

Global Trade Union Building in Defence of Workers' Rights

Evaluation of Sida's Support to the LO-TCO Secretariat

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Sida

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Executive Summary

The LO-TCO Secretariat's mandate, direction and objectives

According to its statutes, the LO-TCO Secretariat of International Trade Union Development Cooperation is a cooperative undertaking by LO and TCO, the two largest Swedish union confederations, for the implementation of international trade union development cooperation. The work of the LO-TCO Secretariat should support the development of independent, democratic and equal trade union organisations.

The LO-TCO Secretariat adheres to its governing policy, asserting that strong unions are vital agents in bringing about change in all societies. Where people are union members, demand their rights and reasonable working conditions, existing power structures and society as a whole can be changed.

At policy level, the LO-TCO Secretariat establishes a direct link between its development work (capacity building of trade unions combined with methodology, policy and advocacy development) and the Sida/CIVSAM objectives of strengthening civil society and enabling poor people to improve their living conditions.

The mandate of LO-TCO Secretariat is twofold: i) to supervise and coordinate projects and provide quality assurance; ii) to serve and support partner organisations, the Swedish trade unions and the global union federations (GUFs).

The role of the LO-TCO Secretariat is not to make decisions concerning project support. Rather, the responsibility of the LO-TCO Secretariat is technical and supportive on general and technical cooperation issues. The political mandate rests with the Swedish trade unions. The unions receive project applications from their international partners and, in cases where these are approved, forward them to the LO-TCO Secretariat. The LO-TCO Secretariat supports the Swedish unions and may raise questions or request additional information about the projects. After these processes, the Secretariat prepares the combined application to Sida/CIVSAM¹. The LO-TCO Board of Directors makes the final decision and balances the projects approved.

Overview of programmes and projects

The extensive project portfolio of the LO-TCO Secretariat (210 programmes and projects in some 70 countries and a framework agreement with Sida/CIVSAM amounting to MSEK 120 in 2008) consists of two-thirds multilateral projects (through the GUFs) and one third bilateral (directly with Swedish unions). The projects are grouped into thematic categories such as general trade union organisational development, negotiations, collective bargaining, social dialogue and gender. In reality, however, the categories play no major role as they are not consistent and are only presented in applications to Sida.

Methodological development

The LO-TCO Secretariat in its policies and practices, including the Nordic-Dutch guidelines for trade union development cooperation, emphasises a participatory approach, use of LFA and involvement of end users in defining interventions and priorities. Also, the LO-TCO Secretariat makes considerable efforts to improve methods and enhance their own and their partners' capacity (for example the development of organisational capacity-building indicators, lessons from the partnership chain and study circle lessons).

¹ CIVSAM = Team Civil Society, formerly SEKA/EO, until October 2008.

The present evaluation, however, demonstrates a great variety in capacity, in quality of applications approved, in reporting, in monitoring and in quality assurance along the partnership chain. Effectiveness and quality are sometimes insufficient at different levels in this chain.

The LO-TCO Secretariat and its partners

The relationship chain is longer and more complex for the LO-TCO Secretariat than for any other Sida/CIVSAM framework organisation. Multilateral projects are implemented through the GUFs, and bilateral projects directly by the Swedish trade unions and their partner organisations in the South.

The LO-TCO Secretariat has four main reasons for working through the GUFs

- A closer link to global strategies and priorities on sectors, issues and methods
- GUFs play a coordinating role for several donors
- GUFs add value due to their vast experience
- GUFs are more impartial than national unions

The Swedish unions are today more actively involved in development cooperation than they used to be, not least due to activities by Sida/CIVSAM and the LO-TCO Secretariat.

Alternatives

It is difficult to imagine organisations other than trade unions themselves as beneficiaries of trade union development cooperation. Trade unions are, however, challenged by other social movements and NGOs, sometimes also in sectors where unions are traditionally strong. For many years, trade unions organised workers in the formal sector only; workers with a more or less permanent employment contract in large workplaces where negotiating a collective bargaining agreement was a feasible way of obtaining decent working conditions.

A large variety of NGOs, CBOs and national policy platforms in the countries visited are involved in issues of central interests to unions – including consumer protection, occupational health and safety and improving the working and living conditions of workers in the informal economy. The trade union movement has forged links with these civil society organisations, including LO-TCO Secretariat partners, which has enhanced their effectiveness and relevance. Internationally, the GUFs systematically and frequently cooperate with international NGOs.

Evidence from the development cooperation supported by the LO-TCO Secretariat in the countries visited during this evaluation clearly demonstrates that trade unions have become – by will or by necessity – more inclusive towards the informal sector. Encouraging examples from Ghana show that, by linking improvements in working conditions for informal workers to national union policies and onwards to global and sectoral policies, outcomes in terms of policy influence by the unions and benefits to informal workers are greatly enhanced.

Relevance and added value

The LO-TCO Secretariat's cooperation projects contribute to strengthening unions and thereby civil society. Objectives are consistent with the Sida/CIVSAM overall objectives and aim at fighting poverty by sharing society's resources more equally, changing unfair structures and strengthening civil society. The LO-TCO Secretariat's projects and programmes contribute directly to improving poor people's living conditions when they include workers near the poverty line for example textile, rural or construction workers. These projects also contribute more broadly by including access to social security, social services and enhancing empowerment.

For workers with higher incomes, contributions to poverty alleviation are more indirect, for example by contributing to education for all or effective and affordable public services. Often, lobbying or advocacy interventions such as improved social dialogue exert long-term effects on people's lives.

Relevance in terms of the project objectives and target groups gives a more mixed picture. Study circle projects are a case where relevance seems to be dependent on context and there are cases of weak links between problems identified and the interventions. The LO-TCO Secretariat's projects also show cases of very relevant project objectives, for example in Colombia on social dialogue and protection of union leaders and in India on organising teachers, improving construction workers' access to social benefits and advocating for the collective bargaining rights of public employees. Some of the projects – for example in Ghana – have managed to reach out to entire communities and substantially enhance living conditions and the position of the local unions.

Generally the very broad range of activities and interventions are relevant, for example training inputs, recruitment campaigns and empowerment of rank and file members. In some cases, there are some 'blueprint' approaches noted in training and study circles which should be avoided. Context analysis is critically important.

Apart from funding, the LO-TCO Secretariat's cooperation adds value on some specific issues: training of local leaders and members, study circles which are an especially good method for reaching members with low levels of education, strengthening of internal democracy, increasing attention to gender issues, promoting local leaders and providing international contacts at regional and global level as well as method development.

Effectiveness

In adverse socio-economic and political contexts, with declining union memberships and large and growing informal economies and degradation of working conditions, it is difficult to answer clearly yes or no as to whether strengthening trade unions through the LO-TCO Secretariat's development cooperation is effective in overall terms. Even so, the LO-TCO Secretariat's programmes and projects do contribute in important ways to the objectives of Sida/CIVSAM as well as those of the Secretariat – in terms of labour and human rights, and in relation to poverty. Many examples show that there are indirect as well as direct contributions. When interventions are close to rank-and file members, where they enhance capacities that enable unions to make important advocacy efforts, and when the unions manage to reach out to underprivileged groups, including women, then they are effective vehicles for attaining objectives.

However, the results of many of the LO-TCO Secretariat's programmes and projects are mixed. Important achievements are realised, but there are also examples of carrying on with the same type of projects for years without any clear forward progress.

Positive examples are found in different countries and sectors. A common feature is that they are often well-designed, well managed, deliver good standard reports and are run by experienced and committed project coordinators.

A number of deficiencies in terms of quality in project design have been found in the projects and organisations studied. Imprecise indicators, missing baselines, broadly designed objectives and a weak monitoring and reporting system. Gender analyses in the LO-TCO projects are often found to be vague and incomprehensive.

Resources are apparently lacking within the LO-TCO Secretariat and the Swedish unions in terms of planning, implementing and monitoring the large number of projects. The GUFs are more experienced, better positioned and often better equipped and closer to reality to fulfil the roles of more

effective cooperation partners. Large numbers of project sites, numerous partners involved and insufficient resources, however, also limit their capacity to adequately follow up their programmes and projects.

Sustainability

As long-term and durable structures in civil society, trade unions advance the cause of their members, lobby politically and advocate for improvement of the lives of the workers and their families. Provided that the unions deliver relevant services to the members so that they feel that ‘something is in it for me’, then they are sustainable financially and organisationally. They would also be able to function without external support. As amply demonstrated in this evaluation however, the political, social and economic conditions under which unions function are most unfavourable in many cases. Difficult conditions, low income, poor workers and weak internal democracy render weak unions with limited visibility and influence.

Some of the unions studied would be able to function without external support, but obviously on a smaller scale. The organisational maturity of unions, relative respect by government and employers and their position in society are all factors making unions better able to adapt and more resilient, enhancing chances of continuation of activities after external support has been terminated.

Where services and activities are close to the central policies and priorities of the unions, there are interesting examples, for example in Togo and India, of structures and activities such as OHS committees, study circles and women’s committees, which are durable and would continue after the cessation of the projects. This is even the case in very difficult contexts.

1. Introduction and Methodology

1.1 Introduction

The LO-TCO Secretariat of International Trade Union Development Cooperation (referred to in this evaluation as the LO-TCO Secretariat) aims to support the creation and development of independent, democratic trade unions throughout the world. All programmes and projects supported by the LO-TCO Secretariat emphasise gender equality. Support is provided to trade union organisational development, training and leadership development, education about human rights, development of networks and administrative capacities, social dialogue, occupational health and safety, HIV/AIDS prevention etc.

The LO-TCO Secretariat believes that strong unions are vital agents in bringing about change in all countries. Democratic trade unions strengthen respect for human rights, contribute to the fight against poverty through more equal distribution of resources, enhance democratic structures, gender equality, fair trade and awareness about occupational health and its links to environmental issues. Where people are union members and demand their rights and reasonable working conditions, existing power structures can be changed. Collective agreements are one of the best mechanisms for fighting poverty.

The LO-TCO Secretariat is owned by the two largest Swedish union confederations: the Swedish Trade Union Confederation (LO) and the Swedish Confederation of Professional Employees (TCO). The LO-TCO Secretariat supports approximately 210 projects in some 70 countries. Projects are requested by Swedish trade unions and are, in most cases, implemented by global union federations (GUFs); so called multilateral projects. Approximately one third of the projects are, however, bilateral which means that they are implemented by the Swedish trade unions without the involvement of the GUFs.

Support is mainly funded through Sida. During the 2008 financial year, the LO-TCO Secretariat's framework agreement with Sida/CIVSAM amounts to MSEK 120, of which MSEK 102 was earmarked for work in developing countries. The trade union movement contributes a minimum of ten per cent of the costs of the project portfolio. (See also Section 2.8.)

1.2 The Scope of the Evaluation

The overall purpose of this evaluation is to assess if the LO-TCO Secretariat contributes to the Sida/CIVSAM's goals of strengthening civil society and enabling poor people to improve their living conditions.

The specific objectives of the evaluation are to evaluate the relevance, effectiveness and sustainability of the LO-TCO Secretariat's work. Relevance is assessed in relation to Sida/CIVSAM's goals as well as in relation to the priorities of the target groups and whether activities address the problems described in project proposals. The value added of the model of partnerships between the LO-TCO Secretariat and its partners – Swedish trade unions, GUFs at global level, GUF regional offices and local trade union partners – is also assessed.

Effectiveness is evaluated in relation to Sida/CIVSAM's objectives and in relation to the objectives of each of the programmes and projects that were selected for closer examination. The implementation work of the local partners, the relationship between the LO-TCO Secretariat and its partners and other stakeholders and whether the objectives could be reached through alternative means or partners is also investigated.

Sustainability, the likelihood that benefits of the projects will be maintained after LO-TCO Secretariat's support has ended, is analysed at overall country level as well as for specific programmes and projects.

Issues relating to impact and efficiency, in economic terms and in relation to the selection of partners and their added value, are discussed when relevant.

The evaluation should serve as a learning tool for the LO-TCO Secretariat and Sida/CIVSAM, as well as an instrument for Sida's overall assessment of the LO-TCO Secretariat. It should suggest improvements and contribute to the learning of good methods and examples.

1.3 The Organisation of the Evaluation Report

This evaluation report is divided into eight chapters:

1. Introduction and methodology
2. The LO-TCO Secretariat's mandate, direction, objectives and methods
3. The LO-TCO Secretariat and its partners
4. Relevance
5. Effectiveness
6. Sustainability
7. Analysis and perspectives on the LO-TCO Secretariat's development cooperation
8. Recommendations

Country reports from the five countries visited by the evaluation team – India, Ghana, Colombia, Togo and Burkina Faso – in which issues relating to relevance, effectiveness and sustainability in each country are elaborated more in detail – are annexed to this evaluation report (annexes A, B, C, D, E).

Lists of people interviewed are also annexed to the report.

1.4 Authors and Acknowledgements

The evaluation was carried out by Frank Runchel, Agneta Gunnarsson, Jocke Nyberg and Nazi Kaboré.

Frank Runchel, partner at Networking Consultants in Copenhagen, Denmark, was team leader. Jocke Nyberg and Agneta Gunnarsson, journalists and consultants at the consultancy company Context in Stockholm, Sweden, were team members. Nazi Kaboré from Burkina Faso was contracted to carry out the country study in Burkina Faso.

The consultants would like to express their sincere gratitude to all the organisations and individuals who shared their time and knowledge with them. Many thanks also for kind support and valuable assistance afforded during the consultants' work in Togo, Ghana, Burkina Faso, Colombia and India.

1.5 Methodology

In order to answer the questions put in the Terms of Reference three methods have been used: study and analysis of written documentation, interviews and observation.

Initially the LO-TCO Secretariat's application to Sida for 2007–2008 was studied and initial meetings with the LO-TCO Secretariat and Sida/CIVSAM were held.

Based on this information, an inception report outlining the main focus of the evaluation and criteria for selection of programmes and projects was developed. In the inception report countries for field visits were selected and a tentative timetable was developed.

Following the inception report, more material such as evaluations, policy documents, project applications and annual reports, were gathered from the LO-TCO Secretariat and further meetings with staff of the LO-TCO Secretariat took place.

Representatives of several GUFs were interviewed – some of them during their visits to Stockholm, others in their head offices in or near Geneva. Interviews with representatives of Swedish trade unions were also carried out.

These interviews were semi-structured, based on a number of pre-defined questions but with opportunities for follow-up questions depending on the answers provided. Questionnaires were developed for interviews with GUF representatives, representatives of Swedish trade unions, project coordinators as well as local trade union partners and trade union members.

Based on the criteria outlined in the inception report and the initial interviews, programmes and projects to be visited in the five field visit countries were selected. In each country this sample consisted of three to five projects. Through the Swedish trade unions and the GUFs, contacts were established with the GUFs' regional offices and, through them, with project coordinators and local coordinators in each country in order to plan the visits. In case of bilateral projects contacts were established directly with the implementing trade union organisations.

The field visits were carried out in late July and the first three weeks of August. Frank Runchel visited Ghana and Togo, Nazi Kaboré visited Burkina Faso and Ghana, Jocke Nyberg went to Colombia and Agneta Gunnarsson to India. The main method for collecting information during these visits was interviews, but data from the interviews were also coupled with direct observations made by the consultants. Most of the interviews were carried out with representatives of GUFs, project coordinators at different levels, leaders, members, study circle leaders and other representatives of local trade union partners. In order to add different perspectives however researchers, journalists, ILO officials, government officials and employers were also interviewed.

The triangulation method was applied in order to check the validity of sources. Triangulation was mainly carried out by comparing information gathered in project applications and other documents with that provided in interviews.

When coordinators and local trade union partners had the time and opportunity for a final meeting, preliminary findings and conclusions were shared and discussed with them before the consultant's departure from the location.

Experiences from the three field visit regions were assessed and compared by the three team members. A first draft of the evaluation report was compiled during the second half of August.

1.6 Limitations

The evaluation team tried to select a representative sample of programmes and projects for field visits. In spite of these efforts, the number of projects that were studied is limited compared to the total LO-TCO Secretariat project portfolio. Furthermore, time as well as financial constraints implied that only one of several project locations in the countries selected could be visited. This was a problem that limited general conclusions regarding some of the projects studied especially regarding India.

Another limitation was that it was difficult to access ordinary members of trade unions to carry out interviews. In spite of the fact that clearly-stated information that the evaluation team wanted to

interview ordinary members had been provided, on more than one occasion the interviewees proved to be local executive committee members and other local leaders. As is often the case in hierarchical societies, further discussions with trade union leaders and project coordinators and additional efforts were then needed in order to meet with members of the unions.

Language problems meant that some planned interviews during field visits could not be carried out as planned.

Time is always a limitation; there are other people to interview, more documents to study and reports to read. In spite of this, the team considers that this report accomplished the mission.

2. The LO-TCO Secretariat's Mandate, Direction, Objectives and Methods

2.1 Mandate

The LO-TCO Secretariat of International Trade Union Development Cooperation was established in 1976 as a non-profit association by the Swedish Trade Union Confederation (LO) and the Swedish Confederation of Professional Employees (TCO). Together LO and TCO represent a total of 3.2 million union members.

According to the statutes, the LO-TCO Secretariat is a cooperative agency jointly owned by LO and TCO for international trade union development cooperation. The work of the LO-TCO Secretariat should support the development of independent, democratic and equal trade union organisations. The mandate also includes information activities about these and related international trade union issues.

The LO-TCO Secretariat has a twofold mandate:

- To supervise and coordinate projects and provide quality assurance through follow-up, training courses, evaluations etc.
- To serve and support partner organisations, mainly the Swedish trade unions but also, to some extent, the global union federations (GUFs), with issues related to development cooperation.²

The mandate of the staff of LO-TCO Secretariat does not comprise decision-making regarding countries where projects are carried out, thematic issues, partners and which projects to support. These decisions are taken by the Swedish trade unions before the applications reach the LO-TCO Secretariat. The responsibility of the LO-TCO Secretariat is the technical aspects, such as whether project applications have been correctly filled in, the logical framework approach has been applied and budgets are adequate. Formal decisions are then taken by the Board of Directors. Policy issues are also referred to the Board of Directors.

2.2 Objectives and Policy

The corporate policy of the LO-TCO Secretariat, which was adopted in 2005, states that the main objective of the LO-TCO Secretariat is to support the establishment and strengthening of independent and democratic trade unions. Gender equality is awarded special consideration in all activities.

² Application to Sida 2007–2008

A key principle in the policy is that “International trade union development plays a central role in the efforts of fulfilling the Swedish objectives for international development”. Thus, at policy level, the LO-TCO Secretariat establishes a direct link between its development work and the overall goal of Swedish development cooperation, to enable poor people to improve their living conditions, and the two perspectives that are to permeate all development cooperation, the perspective of poor people and the rights-based approach, and to the Sida/CIVSAM objectives of strengthening civil society and enabling poor people to improve their living conditions.

Furthermore, the governing policy says that the development of democratic trade unions:

- Increases respect for human and working rights
- Combats poverty through stronger labour market (social) partners, a more equal distribution of economic resources, leading to industrial development and employment creation
- Creates civil society organisations which, through their work, strengthen democratic structures
- Promotes gender equity in the labour market and in society
- Increases knowledge about links between occupational health and safety (OHS) at the work place and the external environment, as well as increases capacity to intervene in OHS issues
- Promotes fair trade and decent opportunities for individuals producing goods and services

The LO-TCO Secretariat also asserts that strong unions are vital agents in bringing about change in all countries:

“Where people are union members, demand their rights and reasonable working conditions, existing power structures and society as a whole can be changed. Collective agreements are one of the best mechanisms for combating poverty, and the struggle to negotiate and defend collective agreements is a permanent feature of trade union work – here in Sweden as in other countries throughout the world.”³

The LO-TCO Secretariat’s policy further encompasses

- A) a participatory context analysis, and
- B) the central values and founding principles of the Swedish trade union movement.

The policy lists a set of criteria and working methods: organisational development, mutual partnership, democratic practice in partner organisations, coordination, clear objectives, universal application of participatory methods such as gender analysis and LFA etc. Thus, the policy, without being very specific, provides direction, a theoretical framework, and some guiding principles for disseminating and developing the solidarity work of the Swedish trade unions.

2.3 Overview of the Programme and Thematic Categories

In 2008 around 210 programmes⁴ and projects are being supported by the LO-TCO Secretariat. The framework agreement with Sida/CIVSAM for 2008 amounts to MSEK 120 (developing countries MSEK 102). LO and TCO have initiated an overview of their project portfolio with the aim of decreasing the number of projects.

³ www.lotcobistand.org

⁴ In the LO-TCO application to Sida, support with a global scope are referred to as programmes, while regional and national schemes are called projects. There seems to be no consistency in this terminology, however.

Africa and Asia are the largest continents with a total annual value of the cooperation of approximately MSEK 30 in each of them. More than 50 projects are supported on each continent. A total number of 16 global programmes are supported.

Approximately two thirds of the programmes and projects are multilateral, in other words coordinated by GUFs, and one third are bilateral, meaning that they are carried out in direct cooperation between the implementing trade union organisation and one or more Swedish unions.

Special project coordination has been introduced for five countries: Colombia, Malawi, India, Russia and Vietnam. This coordination could imply enhanced cooperation with other donors (solidarity and support organisations) or coordination of all Swedish trade unions' activities in the country – or both.

