methane, the issue was truly neglected. By 2024, it had become increasingly central to climate campaigns and policy discourse. As Changing Markets, we draw pride in our contribution towards this shift through our briefings and advocacy, strategic communications and persistent engagement.

We saw the impact of this growing momentum throughout 2024, with high-profile coverage such as the BBC investigation, strong social media engagement, and increased references to the issues and our research within policy and civil society discourse. *The New Merchants of Doubt* alone was covered in at least 80 media stories across 15 countries. This included significant coverage in English-language media, such as Bloomberg, BusinessGreen, Financial Times, Sunday Times Ireland, The Grocer, and Politico, alongside coverage in other languages, including Delo (Slovenia), El Globo (Brazil), and La Jornada (Mexico). The latter was part of the coverage we received in at least four Mexican outlets, following an online press conference in the region.


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FINANCIAL TIMES

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The Big Read Agriculture

The global power of Big Agriculture's lobbying

Behind the public image of farming lies a vast industry adept at securing subsidies and exemptions from environmental measures

Susannah Savage in London, Alice Hancock in Brussels and Michael Pooley in São Paulo

Published AUG 22 2024

129

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In March this year, vegetable grower Florent Sebban put down his spade and headed to Paris to join mass protests by farmers.

Consumers want higher-quality, more environmentally friendly food, he says, but farmers are not earning enough to keep up.

"Farmers are at the centre of a potential transition, but you need to finance a stable income for them if you want them to change their practices," adds Sebban.

But the protests for which French farmers are famous are just one of many ways in which the sector makes its voice heard. Behind the scenes the agricultural lobby is a sprawling, complex machine with vast financial resources, deep political connections and a sophisticated network of legal and public relations experts.

"The farm lobby has been one of the most successful lobbies in Europe in terms of relentlessly getting what they want over a very long time," says Ariel Brunner, Europe director of non-governmental organisation BirdLife International.

Industry groups spend between €9.35mn and €11.54mn a year lobbying Brussels alone, according to a recent report by the Changing Markets Foundation, another NGO.

In the US, agricultural trade associations are "enormously powerful", says Ben Lilliston, director of rural strategies and climate change at the Institute for Agriculture and Trade Policy. "Our farm policy is very much their policy."

US agribusiness interests spend more on lobbying than defence and oil

Total annual expenditure, \$mn

Agribusiness

Defence

Oil & Gas

Nusa Urbancic, chief executive of the Changing Markets Foundation, says that as farming's contribution to emissions has become clearer — livestock production is the largest source of human-caused methane emissions, for instance — the meat and dairy industries have managed to convince policymakers of "agricultural exceptionalism".

This has resulted in "all-carrots-and-no-sticks" regulatory approaches that rely on voluntary actions and financial incentives, she adds.

In Brazil, where agribusiness accounts for a quarter of GDP, the Instituto Pensar Agropecuária is "the most influential lobbying group", according to Caio Pompeia, an anthropologist and researcher at the University of São Paulo. "It combines economic strength with clearly defined

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PLANETA

100 ANOS DE BOM DIA

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Empresas de carne e laticínios distraem, atrasam e atrapalham a ação climática, diz Changing Markets Foundation

A entidade investigou as 22 maiores companhias globais do setor, incluindo Danish Crown, Tyson Foods, JBS, Fonterra e Nestlé

Por Redação, do Um Só Planeta

23/07/2024 06h00 · Atualizado há 11 meses


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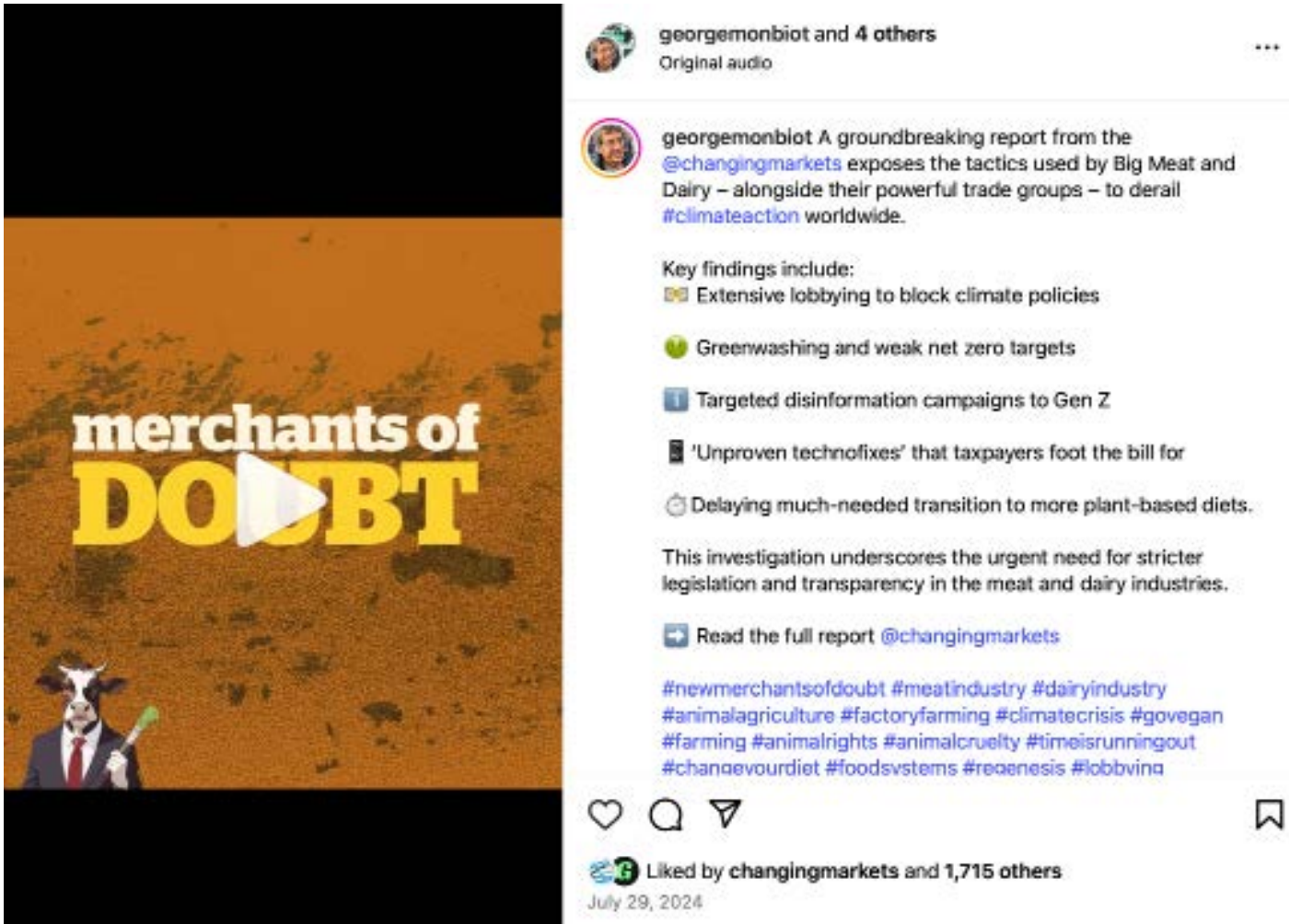


Empresas de carne e laticínios distraem, atrasam e atrapalham a ação climática, diz Changing Markets Foundation — Foto: Getty Images

O relatório "The New Merchants of Doubt" (Os Novos Comerciantes da Dúvida, em tradução para o português), publicado pela Changing Markets Foundation, investigou algumas táticas que seriam usadas pelas principais empresas de carne e laticínios para distrair, atrasar e atrapalhar a ação climática. Segundo a entidade, essa é a maior investigação do gênero já feita, abrangendo quatro continentes e examinando as 22 maiores empresas globais de carne e laticínios – chamadas Big Meat and Dairy –, incluindo Danish Crown, Tyson Foods, JBS, Fonterra e Nestlé.

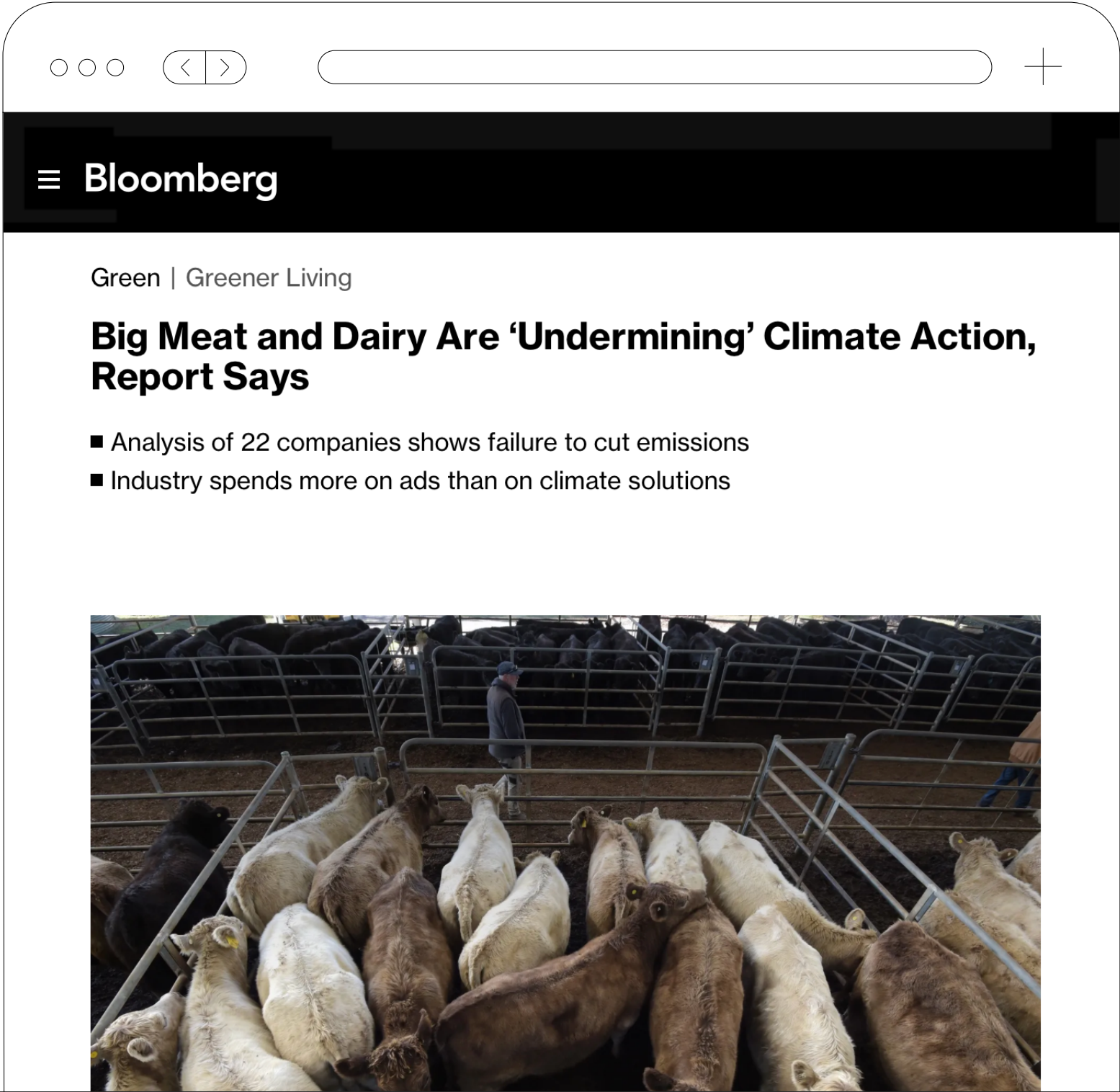
O trabalho observou compromissos climáticos voluntários, alegações de greenwashing, investimentos em publicidade versus soluções de baixo carbono e engajamento político — que incluiu doações políticas, reuniões com políticos, dinheiro gasto em lobby, bem como narrativas que estão promovidas direta ou indiretamente por meio do trabalho de associações do setor.





The report’s video garnered over 100,000 views across different social media platforms, bolstered by shares and likes from high-profile figures including George Monbiot and Moby.<sup>19</sup>

Support from leading academics working on food systems and agriculture, including in institutions such as Oxford, Yale and NYU, furthered the report’s reach and credibility. Researchers and academics are using its findings in their studies and advocacy efforts, while civil society groups including the European Environmental Bureau, Feedback, Greenpeace, the Institute for Agriculture and Trade Policy (IATP), Mighty Earth and the New Climate Institute are using it to shape their own campaigns and policy actions, including toward the development of national methane strategies and corporate reporting frameworks.



At COP29, we saw our work inform and influence high-level discussions on food systems and methane emissions, with delegates citing our findings in debates on corporate accountability and national policy commitments.

Our growing expertise in identifying and challenging mis- and disinformation has seen us become a ‘go-to’ voice on these issues, and we are increasingly sought out by policymakers, civil society organisations and the media to shed light on these issues.





*"[In what is becoming a pattern] Agriculture, the largest source of European methane, was notably absent from the intervention of the EU Climate Commissioner. To deliver on the Global Methane Pledge the EU must show leadership across all three sectors in its methane action plans including agriculture."*

Caitlin Smith, Senior Campaigner - Changing Markets Foundation told Tagespiegel.

## DER TAGESSPIEGEL

*"...Estas transnacionales son expertas en descarrilar cualquier acción contra el cambio climático, en particular, la 'legislación para seguir beneficiándose de un excepcionalismo agrícola', con lo que bloquean la transformación del sistema alimentario,*

Alma Castrejon-Davila, Senior Campaigner -Changing Markets Foundation told La Jornada.

## LaJornada

Greenpeace projects *The New Merchants of Doubt* at the headquarters of dairy giant Fonterra in Auckland, New Zealand/Aotearoa, July 2024.



# Fossil Fashion

## The problem

Synthetic fibres, derived from oil and gas, now dominate the fashion and textile industries, accounting for over two-thirds (69%) of global production - a share expected to rise even further. These materials are not only fuelling fast fashion but also contributing to a surge in microplastics that are ending up in our environment and even our bodies. They are simultaneously locking the fashion industry into fossil fuel dependency, despite the climate crisis and the urgent need to transition away from oil and gas. In 2024, through our Fossil Fashion campaign, we brought the hidden crisis of fossil-fuel-based synthetics onto the agenda of industry leaders, policymakers and consumers. We are beginning to see important shifts as a result of our efforts, alongside those of other civil society groups. However, the sheer scale of the industry's addiction to synthetics and green-washing means we have much work left to do.

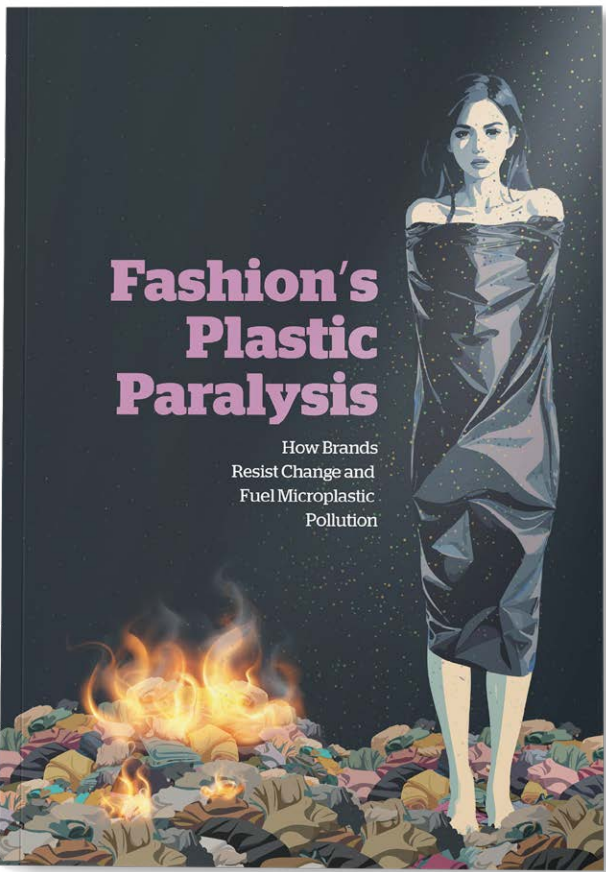




Our work in 2024

In 2024, the EU made significant strides toward regulating the textile sector, advancing policy discussions on greenwashing and textile waste management and introducing its first legislation in the sector focused on environmental criteria. We were active participants in stakeholder consultations and contributed to key policy developments, including the adoption of the Ecodesign for Sustainable Products Regulation (ESPR).

We consistently highlighted the need for legislation to address the impact of synthetic fibres and microplastics. We called for the introduction of extended producer responsibility (EPR) schemes with progressive fee structures linked to fast fashion and the volume of items sold by brands, as well as for restrictions on common greenwashing tactics, such as marketing clothes made from recycled plastic bottles as a ‘green’ choice.