Among the Swedish trade unions there is some discontent with the special project coordination; some representatives of the trade unions think that the meetings and other activities have added little value so far, others are sceptical of the whole idea and do not see the point in coordinating activities in support of, for example, textile workers and teachers.

Projects supported by the LO-TCO Secretariat have, since 2005, been grouped into different thematic categories, mainly intended to provide the Board of Directors and Sida with a thematic overview. Each project is awarded a primary category and up to five sub-categories, depending on the number considered necessary to describe the objectives of the project.

Eight categories are directly aimed at trade union organisation development. Examples include: administrative capacity, general trade union organisation development, negotiations, collective bargaining and social dialogue and gender equality. The eight remaining categories are more indirectly aimed at strengthening trade union organisations. These categories include: trade union and other human rights, HIV/AIDS and trade union unity/networks.

The most common categories are general trade union organisation development, recruiting and organisational capacity, educational capacity and structures and negotiations, collective bargaining and social dialogue.

As intended, the categories do provide some type of overview, however in reality this categorisation plays no major role. Partly this is because most projects have one main category as well as several sub-categories, indicating the scope of the activities is wide and that there is considerable room for manoeuvre for project coordinators and implementing organisations. The other reason for the limited role of the categorisation is that it is only used by the LO-TCO Secretariat in its reports and applications to Sida. The categories do not appear in project applications from the GUFs and the Swedish unions.

2.4 Organisation and Human Resources

The LO-TCO Board of Directors consists of six representatives of LO and four of TCO.

An Advisory Council, consisting of representatives from the trade unions that are members of LO and TCO, should meet twice a year according to the statutes. The Advisory Council's mandate is to ensure cooperation and exchange of experience regarding international trade union cooperation.

There is a total of 16 staff at the Secretariat. The Secretariat is headed by a Director.

In 2001 a system audit of the LO-TCO Secretariat was carried out on assignment from Sida. The system audit noted that the staff is experienced and committed. A number of shortcomings regarding mandate, routines and roles were, however, identified. The system audit also commented on issues such as lack of results, lessons learned and conclusions from finalised projects and the need for more time for the staff with regional responsibility to follow up on developments in their respective regions.

Following the system audit, 107 recommendations for the LO-TCO Secretariat were formulated. In 2004, Sida concluded that most of these recommendations had been adhered to. Staff of the LO-TCO Secretariat confirm that roles and routines are clearer and more consistent than some years ago.

2.5 Methodological Development

The LO-TCO Secretariat has initiated several general methodological development projects, which are intended to improve the quality of the programmes and projects that are supported.

One of these projects aims at developing indicators for organisational development of trade unions. The project is carried out with the Labour Research Service in South Africa and a report will be presented in September 2008. Another project has the aim of improving knowledge on how to apply LFA planning methodology among the LO-TCO Secretariat partners. In relation to this, it is commendable that the LO-TCO Secretariat and other Nordic and Dutch donors, specialised in trade union development cooperation, have developed joint guidelines for project planning, including LFA (see also Section 5.3.1). The guidelines are, however, considered to be too complicated and difficult to use by some of the GUFs. The GUFs, therefore, have initiated a revision which is to be finalised in 2009.

Other ongoing methodological development projects concern the development of gender analysis and the inclusion of issues relating to HIV/AIDS in project applications. Furthermore, the LO-TCO Secretariat is aware of the fact that several projects, that have been ongoing for many years, lack plans for phasing out and sustainability. Measures for dealing with the issue will be developed. Sida has noted that the objectives of the projects are sometimes unclear and that gender aspects are not always clearly accounted for. These observations are confirmed in this evaluation (see Section 5.5).

From a methodological point of view, some interesting developments in recent years include a workshop on the partnership chain in cooperation with BWI, the Swedish Building Workers' Union, SIF and the South Korean partner KFCITU in 2006⁵ and a thematic meeting of the Advisory Council of the LO-TCO Secretariat in 2007, where pros and cons of the study circle method were examined.⁶ In addition, a recent paper highlights interesting lessons learned – among others the advantages and disadvantages of regional projects.⁷

A group for methodological development has been set up but, according to the Director of the LO-TCO Secretariat, it has not been very active yet. Methodological development at the LO-TCO Secretariat has also been slowed down due to lack of capacity and staff turnover.

2.6 Evaluations

Few evaluations of projects supported by the LO-TCO Secretariat have been carried out. In 2004 the PANAF Project⁸ was evaluated and in 2005 an evaluation of the projects in Malawi⁹ was conducted. An impact appraisal of the LO-TCO Secretariat's and other donors' support to the trade union movement in India was finalised in 2005.¹⁰

The Baltic Agreement and the support to trade unions in the Baltic countries were evaluated in 2005–2006. Evaluations of support to Namibia, Thailand and the Philippines were carried out in 2002 and 2003.

⁵ Partnership Workshop for the Trade Union Development Cooperation Chain, 2006

⁶ Verksamhetsrådsmöte 2007-06-07: Studiecirkeln – fortfarande ett aktuellt verktyg i den fackliga kampen?

⁷ Lärdomar från det gångna året (undated).

⁸ PANAF Utvärdering av ett svenskt fackligt biståndsprojekt i 14 afrikanska länder, K Kampe, H Kästel, 2004

⁹ Evaluation of LO-TCO projects 2550 and 15010 in Malawi, P Bo, 2005

¹⁰ Strengthening the trade union movement in India, S.T. Sawant, 2005

The reasons for the limited number of evaluations are, according to the LO-TCO Secretariat, lack of capacity in terms of human and financial resources and insufficient efforts to find evaluators that are not only experts on development cooperation but are also familiar with, or able to quickly familiarise themselves with, the peculiarities of trade union cooperation.

2.7 Approval Proceedings

Most of the multilateral projects that have been studied during this evaluation have been developed by the implementing trade union or unions in cooperation with the respective GUF's national, sub-regional or regional office or coordinator. The draft project applications, elaborated on templates contained in the Nordic-Dutch guidelines, are forwarded to the GUF's global offices, further developed and sometimes referred back to the regional or sub-regional office with requests for additional information.

The applications are then sent to the Swedish affiliates of the GUFs. At this or earlier stages the LO-TCO Secretariat might also be informed about upcoming projects. It is, however, the Swedish trade unions that take the decisions on whether the projects are relevant and should be supported or not. When the Swedish unions have examined the applications they are forwarded to the LO-TCO Secretariat.

After receiving the applications from the unions, staff of the LO-TCO Secretariat go through them, check the quality and discuss with the Swedish unions or the GUFs whether modifications or additional information are needed. According to international secretaries and other representatives of Swedish trade unions these requests are not too many and mainly concern financial aspects and minor clarifications. One of the GUFs states that it has never received any comments or requests for changes:

“At least not in the last five –six years. But our applications have also become of better quality”.

Representatives of another GUF explained that the LO-TCO Secretariat never requested changes but sometimes asks for clarifications regarding applications and comments on annual reports.

LO-TCO Secretariat staff, on the other hand, maintain that they sometimes notice weaknesses regarding LFA, description of target groups or other aspects, but have no means to make the implementing unions at the other end of the partnership chain improve their applications – or do not consider themselves to have the capacity to do so. Another obstacle to serious discussions about quality improvements is shortage of time: the LO-TCO Secretariat only has one month to examine each application after receiving them from the unions.

The final decisions regarding project applications are taken by the Board of Directors of the LO-TCO Secretariat. According to the trade union representatives, the Board of Directors ensures a certain balance in the project portfolio, so that the unions are comfortable with their respective shares and have an overview of the projects that have been approved.

Each project is summarised in Swedish and a consolidated application to be sent to Sida is compiled. When the decision from Sida is received, contracts with the GUFs are elaborated and, in due time, the resources are transferred to the GUFs. As signatories of the contracts, the GUFs are formally accountable for the projects. On request from the Swedish trade unions a decision has, however, been taken by the Board of Directors to elaborate tripartite contracts that will also be signed by the Swedish trade unions. The main reason for this is that the trade unions are responsible for their own ten per cent contribution. Another reason for tripartite contracts is that they have been requested by the Swedish trade unions due to their added value for trade union development cooperation.

For the bilateral projects, contracts are signed with the Swedish trade unions.

The LO-TCO Secretariat, the GUFs and their Swedish member union/unions, meet once a year and discuss issues relating to their development cooperation. In addition, LO-TCO Secretariat staff sometimes participate in staff meetings at the GUFs' head offices. At least every two year period, staff members also try to participate in GUFs' regional planning meetings.

2.8 Budget and Financial Resources

The LO-TCO Secretariat, like other Swedish framework organisations, is requested by Sida to cover ten per cent of the total project portfolio with its own resources. This amount is covered by the Swedish trade unions and the GUFs. Sida has agreed that the amount which the Swedish affiliates pay as membership dues to the GUFs may be used to cover the requested ten per cent contribution or part of it.

This system implies that a GUF which has several Swedish affiliates and receives a considerable amount as membership dues from them, such as BWI, has no problem in covering part of its ten per cent contribution. For ITGLWF the situation is different; as there is no textile and garment industry in Sweden so it hardly receives any membership dues.

Project budgets normally include administration costs for the Swedish trade unions and the GUF's global offices, which are mostly travel expenses for visiting projects. Further administration expenses are incurred at regional and sub-regional level. These costs vary considerably, however in some cases studied by the evaluation team, high costs for administration at local level are associated with excellent project administration – and might pay off in the long run.

One persistent problem for the LO-TCO Secretariat, associated with the large number of partners, is delayed annual reports and audits. Considerable efforts to encourage all parties involved to submit the requested documents on time have been made in recent years and some improvements have been noted. However, in 2008, 17 annual reports and 64 audits did not arrive on time.

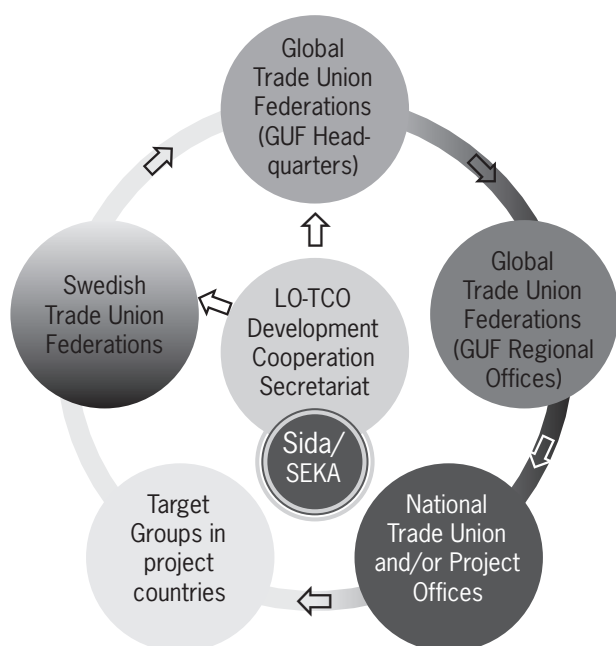
3. The LO-TCO Secretariat and its Partners

3.1 Partners in the Development Cooperation Chain

The relationship chain is more complex for the LO-TCO Secretariat than for any other Sida/CIVSAM framework organisation. The LO-TCO Secretariat is owned by the Swedish central trade union organisations LO and TCO. The member unions of LO and TCO are members of global union federations (GUFs). More than one union may be member of the same GUF and unions can also be members of more than one GUF.

At present there are 12 GUFs, the majority of them with headquarters in Brussels or Geneva. The GUFs are sub-divided in regions (Africa, Latin America, Asia, Europe), covered by one office per region. Some GUFs have established country or sub-regional offices with the specific purpose of administering and implementing development cooperation projects.

The projects of the LO-TCO Secretariat can be divided into two categories: multilateral and bilateral. In multilateral projects funds are channelled from the LO-TCO Secretariat to one of the GUFs, which in turn channels them to their affiliates. In these cases the GUF – often at regional or sub-regional office level – is responsible for the project planning, implementation and reporting. The contract is signed by the GUF and the LO-TCO Secretariat. In bilateral projects there is no participation by GUFs and cooperation takes place directly between the Swedish trade union and a national or regional partner.



Graphic 1: The relationship chain in the majority of multi-lateral projects. There are, however, several examples when GUFs at regional level – the regional offices – are not involved. In these cases the relationship regarding project administration, monitoring and reporting is between the GUF headquarters and the project offices.

3.2 The LO-TCO Secretariat's Relationships with the Global Union Federations

The LO-TCO Secretariat has at least four reasons for working through GUFs.

1. Development cooperation is closely linked to global strategies in terms of priorities related to sectors, issues and methods. These priorities have been established at the GUFs' annual meetings and congresses after a democratic process involving national trade unions.
2. Almost a dozen trade union solidarity and support organisations (SSOs) support trade union development in other countries. For the LO-TCO Secretariat and the other SSOs, the GUFs have a coordinating role in terms of distribution of funds.
3. By virtue of their long experience and extensive knowledge, the GUFs add value to development cooperation.
4. GUFs are more impartial than national trade unions, which minimises risk of bias and also corruption.

The link to GUFs' global strategies has become more important because of the globalisation of production patterns:

“Globalization affects groups of workers in different ways, depending on their market power, bargaining power and their position in the present economic and political world order. We seem to see a strong and dangerous tendency of polarization, rather than a general race to the bottom. Two major gaps must be bridged if global working force shall be able to develop as a global actor: first the North and the South divide, and second, the division between (mainly urban) established and non-established workers (urban and rural). Workers need to exchange glasses across the North-South divide and look at the situation from each others' perspectives.”¹¹

¹¹ Quote from the Samir Amin et al: “Labour and the challenges of Globalization. What prospects for transnational Solidarity?” (page 269), 2007

With this background it is logical that the LO-TCO Secretariat continues to work in close cooperation with the GUFs. Coherent and coordinated policies, strategies, methods and actions are considered to be necessary if transnational solidarity is to make sense in practical terms too. As the LO-TCO Secretariat stresses:

“Our trade union cooperation cannot divide between ‘us’ and ‘them’, donors and beneficiaries like other framework organisations. We are part of the same family.”

It is important to understand that this relationship chain is a central pillar of the cooperation as such.

A number of GUF programme officers and coordinators recognise that their resources at head offices and regional offices are too limited to be able to maintain close relationships to often hundreds of affiliated trade unions in several sectors. The direct project responsibility by the GUFs is often handled by a regional or sub-regional office charged with the task of supporting and monitoring projects – or national project offices are established, as is the case in Colombia.

3.3 The LO-TCO Secretariat and its Partners’ Relationship with Swedish Trade Unions

The fundamental idea of channelling resources from Sida to Swedish NGOs and popular movements pre-supposes a direct commitment. Sida’s guidelines for grants to NGOs state:

“As the a result of their (Swedish NGOs) comprehensive organisational knowledge, their long experience of development cooperation and their experience of both advocacy and long-term knowledge of global development issues, Swedish organisations are well placed to contribute their experience and interest to organisations in developing countries. Through cooperation with people and organisations in developing countries, Swedish organisations also gain new knowledge and experience, which is beneficial for development in Sweden.”¹²

The Swedish trade unions receive the project applications from the GUFs, examine them and, if approved, forward the applications to the LO-TCO Secretariat. When Sida has taken the decision on funding, the contracts are signed by the LO-TCO Secretariat and the GUFs. The Board of Directors of the LO-TCO Secretariat has, however, taken a decision to introduce tripartite agreements where the unions will also be signatories and a practical solution is presently sought. (See also Section 2.7.)

The direct involvement of the Swedish trade unions varies greatly. For some projects there is relatively close follow-up, others rarely monitor projects and have little or no relationship with project implementing organisations.

The system audit of the LO-TCO Secretariat in 2001 highlighted this situation and concluded:

“The Swedish trade unions should: 1. have a clear and real responsibility for the projects, 2. to a large extent, be involved in the planning and implementation of projects, 3. have a direct relationship with field organization.”¹³

Sida’s own follow up on the report stated:

“The LO-TCO Secretariat’s statutes do not specify what type of requirements it could impose on the Swedish trade unions. The multilateral cooperation does not meet Sida’s requirements in terms of responsibility, involvement and relationship. The Swedish

¹² Excerpt from “Guidelines for Grants from the Appropriation for NGO”, page 12 (Sida/SEKA, July 2007).

¹³ Quote from “Systemrevision av LO-TCO Biståndsnämnd”, Sida/SEKA, page 19 (Word version).

trade unions' responsibility is unclear, their participation in the planning and implementation is limited and they often have no direct relation to field organisations.”¹⁴

As a result of the system audit, the LO-TCO Secretariat started to encourage and even pressure the Swedish trade unions to engage more directly in the projects. One example is the Swedish Federation of Journalists (SFJ), which for many years limited its commitment to receiving and transmitting project applications and discussing general priorities with IFJ (International Federation of Journalists). In recent years, the SFJ Vice President and other board members have been to Colombia twice to support and understand the reality of the newly formed national federation of journalists.

Approximately one third of the projects supported by the LO-TCO Secretariat are bilateral. Reasons for choosing this model vary.

The Swedish Teachers' Union coordinates several bilateral projects, among them the support for the All India Primary Teachers' Federation. This support was initiated as early as the 1980s, on request from Education International's (EI) predecessor. The Swedish Teachers' Union, however, states that it was not satisfied with the work of the GUF and decided, in the mid-1990s, to take over responsibility¹⁵ for the project:

“It is a matter of quality and accountability”, a representative of the Swedish Teachers' Union says. “It is our tax payers' money.”

Monitoring is carried out through visits twice a year when evaluation and planning meetings are held and the budget for the coming year is negotiated.

Some multilateral projects are also closely monitored by the Swedish trade unions. In one project, for example, where Swedish unions have played an active role for several years, motivating the changes that have taken place and participating in planning meetings and other activities, representatives of the Swedish requesting organisations visit the implementing organisations twice a year.

“Personal relationships are the key issue. We know each other well and are equals, which means that we can discuss sensitive issues and weaknesses. This is also important for us; we need to be able to explain where the money goes”, the Swedish coordinator says.

No general difference in terms of quality between multilateral and bilateral projects has been identified by the evaluation team. Differences between projects are determined by other factors, primarily the quality of the local project coordination.

3.4 Alternative Means or Partners

3.4.1 Alternative means and target groups

It is difficult to imagine organisations other than the trade unions themselves as beneficiaries of trade union development cooperation.

Trade unions are, however, challenged by other social movements and NGO's, sometimes also in sectors where the trade unions are traditionally strong. For many years, trade unions organised workers in the formal sector; workers with a more or less permanent employment contract in large workplaces where negotiating a collective bargaining agreement was a feasible way of obtaining decent working conditions.

¹⁴ Quote from the memorandum “Ställningstagande och åtgärder avseende systemrevision av LO-TCO Biståndsnämnd” (Sida/SEKA 7 November, 2001), page 2.

¹⁵ Since then, EI has decided that all support for trade union organisation development should be bilateral. Other kinds of support, for example to areas affected by natural disasters and projects fighting child labour are, however, coordinated by EI.

The increased attention to the informal economies in developing countries and the “informalisation” of the formal sector has made the trade union movement rethink. India probably has one of the best examples of a successful and strong trade union of poor informal workers, namely SEWA (Self-Employed Women’s Association). Efforts to establish unions of the same kind are ongoing in countries such as Colombia and Ghana. IUF (the global union federation for workers in the food, agriculture, hotel and tourism sector) several years ago decided to make efforts to organise self-employed peasants and small farmers and welcome them as affiliates.

The growing gap between different segments of societies, the pressure to assure decent jobs for the many entrants to labour markets and the fact that minimum wages are often negotiated with, or decided by, governments thus replacing collective bargaining agreements, is forcing trade unions to become more inclusive towards the informal sector.

In Ghana, an independent think tank provides an interesting perspective on this:

“The role of unions to should be to forge alliances between organised labour and rural farmers, because unions are the only organisations with experience to broker and negotiate agreements between government, employers and poor rural people. Such a brokering role should be inclusive of farmers to create legitimacy and space for policy development. Unions’ organising in rural areas is the missing link. Ghana TUC and its affiliates do speak out, analyse and issue policy briefs on the informal sector – but they have been unable to use their leverage and link their analysis to furthering the needs of poor rural workers.”¹⁶

There is clear evidence that this new approach has made some headway in the countries visited, mainly in the agricultural sector where trade unions sometimes cooperate with other popular movements, NGOs, local authorities and cultural groups. But this does not mean that other organisations can replace trade unions, rather that new alliances could be established to the benefit of both trade unions and other civil society actors.

3.4.2 Alternative partners

In the narrative and logic of trade unions, GUFs and of the LO-TCO Secretariat, it is not easy to point to alternatives. The trade unions are democratic, membership-based organisations, they are present at local level, at workplaces, and they negotiate with the employers and government on behalf of their members. The unions advance their cause, lobby politically and advocate for the improvement of the living conditions of workers. That is why the trade union solidarity work, through the LO-TCO Secretariat, is important – and this is the central argument used by the LO-TCO Secretariat and the Swedish unions:

“We must support our trade union sister organisations – if we do not, their miserable working conditions will spread to Sweden too,” a representative of a Swedish trade union states.

The other argument is that through capacity building of weak trade unions, the working and living conditions of their members will improve. The trade unions cooperate with trade unions – because this is the only valid avenue – and these are the logical and natural cooperation partners.

Concerning the GUFs, the arguments are more subtle. The GUFs are the democratically elected international structure of the trade unions – by sector (for example the IUF, BWI), and globally through

¹⁶ Dr. Sulley Gariba, Executive Director, Institute for Policy Alternatives, Accra 21/8/2008

the ITUC¹⁷, which unites all national centres and all GUFs globally. There is in fact no other international trade union structure.

Given the impact of globalisation: growing inequality, deteriorating working conditions, increasing poverty and high migration, the GUFs themselves consider it to be of considerable importance that the trade unions continue to influence global policies internationally, and maintain a regional and sectoral focus in their strategies and programmes. For example, BWI considers this focus on sectors as crucial and that the LO-TCO Secretariat and Sida must realise this focus and see the connection between the construction and forestry sectors and their impact on the working conditions of poor people.¹⁸

With a global and sectoral focus, and given the LO-TCO Secretariat's key principles, its mandate and corporate policy, working through the GUFs is a logical choice.

Despite this, are there alternative cooperation partners? If the LO-TCO Secretariat and the Swedish unions wish to influence global and sectoral policies, and focus on the needs of workers defined through their own trade union structures (regionally or globally), these would be difficult to find.

The alternative to the LO-TCO Secretariat of not channelling the assistance through the GUFs would demand some basic preconditions:

- 1) the Swedish union in questions would need to have the necessary sector and country knowledge required to operate the project or programme.
- 2) the Swedish union would need to have the experience and specialised staff required to manage and implement the project.
- 3) the LO-TCO Secretariat and the unions would need a presence (regional or local) to effectively implement the project and interact with local partners.

The Danish LO-FTF has recently changed its focus from a single-project to a more coherent regional or sub-regional programme approach, which has required the establishment of regional offices charged with implementing several programmes, and (in some cases) with staff seconded from Denmark, as well as regional or national project officers. Finnish SASK has regional programme officers/advisers in Southern Africa, Asia and Central America. Danish 3F (United Federation of Danish Workers organising employees in industry, agriculture, service, transport and construction etc.) has established regional offices in Southern Africa and Central America. LO-Norway operates a model including regional advisers. All of these regional offices often cooperate closely with regional GUF offices.

An alternative to the GUF presence is possible, and is being practised by other trade union support organisations, but would require a conscious strategy and resources and more active participation from Swedish unions. The issue has been discussed several times within the LO-TCO Secretariat. The decision has been not to widen its mandate. However, the issue may come up again in the Board of Directors.

Working with national or international NGOs with an interest in issues central to trade unions is, of course, an opportunity that should not be missed. Several of the GUFs (for example IUF and PSI) are very active internationally in organisations such as the ECOSOC, International Organisation for Migration (IOM), OXFAM, WIEGO (Women in Informal Employment, Globalising and Organising) – and their participation and interest should be capitalised upon. Locally or regionally, partner organisations are often quite active in national platforms on Food Security, MDGs, PRSPs, or (as in Colombia), on legal and physical protection of unionists. These contacts and networks should be utilised.

¹⁷ The ITUC represents 168 million workers in 155 countries and territories and has 311 national affiliates. In Nov. 2006, the former ICFTU and WCL (World Council of Labour) merged into ITUC.

¹⁸ Interview with BWI executives on 25/6/2008

NGOs and platforms can be used to advance causes and lobby however they are not, and should not, be regarded as alternatives to democratic trade unions.

4. Relevance

4.1 Relevance of the LO-TCO Secretariat's Overall Objective in Relation to Sida/CIVSAM's Objectives

The overall objective of development cooperation funded by the LO-TCO Secretariat is to support the development of independent, democratic and gender equal trade unions in Africa, Asia, Latin America and Europe.

Presently, the LO-TCO Secretariat supports approximately 210 projects; 56 in Africa, 52 in Asia, 36 in Latin America, 27 in Europe and Central Asia and 16 in Russia. In addition, the LO-TCO Secretariat supports 18 global programmes.

All these programmes and projects aim at strengthening trade unions – and thereby civil society. Common objectives of these programmes and projects are to train leaders and members on relevant issues, to enhance the unions' negotiating skills, promote a social dialogue with employers and government, recruit more members and lobby governments and other decision-makers for enhanced workers' rights, improved social protection, etc.

Some of the beneficiary unions and federations organise people with incomes below or near the poverty line such as textile workers, small farmers and construction workers. These projects directly contribute to improving poor peoples' living conditions in terms of incomes, but often also in relation to a broader conceptualisation of poverty that includes security, access to social services and empowerment. Also projects targeting people with higher incomes sometimes have direct relevance from a poverty perspective; for example through organising employees in insecure work situations. Mostly, contributions to poverty alleviation from these projects are indirect though, for example, contributing to education for all or effective and affordable public services.

In its application to Sida for 2007–2008, the LO-TCO Secretariat states that, according to the trade union movement, the fight against poverty is about sharing society's resources more equally and changing unfair structures. This is the primary task of trade unions and the reason why workers unite and form trade unions, the application states. In accordance with a rights-based approach, the idea of trade unions is that workers themselves are agents of change – at the workplace and in their lives. The application to Sida also contains sections about how the development of trade unions is linked to democracy, gender equality and environmental sustainability.

4.2 Role of Partners in Civil Society and Coordination with Other Actors

Approximately five per cent of the workforce in India is unionised and the trade union movement is split, primarily along political lines. Due to stagnant membership in recent years, research institutes and think tanks linked to the labour movement, as well as several unions, are presently struggling to find new roles such as increased service provision to members and more flexible means of association, in order to regain lost terrain. There are also examples of new strategies – albeit few so far – unions working to organise informal sector workers, introducing new means of communication with their members, etc.

Despite numerous challenges, however, many Indian trade unions play an important role, defending the interests of their members, facilitating access to social services and lobbying the government at national and state levels. These positive effects are, however, limited to the immediate target groups with few multiplier effects.

In Colombia the trade union movement has experienced a sharp decline, in terms of members as well as unionisation rate, in recent years. Consequently, the trade union movement, and especially CUT the largest central trade union organisation, is struggling to increase their influence through establishing a dialogue with employers and political decision-makers.

The community and social work around a reforestation project and community development work in the informal sector has placed two partners in Ghana in a key position as providers of knowledge, support and direct services to underprivileged communities, not only trade union members. This has also given the two unions a strong advocacy and policy platform. Training sessions, workshops and other capacity building efforts are continuous parts of the activities of these trade union organisations.

The small trade union movement in Togo has managed to assume a more active role in a social dialogue with employers and the government. In Burkina Faso the eight projects reviewed emphasise strengthening of the unions, such as training of cadres and rank and file members as well as HIV/AIDS awareness. Some of the unions visited report that their membership has increased as a result of the activities.

Apart from being a part of civil society, the trade union movement has forged links with other civil society organisations, notably NGOs. These relationships on global level have increased in recent years, as shown in an overview of the global union federations' (GUFs) cooperation with other civil society actors.¹⁹ The overview demonstrates that all the GUFs frequently and systematically cooperate with NGOs. This cooperation covers a large number of issues; sustainable forestry, migration, child labour, etc. At national level, strategic alliances are often established between trade unions and other civil society organisations on issues such as privatisation, poverty and the right to education. In the local context cooperation is common in some countries, such as India, but seems to be less frequent in, for example, Colombia. Cooperation is often organised around campaigns related to government-initiated issues (such as health) or issues that are promoted by international organisations (for example an ILO campaign on child labour).

Several trade unions state that these relationships increase their strength and capacity for action at national as well as local levels.

4.3 Enabling Poor People to Improve their Living Conditions

Most programmes and projects depart from a rights-based approach, primarily addressing workers' right to organise, to collective bargaining etc., but also other human rights such as the right to health care and education. Through study circles and other capacity building, trade union members are empowered to claim their rights, primarily from employers but also from political decision-makers and public authorities.

In Ghana, contributions to poverty alleviation from the projects are direct when it comes to the most underprivileged forestry and agricultural workers. The six central trade union organisations in Burkina Faso are active on various civil society platforms, such as a coalition of concerned citizens against corruption and for decent living.

From India some examples of trade union work resulting in higher wages for garment workers, increased benefits for teachers etc. were identified during the evaluation. Trade unions, however, do not

¹⁹ The overview, which has been carried out on assignment of the LO-TCO Secretariat, will be finalised in 2008.

only work to obtain higher salaries and improve working conditions and workers' rights. An important role of unions organising low-income groups in India, as well as in Colombia, is to facilitate access to social services for their members. Several examples were identified during field visits: banana plantation workers in Colombia setting up a secondary school in an area where no secondary education was previously available, a construction workers' federation in India assisting members to gain access to pensions and other benefits. Apparently, these issues are important to the members, and some trade unions leaders in India agree that they are "partly working as an NGO".

Interestingly, issues even more remote from traditional trade union activities were highlighted by several members of the Tamil Nadu construction workers' federation. Women emphasise protection issues; through their membership they had access to a network through which they could seek assistance in case of violence or alcohol problems in the family as well as financial support through self-help groups. Male members more often stressed empowerment; training organised by the union had provided them with new knowledge, for example about how to hold local authorities' accountable and increased recognition in the local community.

In Ghana with a very active civil society, and several of the larger unions and the national centre TUC being part of national coalitions and platforms, one informant observed that there is a very thin line between Ghanaian trade unions and NGOs. Unions, for instance, form part of the Food Security Network, bringing on the employment issue from time to time, as well as on-going discussions about trade issues. Food security is very much linked to the rural situation and the lives of ordinary poor people, not a traditional union position – but some unions are very active in these discussions.²⁰

Support for teachers, government employees and other groups with incomes well above the poverty line contributes to improving poor people's lives through, for example, achieving education for all and improving public services. In India, cooperation with NGOs on this kind of issue is common, for example regarding lobbying of the government. In Colombia, efforts to transform and modernise the trade union movement and to enhance its social dialogue are examples of activities with indirect and long-term effects on poor people's lives.

4.4 Activities in Relation to Problems Described in Project Proposals and Objectives

In three of the five projects studied in India, activities related to the problems described and the objectives of the applications are carried out. The construction workers' unions are gradually achieving increased strength in their federation. The teachers' federation is carrying out a number of activities aiming at strengthening the different levels of the organisation: training and study circles, recruitment campaigns, efforts to increase female members' involvement in union work and rallies and other lobbying activities, targeting state and national governments. PSI-affiliated unions for government employees are organising lobbying activities in order to obtain collective bargaining rights. The unions are also trying to organise contract workers, either into existing or into new unions, and steps have been taken to improve the involvement of women in trade union activities and prioritise issues of importance to female members.

The relevance of a project aimed at organising study circles for textile and garment workers is more questionable. In the city which was visited during the evaluation no study circles were carried out, allegedly due to lack of interest from the workers due to dependence on the employers for transportation. Instead the project coordinator was making use of limited project resources to set up a new trade union, which was going to be affiliated to INTUC²¹ – where the project coordinator is also the state

²⁰ Kathrin Meissner, Director, Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, Ghana, Aug. 2008

²¹ One of the largest central trade union organisations in India. INTUC is linked to the Congress Party.

General Secretary. Probably this is a relevant activity in the local context – but not in relation to the project proposal and objectives. The same transportation problem was encountered in Ghana, where only a limited number of study circles were carried out. Moreover, the connection between the study circles and the problems identified in the project application is weak and the number of study circles far below the figure indicated in the project objectives.

Within a global occupational health and safety programme in India, only two workshops had been carried out. Concerning one of them, no previous assessment of health hazards in the garment factories where the participants²² were working had been carried out. Neither had any resources been provided for follow-up activities. Obviously, there is a need for a discussion about the relevance of this kind of isolated, and rather costly, activity.²³

One of the Colombian projects aims at transforming the structure of the largest central trade union organisation and another project has the development of a social dialogue as one of its objectives. Activities in order to achieve these objectives are carried out making partial progress – although at a slow pace. Considering the obstacles to workers' right to association, due to violence against trade union leaders, restrictions in the legal framework, political interference and employers' negative attitude, these are relevant objectives.

The newly established journalists' federation works to improve the protection for journalists in areas affected by violence and to provide social benefits, such as housing and health care. UNAC-IUL supports small farmers and plantation workers with training and activities to recruit more members. The project also aims at improving the food security of small farmers. The high levels of violence (although some improvements have taken place in recent years) and the economic inequality in Colombia make these activities relevant.

Among the objectives of two of the four projects in Colombia are to strengthen women's participation and develop policies for gender equality. In the male dominated trade union movement of Colombia this issue can hardly be questioned.

4.5 Relevance of Stakeholders and Areas of Operation

The partnership model of the LO-TCO Secretariat's support implies that the global union federations' regional, sub-regional or national offices, jointly with their affiliates in the respective countries, develop most of the programmes and projects and submit the applications to the Swedish trade unions.²⁴ The unions approve the projects, which are then submitted to the LO-TCO Secretariat. This model means that all sectors are reasonably well covered, although financial and human constraints are a limitation to the number of projects.

Most programmes and projects are national, regional or global, which means that the financial resources available are often shared between large numbers of affiliated unions. This in turn implies that each participating union receives a fairly limited budget. From an inclusion perspective this is positive, but it begs the question whether this is the most effective way to work. There is a risk that projects become too small and consequently lose relevance to the affiliated unions.

Several stakeholders are involved in the projects. At local level the beneficiary trade union organisations implement the projects, sometimes with support from a local coordinator who might be an office bearer

²² The participants turned out to be the leaders who are also involved in the setting up of the new garment workers union, described in the above paragraph.

²³ Experts were brought in from the ITGLWF global headquarters as well as from other parts of India.

²⁴ Some projects are initiated on the initiative of the Swedish federations but coordinated and administered by the GUFs. Another category is the bilateral projects which are administered directly by the Swedish trade union federations without involvement from the GUFs.

of a local trade union or a person employed by the GUF. In other cases the projects are coordinated from the GUF's regional or sub-regional office.

The GUFs at sub-regional, regional and global level are all involved in the planning of the projects. The Swedish trade unions receive the project applications and annual reports from the GUFs' head offices and check them before submission to the LO-TCO Secretariat. In most cases the Swedish trade unions also visit the projects at least once a year. The LO-TCO Secretariat receives the applications and annual reports from the Swedish unions, examines them and asks for clarifications and amendments if necessary. Applications as well as annual reports are summarised, consolidated and submitted to Sida.

This long chain of stakeholders means that there are a number of quality controls and a large amount of knowledge about trade union development cooperation along the line from beneficiaries to decision about support. However, all these steps – and the fact that several projects are scattered around dozens of participating trade unions sometimes in several countries – also means that a lot of information is lost along the way and that projects might be diverted from their original objectives at the local level.²⁵

The programmes and projects cover all areas from advocacy and lobbying of national governments and parliaments to solving local cases relating to lack of payment for overtime, compensation for accidents etc. Training workshops, seminars and study circles, aimed at enhancing leaders' and members' knowledge about collective bargaining and other trade union issues, labour laws, gender equality, HIV/AIDS are the most common activity of the projects. Recruitment activities and rallies aimed at putting pressure on governments and other decision-makers are also common. Other frequent areas of operation are support to the establishment of a social dialogue with employers and governments and activities aiming at obtaining improved access to social benefits for the members.

By and large the activities seem relevant, but occasionally a standard, "blueprint" concept for training inputs and study circles seems to be applied. Study circles seem to work well in some projects while the concept is less useful in others.

The LO-TCO Secretariat requests that HIV/AIDS issues be included in projects when relevant, consequently HIV/AIDS training forms part of many projects. This is clearly a relevant subject in many countries, but seems more questionable in others. In countries where the prevalence is low and the disease is mainly spread among special risk groups this is probably not one of the greatest risks workers face – unless they belong to special risk groups, such as migrant workers.

4.6 Objectives of the Projects in Relation to Target Group Priorities

Trade union leaders in India, especially at state level, are committed to the objectives of the projects related to strengthening of trade union organisations. Objectives such as leadership training and recruitment of more members, as well as their political objectives; for example campaigning for collective bargaining rights and lobbying against the privatisation of public utilities.

For lower-level leaders and members these objectives are probably not always fully understood or known. More concrete issues, such as salary increases for teachers and garment workers and social benefits for construction workers, are of greater importance to the rank and file members. Local leaders and members who have had access to training and study circles are also highly appreciative of the increased knowledge and empowerment they have obtained through these activities. Female members sometimes emphasise even more basic issues, such as hygienic facilities at the workplace and access to clean drinking water. Probably this demonstrates the importance of maintaining down-to-earth issues on the agenda when grand objectives are designed, not least for future recruitment purposes.

²⁵ The Indian study circles project in Hyderabad is one example of this, as is the Women's Empowerment Projects in West and Southern Africa.

While projects in Ghana have managed to reach out to entire communities and really enhance the position of the trade unions involved it is obvious that there is sometimes a wide gap between leaders and ordinary members in Colombia. One telling example is that flower workers who were interviewed said that they prefer the support of an NGO to that of the trade union which was trying to organise them. The trade union was “men in ties” while the NGO was easier to relate to, according to them.

4.7 Relevance of Partners’ Work in the Local Context

For several years, Colombia has been considered the most dangerous country in the world for trade unionists. This means that the right to life and to different types of protection measures have been a top priority for most unions. Although violence has decreased in recent years the issue is still relevant – and is also included in the support for the new journalists’ federation.

Colombian trade union leaders are often active in political parties and other civil society organisations, such as neighbourhood development committees and cultural groups. Trade unions also organise recreational activities and participate in other local events. In order to establish relationships between union members and outsourced workers, one of the partners organises sport tournaments. Also in India, trade unions with a strong base in rural areas especially take part in local campaigns of different kinds, sometimes in cooperation with local authorities as well as NGOs.

One limitation of the partnership model is that the informal sector, where 90–95 per cent of the work force in all the countries visited earn their living, is to a large extent excluded from cooperation. As a result of the crisis in many traditional sectors and the downsizing of the public sector, the trade union movement in India has, however, begun to reflect on how to organise informal sector workers. Some examples of organisations, such as SEWA²⁶, in Gujarat, already exist. In Ghana and Colombia informal sector workers are members of central trade union organisations. A widespread criticism is, however, that trade unions are not doing enough to reach out to the informal sector.

In principle, the LO-TCO Secretariat agrees that a major challenge is to find ways to work with the informal sector. Simultaneously, however, the Secretariat maintains that it is important that the Swedish partners add value to the projects. Since the issue of organising informal workers is of limited relevance in Sweden there is little room for sharing of experience regarding this topic.

One issue highlighted by an observer outside the trade union movement in India is that trade union activists at local level are normally expected to work voluntarily. Poverty and increased costs of living are, however, making voluntary work increasingly difficult and trade unions will have to start considering some kind of remuneration. One example of this kind of thinking was found; a union that had started to reward the recruitment of each new member with a few rupees.

4.8 Added Value of the Cooperation and the Partnership Model

Apart from much-needed funding for weak and resource-poor trade unions and federations the cooperation also adds value on other specific issues.

Training

One value added is training. In interviews performed with various actors it was confirmed that training of local leaders and ordinary members seldom existed before the projects were initiated. Now many unions have a person in charge of this field and broad training programmes are under implementation.

²⁶ Self Employed Women’s Association.

The study circle method

The study circles method is another value added. Trade unions using study circles state that this is a good method, especially for reaching illiterate people, as it provides opportunities to discuss in small groups, ask questions and advance at a pace that is decided by the members of the group. Obviously, however, the method is not suitable in all contexts, and there are questions concerning its replicability and sustainability.

Internal democracy and self confidence

The training, including study circles, strengthens the internal democracy of the trade unions as more members acquire knowledge about trade union issues and about how they can influence policies and the selection of leaders. Even more importantly probably is the self-confidence that members gain. Several interviewees confirm that this empowerment has helped them to confront local authorities, refuse to pay bribes etc.

Gender

Another added value is that the LO-TCO Secretariat requires all programmes and projects to include a gender analysis. Despite the fact that these analyses are often far from comprehensive, this has contributed to increasing the attention paid to gender issues. In India it is obvious that steps forward have been taken to include female members in training, encourage women to become members of executive committees, direct more of the unions' activities towards issues of interest for women etc. However, the trade unions' leadership is still predominantly male and most women remain silent during meetings. As it is obvious that there are many myths about why women are discriminated against, not least about male trade union leaders, improved gender analyses would facilitate the development of strategies regarding how to address this issue.

Contacts at regional and global level

One important value added is that leaders at national level, also women, through the development cooperation and the GUFs, establish contacts at regional and global level. Some of these leaders become elected members of regional and global boards of the GUFs, members of women's committees etc. Several union respondents have recounted that their international contacts, exposure, or the mere fact that they have been seen in an international arena immediately renders them increased respect from their local employers.

Methodological development

For bilateral projects featuring close and long-standing relationships with Swedish unions, there is also added value, for example regarding the development of new methods of accounting for results. The Swedish Teachers' Union is, for example, supporting the Indian teachers' federation in complementing existing quantitative results of support with methods for measuring more long-term and qualitative results relating to issues such as democracy and gender equality.