Fashion's Plastic Paralysis

In September, following engagement with fashion companies through a questionnaire and months of in-depth research, we published a new report: *Fashion's Plastic Paralysis: How Brands Resist Change and Fuel Microplastic Pollution*.<sup>20</sup> The report, based on an analysis of 50 global fashion brands, exposed a troubling trend:

instead of moving away from environmentally harmful materials, many brands are doubling down on synthetic fibres - a key source of microplastic pollution. The report, accompanied by a video, showed that brands are not only failing to take meaningful action but are actively engaging in delay and distraction tactics. These include downplaying the impact of plastic pollution, promoting misleading ‘solutions’ and obstructing progress.

The report generated strong media coverage across Europe, including exclusives in major newspapers such as Der Spiegel (Germany), Les Echos (France), La Vanguardia (Spain), De Morgen (front-page feature) and La Libre (Belgium), Altinget (Netherlands and Denmark), Delo (Slovenia) and Público (Portugal). Industry media also picked up the story, with features in outlets including WWD, Apparel Insider, Just Style and Sourcing Journal - amplifying our message across both mainstream and sector-specific platforms.

In October, we followed up on the report with a webinar that brought together experts from the European Environmental Bureau and the University of Groningen to discuss the environmental and health risks associated with the fashion industry's dependence on fossil fuel-based synthetic textiles. The event highlighted our report findings, explored the health impacts of microplastic pollution, and reviewed legislative opportunities to drive a more sustainable industry. The session drew a diverse audience of around 100 policymakers, civil society groups and industry representatives.





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SPiEGEL

Wirtschaft

Fast-Fashion-Industrie

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Die Modebranche setzt immer mehr auf Plastik

Eine neue Analyse unter globalen Modemarken entlarvt die wachsende Abhängigkeit der Industrie von Wegwerfmode und Synthetikfasern. Das wird zum Risiko für die Umwelt und die menschliche Gesundheit.

Von Philip Bethge

17.09.2024, 12:54 Uhr



Fast-Fashion-Geschäft (in Südafrika): Eine der größten Quellen für Mikroplastik und Müll Foto: Per-Anders Pettersson / Getty Images

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AZUL PLANETA CLIMA SUSTENTABILIDADE BIODIVERSIDADE POLUIÇÃO MULTIMÉDIA

MODA

**Fast fashion: marcas globais usam cada vez mais tecidos poluentes, diz relatório**

Marcas globais como Shein ou Zara estão cada vez mais dependentes dos tecidos sintéticos, que têm origem fóssil e libertam microplásticos, sugere um relatório da Fundação Changing Markets.

Andréia Azevedo Soares

16 de Setembro de 2024, 23:01



Estima-se que 92 milhões de toneladas de resíduos têxteis são produzidos na Terra todos os anos: a maior parte desse total (73%) é despejada em aterros sanitários ou incinerada HERIANUS/GETTY IMAGES

EXCLUSIVO

Gostaria de Ouvir? Assine já

00:00 04:52

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LesEchos

À la une Idées Économie Politique Entreprises Finance - Marchés Bourse Monde Tech-Médias Start-up Régions Patrir >

**La mode peine à sortir de sa dépendance aux fibres synthétiques**

Du géant Shein à l'espagnol Inditex en passant par l'américain PVH, propriétaire de Calvin Klein... 45 grandes marques d'habillement sur les 50 passées en revue par l'ONG Changing Markets Foundation figurent « en zone rouge » en terme d'utilisation de ces matières très polluantes mais très peu chères. Seule une réglementation stricte pourrait les inciter à changer.

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La plateforme chinoise Shein multiplie les lancements de pop-up stores pour séduire de nouvelles cibles, dont les jeunes, adeptes des petits prix. (Christophe ARCHAMBAULT/AFP)

Revealing Fashion's Plastic Paralysis

A Live Discussion How Brands Resist Change and Worsen Microplastic Pollution



Urska Trunk,  
Senior Campaigner,  
Changing Markets Foundation



Barbro Melgert  
Professor of Respiratory Immunology,  
University of Groningen



Emily Macintosh  
Policy Officer,  
European Environmental Bureau



JOIN US

LIVE WEBINAR

Wednesday 16th October 2024

Time: 3pm-4pm CET / 2pm-3pm BST



Joint recommendations for EU policy

In October and November, we contributed to two joint documents outlining policy recommendations for the EU. The first was a policy brief developed in collaboration with the Textiles Coalition - a group of environmental and workers’ rights organisations, including the European Environmental Bureau, IndustriALL, ECOS, Fashion Revolution and Fairtrade. *Policy recommendations for green and social ambition in EU textiles policies*<sup>21</sup> outlined key policy priorities that the EU should adopt to reduce the environmental and social impacts of the textile industry. We also contributed specific recommendations for policymakers on the ESPR criteria, the Green Claims Directive and the Waste Framework Directive. The second document, *For an ambitious EU mandate embracing a holistic vision on circular economy*,<sup>22</sup> was an open letter co-signed by EU organisations, businesses and NGOs. Addressed to MEPs, it called for a stronger, target-driven mandate on the circular economy, arguing that binding measures are essential to reduce waste and fundamentally rethink Europe’s consumption patterns. Our contribution included recommendations to improve the EPR framework. Both papers received coverage in trade and EU-focused media, sparking engagement with EU policymakers.



For an ambitious EU mandate embracing a holistic vision on circular economy

4th November 2024

Over the past five years, the EU has promoted a more circular economy, part of the EU's Circular Material Use Rate has increased from 11.5% in 2010 to 11.5% in 2022, highlighting the need for a more target-oriented to accelerate the shift to beyond the current strong focus on waste management in coming years, supporting Member States demonstrating high ambition in preparing for the future.

The appointment of a dedicated European Commissioner for the Environment and the Circular Economy forward in the EU's commitment to addressing the question is whether establishing a dedicated Commissioner for a comprehensive sustainable materials policy.

In the context of the upcoming hearing on the EU Strategy for Sustainable and Circular Textiles, leading sustainable members of the European Parliament related to resource sufficiency and the circular economy.

- ✓ **For a systemic vision on material resource-based systemic approach on material and consumption competitiveness of European countries** recognised in the [June 2024 Communication](#).
- ✓ **For the improvement of fiscal incentives** on raw material extraction, along with economic incentives with the goal of increasing resource efficiency.
- ✓ **For the inclusion of circular economy** in setting global circular economy such as the EU Carbon Border Adjustment Mechanism, promote climate neutrality, decarbonisation, Ecodesign for Sustainable Products Regulation expanded to address the resource efficiency be a key component of EU trade policy, evaluate the socio-economic impact both formal and informal labour markets, broad stakeholder consultation.
- ✓ **For the improvement of the EU game-changing policy tool to high-quality recycling**: to prevent especially as EPR expands to EU should therefore ensure adequate Pays Principle, establish an application, and a focus on prevention should also address the free-riding the limitations of EPR schemes EU to third countries. Finally, Ecodesign and monitoring body in which all stakeholders should be involved.
- ✓ **For product lifespans extension** **European industry**: a clear prevention, reuse, and recycling Circular Economy Act should quantitative and qualitative targets.

Policy recommendations for green and social ambition in EU textiles policies

October 2024



The EU Strategy for Sustainable and Circular Textiles adopted in 2022 and its complementary parliamentary resolution represented a landmark moment on the road to more accountability in the textile sector. The much-needed policies set out in the Textile Strategy which were initiated during the last mandate must continue to be developed and implemented in the direction of environmental and social justice.

At the same time, the Textile Strategy fell short on ambition. This is why in this new legislative cycle, policymakers must build on the foundations laid in the last mandate and work on developing the further necessary actions to build a fair and sustainable sector.

In this document, we have laid our priority calls based on three pillars:

**What's in my clothes**, how are they produced and how to prolong their lives - looking at the amount and types of textiles produced as well as their production practices and the end-of-life

1. End overproduction and the overgeneration of textile waste
2. Clean up polluting and destructive practices and products
3. Powering supply chains with renewable energy

**Who made my clothes** - focusing on accountability, transparency and purchasing practices to ensure fair and safe working conditions, address forced labour and enable living wages for the people who make our clothes as well as how businesses should operate

1. Transparency and traceability across textile and fashion supply chains
2. Safeguard workers, producers and farmers throughout the value chain and in a changing context
3. Use trade mechanisms to push for sustainability

**How my clothes are sold** - looking at how clothes are advertised, with a focus on green and social-washing

1. End green and social-washing

In December, together with STAND.earth, we published the findings of an investigation showing a concerning link between the fashion industry and oil and gas fracking in Texas.<sup>23</sup> The investigation revealed that 107 major fashion brands - including well-known names such as Adidas, Lululemon, Zara and Uniqlo - sourced fabrics from suppliers involved in fracking operations in the Permian Basin. This 'carbon bomb' is recognised as having the highest potential emissions of any oil or gas source in the world. The findings reinforced our earlier exposé of the links between fashion brands and contentious fossil fuel sources, such as Russian oil, and received wide coverage in the trade press.

STAND.earth

Fracked Fashion: How the Fashion Industry is fuelling Big Oil's appetite for Fracking

Stand.earth has released new research that reveals how the fashion industry is contributing to the growth of the fracking-derived petrochemical industry through its sourcing of virgin polyester.







Changing Markets CEO, Nusa Urbancic, speaks at the launch of a new French law targeting fast fashion, Ministry of Environment, Paris, France, March 2024.

## Outcomes and impact

In 2024 we continued to see the outcomes and impact of our work to tackle fast fashion. In March, our CEO, Nusa Urbancic, was invited to speak at a symposium in Paris, organised by Minister Béchu, to launch the new French law targeting fast fashion. Nusa spoke alongside MP Anne-Cécile Violland, and activist and influencer Julia Faure. The event attracted key policymakers and industry stakeholders, and received significant media coverage, including a feature in the major French financial paper *Les Echos*. Later that month, France’s lower house of parliament backed a law to limit the excesses of ultra-fast fashion, including measures to limit production volumes, curb the rapid turnover of collections, and ban advertising by ultra-fast fashion brands.

Also in March, France, Sweden and Denmark proposed strong restrictions on waste clothing exports under the Basel Convention – a significant step forward in addressing the global impacts of fashion waste. This proposal came in direct response to the growing awareness sparked by our 2023 report, *Trashion*,<sup>24</sup> which revealed that over 300 million items of damaged or unsellable synthetic clothing are exported to

# Les Echos

DÉCRYPTAGE

## Transition écologique : vers un malus pour les produits de la « fast fashion »

Le gouvernement va soutenir la proposition de loi sur la « mode jetable » des députés Horizons, qui va être examinée à l'Assemblée. Elle prévoit, pour les entreprises concernées, une obligation d'affichage environnemental, un malus et l'interdiction de toute publicité.



Par Anne Feliz  
Publié le 4 mars 2024 à 18:10 | Mis à jour le 4 mars 2024 à 18:24

Le gouvernement part à l'assaut de la « fast fashion », cette « mode jetable » proposée par des marques chinoises comme Shein ou Temu. Lors d'un colloque organisé ce lundi, le ministre de la Transition écologique, Christophe Béchu, a annoncé que le gouvernement soutiendrait la proposition de loi présentée par des députés Horizons (il est lui-même numéro deux du parti), qui sera débattue à l'Assemblée le 14 mars prochain.

« Il s'agit avant tout de réduire l'impact environnemental de cette industrie », a insisté, lors du colloque, la députée Anne-Cécile Violland, rapporteur du texte. Avec leurs milliers de nouvelles références quotidiennes (7.200 par jour pour Shein) et leurs prix défiant toute concurrence, ces marques contribuent lourdement à la détérioration de la planète.

### « Frapper très très fort »

Représentant 10 % des émissions de gaz à effet de serre, l'industrie textile contribue à la pollution des sols, mais aussi à la production d'une quantité astronomique de déchets, notamment plastiques. Cet impact dramatique sur l'environnement se double d'un impact social (violation des droits humains) et économique (destructions de filières locales).

Le texte des députés Horizons veut donc « frapper très très fort sur ceux qui font très très mal », a expliqué Anne-Cécile Violland. Toute la question sera de définir les entreprises concernées. Pour l'instant, la proposition de loi se borne à expliquer que cette définition dépendra du « nombre de nouveaux modèles par unité de temps » ou « du nombre de modèles et de la durée moyenne de commercialisation » et que les seuls seront fixés par décret.

### LINE AUCSI :

- Uniqlo, Zara, H&M : la fast fashion est en vogue en Bourse
- L'industrie textile prie de se réhabiliter en vert

Or le choix de ces seuils est loin d'être neutre : de leur niveau dépendra l'inclusion ou pas de certaines marques. « Le nombre de nouvelles références est de 7.000 par jour chez Shein et d'environ 500 par semaine chez H&M ou Zara... À titre de comparaison des enseignes françaises en difficulté comme Pamkie comptaient 1.500 nouveaux produits par an », avance Charlotte Solvry de l'ONG Zero Waste France.

Le texte prévoit de soumettre les marques concernées à de nouvelles contraintes. Elles devraient ainsi afficher leur score environnemental – un dispositif déjà prévu sur la base du volontariat à compter de janvier 2025, qui pourrait donc devenir obligatoire pour elles. Christophe Béchu a annoncé ce lundi qu'il relancerait mi-mars la concertation sur cet « éco-score » du textile.

### Principe « pollueur-payeur »

Les marques se verraient aussi potentiellement soumettre à un « malus », qui pourrait représenter jusqu'à 50 % du prix du produit et atteindre à terme un plafond de 10 euros. Ce malus s'inscrirait dans le dispositif de la responsabilité élargie du producteur qui pose le principe « pollueur-payeur » : aujourd'hui l'écocontribution à laquelle sont soumises les entreprises textiles ne peut dépasser 20 % du prix du produit.

« Ces entreprises font des profits mais elles laissent à la planète le soin de trouver des ressources publiques pour éliminer les déchets causés par leur mode de production », a insisté Christophe Béchu, évoquant les coûts « de dépollution, de retour à la nature, de collecte, etc. ». Le ministre se dit également favorable à la mise en place d'un bonus pour les entreprises les plus vertueuses, un dispositif qui ne figure pas dans le texte des députés Horizons.

### LINE AUCSI :

- ENQUÊTE - La mode commence à s'habiller plus vert
- La mode durable, une opportunité pour le Made in France

Les marques concernées seraient aussi interdites de publicité, sur tous les supports, y compris par des influenceurs. Dans son exposé des motifs, le texte rappelle que la loi climat et résilience a interdit la publicité pour les énergies fossiles ou celles relevant d'une démarche de « greenwashing », sans doute pour prévenir la levée de boucliers que cette interdiction pourrait susciter.

Shein n'a d'ailleurs guère tardé à réagir, invoquant l'impact du texte sur « le pouvoir d'achat de millions de Français ».

La proposition de loi pourrait faire l'objet de modifications d'ici son examen, la semaine prochaine, notamment après son passage en commission environnement ce jeudi. Le député LR Antoine Vermeir-Marcus, qui a déposé mi-février une proposition de loi concurrente sur le sujet, s'est dit prêt à soutenir le texte Horizons si un compromis est trouvé. Il défend lui-même un système de bonus/malus, mais se dit totalement opposé à l'interdiction de la publicité.

### Un lourd impact environnemental

L'industrie textile affiche un lourd impact environnemental. Non seulement elle représente 10 % des émissions de gaz à effet de serre mondiales, mais elle génère aussi une quantité astronomique de déchets, notamment plastiques. « Le polyester est devenu la fibre la plus utilisée par l'industrie textile en 2000, et sa production a, depuis, plus que doublé. En 2030, il représentera 85 % du total », rappelle Nusa Urbancic, directrice générale de la Changing Markets Foundation. Or, non seulement ces fibres plastiques sont fabriquées avec des énergies fossiles, mais elles sont difficilement recyclables. Et quand elles le sont, les capacités de collecte et de traitement n'existent pas forcément. Sans parler des microfibrilles rejetées lors de leur lavage. Plus généralement, la teinture et le traitement du textile génèrent 20 % de la pollution des eaux. Et le coton est la première culture consommatrice de pesticides.