5. Effectiveness of the LO-TCO Secretariat's Partner Operations

5.1 Effectiveness in Relation to Sida/CIVSAM's Overall Objectives

The operations of the LO-TCO Secretariat's partners are, in general terms, effective in relation to Sida/CIVSAM's overall objectives. To organise workers in a democratic manner and for the purpose of obtaining decent salaries and other working conditions, has always been an effective and important method of strengthening civil society and of enabling poor people to improve their living conditions. However, in the present process of globalisation there are new and threatening challenges, as the economist Samir Amin writes:

“The linkage between the current scientific and technological revolution (with particular regard to its information technology dimension) and the socio-economic strategies implemented by the dominant forces (and particularly the most dominant segment of capital set up by transnational entities) have brought about far-reaching changes in the organization of labour and the working worlds”²⁷.

According to trade union analysts, the impact of neoliberal globalisation on the global working class is expressed through rising unemployment, sub-contracting and degradation of work and rising income inequality. A particularly difficult aspect is the widespread use of casual labour – known as casualisation:

“The demand for flexibility is tied to the corporate restructuring in many sectors of the world economy. Trade liberalization has opened up local economies to regional and international competition. International competitiveness is therefore one of the reasons driving casualisation. Mergers and acquisition and pressures to maintain shareholder value drive managements to hold down labour costs including retrenchments. Foreign capital provides a further impetus towards flexibility of the labour markets by demanding lower wage bills and demand relaxation of regulation to increase profits. Against this background, companies resort to casual and flexible labour for three reasons: to reduce labour costs; to extend working hours; and achieve easy deployment of labour.

Neo-liberal market restructuring globally and in the region is the driving force behind the sharp increase in casualisation. Neo-liberalism seeks to deregulate markets including the labour market to increase labour ‘flexibility’. In short employers want the freedom to pay low wages; change the number of workers and how and when work is conducted.”²⁸

In this context, could building and strengthening of trade unions, which historically are an important part of a democratic civil society, be assessed as “effective” when trade unionism is declining in the majority of both developing and developed countries?

The broad objectives of Sida/CIVSAM, and the vast and diverse LO-TCO Secretariat portfolio, objectives and policies, with the many interventions at macro, micro, global, regional and national levels, and with numerous partner organisations, make it rather difficult to clearly answer yes or no to this question. What is obvious is that workers in the LO-TCO Secretariat's projects in many cases are making effective resistance in a world economic system with “jobless growth”, exploitation of workers

²⁷ Labor and the Challenges of Globalization. What prospects for Transnational Solidarity? (Foreword), page 2 (2008)

²⁸ The Extent and Effects of Casualisation in Southern Africa: Oupa Bodipe, NALEDI, South Africa, Nov. 2006

in terms of low salaries, more working hours per week, dangerous exposure of risks and no social benefits (pensions, health insurance and so on).

In several of the projects studied there are clear signs of effectiveness in relation to Sida/CIVSAM's objectives. They are at very different levels and often more indirect than direct. The example of the Colombian trade union movement's struggle for trade unionists' right to life and justice in relation to the many homicide cases is illustrative. Freedom of association cannot exist if trade unionists are threatened or even killed while trying to form a trade union or negotiate a collective agreement.

The LO-TCO Secretariat's project with IFJ (CESO-FIP) has a direct goal related to improving journalists' security situation. Both the CUT project and the ICEM project deal with trade union members' security, but more implicitly. What is clear is that all these three partners have contributed to important results concerning trade union members' right to life and freedom of association. Thanks to CUT's good relations with its US partner, AFL-CIO (American Federation of Labour and Congress of Industrialist Organisations), the US Congress have been able to stop a free trade agreement between Colombia and United States, a top priority for president Georg Bush and president Alvaro Uribe. The specific argument from the US Congress, which is controlled by the Democratic Party, is that Colombia cannot guarantee the workers' freedom of association because of the widespread violence against them. CUT has also been a key actor when it comes to lobbying for the establishment of a permanent ILO office in the country. High on ILO's agenda is the elimination of violence against trade union members. The Colombian judicial authorities were thus forced to reopen 185 emblematic cases of impunity related to assassinated trade unionists.

In relation to poverty, there are examples of different degrees of effectiveness. Support for the primary teachers' federation in India indirectly contributes to efforts to provide education for all. In Togo there are similar results. In a situation where the state has ceased to fulfil its basic functions, the federation of public employees in Togo, FENASSEP, through its Quality Public Service campaigns, has been able to raise awareness of the urgent need to improve public services.

In Colombia the banana workers' union Sintrainagro, thanks to its unity, has been effective in efforts to raise its members' wages and to influence the municipality to improve its health and education services. A construction workers' federation in India facilitates access to social benefits for construction and agricultural workers.

5.2 Effectiveness in Relation to the LO-TCO Secretariat's Objectives

In relation to the LO-TCO Secretariat's overall objective, to support the establishment and strengthening of independent, democratic and equal trade unions, the field visits to five countries that were carried out by the evaluation team indicate that there are at least partial achievements in most programmes and projects. Some new unions are established and there are examples of trade unions forming stronger federations. The unions' capacity and internal democracy is strengthened through training inputs and workshops on a variety of issues, participation in networks and increased administrative capacity. With increased financial resources, a stronger membership base and access to international networks, the unions' possibility to reject co-optation from governments, political parties and other external actors increases. Gender equality is on the agenda of most of the unions and federations visited.

As elaborated in Section 5.1 above, the trade union movements in all the countries visited operate in an environment of decreasing unionisation rate, outsourcing and downsizing of permanent job opportunities and increased flexibility of the labour market. Poverty, political turmoil and violence exacerbate the uphill battle for trade unions in some countries.

In India, a country with a growing economy and relative political stability but increasing social inequality, trade unions within different sectors are facing diverse realities. While government employees' unions are campaigning to obtain collective bargaining rights and permanent employment for contract workers, construction and agricultural workers struggle to achieve a minimum of security through affiliating with a welfare board, which provides death and funeral assistance, pensions and other social benefits.

With the establishment in 2007 of the construction workers federation in Tamil Nadu, one of the projects has achieved its main objective. The government employees and public sector officials affiliated to PSI are working towards the project objectives: to develop their capacity to campaign for recognition of collective bargaining rights and to organise unorganised workers.

The bilateral support from the Swedish Teachers' Union to the All India Primary Teachers' Federation is also making some progress toward the attainment of the project objectives, aimed at strengthening the federation through recruitment of new members, collection of membership dues, training of members and leaders etc.

All the three above-mentioned projects include activities to strengthen women's participation. Some results are clearly visible, such as the establishment of women's committees, hiring of female coordinators²⁹ and special provisions in statutes for female executive board members. Much remains to be done, however, regarding women's participation in local level activities, representation in decision-making bodies and access to training and other capacity-building efforts. Women who were interviewed during the evaluation often stated that the most important achievement so far is that they can participate in meetings and other activities. Few concrete examples of real influence on important decisions were provided. One example of a new method for enhancing women's status is a skills upgrading course for female construction workers, which will be organised by the construction workers federation (TCWF).³⁰

A global occupational health and safety (OHS) programme and a national study circles project, both coordinated by ITGLWF, produced no achievements in relation to objectives in the city that was visited during the evaluation field trip. Regarding the OHS Programme, one isolated workshop for garment workers had been carried out with no follow-up. Within the study circles project no study circles had been organised, allegedly due to transport problems. The small project budget was instead used for activities aimed at establishing a new trade union in an export processing zone.

In Ghana a study circles project, also coordinated by ITGLWF, reports limited results also due to lack of transport for returning home after the study circles. Of 150 planned study circles only 30 were said to be functioning.

On the other hand, study circles in Togo and India that take place during working hours or target informal workers, are an excellent method for disseminating knowledge and empowering union members, according to several interviewees. Apparently, the context needs to be carefully analysed before study circles are initiated in order for the method to be successful.

In Burkina Faso study circles are used in the PANAF Project as well as in a project targeting public workers. PANAF reports 728 active study circles. Attempts were made during the evaluation to interview study circle members. Despite a visit to a specific location chosen by the national PANAF coordinator, however, this was not possible. An important achievement of the PANAF Project is the joint coordination and action of the six central trade union organisations.

²⁹ In AIPTF one of the two coordinators in each state has to be a woman.

³⁰ Most female construction workers are so called helpers, which means that they have the lowest wages as well as the longest working days. If they are trained to become, for example, painters or electricians this will mean increased salaries as well as status. This course, which will take place in late 2008, is part of a gender equality project supported by FNV.

In Ghana a reforestation project has strengthened the Timber and Wood Workers Union affiliated to BWI regarding social and community work, increased membership, advocacy etc. A regional project for empowering women has increased cooperation between two implementing unions, a gender policy has been developed and a group of trainers has been trained. The results of the project are, however, difficult to distinguish from other ongoing activities.

In Togo, where the trade union movement is considerably weaker than in Ghana and less development cooperation is available, the results of the projects are more visible at macro level. Support from and interaction with the regional GUF offices has strengthened the unions' participation in a national committee for social dialogue. Another positive development is that six public sector unions affiliated to PSI have established a federation while efforts to collect more membership fees among agro-based industry workers have largely failed. Also a project aiming at strengthening construction materials workers' unions produced meagre results, probably due to a virtual collapse of the construction sector in the country. Interestingly, however, components of the above-mentioned and other projects, aimed at disseminating knowledge about occupational health and safety, HIV/AIDS and other issues were found to be highly successful and enthusiastically embraced by the participants. Not least were training activities targeting women yielding good results.

The trade union movement in Burkina Faso has gained in strength and recognition through the eight projects implemented in the country. The overall effects of these achievements are limited, however. Trade unions essentially recruit their members in the formal economy, which accounts for approximately five per cent of the work force, while it is left to NGOs to deal with the living conditions of the poor and the unemployed. Another challenge is that, by and large, union members do not pay dues and if per diems were not paid out the attendance rate in training sessions might be lower.

Strategic action at macro level can yield results in West African countries. Also interventions at the grass-roots level sometimes bring positive results. Efforts to strengthen the structures of the trade unions, increase their membership base and collect membership dues, however, start from a very low level and show few tangible results so far.

The Colombian trade union movement is struggling against a decreasing unionisation rate and a hostile environment, in terms of violence, outsourcing and privatisation and unfavourable labour laws. CUT, the largest central trade union organisation, is supported by the Swedish LO and the trade union solidarity support organisations in the Netherlands, Norway, Denmark and Finland. This project aims at transforming CUT from a confederation based on workplace unions to one consisting of sector federations. The process is advancing at slow pace, however. This is partly due to disagreement within CUT and resistance from some trade unions fearing to lose privileges and partly because of political and legal obstacles. The transport workers union, which organises lorry drivers, taxi drivers and others, has requested to become the first federation of CUT. The Ministry of Labour has not accepted the request, claiming that the law does not provide for trade unions where all members do not have formal employment.

The affiliates of ICEM in Colombia are attempting to establish a social dialogue with the government and employers. There are examples of positive developments in this respect but on the whole achievements are limited and clear strategies for how to take the process forward seem to be lacking.

The largest affiliate of UNAC is the banana plantation workers' union, SINTRAINAGRO. A global framework agreement, signed in 2003 between IUF and Chiquita, has enhanced the legitimacy of the union, both in relation to the plantation owners and among its members. SINTRAINAGRO is an influential actor in Urabá, the banana growing region, and both politically and socially the union is struggling to enhance the interests of its members. UNAC also reports some progress in organising small farmers and brewery workers at the transnational corporation SAB Miller.

The fourth project studied during the field trip to Colombia is a federation of regional journalists' organisations. The federation works to improve the situation of its members, economically and socially. Judicial advice, security alerts in case of threats against journalists and participation in a government protection programme are activities relating to the precarious security situation for trade union activists in Colombia. Although not included in the objectives of the projects supported by the LO-TCO Secretariat, this type of activity is a salient feature of virtually all trade unions' work in Colombia.

Issues relating to the participation of women in trade union activities are among the objectives of two of the projects. This topic does not, however, seem to be awarded the highest priority by the unions.

To summarise, the results of the programmes and projects that have been studied are mixed. Several important achievements have been identified however there are also projects that have made little progress and continue year after year without much strategic thinking or efforts to find creative solutions. The projects in which positive results have been noted are implemented in different countries and sectors. Most of them target the grassroots level and rank and file members with concrete benefits such as income-generating activities and access to social services or with training and awareness activities, but also have objectives related to advocacy and lobbying of political decision-makers. One common feature is that they are often well managed with reasonably well-developed project applications, concrete and well-structured reports and committed coordinators with experience from, and knowledge on, project management.

5.3 Effectiveness in Quality of Planning Programmes and Projects

5.3.1 The LO-TCO Secretariat's Guidelines for international trade union development cooperation

The so-called Nordic-Dutch guidelines for international trade union cooperation were developed and adapted a few years ago by the LO-TCO Secretariat, Danish LO-FTF, Finnish SASK, Dutch FNV-Mondiaal and LO-Norway. The guidelines are universally applied by all these trade union-donor organisations (named Solidarity and Support Organisations, SSOs) by the ITUC. All these SSOs as well as the GUFs and the ITUC are required to use these guidelines – and the prescribed formats – in designing programmes and projects presented for funding from the donor governments, through the LO-TCO Secretariat or the other SSOs. Moreover, they are obliged to use the participatory planning handbook which forms part of these guidelines. The guidelines are quite comprehensive, are published on all the websites of the SSOs, and are well known and utilised along the LO-TCO Secretariat-GUF-local partner relationship chain. All the GUFs apply them, and in terms of the structure of the LO-TCO Secretariat applications reviewed (project documents), the documents follow the same format and the same structure, which of course makes comparison and verification much easier for the LO-TCO Secretariat.

The guidelines encompass a general section including the objective, application procedure, budget reporting, applications forms etc, and a much more detailed participatory project planning handbook. The handbook is more akin to a field or implementation guide for the project designers and facilitators of the planning/evaluation workshops. This guide is essentially structured around the classic project cycle and contains the LFA process and methodology, including a section on gender analysis, and tools and guiding questions for verification of project design, strategy etc.

The project stakeholders interviewed during this evaluation are all aware of the requirement to use the guidelines, and the GUFs and the LO-TCO Secretariat itself all present their applications, reports and budgets according to the prescribed format for these documents. The content and the relevance of the applications and reports vary considerably, however.

The guidelines are used by the GUFs, considering them a useful tool for project planning, not least because it provides for using the same conceptual framework and same formats in applications to all the

five SSOs. Despite this, however, the GUFs consider the handbook to be too “heavy” and very difficult to use. Therefore, UNI, BWI, PSI and some other GUFs have initiated the development of a ‘lighter’ version of the guidelines.

PSI for example applies the principles of participatory planning – they have their regional offices draw out the pertinent issues from the meetings. The LFA method is not used directly – what the GUF considers crucial is that the participating unions inform and relate to the indicators; otherwise there would be no link to and monitoring in their own systems.

It is noted that there is quite a variety in the ways the different GUFs and their regional or sub-regional offices and their staff apply the guidelines. This has to do with their capacity and experience in applying LFA and facilitating workshops, resources available and time. In some cases, the GUF head office participates directly and actively, while in others it is left to the regional office. The Swedish unions may also participate in regional planning seminars.

Also, local level coordinators are aware of the guidelines. In Colombia, for example, the coordinators of some of the projects have used it for several years. Still, they do not feel comfortable with the LFA tool and see it as an “administrative” issue, disconnected from the more important “political” work. This probably explains why three of the projects that were studied during the field visit have weak LFA matrices. In one project the method had not been applied. Several trade union leaders dismissed the issue, stating that Colombian trade unions do not have a culture of planning.

5.3.2 Stakeholder participation

The response from the local partners visited during the evaluation in India, West Africa and Colombia show that the needs of the individual unions are in almost all cases defined by each and every union. These in turn meet nationally in their sector, and regionally in the GUF structure (regional conference or coordination body). The project managers or coordinators from the GUFs facilitate regional and sometimes national planning seminars, where activities and needs are prioritised. A participatory technique is used in these seminars but LFA is not, as such, applied. It is the responsibility of the project coordinator or officer to compile the information from these regional and national planning seminars and turn this into an application to the LO-TCO Secretariat – which in turn is sent to the GUF regional office or head office for verification. It is thus the GUFs that are the ‘experts’ applying the method – and training is carried out at that level – not with the national partners.

The stronger unions in Ghana, Colombia and India convey a strong sense of ownership of the projects. PSI, BWI and IUF affiliates, for example, organise regional planning sessions and national coordinating committees develop work plans and budgets for joint activities as well as for the participating unions’ activities. A draft application is sent to the GUF head office which liaises with its Swedish affiliate and the LO-TCO Secretariat.

The assessment is that the local unions experience long delays between the national and regional planning, the approval by the LO-TCO Secretariat of the projects, and eventually the availability of funding for their planned activities. This is also evident from several of the LO-TCO Secretariat’s own evaluations, for example the PANAF evaluation report. Many projects suffer undue disruptions and delays.

In terms of project implementation and general feedback, examples from Ghana show that the GUFs’ regional and head offices are sometimes not very responsive, resulting in delays which could be avoided. Only in August of 2008 did ICU receive funding for the study circle project for that year, resulting in a freeze on project activities for the first three quarters. The TWU was still, in April 2008, awaiting response from BWI on the fate of the future of the sustainable forestry project – and raised concern that they did not feel they were in the information loop.³¹

³¹ Interview with TWU S-G Joshua Ansah, April 29, 2008

The majority of the unions encountered in Togo, Ghana and Colombia consider that the chain of relationships in the development cooperation is very long – and they find themselves at the end of this long chain. These relationships are not well understood by all unions.³² This experience is not entirely in line with the basic principles laid down in the Nordic-Dutch Guidelines:

“All projects should be designed in a participatory way. Participation analysis is aimed at getting a clearer picture of the parties that are related to the problematic situation and defining their role in the realisation of improvements. Their role in project planning, implementation and monitoring should be established. “³³

5.3.3 Project design

The objectives of four selected LO-TCO Secretariat projects have been analysed:

- 40049: (Colombia) General Trade Union development. Swedish requesting organisation: Livs. IF Metall. GUF: IUL. Implementing organisation: UNAC-IUL Colombia with affiliated unions and small farmers' organisations. Started 2005.
- Project 2210 (Ghana), Study Circle project. Swedish requesting organisation: Industrifacket, GUF: ITGLWE, implementing organisation: Industrial and Commercial Workers Union. Started in 1997
- Programme 10077: African Regional Programme to promote women's participation in their unions – Swedish requesting organisation: HRE, HTF, Kommunal, SIF, Livs. GUF: IUF; implementing organisation: Ghana Agricultural Workers' Union. Started 2007.
- Project 1012 (Regional South Asia), General trade union organisational development, Swedish requesting organisations: Swedish Building Workers' Union, Swedish Electricians' Union, and Swedish Painters' Union, Implementing organisation: BWI. Started in 1999.

In India, no major problems were identified regarding LFA methodology in projects that are coordinated by the GUFs and in the bilateral project coordinated by the Swedish Teachers' Union. The Regional Asia BWI project 1012 is well structured, with the immediate objectives divided into the logical clusters with the many affiliates, according to their specific contexts. Even though the project document lacks data on for example target groups, quantifiable indicators and the number of people to be trained, campaigns conducted etc, there is a logic and a structure in the project which is plausible, clear and appears to correspond to the needs analysis. If the results listed are realised, the project would be able to achieve its immediate objectives, again contributing to the overall objective.

In the case of projects 10077 (Ghana) and 40049 (Colombia), objectives are very broadly and generally formulated, without qualitative or quantitative indicators. The realisation of the immediate objectives is not linked to the attainment of the overall objectives:

GAWU/IUF: 10777; Ghana	African regional project to promote women's participation in their unions
Overall objective:	To reduce poverty by increasing full time, sustainable employment with safe working conditions and decent wages
Immediate objectives:	To improve the representation of women at all levels of their trade unions and thereby increase their bargaining power for better working conditions and wages
UNAC/IUF:: 40049 Colombia	National project on capacity building in UNAC

³² This corresponds well with the classic definition of donor partnership chains by Dr. Allan Fowler: Partnerships: Negotiating Relationships, p 5, Intrac UK, 2000.

³³ Guidelines for international trade union development cooperation, p 4.