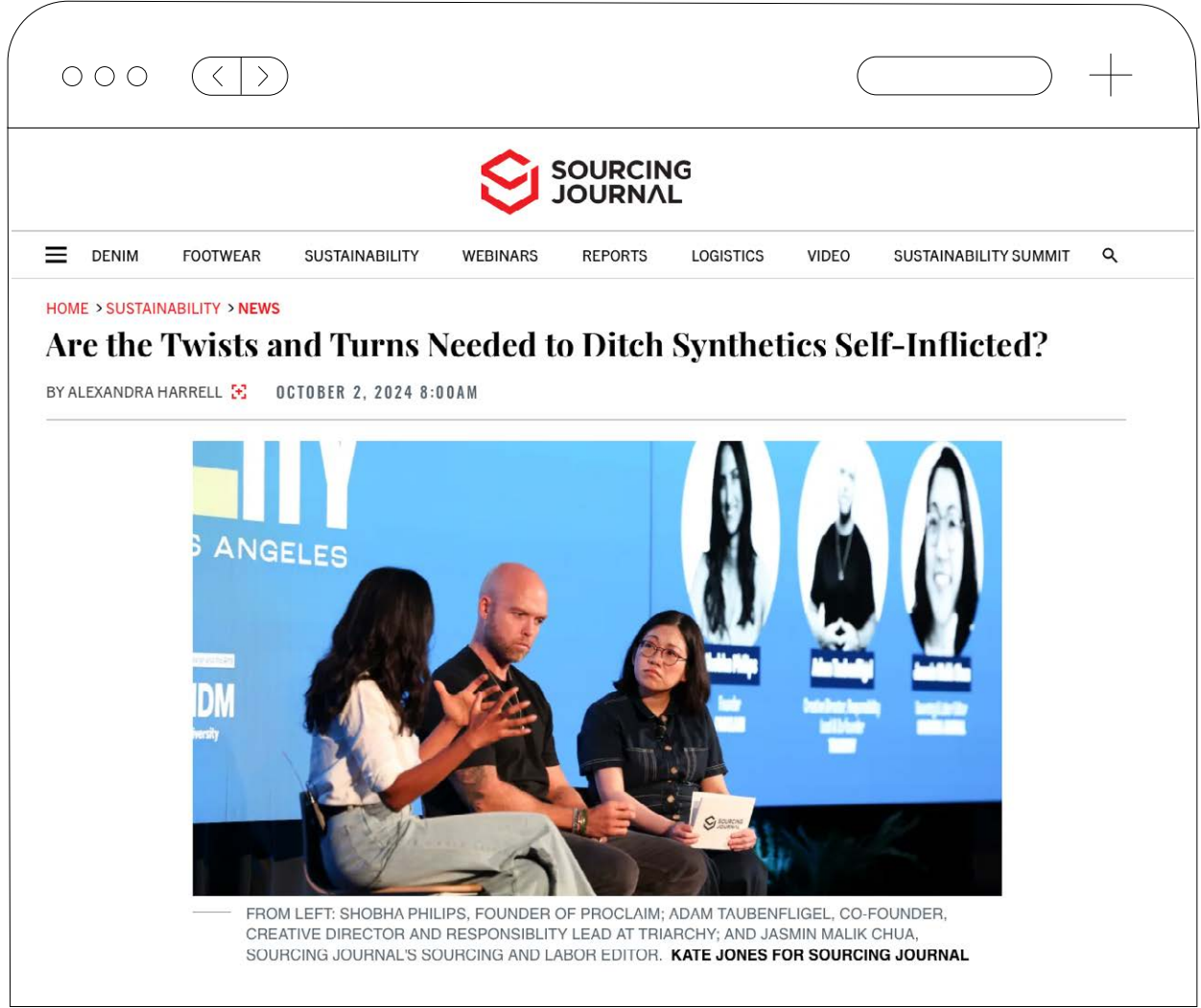
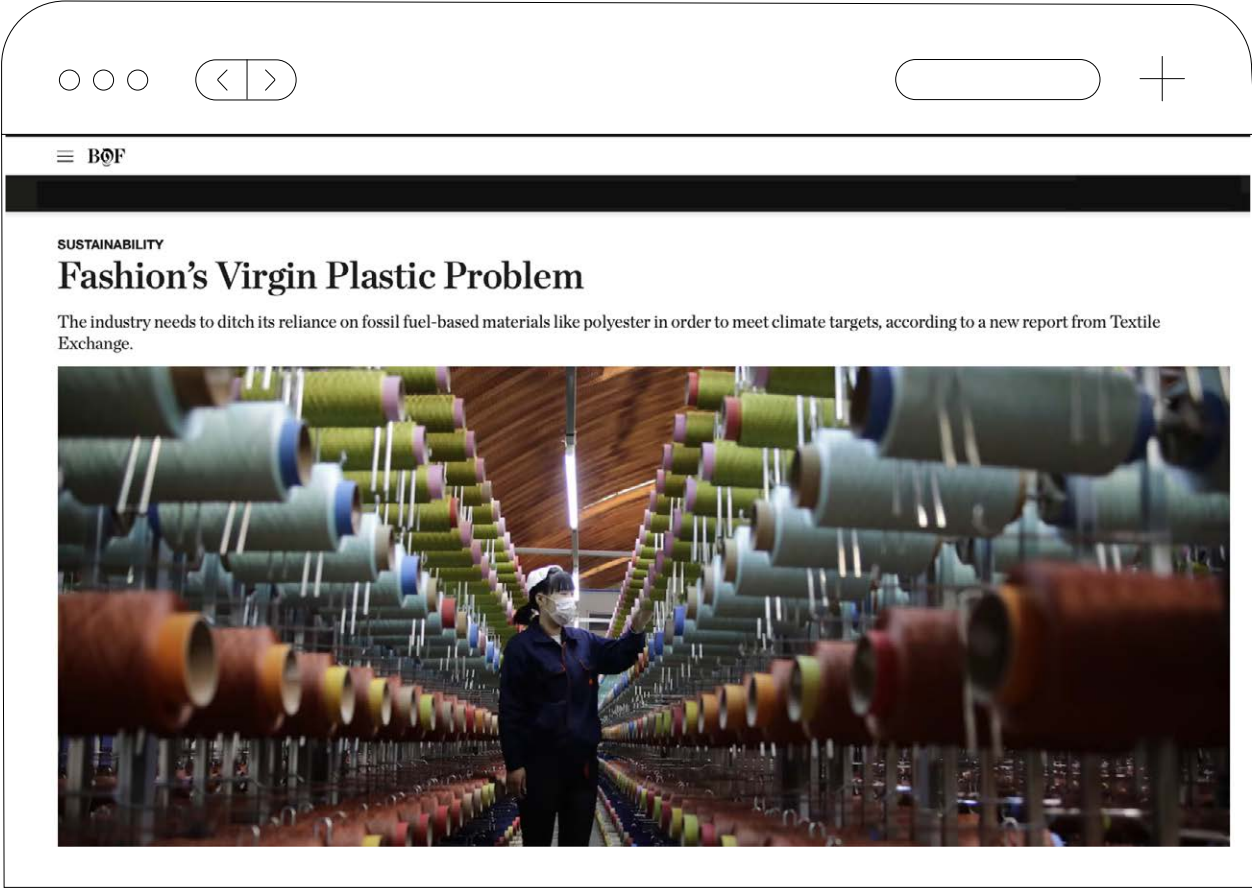
Kenya each year, where they are dumped, landfilled or burned. The report prompted high-level visits to Kenya by European environment ministers and international diplomats, helping to build momentum for regulatory action.

## Un lourd impact environnemental

L'industrie textile affiche un lourd impact environnemental. Non seulement elle représente 10 % des émissions de gaz à effet de serre mondiales, mais elle génère aussi une quantité astronomique de déchets, notamment plastiques. « Le polyester est devenu la fibre la plus utilisée par l'industrie textile en 2000, et sa production a, depuis, plus que doublé. En 2030, il représentera 85 % du total », rappelle Nusa Urbancic, directrice générale de la Changing Markets Foundation. Or, non seulement ces fibres plastiques sont fabriquées avec des énergies fossiles, mais elles sont difficilement recyclables. Et quand elles le sont, les capacités de collecte et de traitement n'existent pas forcément. Sans parler des microfibrilles rejetées lors de leur lavage. Plus généralement, la teinture et le traitement du textile génèrent 20 % de la pollution des eaux. Et le coton est la première culture consommatrice de pesticides.

The industry has also begun to acknowledge the problem. In its *Future of Synthetics* report, released in April 2024, Textile Exchange – an industry body representing over 800 members – admitted that synthetics are not the future.<sup>25</sup> The report revealed that the 47 million tonnes of polyester production in 2022) had resulted in 125 million tonnes of carbon dioxide equivalent (CO2e) emissions, making it the fibre with the highest greenhouse gas footprint. Textile Exchange also conceded that its 2025 Recycled Polyester Challenge – which called on companies to





commit to sourcing 45-100% of their polyester from recycled sources by 2025 - had failed to accelerate progress fast enough. The report's recommendations, including the need to prioritise fibre-to-fibre recycling, closely mirror those of our own reports.

Our calls for the fashion industry to phase out synthetics have continued to resonate. Reformation has committed to phase out virgin synthetics by 2030 and reduce all synthetics (virgin and recycled) to less than 1% of total sourcing by 2025, while Hugo Boss plans to eliminate polyester and polyamide by 2030.

*Fashion's Plastic Paralysis* received over 150 media hits. Sourcing Journal hosted a panel on the report at the SJ x Rivet Sustainability conference in Los Angeles, sparking a conversation about the industry's shift away from synthetics. Our findings were also highlighted in The Guardian's coverage of the global plastics treaty negotiations. We participated in multiple podcasts and webinars, and hosted our own webinar, which attracted around 100 people. Our reports and actions were widely shared across social media, including by prominent voices such as Vanessa Nakate, John Abrahamson and Lexy Silverstein. Our recommendations on the Waste Framework Directive, submitted in 2024, were reflected in the provisional agreement between the Council and European Parliament published early in 2025. This will allow Member States to adjust EPR fees based on

fast fashion practices that drive overproduction and waste, such as large product ranges, frequent new collections and limited repair options.

Media quotes:

*"The results of our survey are alarming, as they reveal a worrying trend in the fashion industry. Despite growing evidence of the environmental and health impacts of synthetic fibres, brands are doubling down on the use of materials that fuel fast fashion and worsen pollution"*

Urska Trunk told PÚBLICO.



*"The trade of this used clothing from the global north to the global south is, to a large extent, the export of plastic waste. Plastic fashion is a problem, and it should be dealt with at the source"*

Urška Trunk told The Guardian







**GREENWASHING: THE  
PRACTICE OF FALSIFYING  
OR OVERSTATING THE  
GREEN CREDENTIALS OF A  
*PRODUCT, SERVICE OR  
BRAND...***



# Greenwashing

## The problem

Greenwashing - exaggerating or falsifying the environmental benefits of a product, service or brand - undermines effective climate action. As scrutiny increases, corporations are adopting increasingly sophisticated tactics to deceive the public, investors and regulators about their environmental impact. Throughout 2024, our Greenwash.com site continued to expose misleading environmental claims made by major corporations, particularly across our food and fashion campaigns. We added new examples to our ever-growing database and attracted 18,000 visits to the site over the year, reflecting growing interest in corporate accountability.

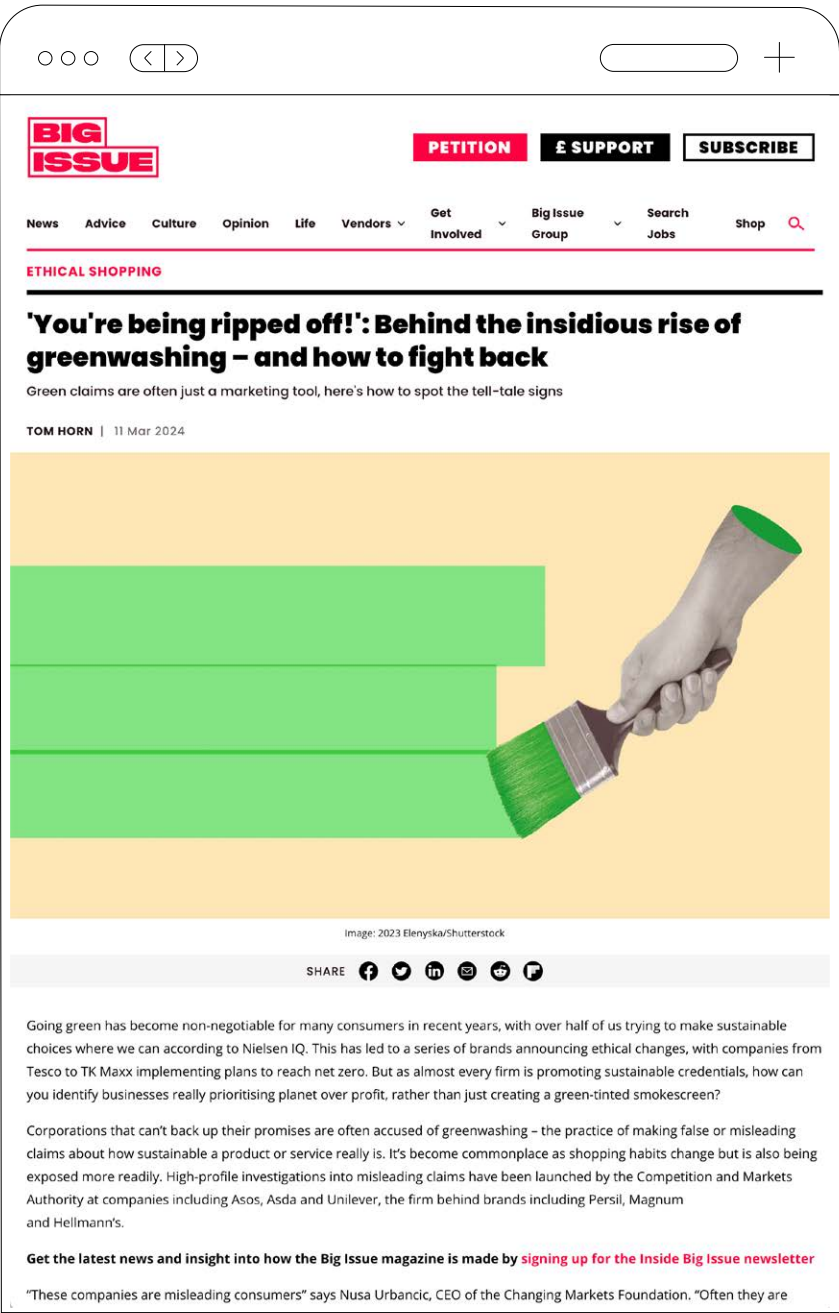


Our work in 2024

Strengthening action on greenwashing

In 2024, greenwash.com was cited in investigations by outlets such as The Big Issue and Sentient Media and featured in several policy and civil society discussions. This discourse helps to amplify our findings and keep pressure on companies to justify, revise or remove misleading claims.

We expanded the educational role of the platform, creating accessible explainers on key topics such as the UK’s Competition and Markets Authority, the Green Claims Code, and Big Meat and Dairy’s favourite new buzzword, ‘regenerative agriculture’. Our content helped demystify complex policy developments and regulatory changes that aim to crack down on greenwashing at both national and EU levels.



Civil society and policy engagement

Throughout the year, we participated in numerous external events related to greenwashing, in particular related to meat and dairy. For example, our Senior Campaigner, Alma Castrejon-Davila, spoke on a panel at the Reducetarian Summit in Dallas, Texas, sharing insights from our reports with campaigners and industry professionals.



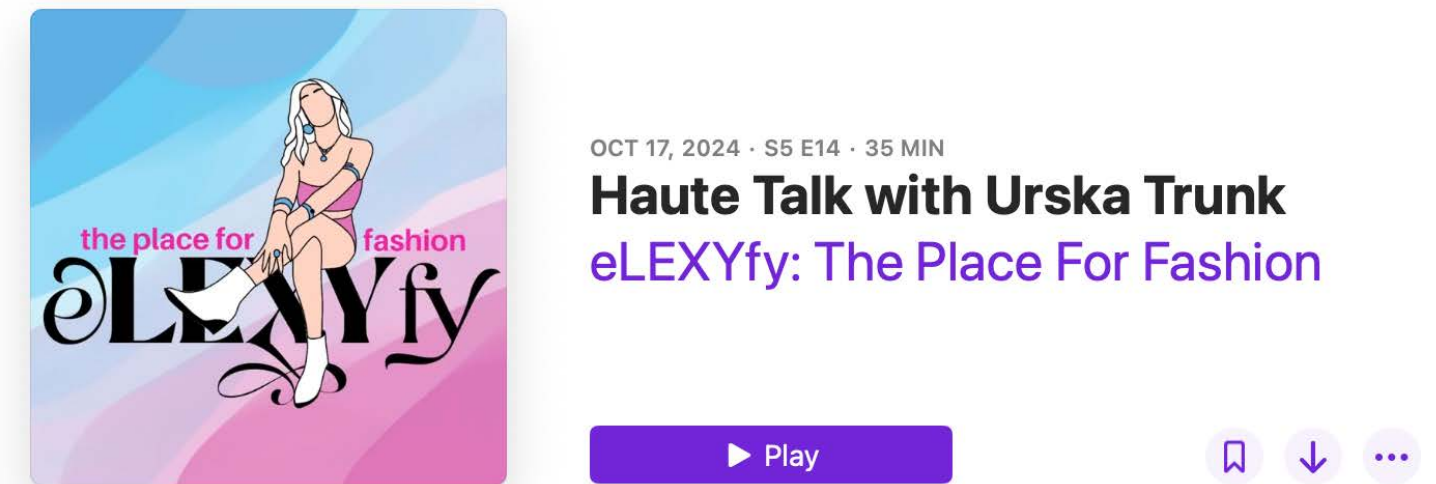


We were actively involved in policy discussions around the EU Green Claims Directive, emphasising the importance of robust enforcement and clear standards to prevent misleading sustainability claims. We also provided recommendations to EU policymakers to strengthen the legislative framework for combating greenwashing, including as part of the joint position papers we worked on for Fossil Fashion.