Overall objectives:	<p>Contribute to increased visibility of UNAC and SINTRAINAGRO</p> <p>Defending food security and its inclusion in the CUT agenda (National centre)</p> <p>Organising in the cut flower sector</p> <p>Increased participation of women in union structures and executive bodies</p>
Immediate objectives:	<p>Consolidate the food security programme of UNAC</p> <p>Succeed in organising in sectors not yet covered/organised</p> <p>Strengthen the organisation through capacity building of union activists/representatives</p> <p>Advance in the definition of a trade union gender equality policy</p>
ITGLWF /ICU (2210) Ghana	Study Circle project
Overall objective:	<p>Long term development of trade union organisations in Ghana</p> <p>To enable trade unions to establish and successfully maintain education workshop schemes, on a self-supporting basis</p> <p>To promote long-term self-reliance within trade unions</p>
Immediate objectives:	<p>To hold a 6-day workshop to train 30 new study circle leaders</p> <p>To hold a 5-day intermediate training workshop for 30 study circle leaders.</p> <p>To hold a 2-day workshop for SCLs to provide them with training on HIV/AIDS so that they can integrate this topic into study circle sessions.</p> <p>To provide SCLs with support and backup to enable them to successfully organise a study circle programme for their members.</p> <p>To facilitate 12 quarterly meetings of SCLs at which ideas will be exchanged, difficulties discussed and best practices encouraged.</p> <p>To sustain a programme of 150 study circles each meeting for 10 sessions with a combined participation of 1,350 rank and file members.</p> <p>To update and reproduce educational material for use in study circles as necessary.</p> <p>To redouble efforts to ensure that the participation of women members in all project activities is at least in proportion to the gender balance of workers in the industry.</p> <p>The P organisation will continue to make an increasing contribution towards the total project budget; this will rise to 52.5% in 2007 and 55% in 2008. In this way the P organisation will gradually take over increasing responsibility for the entire financing of the project activities with the ultimate aim of achieving self-reliance.</p>
BWI: S Asia Project (10012); India, Nepal	Trade union development and education
Overall objective:	Contribute to improving living and working conditions for workers in construction, wood, forestry and related industries in India and Nepal
Immediate objectives:	<p>India a) Tamil Nadu Cluster: A cohesive alliance is organised and implementing joint activities on organising and campaigns, education and training towards organisational merger</p> <p>India b) North Construction Cluster: Participating unions' organisational capacities for organising, training and campaigning is strengthened by increasing financial membership and operational education programmes</p> <p>Nepal: District and national level structures are functional and evidenced by developed local and national leadership and activists trained on providing basic trade union services, education activities and mass campaigns through alliance building</p>

Concerning the Africa and Colombia projects, it is generally the finding that objectives, results, indicators and activities are mixed and at different levels in all four projects. The 10777 projects is regional, while 2210 and 40049 are national projects. The 2210 ITGLWF project in Ghana has nine immediate objectives representing a mix of results, activities and indicators.

By definition, regional projects have to cover several organisations in different settings and contexts, and are more general in their analyses and design of objectives, results and indicators. Regional projects operate based on the development of national action plans related to the needs of the unions and the general project document and plan.

The causal (LFA) logic was found to be weak in the Africa and Colombia projects; in other words the results – if realised – could not be said to attain the defined immediate objectives, and the onward links to the overall objectives are weak. As far as the LFA logic is concerned the applications are, in short, incoherent. This does not imply that the projects are irrelevant to the organisations or the target groups – indeed, all the unions concerned claim that the projects are highly relevant on both counts.

However, the analysis and the design of the projects are not found to follow the LFA logic, even though the prescribed Nordic-Dutch guidelines and format for applications were used, and even if the GUF responsible applied the prescribed participative methodology in some form during the planning/evaluation workshops.

The above weaknesses draw attention to a quality deficiency in the design of the above projects in the LO-TCO Secretariat/GUF system. Indicators are listed which, to a certain degree, make the intentions behind the objectives more understandable; such indicators are unfortunately often not quantified and are imprecise. The reasons behind these weaknesses in design could be due to several factors: a limited understanding of LFA principles by the coordinators designing the projects, the nature and facilitation of design workshops, a general absence of quality control along the LO-TCO Secretariat – GUF partner relationship chain, limited capacity and resources at the LO-TCO Secretariat and/or the GUFs and reluctance to criticise union colleagues. Whatever the combination of factors might be, the reasons behind the perceived design problems would be beyond the scope of this evaluation.

5.4 Monitoring and Reporting

Due to these examples of imprecise project applications, without baselines, the organisations responsible for the projects (GUFs) and the local trade unions consequently have difficulties in monitoring and reporting such projects. Analyses of the reports received by the evaluation team show that these are mainly activity reports which do not refer to indicators or baselines (since these are weak or non-existent), and they are reporting against broadly-defined, vague objectives. It is not surprising, therefore, that in many cases the reports do not relate the level of attainment of objectives (e.g. 10777 Reg. Africa (IUF) regional report 2007, which only lists results and reviews activities), or they claim that these have largely been attained (ex: 40049 Colombia (UNAC, 2007), which lists a series of activities relating to overall and immediate objectives, which in some cases are relevant and in some cases not. It is difficult to assess whether the objectives have been partially attained or even not attained due to the absence of results and the scanty data provided.

The LO-TCO Secretariat appears not to have the resources to provide technical assistance in planning, implementation and monitoring for all programmes and projects supported. Neither do the Swedish trade unions, responsible for the political decisions regarding which programmes and projects to support, have sufficient human resources to be continuously updated about political, social and economic issues and trends in the countries where the projects are implemented. The global union federations, however, through their regional and sub-regional offices and local coordinators, possess the resources to provide coordination and follow-up of the projects as well as knowledge about relevant developments in each country. Several of the GUFs interviewed mention that, in reality, it is often the GUF regional officer or coordinator who writes the project report to the head office, which in turn relays these in a consolidated form to the LO-TCO Secretariat.

The Swedish trade unions, through their monitoring of the projects and regular visits to them, can contribute Swedish experience of relevance to the trade union movement in other countries. Some of the unions are very active in discussions and exchange of experience with their partners.

Others, seemingly, merely see it as their task to make sure that activities are carried out more or less in accordance with project plans. Whether the information that the representatives of the unions acquire during their field visits is used in information activities in Sweden in order to enhance international solidarity is beyond the scope of this evaluation.

5.5 Gender Analysis

The LO-TCO Secretariat requests that all project applications should include a gender analysis. The guidelines for international trade union cooperation include a section about gender analysis. A booklet of practical advice for gender analysis has also been published by the LO-TCO Secretariat in Swedish, English and Spanish.³⁴

Despite this, the gender analyses of most projects that have been studied are brief and far from comprehensive. In one application the gender analysis consisted of three lines:

“The number of female members needs to increase and so does the number of women who are active in the trade unions. The project’s focus on broad members’ education is beneficial for female participation but there is ample room for improvement.”

Other project applications are equally vague and incomprehensive. Women’s family responsibilities and cultural factors are mentioned as obstacles to women’s participation. Other applications also highlight discrimination, lack of education and skills, lack of child care and harassment at the workplace. Negative attitudes from male colleagues and lack of awareness among women themselves might also be mentioned in the documents.

In reality, however, the gender analyses are, at best, descriptions of the actual situation. They normally contain little or no analysis or information about measures that have been taken to address the problems. There are even fewer lessons learned or future actions based on experience.

Some projects though, notably the ones that are implemented by PSI,³⁵ provide a little more information. One project application observes that although there is 50 per cent participation of women in national seminars, their number remains lower in other activities.

An informant who frequently works with trade unions encounters the same problem: “When we organise workshops we send out instructions that half of the participants should be women, but the unions happily send only men.”

In order to improve the situation, the interviewee recommends investments in women’s training and skills upgrading. Donors could also request that the work to strengthen the position of women is made visible through a special budget for gender issues.

³⁴ Practical guidelines for gender analysis (undated)

³⁵ PSI has a strict policy on gender and, for example, requests that 50 per cent of participants in seminars should be women.

6. Sustainability

6.1 Sustainability at Overall Level

In the wake of globalisation and its profound impact on working life, the general economic decline and the often adverse political environments, the international union movement faces multiple challenges.

In recent years – mainly due to economic liberalisation, privatisation and increased flexibility of the labour market – the unionisation rate has decreased considerably, for example in Colombia and India. Of the five countries studied in this evaluation Ghana is the one with the highest unionisation rate: about seven per cent of the workforce is organised. But even there, the unionisation rate has dropped significantly over the last 15 years.

The Colombian labour movement is probably the worst affected by an unfavourable political and economic framework. Political violence and selective murders have severely weakened the trade unions for many years, legal and bureaucratic hurdles delay or stop initiatives by the unions and politicians and well as employers often assume a hostile attitude. In addition, the liberalisation of the economy and privatisation of state companies have contributed to a sharp decline in the unionisation rate; from 12.5 per cent to 4.5 per cent in 35 years.

Consequently, Colombian trade unions are facing a visible crisis. In order to break the negative trend, the largest central trade union organisation is attempting to transform and modernise its structures and unions affiliated to ICEM are attempting to establish a social dialogue. Some progress has been noted, but internal strife, legal and political problems, limited interest from employers and lack of coherent strategies hamper these initiatives.

In India, traditional sectors such as workers at large textiles mills and public sector officials and government employees are also struggling against privatisation, downsizing and outsourcing. Workers in export processing zones especially face limitations on their right to organise. Government employees lack collective bargaining rights. There are, however, examples of partial progress through lobbying, campaigns and the presentation of concrete alternatives.

For trade unions organising in low income sectors, such as garment and construction workers, wage increases as well as access to social benefits such as health care and pensions are priority issues. Some achievements in this respect have been identified in most of the countries studied. Despite this, independent observers in India argue that there are a lot of untapped government schemes that are not accessible to the poor without a broker. Trade unions could assume a more active role in facilitating access.

In West Africa the main challenge to the trade union movement seems to be how to link up with the informal sector, not least the impoverished agricultural sector, in order to increase relevance and membership base. How to extend activities to the informal sector is also an issue on the agenda in Colombia and India, but concrete strategies are still largely lacking.

The trade union movement also needs to address its internal problems. In many countries, trade unions are perceived as confrontational and “troublemakers”. In order to change this picture, trade unions in Colombia have started to organise seminars on productivity and other issues relating to their understanding of the employers’ perspective. Observers also point out that negative news about trade unions is sometimes given disproportionate attention, one of the reasons being that trade unions are not good at networking or dealing with the media. NGOs that must constantly look for funding are more proactive in this sense and there might be lessons to be learned for the trade union movement from them.

In the end, however, several people interviewed during this evaluation, concluded that the fate of the trade union movement is decided when ordinary workers ask “What is the value added for me?” Unions must then have something to offer; they need to have structures in place, trained staff, be accessible, be able to render credible and relevant, concrete services.

6.2 Financial Sustainability

One of the key issues related to sustainability is the financial situation of the LO-TCO Secretariat’s partners and the revenues collected through membership dues. If the context is difficult and the income levels low, the unions are financially weak. One persistent problem for many of the unions met during this evaluation is the often low membership fees and the fact that members refrain from paying – probably because they either fail to see the value, have no funds or the dues collection system is weak. The fact that some unions have been financed for a long time – two decades or more – by development cooperation agencies may also be a negative factor in relation to the need for, and discipline of, dues collection.

Unions in stable economies and/or in sectors with a stronger union tradition, more respectful relationships between employers and unions, are financially stronger – especially if a ‘check-off’ system is applied.³⁶ Naturally, unions with a large membership base, which are mature and with functioning organisations, are more resilient, have alternative sources of income and can better adapt their activities in case of termination of external support.

The political context also plays an important role, especially the respect and relationship to government and employers, as well as the leverage unions have to negotiate. It has also been seen that in difficult political environments like Togo and Colombia, the unions are struggling with other much more difficult issues, such as survival of their leaders, of their organisation, basic recognition, total lack of revenues, harassment by employers etc. Internal democracy is not given high priority in many weak unions, which further erodes their credibility and representativity.

The evaluation has seen that the unions which are diverse and very small in Francophone countries (Burkina Faso, Togo) are in a much more precarious situation and are more dependent on external funding, whereas especially in India and Ghana the unions are older, more mature (organisationally), and they are better organised with broader membership base and some level of revenues. In Colombia the situation is mixed, with a large number of small unions based on individual workplaces which have existed for a long time. The overall trend is, however, lower membership figures and weaker trade unions. There are considerable variations in this general picture, however.

6.3 Continuation of Development Effects

In a number of cases – in Ghana, in Togo, in Colombia, in India – the LO-TCO Secretariat’s partners would be able to continue parts of the activities even if the projects were terminated after the current phase. The stronger organisations, with a broader membership base would, to a certain degree, be able to integrate some level of activities (study circles, membership education, women’s empowerment, occupational health and safety etc.), which is closer to their core union services. There are even cases where the organisations have been strengthened considerably (AIPTF in the Indian state Tamil Nadu being a case), and the support is now being phased out or diverted to other states where it is needed more.

³⁶ Check-off is collection of union dues at source (from workers’ salaries) by employers, and automatic transfer of these to the union by employers

Interestingly in Togo, in spite of an adverse context, there are cases of unions being able to continue efforts after the termination of funding. This is the case on two counts: UNI's HIV/AIDS awareness programme in West Africa, and the BWI trade union development programme. These projects have resulted in launching of activities and campaigns, and the establishment of more or less permanent and durable structures. Through HIV/AIDS and OHS campaigns and women's committees in particular, the participating unions have been revitalised and the projects have exerted impact surpassing their objectives and available budgets. OHS and women's committees continue to function. These structures have resulted in not only improved knowledge amongst members but have also generated the respect of the employers.

In other cases, sustainability is more questionable. In Colombia for example, the first national federation of journalists, FECOLPER, created by the IFJ CESO-FIP project, is still quite young and the organisation has not yet been able to start collecting dues. FECOLPER is not a trade union and organises self-employed journalists with very low incomes. Membership dues are not collected, but there are other ideas for financing the organisation. The same applies to small farmers in Colombia who participate in the UNAC Project.

Some of the Burkinabé unions were not aware that their projects would end or not be continued, and their response was that it would be impossible for them to continue with their activities without external assistance. For PANAF, however, the national federation responsible is very much aware that the programme will end in the foreseeable future, and the federation is relying on government support to continue.

Study circles are one interesting example of continuation of specific activities. The evaluation has had the opportunity to look at several projects involving this educational model. Results are mixed and appear to rely much on the context, the willingness of the employers to allow for transportation and cultural traditions. The circles are also much dependent on external funding, despite their low cost and simplicity.

In Burkina Faso, the study circle projects (PANAF and PSI) would not be able to continue without external support. PANAF has been ongoing since 1992, and in 2007 reported 728 active study circles. The evaluation notes that when a visit was attempted, as directed by the national PANAF Coordinator, the study circles were not active.

In India, the study circles method has been introduced through the projects and is working well – where it is being applied in reality. One union stresses that this is an excellent method to reach people with low levels of education as the group itself decides about the topics to discuss and the number of meetings. Despite this, however, only two of the seven unions of the construction workers' federation still use study circles. If more funding was forthcoming the study circles would be extended, local union leaders state. An Indian PSI affiliate remarks that study circles are a good method for sharing knowledge, but they were not continued when funding was terminated.

In Togo, study circles seem to be working well, but are dependent on external support. Study circles have been re-introduced in public sector unions with good results.

In Ghana, the ITGLWF project has been ongoing since 1996, but only 30 circles are reported to be functioning. Despite the strength of the implementing organisation, ICU, the method has not been expanded to the rest of the enterprises covered by the union. In an ITGLWF project in India it was found that no study circles were actually carried out in the city that was chosen for the field visit.

6.4 Replication of Development Effects

When project activities are very close to the central policies of a union, or even integrated and complementary to the regular outreach programmes, then they are sustainable. IUF/GAWU in Ghana is one such case. In the union's own assessment of this women's empowerment project it would be sustainable. GAWU considers that it does have the capacity to continue, and also believes that the project could be replicated elsewhere in the sector. Other unions such as CUT in Colombia and TWU in Ghana believe they would be able to continue, but at a much lower level and with considerable difficulties.

Replication of efforts is difficult to verify, since the question is hypothetical. The structures created with the assistance of the projects: OHS committees, women's committees and even federations of unions are cases in point. Such structures are durable, and if union leaders and members continue to be interested, they are self-sustainable. They could also be replicated quite easily.

6.5 Longevity – and the Partner Model

One major point of concern regarding sustainability is the length of the LO-TCO Secretariat's cooperation which, after years of project support, in many cases appears to be still not sustainable.

In case of the TWU, the project is not of a union capacity building nature and thus should have a stronger base for self-reliance. The ICU project has been ongoing since 1996, but is still not sustainable despite the strength of the union.

The LO-TCO Secretariat/GUF system – with its long chain of relationships and the many stakeholders and partners at the different levels of the chain – sometimes suffers from disruptions (financial, technical support), and the monitoring and reporting is sometimes weak. Thus continuity suffers, and this has an obvious impact on the longevity of the projects. The feedback from the LO-TCO Secretariat via the GUFs to the national affiliated unions – about the fate of project applications, status of approvals, decisions made on the basis of evaluations carried out – is in some cases unsatisfactory or simply non-existent.

Most programmes and projects have been ongoing for many years. Still, it is often very difficult to find out what has been achieved before the current two-year period. Project applications are often silent on this. In some cases there is documentation, or rather institutional memory, but little or no data. Seemingly however, no information about lessons learned, achievements and experience to build on for further activities has been compiled. This lack of documentation of achievements weakens the quality of the projects, and makes it difficult for the implementing organisations, the GUFs and the LO-TCO Secretariat to relate new phases to what has been happening before the current phase. This lack of reflection and documentation is quite serious: the impression is that projects are often re-submitted for funding without proper documentation and reflection on the value of continuing a project which has been ongoing for ten years or more. It seems that there is a practice of re-submitting applications for the same type of projects with the same partners several times – without any of the partners along the chain asking whether this project merits continuation.

7. Analysis and Perspectives on the LO-TCO Secretariat's Development Cooperation

7.1 Mandate, Direction, Objectives and Methods

7.1.1 Mandate and role

The role of the LO-TCO Secretariat is to supervise, coordinate and ensure the quality of the projects, as well as to support the Swedish unions and the GUFs in development cooperation. The mandate to make decisions about project approvals rests with the Swedish trade unions. Finally, the Board of Directors ensures a certain balance in the project portfolio and formally approves projects to be processed by the secretariat.

During this evaluation, the split between the political and the technical aspects has been discussed with the Swedish unions as well as the LO-TCO Secretariat. The separation of the political and the technical aspects of development cooperation has as one implication that the service-oriented Secretariat has limited leverage as concerns its partners – for example in requesting that project applications need to be improved or re-designed. It also makes it difficult for the LO-TCO Secretariat to meaningfully engage in a political dialogue with, for example, GUFs.

Political and technical aspects of development cooperation including trade union development cooperation can, however, not be separated. The present division requires frequent and close cooperation between the LO-TCO Secretariat and the trade unions, more emphasis on capacity-building of the Swedish unions and some of the GUFs and a clearer mandate for the Secretariat to refer projects back to the unions, condition support on improved project applications, demand that pre-studies are carried out before projects are developed etc.

7.1.2 Unions as agents of change

The LO-TCO Secretariat and its partners, the Swedish trade unions, the GUFs and the partner union organisations in the developing countries, do have policies, mandate and some organisational capacity to realise their ambitions in place – with a large variety and inherent limitations along the partnership chain. They also access donor support and contribute their own resources to enable change and provide valuable contributions to enabling trade unions in developing countries to advance their cause and represent their members.

The challenge remains for the LO-TCO Secretariat and partners to use their resources more effectively and utilise their positions and networks to ensure that projects are developed based on good quality context analyses, that development and project objectives are consistent, gender analyses are in place and that clear and concrete monitoring in line with objectives is provided. As is demonstrated in this evaluation, several programmes and projects meet these requirements while others lack clear objectives as well as follow-up.

Another challenge for trade union development cooperation, as well as for other development cooperation, is that it is easier to demonstrate results on project level than on a more overall level, not least in an environment where the trade union movement is affected by adverse conditions such as technology changes, an increasing informal sector, sub-contracting and rising income inequality.

7.1.3 Methodological development and quality assurance

The LO-TCO Secretariat in its policies and practices, including the Nordic-Dutch guidelines for trade union development cooperation, emphasises a participatory approach, use of LFA and the involvement of end users in defining interventions and priorities. Also, the LO-TCO Secretariat makes commendable efforts to improve methods and enhance their own and their partners' capacity (for example the development of organisational capacity-building indicators, lessons from the partnership chain and study circle activities).

The present evaluation however demonstrates a great variance in capacity, in the quality of the applications approved, in reporting, in monitoring and in quality assurance along the partnership chain. A group for methodological development set up within the LO-TCO Secretariat has not yet been very active and, apparently, there is a need to move from theory to practice and make more use of the methodological development projects.

7.1.4 Evaluation

An important learning point for the LO-TCO Secretariat is evaluation of their programmes and projects – yet very few evaluations have been realised. Well prepared and conducted evaluations are important to draw on lessons and to improve capacity. Evaluations require early involvement of stakeholders – the Swedish trade unions, Sida/CIVSAM the GUFs and local partners.

The LO-TCO Secretariat should develop an internal practice and capacity to prepare and manage external and internal evaluations. The use of external advisers and experts on this would speed up and enhance capacity building.

7.1.5 Approval procedures

Communication and exchanges between the LO-TCO Secretariat, the Swedish trade unions and the GUFs is intense during the preparation of projects for applications to Sida/CIVSAM.

One of the conclusions made by the evaluation is, however, that time pressure, the large number of projects combined with limited staff capacity and resources at the LO-TCO Secretariat form an impediment to higher quality and thorough verification of the many project applications. Imperfections are identified at several levels of the partnership chain, although with large variations, yet the LO-TCO Secretariat needs to discuss more critically with its partners ways and means of improving the procedures in place.

Even more important is to enhance the capacity to process applications – and obviously to ensure better and more consistent project preparation from GUFs and Swedish unions and their partners.