### Reaching new audiences

Building on our success in 2023, we continued our Talking Heads video series across Instagram, featuring voices from partner NGOs. This year, our greenwashing series reached 9,000 views and included representatives from the EU (on biogas), IATP (on Big Meat and Dairy), the Vegetarian Society Denmark (on a court case around ‘climate-friendly pork’), CorpWatch (on global corporate greenwashing) and food systems researcher Nicholas Carter (explaining GWP\* and emissions accounting manipulation).

We also piloted a new type of collaboration. In February, we collaborated with fashion campaigner Venetia La Manna to produce a hard-hitting video, *The Fashion Danger Zone*,<sup>26</sup> which drew key findings from our *Synthetics Anonymous* reports. Timed to coincide with London Fashion Week the video attracted nearly 200,000 views, raising awareness of greenwashing by fashion brands amongst new audiences.



In this episode of eLEXYfy: The Place for Fashion, we sit down with Urška Trunk, Senior Campaign Manager at the Changing Markets Foundation. Urška shares her deep insights into the world of sustainable fashion, discussing the ongoing problem of greenwashing by major brands and how consumers can make more informed choices. We dive into her work advocating for stricter regulations on fashion companies to ensure they uphold real sustainability standards. Urška also highlights the challenges the fashion industry faces in transitioning to a circular economy and the need for systemic change. If you’ve ever questioned the “green” claims made by your favorite brands, this episode is a must-listen!

Our efforts to reach new audiences and experiment with new formats also saw us engage with podcasting in 2024. In Speak Media podcast *Good Corp, Bad Corp*, Senior Campaign Manager Urška Trunk delved into greenwashing in the fashion industry, shedding light on the gap between rhetoric and reality. Urška also joined the eLEXYfy podcast to unpack the greenwashing tactics used by major fashion brands, explain the push for stronger regulation, and highlight the urgent need for systemic change. The episode, *Haute Talk*, offered an accessible entry point for consumers interested in sustainable fashion, while reinforcing our message to a wider, more diverse audience.

### Coalitions and cross-campaign solidarity

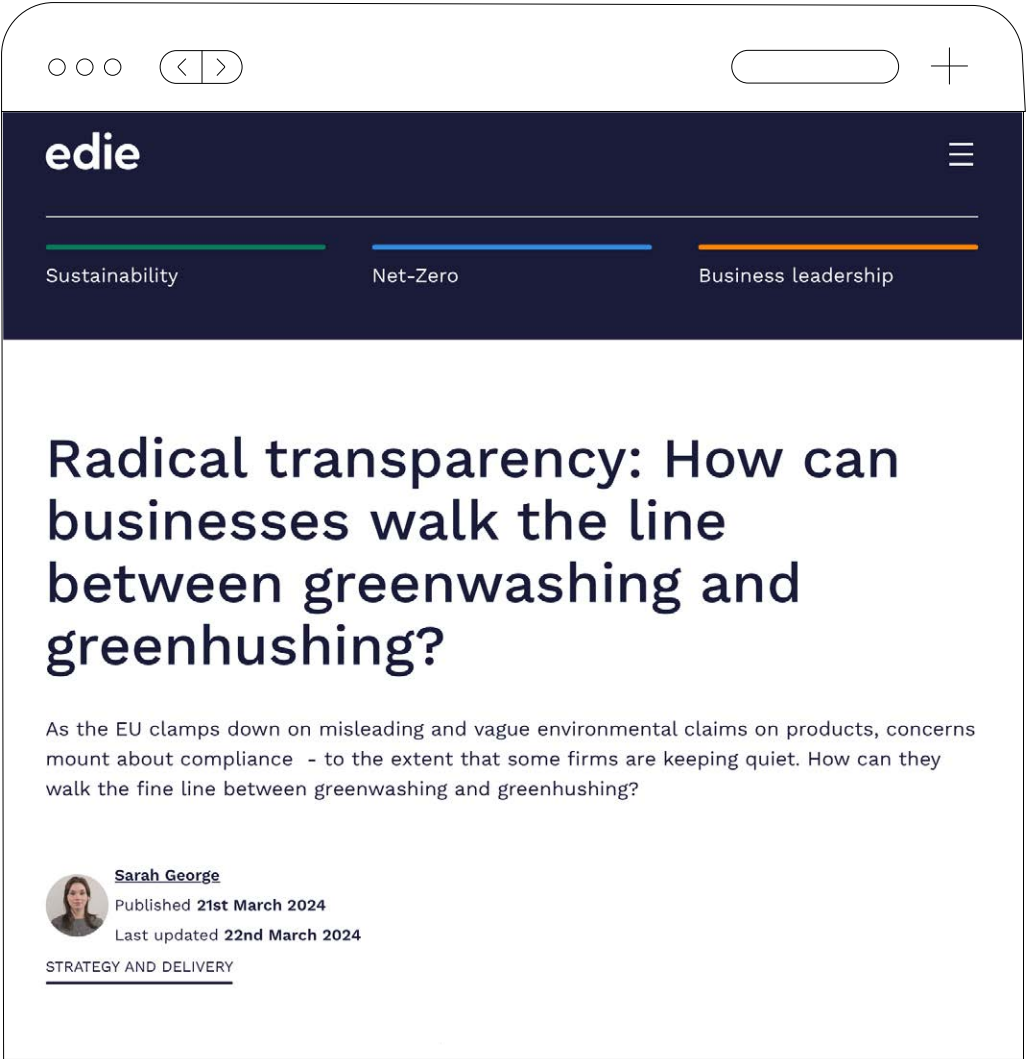
Another focus of our greenwashing work in 2024 was alliance building. We joined forces with other organisations exposing similar forms of corporate deception – such as sports- and health-washing. In August, we partnered with the Kick Big Soda



Out of Sport campaign to call out the soft drinks industry’s climate and health misinformation, with a particular focus on Coca-Cola’s sponsorship of the Olympics taking place at that time. The Kick Big Soda Out campaign continues to highlight the hypocrisy of positioning a major plastic polluter and sugar-pusher as a champion of health and sustainability on the world stage.

Outcomes and impact

Our work on greenwash has contributed to policy change, helping to set new standards for corporate environmental accountability. Through our sustained advocacy, rigorous research and strategic coalition-building, we are now positioned as an authoritative voice on greenwash. And we have played a critical role



discussed the issues with industry leaders on a panel at the influential edie24 sustainability conference.

Later in the year, the Council of the EU adopted its position on the Green Claims Directive. Although not perfect, the directive is another major step forward, introducing independent verification of environmental claims and tighter rules on labelling and offsetting. We continue to advocate for strengthening of the Directive, including the need for clarity and enforcement in sectors like textiles, in advance of its adoption - expected in 2025.

In parallel with the tightening of regulations in 2024, and supporting our ongoing advocacy in this area, greenwash.com has become increasingly established as a reference point for journalists and civil society. We also saw it having direct corporate impact, with companies telling us they had removed misleading claims after being featured on the site.

in shaping legislative victories on climate action and consumer protection.

One big win is the Empowering Consumers for the Green Transition Directive, a law which bans misleading climate claims based solely on offsets, such as ‘climate neutral’ or ‘carbon compensated’. This is a pivotal step towards stopping high-emission sectors like meat, dairy and plastics from using such deceptive marketing. Following the adoption of the law in early 2024, our CEO, Nusa Urbancic, wrote an op-ed for BusinessGreen, ‘The Greenwash Reckoning Has Begun’,<sup>27</sup> highlighting its implications for UK companies. In March, Nusa





## Looking Forward

As we reflect on a successful year, one in which our expertise is increasingly sought after as a point of reference, we are excited to continue building on our visibility and credibility to create real legislative change in 2025 and beyond.

Our focus remains on driving corporate accountability and transformative policy change, including binding commitments to reduce methane emissions, accelerate the shift to just, sustainable food systems, and bring an end to the era of fossil fashion. Our mission is clear.