7.2 LO-TCO and its Partners

7.2.1 LO-TCO Secretariat Partnership Chain

The LO-TCO Secretariat's development cooperation is mainly carried out through GUFs. Multilateral projects account for two thirds of its portfolio. Working through international trade union structures is a logical and coherent choice, given the globalisation trends, growth in informal economies, priorities and policies of GUFs and Swedish unions, and the capacity and value added by the GUFs.

Channelling funds through the GUFs requires that the Swedish unions are directly involved as partners. Since the system audit in 2001, efforts have been made by the LO-TCO Secretariat to enhance and clarify the role of partners in the system. The Swedish unions and the LO-TCO Secretariat are working towards this more active involvement. Also the technical capacity in some unions, as well as their direct links to field organisations, has been enhanced. Some Swedish unions are very active, and some have taken possession of the development cooperation themselves through direct, bilateral projects. The involvement and capacity of Swedish unions varies greatly, however.

Concerning bilateral project, no differences regarding quality between these projects and the multilateral ones has been identified. Variations regarding quality are mainly associated with other factors such as the active involvement of the union, the design of the projects and the quality of project coordination.

7.2.2 Alternative Partners

A large variety of NGOs, CBOs and national policy platforms in the countries visited are involved in issues of central interests to unions – including consumer protection, occupational health and safety and improving working and living conditions of workers in the informal economy. The trade union movement has forged links with civil society organisations. Internationally, GUFs systematically and frequently cooperate with international NGOs.

Without regarding these as competitors or alternatives to unions, the LO-TCO Secretariat and its partners should continue to utilise, cooperate with and benefit from their influence, insight and networks – internationally, at local level and in the various sectors. Also, a more focussed dialogue and exchange of valuable learning points with GUFs (PSI and IUF are cases in point) would add value to the discussion between the LO-TCO Secretariat and its partners about increased civil society collaboration.

7.3 The Challenge of the Informal Sector

Evidence from development cooperation by the LO-TCO Secretariat in the countries visited during this evaluation clearly demonstrates that trade unions have become – by will or by necessity – more inclusive towards the informal sector. Encouraging examples from Ghana show that, by linking improvements in working conditions for informal workers to national union policies and onwards to global and sectoral policies (in case by the IUF), the outcomes in terms of policy influence by the unions and the benefits to informal workers are greatly enhanced. When a union, such as GAWU in Ghana, manages to improve working conditions in rural areas while lobbying and seeking influence through various national platforms on, for example, food security and at the same time workers through the IUF are seeking to influence governments and multinationals, the ILO etc., the synergy becomes strong and the arguments much more powerful.

The LO-TCO Secretariat and its partners, particularly the Swedish unions, need to discuss the successes, to map out ways to support informal sector workers and engage more actively with their international and local partners to ensure that overall poverty reduction and empowerment objectives are consistently followed.

7.4 Relevance

The LO-TCO Secretariat's projects and programmes contribute directly to improving poor people's living conditions when they are inclusive of workers near the poverty line (for example textile, rural or construction workers). The projects also contribute more broadly by including access to social security, social services and enhancing empowerment.

Relevance in terms of the project objectives and target groups gives a more mixed picture and weaknesses have been found, for example regarding study circles and occupational health and safety projects. There are, however, also cases of very relevant projects, for example in Colombia, on social dialogue and protection of union leaders and in India on strengthening a primary school teachers' federation, enhancing construction workers' access to social services and increasing female members' involvement in union work. Some of the projects, for example in Ghana, have managed to reach out to entire communities and substantially enhance living conditions and the position of the local unions.

Generally the very broad range of activities and interventions are relevant, for example trade union training, recruitment campaigns and empowerment of rank and file members. In cases, there are some 'blueprint' approaches noted which should be avoided. The context analysis is critically important.

7.5 Effectiveness

When interventions through the LO-TCO Secretariat's projects are close to rank and file members, where they enhance capacities that enable unions to make important advocacy efforts, and when the unions manage to reach out to underprivileged groups, including women, then unions are effective vehicles for attaining objectives, both Sida/CIVSAM's overall objectives and the LO-TCO Secretariat's objectives.

However, a number of deficiencies in terms of quality of project design and follow-up have been found in some of the projects studied.

Resources are apparently lacking in the LO-TCO Secretariat and the Swedish unions in terms of planning, implementing and monitoring the large number of projects. GUFs are, on the other hand, better positioned, often better equipped, more experienced and sometimes closer to reality to fulfil the roles of more effective cooperation partners. They are also strategically and politically a sound avenue for strengthening union cooperation and solidarity. Still, large numbers of project sites, numerous partners involved and insufficient resources sometimes also limit their capacity to follow up their programmes and projects properly.

7.6 Sustainability

As long-term and durable structures in civil society, trade unions advance the cause of their members, lobby politically and advocate for improvement of the lives of the workers and their families. Provided that the unions also deliver relevant services to their members so that these feel that 'something is in it for me' then they are sustainable financially and organisationally. In many cases though difficult conditions, low income, poor workers and weak internal democracy render weak unions with limited visibility and influence.

In the countries visited the evaluation team has encountered mixed results regarding sustainability of projects supported by the LO-TCO Secretariat.

By conducting organisational and contextual analyses, assessing the value and relevance of services, and focusing on durable revenue collection systems, the LO-TCO Secretariat and its partners could improve the overall sustainability of the projects.

8. Recommendations

8.1 Mandate, Direction, Objectives and Methods

1. The LO-TCO Secretariat's governing policy establishes a link between its work and the Sida/CIVSAM objectives of strengthening civil society and enabling poor people to improve their living conditions. The LO-TCO Secretariat and its partners should, however, develop a more focused approach and a broader, informed discussion – political, technical and organisational – about how support to trade unions in different sectors contributes to improvements for poor people; directly and indirectly, related to the different dimensions of the poverty concept etc. Numerous positive experiences and concrete examples are available at field level.
2. Quality assurance and services regarding technical issues are the core issues of the LO-TCO Secretariat's mandate. Therefore, the LO-TCO Secretariat should strengthen its work with development of methods regarding LFA planning, monitoring, gender analysis etc. and the provision of tailor-made capacity-building and other support to the Swedish trade unions and the global union federations (GUFs) regarding these issues. The LO-TCO Secretariat should also make sure that improved quality of project management results in improvement of programming and results.
3. A complete separation of technical and political aspects, as advocated by some stakeholders, will be difficult to achieve – unless the capacity of the Swedish unions is considerably strengthened and exceptionally frequent and close cooperation between the LO-TCO Secretariat and the trade unions is established. Good development cooperation is political – and political considerations cannot be allowed to be separated from technical aspects. The LO-TCO Secretariat should have the mandate to reject or refer projects back to Swedish unions or GUFs, when standards or quality of applications are considered inadequate.
4. One important learning point for LO-TCO is evaluation of programmes and projects – yet very few external evaluations have been undertaken and the quality of these has been unsatisfactory, according to the LO-TCO Secretariat and the GUFs. More evaluations of ongoing support should be carried out. The LO-TCO Secretariat and its partners should develop its policy, methodology and capacity to prepare and manage external and internal evaluations.
5. The LO-TCO Secretariat's portfolio of projects and programmes – 210 in total, in some 70 countries – is a case for concern, due its wide scope and the large number of partners associated with it. The LO-TCO Secretariat and the Swedish unions should reduce the number of projects, thereby allowing closer follow-up of existing projects.
6. The different thematic categories used by the LO-TCO Secretariat provide some overview but could be further refined, for example through using categories as well as mainstreaming issues, in order to make the general idea of the programme clearer. Since the categories are only used for applications to Sida/CIVSAM, their value is limited and this should be discussed with the relevant stakeholders: GUFs, Swedish trade unions etc. It is recommended that the LO-TCO Secretariat carries out a revision of the categorisation, probably in connection with the introduction of a programmatic approach.
7. The special project coordination which has been set up for five countries needs some clarification and refinement in practice, regarding aims as well as content. In cooperation with the Swedish unions and, when appropriate, other trade union donor organisations, the LO-TCO Secretariat should develop clearer objectives and operating procedures for special project coordination.

8.2 The LO-TCO Secretariat and its Partners

8. Staff at the LO-TCO Secretariat agree that considerable improvements regarding clarification of mandate and roles have taken place since the system audit in 2001. Despite this, there are issues that were raised in the system audit that are still not resolved; for example the need for analyses of political and other developments in countries and regions, routines for project follow up and lessons learned from finalised and ongoing projects. The LO-TCO Secretariat should develop procedures regarding these issues.

9. All actors concerned are aware of the importance of involving the informal sector in cooperation and forging alliances between organised workers and, particularly, rural farmers. The LO-TCO Secretariat, other SSOs, the GUFs and the Swedish trade unions however need to proceed from words to deeds and come up with concrete strategies for further engagement in this area. The LO-TCO Secretariat and its partners need to discuss the successes, to map out ways to support informal sector workers and engage more actively with their international and local partners to ensure that the overall poverty reduction and empowerment objectives are consistently followed.

10. In areas where there is an interest from consumers' organisations and NGOs in promoting fair trade (such as the garment industry, cultivation of flowers and banana growing) the LO-TCO Secretariat and its partners should further strengthen links with these organisations and make use of their lobbying and awareness-raising work in order to promote decent working conditions.

8.3 Relevance

11. The long chain of stakeholders and the fact that many projects are scattered over dozens of locations and beneficiary unions mean that knowledge about what goes on at one end of the partnership chain might be limited or non-existent at the other. This, in turn, implies that projects might be diverted from their original objectives at local level. In order to avoid this, the LO-TCO Secretariat and its partners should make sure that a) coordinators with knowledge and experience in project management are responsible for follow-up and reporting, and b) staff at various levels of the partnership chain are trained and apply participatory planning, monitoring and evaluation of projects.

12. Mixed relevance of study circles has been encountered during this evaluation. The method is found to work well in some contexts but seems to be less useful for formal sector workers, (due to transportation and other practical problems). In some instances there are also questions regarding the actual number of study circles taking place. The LO-TCO Secretariat should systematically collect experience from the field in order to draw conclusions for the future application of the study circle method. Blueprint approaches should be avoided.

13. The activities of a global occupational health and safety (OHS) programme that was studied during the evaluation consisted only of a few workshops in different cities. The LO-TCO Secretariat should initiate a discussion with GUFs about the relevance of this kind of isolated and, due to the participation of external experts, relatively costly activity.

14. Most projects are national, regional or global, which means that the financial resources available are shared between a large number of affiliated unions and that each of the participating unions receives a limited budget. LO-TCO and its partners should initiate a discussion about whether this is the best way to work or if projects risk becoming too small and, thereby, losing relevance and value to these affiliated unions.

15. Interviews and observations during this evaluation have, in several ways, demonstrated the importance of working directly with the membership base. The LO-TCO Secretariat and its partners should encourage beneficiary trade unions to enhance their activities aiming at empowering rank and file

members, strengthening the internal democracy of the unions, facilitating access to basic services, enhancing women's position etc.

8.4 Effectiveness

16. The weaknesses in design that were found in several projects could be due to several factors, such as limited understanding of LFA, the nature and facilitation of planning workshops, lack of quality control along the partnership chain, lack of time or reluctance to criticise. In order to develop the right measures to deal with these problems the LO-TCO Secretariat should carefully analyse their causes and take into account whether the beneficiary unions have been involved in the planning process.

17. Although there are examples of good annual reports that refer to objectives and indicators, several of the reports that have been studied by the evaluation team mainly list a series of activities. The LO-TCO Secretariat should make sure that the new Nordic-Dutch guidelines and the subsequent training sessions include clear and comprehensive information about how project applications and annual reports are linked to each other and instructions for how to make this link in practice as well as in reporting.

18. Local unions sometimes experience long delays between planning, approval and availability of funds and projects suffer undue delays. The LO-TCO Secretariat should try to make the time-span shorter – and, if that is not possible, provide a description of the approval process. The different steps of this process are often not clear to beneficiary unions and local coordinators.

19. The gender analyses of the projects are generally far from adequate. The LO-TCO Secretariat and its partners, including the GUFs responsible for developing the project applications, must ensure that they contain precise and relevant analyses of the obstacles hindering women from organising and assuming active roles in the unions. A first step would be to ensure that the applications adhere to the Nordic-Dutch guidelines for international trade union cooperation.

20. For projects that have reasonably well structured applications and reports that correspond to these applications, a great deal of quantitative information is often available. Numbers of training sessions and study circles, numbers of participants etc. are listed. For these projects, however, another challenge is to provide qualitative information about what the activities have led to in terms of economic benefits, empowerment etc. By publishing interviews and case stories it would be possible to increase the visibility of achievements, providing projects with more legitimacy as concerns target groups as well as donors.

8.5 Sustainability

21. The trade unions as such are – contrary to many NGOs – sustainable and will continue to function, regardless of the LO-TCO Secretariat and other external support. Regarding project activities, the situation is more varied. Several unions state that they would continue the activities without external funding, albeit on a more limited scale. There are also cases where unions are able to continue with the activities after the termination of funding. In other cases, sustainability is questionable even after a decade or more of support. The LO-TCO Secretariat and its partners should pay more attention to sustainability issues and make sure they are included in planning and evaluation meetings with beneficiary unions. More thorough organisational analyses of union partners would allow for an assessment of their ability to sustain development efforts after cessation of funding.

22. Revenue collection is vital to the long term survival of the trade unions. Although the issue has not been studied in depth by the evaluation team, the impression is that the collection of dues could be considerably improved. The LO-TCO Secretariat and its partners should initiate a study to ensure more debate about this topic. Points in case are: best practices of collecting dues, how to ensure check-off systems, how to affiliate associations of seasonal or informal workers etc.

Annex A: Colombia

1. Introduction

Colombia has 45 million inhabitants of whom approximately 17.5 million are working. An estimated 10.5 million are earning their income in the informal sector and only 1.5 million have permanent employment.

Colombia is a country with medium-level human development, ranked 75 among 150 countries in the 2007–2008 year UNDP Human Development Index. GDP per capita is USD 7 300 (latest data from 2005). Since 2000 Colombia has fallen from position 65 to 75 in the global HDI ranking.

1.2 Trade union situation

Compared with other countries in Latin America with a similar level of industrialisation and agribusiness, Colombia has not developed a strong trade union movement. The unionisation rate reached its peak in 1974 with 12.5 per cent of the workforce in the formal sector. The core of the trade union movement is organised in the public and manufacturing sectors. According to a study by the trade union think-tank *Escuela Nacional Sindical*, ENS, 4.7 per cent of the labour force was organised in March 2007, which is the same level as in the 1940s. The number of collective bargaining agreements decreased from 817 agreements covering 196,241 workers in 1994 to 41 covering 38,298 workers in 2006.

In October 2006 Colombia had 3 000 trade unions registered by the Ministry of Social Protection and Labour, with about 831 000 members. Approximately 30 per cent of union members were teachers, organised into one of Colombia's four sectoral federations, FECODE.³⁷ The remaining trade union movement mainly consists of small trade unions at workplaces, with 25 (minimum level according to law) to several hundred members.

The dramatic fall of the organization rate and amount of collective agreements is due to a number of factors. Together they explain why Colombia is often referred to as one of the most trade union-hostile countries in the world. Firstly, Colombia's political and economic elite has been successful in stopping social organisation, partly through its early building of strong business and political organisations. Secondly, in the context of their 40-year armed conflict, trade unionists have suffered severely from organised violence.

Thirdly, in order to open up the economy and attract foreign direct investment, the Colombia government has recently introduced a series of labour law reforms with the purpose of making the labour market more flexible and reducing labour costs. Like in other countries these reforms have resulted in outsourcing of the workforce. Moreover, the Colombian employers were given the legal possibility to contract workers through so called associated working cooperatives³⁸. Workers' employment contracts are not signed with the companies where they are working but with the cooperatives. Workers belonging to such cooperatives cannot form trade unions or negotiate collective agreements. Between 2000 and 2006 the number of associated working cooperatives boomed from 572 (with 37,048 members) to 3 296 (with 451,869 members). These figures constitute only associated working cooperatives registered by the Ministry for Social Protection and Labour. According to estimates there are at least another 3,000 cooperatives. Several of the cooperatives do not pay legal fees for pensions, health care and insurance. The Ministry acknowledges limitations regarding the exercise of effective control. In addition, Colombian employers have the right to hire workers on short-term contracts, ranging from three to six months. The law does not restrict renewals. According to the Colombian Association of Employment for Temporary Services, there are around 650,000 workers on temporary contracts.

³⁷ Federación Colombiana de Educadores (FECODE).

³⁸ In Colombia they are known by their acronym in Spanish, CTA (Cooperatives de Trabajo Asociativo).

According to the trade unions all these labour reforms did not only violate workers freedom of association and the right to establish collective agreements. In the name of global competitiveness, and the need to create more employment, wages and other working conditions have deteriorated. On the issue of wages, an unskilled worker at an industrial plant who is employed on a temporarily contract through an employment agency often earns a third of the wages of a worker hired directly by the owner of the plant when both of them are doing the same job.³⁹

2. Selected Projects

The evaluation assessed four projects of the approximately 15 implemented in Colombia. They were selected in accordance with the established criteria and after discussion with the LO-TCO Secretariat.

Project 3407: Negotiations, collective bargaining agreements and social dialogue. Swedish Requesting organization: IF Metall. GUF: ICEM. Implementing organisation: ICEM Colombia with five affiliated trade unions. The project started 1997.

Project 40049: General Trade Union development. Swedish Requesting organization: Livs. IF Metall. GUF: IUL. Implementing organisation: UNAC-IUL Colombia with approximately 15 affiliated trade unions and small framers' organisations. The project started 2005.

Project 97003. Recruiting and organization capacity. Swedish requesting organisation: SJF. GUF: FIP. Implementing organisation: CESO-FIP Colombia. Projected started: 2005.

Project 40016: General Trade Union Development. Transformation of CUT from a central organisation based on trade unions at workplaces as members to a model based on sector trade unions. Swedish requesting organization: LO. Implementing organisation: CUT.

The project objectives for the four projects are the following (2007–2008, for CUT 2007–2010):

ICEM

1. Development of a unified platform of action for trade unions in Colombia and Argentina based on fundamental human, social and economic rights.
2. Development of social dialogue and improved negotiations between social dialogue partners.
3. Development of best practice and models of social dialogue to be promoted amongst ICEM members in the region.
4. To achieve active and representative participation of women membership and women representatives in this process.

UNAC-IUL

1. Confirm the food security program of UNAC.
2. Organise and affiliate sectors not yet unionised.
3. Strengthen the organization through training of its active members.
4. Make progress in the definition of policy for gender equality in the organisation.

³⁹ The evaluator interviewed two different temporary workers at one glass industry and one paper board factory, confirming the salary gap.

CUT

Consolidate and implement development plans for the transformation of CUT, resulting from meetings with each industrial sector within CUT.

Implement participatory research on the conditions and opportunities within each organisational sector in relation to the transformation of CUT.

CESO-FIP

1. Establish a national federation of journalists representing all the regional organisations previously established and the organisation Cesó FIP strengthened to join this process. In total 24 organisations of journalists will come together in a national interest organisation structure.

2. Consolidate the new federation with two measures:

a) Improvement of working conditions: it is urgent to establish agreements with the public and private sectors to allow those affiliated to the federation access to health care and housing benefits. It is strategic to expand the agreements already achieved in three departments of Colombia, in which regional organisations of journalists and officials of department and municipality administrations made determinations on state advertising space, in order to assure a fair and reasonable distribution and eliminate the implicit political blackmailing which is considered to be the main obstacle to press freedom in Colombia.

b) Policies: to continue highlighting and alerting society concerning the current working conditions of journalists as a violation to citizens' rights to accurate, balanced and fair information. It is necessary to use all possible scenarios such as meetings, conferences, opinion programmes, print media, radio, internet and television. Other means to reach this goal are the Inter American Commission on Human Rights of the OAS where, in addition to presenting and condemning journalists' security situation in the country, there is also an opportunity to expose the precarious working condition situation and to counteract the common presence of business interests inside media organisations.

3. Relevance

3.1 Relevance in relation to Sida/CIVSAM's objectives

Trade unions are an important part of civil society. They exist because workers believe and experience that they are effective tools for the achievement of decent conditions, including salaries, at workplaces. As such they are CSOs on their own merits. Consequently, the LO-TCO Secretariat's work to create and strengthen trade unions is highly relevant in relation to Sida/CIVSAM's objectives.

Training is the most important activity in all the four projects studied in Colombia. The subjects for the training in the form of workshops, seminars, lectures and other type of event are not limited to "technical" trade union issues such as recruitment of members, administration of the trade union, negotiating capacities and contents of a collective agreement. Training is also focused on broader issues such as knowledge about democracy, including internal democracy in associations, leadership as such, labour and other legislation, learning to handle HIV/AIDS in working life, gender issues and women's rights according to international conventions. For many years the ICEM project in Colombia had as a principal goal to develop leadership in the broad sense. Through these training inputs, trade union leaders and members acquire knowledge on how to influence political decisions about labour market issues, how to negotiate, etc.

Organising and sustaining Colombia's first nationwide journalists' association, FECOLPER, is relevant from a civil society perspective. Three examples illustrate: critical investigative journalists are often threatened, physically attacked, kidnapped or even killed. Through national and international alerts, practical financial and moral support and lobbying of the government, the journalists' association seeks

to enhance protection for these journalists. CESO-FIP together with FECOLPER⁴⁰ is also active in disseminating knowledge among its members about the law which provides all Colombians with access to public documents – an instrument to combat corruption. Furthermore, the association is active in combating attempts from politicians to reinforce the defamation law which could make journalists easier targets for charges of libel.

In the case of UNAC-IUF it is obvious that their 18000 affiliate-strong trade union Sintrainagro is the most important and a powerful CSO in their local environment, the banana growing region of Urabá (three municipalities). Sintrainagro is respected by the banana growers association AUGURA, it cares for the production and exportation of the fruit that gives livelihood to approximately 80 000 people. It also coordinates development activities with local authorities and has strong influence over local political candidates. In reality they decide who will be the next mayor in at least two of the three municipalities. Sintrainagro's success in uniting the banana workers – which cost many lives in the 1980s and 1990s when three unions existed – is recognised by many stakeholders.

Sintrainagro is also a good example of trade unions that deliver social services to their members and others in the community. The organisation has built its own high school in a semi-rural area where secondary education did not exist. The municipality pays teachers' salaries and provides water and electricity. Sintrainagro also runs a day care centre for banana workers' children and a business for construction materials. Thanks to its unity and 18 000 members, Sintrainagro exercises strong political influence at municipality level. In the short term they are at the centre of the struggle to relieve poverty in a region heavily plagued by political and social violence and where work opportunities are scarce apart from plantation work.

Another example of how UNAC strengthens CSOs and combats poverty is their cooperation with small farmers with the purpose of increasing their capacity to secure food for their families, and also to improve their small-scale production of a variety of agricultural products and to obtain access to markets.

The ICEM affiliate SINTRAVIDRIOCOL, approximately 1000 workers at a glass production plant, also has a strong presence in their hometown, Zipaquirá (visited by the evaluator). Many years ago this trade union understood that their organisation would be stronger and more acknowledged in the community if they expanded their activities and related them to development. SINTRAIECOL runs a vocational school and organises sports tournaments and cultural events, mainly for young people.

Even for the newly-formed federation of journalists, social services are a good reason to join. Apart from improving labour conditions journalists are struggling for better housing conditions, through access to loans, and health care. According to an income study made by CESO-FIP journalists in small cities and towns earn between USD 100 and 400 (SEK 600–2400).

In general, trade union leaders in Colombia are very active particularly in political parties but also in important civil society organisations such as the *Juntas de Acción Vecinal* (Neighbourhood development committees), women's organisations, the peace and human rights movement, cultural groups and so on. Regarding participation in political parties, ordinary trade union members have contradictory thoughts. Given the Colombian context, where “progressive” and left wing parties, even reformist-oriented ones, were excluded from political participation for decades (this is one of the reasons why the elite is so strong), ordinary workers believe that it is important to engage in politics to achieve change. On the other hand politicians in Colombia rarely work for interests other than their own financial benefit. This is why many, particularly younger, trade union members claim that their trade union should be autonomous and independent, and give members the right to choose political participation.

⁴⁰ La Federación de Periodistas de Colombia (The Colombian Federation of Journalists).

The relevance of the other projects in poverty terms are more indirect, but still important. Any society needs different assets and capital, two of them being social and institutional capital. They are interdependent.

In 2003 LO and TCO, at headquarter level (their international departments), took a decision to support the largest central organisation CUT (Central Unitaria de los Trabajadores) to adapt to a new organisational model based on nationwide trade unions organised along sectors lines rather than independent none federative linked unions scattered around thousand of working places. Within a Colombian context and the fact that globalisation is changing patterns of production of goods this is a relevant project, both from the perspective of strengthening civil society and from the poverty reduction dimension. Sustained competitiveness and economic growth cannot be based on severe exploitation of workers, deep social and economic gaps and a non participatory democracy only. Such development models lead to severe conflicts and Colombia is a good example of this. The CUT project is not only aimed at giving workers more power but also aims at creating more understanding between employees and employers on issues such as productivity and other issues related to the sustainability of the labour market.

3.2 Relevance in relation to LO-TCO's objectives

All the four projects have, as their main purpose, to build and strengthen trade unions and lately also interest organisations for small farmers and journalists. Workers in the informal sector, which is huge in Colombia, are one target group in the CUT project.

This task, to build unions, is not always expressed explicitly in the development or project goals but often formulated as “main” or “sub” sectors in applications: “overall trade union development” is the most common categorisation.

There is no doubt that the four projects and their objectives are relevant to the problems identified in both development and project applications. The reason of this is the following:

The first modern Colombian constitution (1991) was a result of several peace agreements. It says that Colombia is a state of rights, the state has duty to fulfil a number of civic, political and social rights. Article 39 enshrines the right of association and grants workers and employers the faculty of setting up, without state intervention, unions or associations whose legal constitution is produced by the simple decision of their members.

Table 1: Violations against the physical integrity of trade union members and leaders

Total violations 1986–2007

Type of violation	Number of cases	Percentages
Attacks	211	2.4
Enforced disappearances	185	2.1
Forced displacement	1300	15.1
Arbitrary detentions	428	4.9
Harassment	190	2.2
Homicides	2534	29.4
Kidnappings	159	1.8
Torture	79	0.9
Total	8601	100

The problem identified by the Colombian trade union movements, together with a number of international stakeholders (such as ICTU, ILO and the office of the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights) is that the worker's rights to form trade unions, in order to claim their constitutional rights, are seriously violated. The most palpable obstruction is that the state has not been able to protect trade union members for decades from being targets of systematic violence from paramilitary and guerrilla groups, and sometimes even with participation by state agents. Table 1 gives a complete scenario during the last two decades:

The somewhat positive side of this dark picture is the sharp decline in homicides of trade union members in recent years, down from the 275 in 1996 to a record low of 19 in 2007. Despite continued and considerable concern from the trade union movement itself and the international community, the decreased violence has given trade union energy and force to engage in the other dominant structural problem: the lack of freedom of association by legal framework, by political interference in the registration of trade unions, in labour courts where conflicts are settled and finally the energy and courage to work more with traditional issues of trade union building, rather than focusing on security.

All activities were found to have relevance for project objectives. Some of the measures were less frequent than others but this situation is analysed in the section "Effectiveness".

In the ICEM project training continues to be a major activity during the current period (2007–2008). Subjects are mostly related to the goal "development of social dialogue and improved negotiations between social dialogue partners". Workers understanding of and concern with companies' productivity and market access is one example. ICEM Colombia also invites employer's executives from multinational companies, both from those that have adopted a hostile attitude towards trade unions and ones with good relations with their unions. ICEM also is trying to unionise outsourced workers with contracts from temporary agencies. To create relationships between unionised and non-unionised workers is often the first step. At least two of the five ICEM affiliate unions organise sport tournaments as one relevant activity for this purpose.

Also UNAC-IUL maintains training of member organisation's members as an important activity. They cover subjects related to IUL's worldwide strategy, such as small farmers' capability to secure food for their families. In the banana-growing region Urabá, Sintrainagro is involved in a dialogue with the government and land owners with the aim of limiting or even stopping development plans to replace huge areas of banana with African oil palm, which need ten times less workers per hectare. Sintrainagro believe that so called development "megaprojects" are threatening jobs and food security. The revenues from giant African palm plantations will benefit a small elite and multinational companies only. UNAC is also struggling to become one of the 18 sector-oriented national unions as part of the CUT transformation. Some recruitment activities have the goal of recruiting new members in the food industry, such as workers at brewery plants owned by the multinational company SAB Miller (South African).

CESO FIP's activities are focused on strengthening FECOLPER, also through training and proposals of new ethics standards on selling publicity and working as journalists at the same time. Many actions are linked to security issues such as writing and distribution of security alerts, distribution of a manual on how to cover armed conflicts and preparing cases before the Interamerican Commission for Human Rights. CESO-FIP also runs a much-appreciated web-based legal advisory service open to all journalists in Colombia.

4. Effectiveness

4.1 Effectiveness in project set-up and planning

4.1.1 *Project set-up*

All four projects have a national scope and three of them are implemented by project offices in Colombia established by the following GUFs: The International Federation of Journalists, IFJ (“CESO-FIP”); the International Federation of Chemical, Energy, Mine and General Workers’ Unions, ICEM (“ICEM Colombia”); and the International Union of Food, Agricultural, Hotel, Restaurant, Catering, Tobacco and Allied Workers’ Associations, IUF (“UNAC-IUL”). The three GUF project offices are small, the oldest one of them, ICEM, has only one staff – the project coordinator, while the other two, UNAC-IUL⁴¹ and CESO-FIP⁴², have three-four staff. The offices are extremely important for the five ICEM members⁴³ in Colombia, for Sintrainagro in the case of UNAC-IUL and decisive in the case of CESO-FIP for the recent creation of FECOLPER. This is acknowledged by a number of people interviewed.

The establishment of the three project offices responds to strategy decisions taken by the GUFs at global and regional level by their highest decision-making bodies, congresses or annual assemblies. The strategies respond to country (in the case of IFJ) and sector priorities (in the case of ICEM and UNAC-IUF). On a higher level the set up is related to the ICTU’s decision to try new methods for transnational solidarity between workers. As trade unions worldwide are losing members and a significant degree of power is in the hands of transnational companies, the dominant strategy is to negotiate global framework agreements between global union federations and multinational corporations. In these agreements, issues like codes of conduct and corporate social responsibility are covered, as well as the most fundamental part of trade union activities: the right to organise and negotiate collective agreements. In the Colombian context one such agreement was signed in 2003 between Chiquita brands and IUF and covers banana plantation workers in Latin America. The agreement is regarded as important progress. It awarded Sintrainagro stronger acknowledgment both in relation to Colombian banana plantation owners and among its own members.

4.1.2 *Relationships in the LO-TCO cooperation chain*

In the case of CESO-FIP, relationships with LO-TCO Secretariat were mentioned as important. “Programme Officers at LO-TCO Secretariat have given us useful input on our project application”. ICEM Colombia maintains a strong relationship with Swedish IF Metall, where the same international secretary has monitored the project through annual visits since the mid 1990s. ICEM’s headquarter in Brussels has been involved to a lesser extent and the regional ICEM office in Rio de Janeiro not at all. The UNAC-IUF project is closely monitored by IUL Regional office in Montevideo, where even the budget is handled – UNAC-IUL request payments for each planned activity. UNAC-IUL has also close relations with IUL HQ in Geneva.

All the three project coordinators have knowledge of the complex relationship chain in trade union development cooperation. When trying to establish exact responsibilities at least two project coordinators make a distinction between what is called “political” and “administrative” matters. Monitoring the project in terms of follow up of established plans was viewed as administrative matters, not closely linked to the “political” side of the project. This separation raises concerns because it appears to show that there is no clear understanding of how planning of development and project objectives are related to the “political” objectives. Interviews with several, high-ranking trade union leaders confirmed this

⁴¹ IUL is the Spanish acronym for IUF, International Union of Food, Agricultural, Hotel, Restaurant, Catering, Tobacco and Allied Workers’ Associations. UNAC is the Union of Agricultural Workers in Colombia.

⁴² FIP is the Spanish acronym for IFJ: International Federation of Journalists. CESO means Center for Solidarity.

⁴³ They are: Sintraelecol, the trade union for workers at energy production plants, Sintracarbon, miners at the world’s largest coal mine, Sintraquim, workers in the chemistry and pharmaceutical industry, Sintracarbón, workers at in the paper industry and Sintravidricol, workers in the glass industry.

kind of thinking as they stated “Trade unions in Colombia don’t have a culture of planning”. This is negative for the effectiveness of the projects.

4.1.3 Relationships with other stakeholders

The very idea of transnational solidarity between workers implies developed, cross-border relationships. At an international level they are limited to contacts between trade unionists. For agricultural and industrial workers in the two – ICEM and UNAC-IUL – of the four Colombian projects international contacts are almost exclusively with colleagues in Latin America and the Caribbean. Both ICEM and the UNAC-IUF have “social dialogue” with employers as a specific project objective. This means that executives of multinational corporations form a target group, both at their companies in Colombia and – when they refuse or obstruct – at their headquarters in each country. The project coordinators are extremely aware of the importance of establishing such relations and regularly invite Colombian business executives to their activities (more on this in the section “Effectiveness”).

With few exceptions there are no other stakeholders involved in trade union activities in the manufacturing sector. In the flower industry, which employs approximately 200 000⁴⁴ people directly or indirectly, there are several other stakeholders than could be of interest to UNAC-IUF. Only approximately 10 per cent of the flower workers – the majority of them women – are unionised. The majority of these unions are controlled by the owners. Cactus is a Colombian NGO that is struggling to improve social and economic conditions for flower workers. UNAC-IUF has the same interest but the two organisations demonstrate strong mistrust as concerns each their due to old, and no longer relevant, political views. They do not even talk to each other, which is unfortunate. Both receive support through Sida.

The ongoing violence against trade unionists in Colombia has been a priority for ILO for more than a decade. After several unsuccessful attempts Colombian trade unions, the government and the Colombian business community reached an important tripartite agreement to improve labour rights and freedom of association. One of the four ILO “thematic hubs” is the promotion of social dialogue between workers’ representatives and employers. ILO established a monitoring office in the country in January 2007 asked to implement four projects with direct links to the four thematic hubs. CUT has well-developed contacts with the ILO office but the evaluator got the impression that the other project coordinators, the affiliated trade unions and their board members (ICEM, UNAC-IUF and FECOLPER) did not take the opportunity to spread knowledge concerning the ILO office, its mandate and activities related to the four projects – all of them of great importance for the entire trade union movement.

4.2 Effectiveness in relation to Sida/CIVSAM's objectives

Neither the development nor the project goals include goals explicitly related to the strengthening of civil society or poverty. But implicitly they are closely linked to Sida/CIVSAM’s objective. In its ambition and long term goal to convert UNAC to a sector-based national union for workers and farmers in food production chain (affiliated to CUT) UNAC has expanded its range of action. UNAC now relates to sectors other than banana workers such as small farmers’ associations, NGOs specialised in promoting small-scale ecological production of fruits and vegetables, workers at breweries and flower plantations. In Uraba, the banana workers trade union Sintrainagro are struggling for their jobs, with a clear goal of not being forced to migrate when bananas and platano (a crop for staple food) are replaced by African oil palm which concentrates land ownership and sharply reduces the number of workers.

The most tangible result in terms of effectiveness is that all the four project organisations have made a correct analysis of the problems facing them, and implement activities to solve them.

⁴⁴ According to Colombia’s flower business corporation, Asocolflores. Interview with the evaluator.

4.3 Effectiveness in relation to LO-TCO's objectives

As a condition for approving applications, LO-TCO Secretariat oblige partners to use LFA matrix. This has had a positive result on planning, forcing trade union leaders to make priorities and work in a more structured way. The Colombian project coordinators are well aware of the manual and in the case of the oldest projects (ICEM and UNAC-IUF) coordinators have used LFA planning matrix in the application for a number of years. Still they do not feel comfortable with the LFA planning tool as they view it as “technical” or “administrative” issues, disconnected to the more important “political” work. This view explains to a great extent why all three projects have weak LFA matrixes (CESO-FIP does not have one in the latest application). Development and project goals are often too general, quantitative result indicators are almost non existent and when they do appear it is the number of activities that is registered and reported. Also “verification means” should be more clearly defined and easier to use. Only UNAC, which is positive, has “interviews with beneficiaries” and “interviews with local authorities” as tools for verification.

All the four project share similar problems related to the formulation of goals. This is particular clear in relation to at least several of the objectives – not all – in the ICEM and UNAC projects. In some cases the results and impacts are measured in terms of implemented activities and not in terms what the activities have achieved in terms of outcomes, outputs and impacts. Project objectives are also imprecise when they are linked to indicators. Examples: “Confirming the food security program of the UNAC” or “Development of a unified platform of action for trade unions in Colombia and Argentina based on fundamental human, social and economic rights”.

When comparing their reports to LO-TCO Secretariat with their applications, and in the interviews during the field visit, this weakness is confirmed. The activities are described well but what they lead to should be described and linked to objectives. Another limitation is that the reporting of the results spends too little time on what is happening inside the affiliated trade unions. In the reports there is no definition of membership. The most common one is the duty to pay membership dues. This is clear for trade unions in the industrial and public sector. But when UNAC starts to “affiliate” small, self-employed farmers and CESO-FIP contribute to creating a new national journalist federation there are no such obligations and membership status become fuzzy. This has implications for how to measure goals, at least in the case of UNAC and CESO-FIP. It should be said that CESO-FIP is a young project and the coordinators have created a list of members which they also regularly update.

Result analysis per project:

Table 1: Membership trend in five industrial trade unions, members of icem colombia

Trade union and sector	Members (year)		
	2007	2000	1995
Sintracarbon (coal mining):	2500	4500	4700
Sintraquim (chemical & pharmaceutical):	670	1490	1600
Sintravidricol (glass):	1918	2600	2200
Sintraelecol (electricity):	11000	16800	17900
Fenaltec (electricity):	550	900	1500

ICEM

For many years the project goals were specified in terms of recruiting new individual members and gaining more collective agreements at workplaces. However the trend in one of the flagship projects, ICEM, has been the opposite (Table 1).

Although the causes for this decline were external factors, one internal evaluation 2005 came to this conclusion:

“Organizational development

Following the ICEM’s visit to Colombia in January 2004 it became clear that our members were facing an open crisis. Both Sintracarbon and Sintraelecol had lost 50% of their membership during 2003 (mainly due to continued privatization of state enterprises) and the other unions were on average only organizing 30–50 people per year. In addition, although the ICEM Committee has been able to achieve unity at national and local level, there has been no real commitment or action plan developed by the unions themselves, beyond coordinating project activities. One of the evaluations of the project work so far is that we were carrying out too much generalized training. Although the training at local, regional and national level has effectively formed a motivated and consolidated group that clearly identify themselves as ICEM, the concrete results of training have been negligible in terms of union building.”⁴⁵

In order to break this negative trend “social dialogue” became the new instrument to achieve union building. But both in the case of ICEM and UNAC-IUF there is no coherent and documented strategy on how this could be achieved. ICEM Colombia has identified a few local representatives of transnational companies as targets groups and some progress has been made by Sintracarbon. At the largest coal mine in the world (Cerrejón, in the Guajira Province) owned by four big transnational mining companies in South Africa, Switzerland and United Kingdom, Sintracarbon leaders have developed respectful and relaxed relations with the employer, making the trade union sustainable to the benefit of the workers. However in the glass, paper and chemical/pharmaceutical sectors the struggle for social dialogue advances at the pace of a tortoise. ICEM Colombia has no communication strategy to improve relations with Colombian operators of the multinational companies. The ICEM Office in Colombia, which implements the project, and the ICEM members appear to receive insufficient support from ICEM HQ and the Swedish Federations. Support exists, particularly from Swedish IF Metall, but both HQ of ICEM and the Swedish Federations need to have closer and continuous relations with the ICEM project office and the affiliated Colombian organisation if goals are to be reached in a more tangible and effective way.

UNAC

In relation to its goal “*Confirming the food security program of the UNAC*”, the Annual Report 2007 describes a series of seminars and training sessions with several hundred people. At the organisational level this has resulted in increased awareness and actions (Sintrainagro as a whole) in the fight for jobs and food security in Uraba. But there are no examples of what these training inputs meant to the participants, ordinary plantation workers as stated in the application (“verification means”).

The struggle to organise flower workers on at least one flower plantation and affiliate the trade union to UNAC continues. Asocolflores, the flower business corporation which organises more than 200 flower growers, openly rejects the idea of having any trade union which belongs to CUT at their members’ plantations. The reason for this is that CUT is regarded as being “political” and left wing.

Regarding the objective “*Make progress in the definition of policy for gender equity*” there is no reporting. Related to gender issues UNAC highlights the fact one female member of Sintrainagro was elected a member of the IUF global board. Another one was elected as member of the IUF regional board for Latin America and the Caribbean. What this has meant to Sintrainagro should be explained.

Another result mentioned as important, but not clearly related to any project objective, is that in 2007 Sintrainagro signed an agreement with CUT where “food security” is highlighted as an issue for CUT as a central organisation. The agreement is important, according to CUT’s President, because for the

⁴⁵ Source: ICEM Colombia 2005–2006 application to LO-TCO Secretariat.

first time “industrial and rural workers are integrated in the Colombian trade union agenda”, which will strengthen CUT at both national and international level, the latter in relation to ICTU and important GUFs like IUF. The agreement is seen as an important contribution to the transformation of CUT.

CUT

The CUT transformation project is making progress according to the rather vague plan in the applications. The project is monitored from Sweden by an independent hired consultant, who visits the project once or twice a year. The reorganisation of CUT is an extremely complex process with many hurdles at many levels, consisting of legal, political and internal divisions. One major problem is that many of the hundreds or even thousands small trade unions involved are resisting as they fear losing some of their key benefits – the so called “fuero sindical” which impede employers from sacking elected board members and give the right to work with trade union issues for a certain amount of hours each month.

The small trade unions have also assets, often their own offices, which they fear they may lose when trade unions merge. Although CUT’s latest congress (2007) approved the new organisational model, based on nationwide trade unions in 18 sectors, many leaders are not convinced. In terms of project activities this is translated into events (board meetings, workshops, seminars etc.) where follow up commitment is low. Due to the new elected board, CUT has changed manager for the process and the project. One conclusion is that discipline to follow up decisions taken in every sector involved should improve. Progress and hurdles could be better documented to both ICTU and LO, the GUF and Swedish partner respectively.