At the same time, we know that we are entering unprecedented times. The year began with huge political shifts to the right in the US, Europe and Latin America, threatening to undermine regulatory momentum at national, regional, and global levels.

We know that we are up against formidable opponents, and that an ever-rising tide of mis- and disinformation is being used as a strategic tool to obstruct policy, erode public trust and delay action. As all eyes turn to COP30 in Brazil, where food systems transformation is expected to be high on the agenda, we also know that powerful lobby groups will be working hard to derail progress.

These challenges only make our priorities more urgent. We draw strength from our proven expertise in understanding and exposing these tactics, as well as our growing alliances with like-minded partners worldwide. In 2025, we will further advance our efforts to expose the destructive actions of Big Meat and Dairy, hold consumer brands and retailers accountable, and advocate for meaningful regulation. We will also press ahead with our work to coordinate and shape policies, from securing ambition in the EU Waste Framework Directive to strengthening the Science-Based Targets initiative and other key regulatory processes.



UK

**Jo Kuper,**  
Director of Communications



Jo is the newest member of the Changing Markets team having joined in May 2025. A lifelong campaigner for social and environmental justice, she brings two decades of experience with international organisations including Médecins Sans Frontières (MSF) and Greenpeace. Having lived and worked across multiple continents, Jo has witnessed firsthand the devastating effects of climate change and inequality worldwide. This fuels her commitment to using strategic communications and storytelling to amplify frontline voices, create urgent calls for action, and ultimately drive systemic change.

UK

**Kerry Culbert,**  
Director of Finance  
and Administration



Kerry joined Changing Markets in August 2024. She is an ICAEW-qualified Chartered Accountant (ACA) and worked as an auditor at a firm specialising in Not-for-Profits. Before Changing Markets, Kerry was Senior Finance Officer at WECF International and Head of Finance at Hackney Foodbank. Originally from London, Kerry moved to the Netherlands in the summer of 2023.



Scotland

**Caitlin Smith**  
Senior Campaigner



Caitlin joined Changing Markets in December 2023 after six years with Save the Children International, most recently leading their climate and inequality campaign in the Middle East, North Africa, and Eastern Europe regions. Caitlin has worked across a number of campaigns in her career, including on climate, girls' empowerment, and protecting children in conflict and is passionate about social and climate justice. Throughout her time campaigning she has worked to ensure children have a central and meaningful voice in climate action and decision-making, as well as working closely with youth-led groups, including at COP. Caitlin likes to be creative in her approach to campaigning using tools like activism (art + activism) and storytelling to engage with young people and adults.



Sweden

**Joakim Bergman**  
Executive Chair and Founder



Joakim studied law but soon after landed at Greenpeace, where he discovered his passion for campaigns. As Campaign Director of Greenpeace Sweden in the early 1990s, he was involved in some of the organisation's earliest innovations in market campaigns, including on its PVC campaign and its campaign against chlorine bleaching in the pulp and paper industry. He went on to various roles in Greenpeace, including CEO of Greenpeace Sweden, Deputy CEO of Greenpeace International and Board Member of Greenpeace USA and Central and Eastern Europe. In 1996, Joakim established and ran a solutions-focused market campaigning business in Sweden, advising NGOs and progressive companies.



Germany

**Anne Schroeer,**  
Director of Fundraising and Impact



Anne joined Changing Markets in 2024, coming from 350.org, where she was leading the global fundraising efforts, managing the team responsible for raising the organisation's revenue to support the global climate movement. Anne's experience combines campaigning and fundraising, working on a number of campaigns for ocean protection at Oceana, and prior to that worked at Leonard Cheshire Disability, Greenpeace International and Pew Charitable Trusts. Anne holds a Master's degree in Business Administration and a Master of Arts in Culture and Media from the University of Lueneburg.

## OUR PEOPLE

8 languages spoken



English, Croatian, Dutch, French, German,  
Slovenian, Spanish and Swedish.

UK/USA

**Lily Roberts**  
Campaign Adviser



Lily joined Changing Markets in January 2024. Lily comes from a background in public policy and sustainable finance and joins from ShareAction, where she advocated for responsible investment and corporate behaviour, mobilising stakeholders to drive positive social and environmental impact through shareholder activism. Lily has worked across a number of campaigns targeting global corporations — from promoting consumer health to addressing air quality and worker wellbeing. Central to all campaigns is Lily's commitment to ensuring the voices of those with lived experience shape engagement and decision-making. Lily holds a BSc in Social Science from the University of Bath. In her free time, you'll find Lily crocheting, delving into books and experimenting with new recipes in the kitchen.

Mexico

**Alma Castrejon-Davila**  
Senior Campaigner



Alma joined Changing Markets in October 2021 as a Senior Campaigner. Prior to this, Alma worked for over 7 years at WWF-UK and WWF International as a Senior Campaign Manager working on a range of environmental campaigns: engaging the general public to foster political action towards climate change; tackling illegal and unsustainable timber entering the EU market; protecting UNESCO World Heritage sites from harmful industrial activities; stopping deforestation and conversion in our food production; making sure climate and justice was at the heart of the UK Government's COVID-19 recovery package; advocating for protection and restoration of UK seas; and started working on a campaign to fix our broken food system.

UK

**Maddy Haughton-Boakes**  
Senior Campaigner



Maddy is a Senior Campaigner at Changing Markets Foundation, having joined in April 2022. Prior to this she was Campaigns Manager at CPRE where she worked across several varied campaigns including for a deposit return scheme in the UK and on nature-based solutions to climate change, as well as leading participatory research into racism and the countryside. Maddy has been working in fundraising and campaign roles for civil society since 2015. She has an MSc in Global Environmental Politics and Policy from Birkbeck College, University of London and a BA in History and Sociology.

Slovenia

**Urška Trunk**  
Campaign Manager



Urška joined the Changing Markets team in January 2017 from the Brussels-based NGO Carbon Market Watch, where she worked as the Climate Finance Policy Officer advocating for more effective and accountable use of climate finance. Her background is in European policy and she holds a master's degree in European Politics and Policies from Katholieke Universiteit Leuven.

Slovenia

**Nusa Urbancic**  
CEO



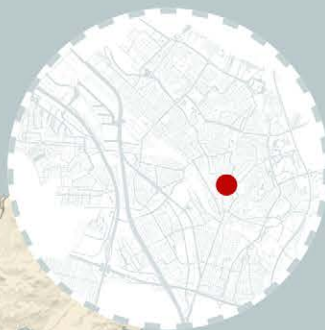
Nusa oversees strategy and implementation for all Changing Markets campaigns, investigations and media work. She joined Changing Markets in April 2015 from Brussels-based NGO Transport & Environment, where she worked as the Programme Manager of the Energy and Fuels programmes for over six years, advocating for more climate-friendly European policy and leading the fuels team. Born and raised in Slovenia, Nusa started her Brussels experience in Greenpeace's Renewable Energy team. Nusa has an MA in International Relations from the University of Ljubljana and an LLM in Human Rights from London University, which she completed part-time alongside working at Changing Markets.

Australia

**Paul Gilding**  
Founder



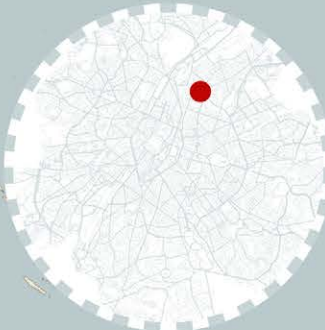
Paul is an independent author, strategy advisor and entrepreneur for a sustainable economy. He has worked with the boards and executives of many leading global companies, including Unilever, BHP Billiton, DSM, Ford and DuPont, and is a widely recognised global authority on the economic and business implications of sustainability and climate change. He is a Fellow at the University of Cambridge's Institute for Sustainability Leadership, where he researches and teaches on the inevitable global economic transformation around sustainability.



Utrecht Office



London Office



Brussels Office



FINANCIAL SUMMARY  
JANUARY TO DECEMBER 2024



Grant income recognised in 2024 but not yet spent relates to a multi-year grant. The balance will be spent before 31 March 2026 (the end of the two-year grant period).

We would like to thank all donors that supported us in 2024, including the European Climate Foundation, Climate-Works and Spronck Foundation. Your generous support made our work possible.



Despite both our income and expenditure increasing in 2024, and in the face of rising costs, inflation and an increase in average FTE staff, we worked hard to maintain our Office & Admin Costs at the same level as they were in 2023.

Our full audited accounts are available at [www.changingmarkets.org/about](http://www.changingmarkets.org/about)





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