CESO-FIP in relation to FECOLPER

The most dynamic and newest project in Colombia is CESO-FIP, IFJ’s office. It is led by an energetic and competent team made up mainly of young people with one apparently small but important tool to increase transnational solidarity through international relations: good levels of English (this is not the case in the other three projects).

CESO-FIP office was set 2004 up by IFJ to increase international protection for journalists who were being threatened and attacked. On this issue it is in competition with three or four media-oriented local NGOs, one of them being FLIP which is supported by the Swedish branch of Reporter without Borders. The competition is about who can provide the national and international media community with the fastest and the most accurate security alerts on Colombian journalists. The reason for this competition appears to be gaining access to development cooperation financial resources.

CESO-FIP rapidly understood the reasons behind journalist’s vulnerable situation and why they often came under attack. They have little education, they are not organised and their labour situation is precarious. They have no salaries, they do not get paid for single articles or reportage and they finance their activities by selling publicity to the same actors they as freelance or sub-contracted reporters should monitor and critically review. CESO-FIP played a key role when 12 local Colombian organisations for journalists decided to form the nation’s first independent (from employers as well as political parties) professional organisation, FECOLPER, which intended to break away from old patterns of political and other forms of dependence. The members are exclusively journalists in medium-sized cities and small towns, often where violent actors are permanently settled.

5. Sustainability

The general conclusion is that the Colombian trade unions in the projects will survive if trade union cooperation was to end. As an industrial-based trade union with five members’ organisations, ICEM has a long tradition of a permanent collection of membership dues. This is done through a direct deduction from each worker’s salary. UNAC-IUF economic resources come to a large extent from

Sintrainagro membership dues. The CUT project would also survive even if development cooperation financing were stopped. CESO-FIP has not yet started to collect membership dues but should try to do so as quickly as possible. This is also an important indicator that members are satisfied with the benefits and creates a sense of ownership as well as establishing clear rules for the right to participate in different types of activities.

Everyone interviewed in Colombia agrees that the development cooperation financial resources are absolutely necessary to keep up the fairly high level of activities. Without them, progress would be slower.

One element of strong concern is that development cooperation projects tend to widen the gap between trade union leaders and their base. This gap was a problem even before the trade union movement in developed countries began their solidarity in terms of project financing. How this gap is handled is a key challenge not only in terms of sustainability but also in relation to effectiveness.

Annex B: India

1. Introduction

India has a population of approximately 1.1 billion people. In the Human Development Index, India is ranked 128 of 177 countries. During the last decade the country has experienced high levels of economic growth. Despite this, about 25 per cent of the population lives in absolute poverty and has to survive on the equivalent of USD 1 per day.

India is a federation with far-reaching decentralisation of decision making to the states. The government initiated reforms of the economic policy in 1991. Liberalisation, privatisation and downsizing of the public sector were followed by increased exports and an impressive annual growth rate of about 8 percent. The IT sector and other services and segments of the manufacturing industry have especially benefited from the new economic policy while agriculture has remained stagnant. Employment in the productive, export-oriented sectors of the economy has not increased, however. The increased flexibility of the labour market has forced more people to accept temporary and contract-based jobs with lower wages and no social benefits, critics also argue.

The Indian labour force consists of about 500 million people of which approximately 50 million work in the formal sector. The remaining majority earn their living in the informal sector, including small-scale agriculture, where jobs are irregular and insecure, productivity is low and social protection is non-existent or limited.

1.2 Trade union situation

Trade union rights are laid down in the Trade Union Act and the Industrial Dispute Act. Government employees and public sector workers have limited collective bargaining rights. The rights of workers in so called special economic zones (export processing zones) are also restricted. Minimum wages are established by the government. These minimum wages differ from state to state and according to occupation. In the formal sector workers have access to health care and pensions through the Employees State Insurance, mainly financed by employers. For informal sector workers, welfare boards have been set up in some states. These welfare boards offer some social benefits – provided that the workers are aware of the opportunity and have managed to overcome the bureaucratic hurdles relating to registration.

It is estimated that about 30 million of the Indian labour force are organised. All figures regarding membership of trade unions are, however, very uncertain. The government recognises six central trade union organisations. The largest of them is Bharatiya Mazdoor Sangh (BMS), which claims to have more than eight million members and is linked to the BJP party. Indian National Trade Union Congress (INTUC) has close ties to the Congress Party and accounts for 6.8 million members. Many federations and trade unions are, however, not affiliated to any of the central trade union organisations. In India there are about 65,000 registered trade unions.

A salient feature of the Indian trade union movement is its connections to political parties and, thereby, extensive politicisation. This implies that the unions are sometimes tied by decisions taken by the parties and cannot take action based solely on the interests of their members. On the other hand, the connection to a party can also imply advantages, such as access to certain benefits and participation in important commissions, especially when the party which the union is linked to is in power. Some trade union leaders and members are, however, discontented with the party-political links and the split of the trade union movement this has led to. Consequently, several federations have chosen not to join any of the central trade union organisations.

2. Projects Selected

The evaluation assessed five programmes and projects, which are implemented in or near the cities of Hyderabad and Chennai. The projects were selected in accordance with the criteria for selection of the evaluation. All the projects are also implemented in other parts of India, but these cities were selected for field visits as several projects could be studied in each of them.

- Project 1037 (India), Education capacity and structures. Swedish requesting organisation: IF Metall, GUF: ITGLWF, implementing organisation: Indian National Textile Workers' Federation. The project was started in 1997.⁴⁶
- Programme 5070 (global), Occupational Health and Safety. Swedish requesting organisation: IF Metall, GUF: ITGLWF, implementing organisation: ITGLWF-affiliated unions. The programme is ongoing since 1992.
- Project 1012 (regional South Asia), General trade union organisational development, Swedish requesting organisations: Swedish Building Workers' Union, Swedish Electricians' Union, Swedish Painters' Union, GUF: BWI, implementing organisation: BWI-affiliated unions. The project was started in 1999.
- Project 1110 (India), General trade union organisational development. Swedish requesting organisation: the Swedish Teachers' Union, implementing organisation: All India Primary Teachers' Federation (bilateral project). This project is ongoing since 1997.
- Project 1203 (regional South Asia), Trade union political cooperation/influencing the politics, Swedish requesting organisation: SEKO, GUF: PSI, implementing organisation: PSI-affiliated unions. The project was started in 1997.

The intention was also to include project 21151, aimed at organising metal workers. As this project was finalised in 2007 it was, however, not possible to establish contact with the former project coordinator or anyone with knowledge about the project before or during the visit to Hyderabad. Consequently, this project had to be excluded from the evaluation.

3. Relevance

3.1 Relevance in relation to Sida/CIVSAM's objectives

Regarding relevance in relation to Sida/CIVSAM's overall goal of strengthening civil society, the frequent training, workshops, study circles and other capacity building efforts that are a continuous part of the projects implemented by BWI, PSI and AIPTF contribute to building the capacity of the organisations, especially at district and lower levels. Local level leaders and active members of the BWI project in Tamil Nadu state that through participation in meetings, study circles and other trade union activities they have acquired knowledge on issues such as requirements for registering with government welfare schemes and how to access information through the Right to Information Act. This has strengthened the unions and increased their status, also in the eyes of government officials. In some cases local authorities now prefer to turn to them instead of to NGOs and ask for cooperation when local activities are to be organised, local leaders state.

Cooperation with other civil society organisations, notably NGOs, is relatively frequent. The most common issue for cooperation, mentioned by several interviewees, seems to be regarding campaigns against child labour and against privatisation of public utilities. Garment workers in Hyderabad have

⁴⁶ Diverging information about when programmes and projects have been initiated is often found in different documents. The information used here is from the LO-TCO Project application reports. Regarding project 1037 LO-TCO states that the project was started in 1997 while the application for 2007–08 says that the project has been ongoing for more than 15 years.

participated in awareness-raising activities regarding child labour in remote villages. PSI and its members try to unite all relevant actors, including NGOs, regarding privatisation of electricity and other public utilities as these are considered to be detrimental to the poor.

When it comes to the other overall Sida/CIVSAM objective: to enable poor people to improve their living conditions, the contributions of some of the programmes and projects supported by the LO-TCO Secretariat are direct; in others they are more indirect.

One of the main activities of the Tamil Nadu Construction Workers' Federation (TCWF) is to assist members to register with the construction workers' welfare board, which provides a number of social benefits such as pension, marriage, maternity and education assistance and death and funeral assistance. As construction workers are poorly paid, lack formal employment and have no social benefits this is clearly a relevant strategy from a poverty alleviation perspective, both in terms of the economic benefits this brings and the improved security. The knowledge members of TCWF acquire in study circles and meetings is also relevant from a poverty perspective. Participants particularly emphasise the empowerment aspect: "We are now recognised by the political parties and can meet with them to solve problems". Especially female members and leaders stress the importance of special women's study circles and self-help groups, not only for the economic benefits these activities might bring but also for the networks that are created; networks that women can use in case of problems in other spheres of life than at the workplace, for example for family conflicts or in the case of alcohol problems or violence within the family.

Support for teachers, government employees and public officials does not, except in rare exceptions, target people who live below or near the poverty line. Hence, their contributions to improve poor people's living conditions are indirect.

The overall goal of PSI is to provide quality public services that are accessible to all. Without such services it is not possible to alleviate poverty, PSI argues. The general secretary of primary teachers' union states that an important part of AIPTF's activities is to contribute to all children's access to quality education, the achievement of the millennium development goal regarding education for all etc.

3.2 Relevance in relation to the LO-TCO Secretariat's objectives

Regarding relevance in relation to the objectives of the programmes and projects, the BWI project's objective is to create an alliance of construction and agricultural workers' unions that jointly organises workers, carries out organisational campaigns and training sessions and discusses a merger. An important step towards fulfilment of this objective was achieved in 2007 when the federation, consisting of seven affiliated unions, was established. The objective is extremely relevant considering the need for a strong union for construction and agricultural workers that has access to decision makers and can influence issues of importance to workers.

The project objectives for support to the primary school teachers' federation (AIPTF) are to increase the number of members and the economic sustainability of the federation, increase female members' involvement in union activities, provide knowledge about trade union issues for local leaders and enhance the communication between leaders and members. Considering the fact that the AIPTF is a national federation it is vital for the development of the internal democracy of the organisation to enhance members' knowledge at local level and improve communication between the different levels. For AIPTF to be able to continue influencing educational policies and protecting the interests of its members, the federation also needs to increase the number of members as well as membership dues.

Strengthening women's participation is a relevant issue for the entire, male-dominated Indian trade union movement – and especially for an organisation like the AIPTF where the majority of the members are female.

The PSI Project aims at developing the participating unions' capacity to campaign for recognition and implementation of collective bargaining rights, to organise unorganised workers and to strengthen the role of women. As government employees in India are denied the internationally recognised right to collective bargaining and many officials are hired on temporary contracts, with lower salaries and lack of other benefits, these are relevant objectives.

The three project objectives of the project implemented by INTWF are to sustain study circles for rank and file members, ensure participation of women and provide HIV/AIDS training. Considering the information that was provided in Hyderabad, the relevance of study circles however seems questionable. The local project coordinator stated that the garment workers have no time to attend study circles as they depend on the transport facilities provided by the companies where they are working. Local leaders of some other cities where the project is implemented, who were briefly interviewed,⁴⁷ explained that due to the crisis in the textile sector, the study circle leaders had started to carry out other activities, such as organising bidi workers, running a school for former child workers and setting of self-help groups for women.

For the occupational health and safety programme there are a number of project objectives, ranging from the establishment of regional health and safety networks in Asia, Africa, Europe and the Americas to workplace activities such as awareness raising, strengthening of trade union leaders' negotiation skills on health and safety, dissemination of materials and integration of HIV/AIDS into all project activities. Whether these objectives are relevant is difficult to assess as few activities have been carried out in India and, seemingly, no baseline information regarding health and safety problems in the textile and garment sectors is available. One planning workshop with the five affiliated trade unions and two local workshops have taken place and two more local workshops are planned for 2008.

The workshop in Hyderabad in which garment workers participated highlighted a number of issues such as neck and shoulder problems and needle injuries in the fingers. No follow-up activities have, however, taken place and the magnitude of the problems that were addressed at the workshops is not clear. During the evaluation, visits were made to three factories where no one was seen wearing finger protection, which was recommended at the workshop. When a question was asked about the issue it was stated that needle injuries are only a problem for newly recruited workers.

4. Effectiveness

4.1 Effectiveness in Project Set-up and Planning

4.1.1 Project set-up

Four of the five programmes and projects studied are implemented through GUFs. The institutional framework differs between projects, however.

BWI Asia Pacific Regional office in Malaysia is the overall implementing organisation of the regional support to eight selected BWI affiliates in India and Nepal, including TCWF. Implementation, monitoring and coordination are the responsibility of the BWI South Asia Project Office in Delhi, India.

A coordinator, employed by BWI and based in Chennai, supports TCWF with the day-to-day running of the project (and also works with other projects in the area).

The PSI Project is coordinated from the PSI sub-regional office in Faridabad, India. The project coordinator is responsible for coordinating and implementing activities, monitoring and preparing reports. The coordinator visits Chennai approximately every three months.

⁴⁷ The project is coordinated by Ambekar Institute for Labour Studies in Mumbai. The local leaders were met there.

ITGLWF has no office in India. The projects are coordinated by Ambekar Institute for Labour Studies in Mumbai, which is a research institute sponsored by INTUC. The project coordinator in turn, appoints local coordinators in the different cities where the project is implemented. The project coordinator reports to ITGLWF.

The support for AIPTF is a bilateral project which is coordinated by the Swedish Teachers' Union. An agreement between the parties specifies the contributions from each of them. AIPTF is required to provide two overall project coordinators and to take responsibility for the financial administration while the Swedish Teachers' Union, apart from the financial support, contributes support from its international secretary and other staff, according to needs.

4.1.2 Relationships in the LO-TCO Secretariat's cooperation chain

The TCWF affiliates plan their activities at an annual planning meeting. Representatives of the Swedish unions as well as staff from the BWI regional office participated in and facilitated the meeting in which the federation was founded. As the federation was only established in 2007, the routines for coordinating with the BWI regional office as well as the Swedish unions are still new but seemingly TCWF is firmly in charge of the project and the members convey a strong sense of ownership. The BWI Coordinator in Chennai writes the annual report, which is sent to BWI's office in Delhi where a consolidated report for the entire regional project is developed.

Representatives of the Swedish unions visit the project twice a year and some of the key people have known each other since long before the federation was formed. These personal relationships are of utmost importance as they also make it possible to discuss problematic issues and weaknesses, a representative of the Swedish unions says.

AIPTF has a bottom-up planning process where each state develops its annual plan. Staff from the central office in Delhi participates in these meetings. The plans from the almost 20 participating states are then consolidated into one annual plan. The Swedish Teachers' Union visits India twice a year and sometimes participates in state planning meetings. Relationships are described as very close by both parties, mainly due to the longstanding nature of the cooperation.

The PSI Project is planned in an annual meeting during which PSI and all the participating unions jointly develop the activities for the coming year. The national coordinating committee then develops the work plan, which is sent to the PSI head office. A representative of SEKO, the Swedish requesting organisation, visits India about once a year. These visits provide no complete overview of the large and scattered project, but the representative considers his main task is to verify that there are activities going on.

The Ambekar Institute for Labour Studies coordinates projects from several trade union solidarity and support organisations and has had some visits from IF Metall. The coordinator participates in an annual planning meeting with ITGLWF. When new projects are developed he discusses with the unions and then writes the project applications as the development of applications according to the LFA method is too difficult for most unions, he explains. Concerning the two projects that were visited in Hyderabad there had, according to the local coordinator, been no local involvement in the planning – apart from the fact that Hyderabad was included in the project on request from him.

At local level, to beneficiary unions and local coordinators, the LO-TCO Secretariat is just a name. Some trade union leaders and local coordinators know that the projects are funded by the LO-TCO Secretariat, others not, but they all have only vague ideas about what the agency is. Contrary to this, coordinators and other staff at the GUFs' regional or sub-regional offices are well aware of the LO-TCO Secretariat and its mandate. They meet when staff of the LO-TCO Secretariat visits the regions and in conferences and meetings, such as the annual staff meetings at the GUF headquarters. There is, however, no frequent communication regarding applications, reports and other day-to-day

matters; there are still several steps between the regional and sub-regional offices and the LO-TCO Secretariat.

4.2 Effectiveness in relation to Sida/CIVSAM's objectives

All the five programmes and projects contribute to some extent to the strengthening of civil society – the occupational health and safety programme less than the other projects though, due to the fact that activities have been very few in India. The trade unions and federations are strengthened through training sessions and workshops for leaders, members' participation in study circles and rallies, awareness-raising meetings, recruitment campaigns, etc.

The increased knowledge and organisational strength which these activities result in mean that the unions' capacity to interact with other actors in civil society, as well employers and government authorities, is strengthened. Several examples of this were provided during the evaluation: AIPTF takes an active part in policy debates about the Indian education system at national level, TCWF has established good relations with the state government of Tamil Nadu and the administration of the construction workers' welfare board and is, thereby, able to influence issues relating to social benefits for its members etc.

The garment workers of Apparel Export Park, a special economic zone situated about 25 kilometres outside Hyderabad, have formed an employees' association. According to the coordinator of the project, the association has managed to obtain higher salaries for the workers at the companies in the export park, double payment for overtime, free Sundays etc. Leaders of the association state that relationships with the management of the companies had previously been tense but have now improved. Also representatives of the management of three of the companies that are operating in Apparel Export Park say that relationships are good. They appreciate that the association has contributed to enhancing communications between workers and the management.

The projects with the highest potential for directly contributing to enable poor people to improve their living conditions are the ones targeting garment workers in Hyderabad and the construction workers' federation in Tamil Nadu.

Until recently the garment workers earned only the minimum wages, established by the government of Andhra Pradesh, of about 2,250 rupees per month. Consequently they had an income of less than USD 2 per day. In July 2008 however the employees association, through negotiations, managed to raise the wages by 400–700 rupees per month. Whether this achievement can be attributed to the project is, however, doubtful as the issue is not part of the project objectives. The financial contribution from the project is also limited.⁴⁸

Construction workers in Chennai presently have relatively good wages due to a construction boom. A skilled worker earns about 400 rupees per day and a "helper" about 200 rupees. In smaller cities and rural areas the wages are, however, considerably lower. Moreover, construction workers have no formal employment and no social security; unless they manage to register with the welfare board. For members who pay their membership fee the TCWF assists with the registration formalities.

With few exceptions salaries for government employees and public officials and for teachers are well above the poverty line. An effective public administration and qualified and motivated teachers can, however, be important for poverty reduction, albeit in an indirect manner. Allegedly there are partial achievements from PSI members and AIPTF regarding contributions to improved public services and better education.

⁴⁸ According to information from the project coordinator the project receives about 20,000 rupees quarterly, which would be about USD 2,000 per year.

4.3 Effectiveness in relation to LO-TCO Secretariat's objectives

Concerning effectiveness in relation to the objectives of the programmes and projects, the field visits indicate mixed results. The efforts to organise garment workers in Hyderabad are probably commendable and in line with one of the overall objectives of the project, which is to develop the trade union movement in India. The activities are, however, not related to project objectives which are to organise study circles, ensure women's participation and provide HIV/AIDS training. For the project the local project coordinator has selected a group of approximately 30 workers from the garment factories operating in Apparel Export Park. Since 2004 this group, consisting of approximately 12 women and 18 men, several of them rather young, has participated in training on different issues and have been sent to workshops in other cities. Quarterly, for example on May 1 and India's national day, all workers in Apparel Export Park are invited to meetings, aimed at raising awareness and recruiting more members for the association.

No study circles have been organised: "Nobody is interested", the project coordinator in Hyderabad explains. "Transports are waiting outside the gates when the working day is over and all workers are busy to leave. But I sometimes go to the villages and have meetings with smaller groups in the evenings." Due to lack of time it is not possible for the project coordinator to extend this kind of activity to more workers, he explains. Despite participation in various kinds of training activities since 2004 he does not consider any of the members of the group ready to become study circle leaders yet.⁴⁹

Issues relating to HIV/AIDS are not covered by the project. Women are part of the group, however and they agree that it is important for female workers to have women leaders to talk to about their problems.

As the government of Andhra Pradesh opposed the establishment of a trade union in Apparel Export Park, an association was formed. Recently the association has, however, applied for registration as a trade union; Apparel Export Park Employees Trade Union Congress. The project coordinator believes that the application will be granted. The new union will be affiliated to INTUC, where the project coordinator is also the state general secretary: "This will be a great achievement for my union", he states.

The same group of trade union leaders in Apparel Export Park also participated in the workshop on occupational health and safety in February 2008. Among the lecturers were ITGLWF's expert on occupational health and safety and the overall coordinator of both projects from Ambekar Institute for Labour Studies. No resources have, however, been provided for follow-up and no further activities have taken place. Consequently, it is unlikely that any of the objectives of the programme have been achieved.

For TCWF an important part of the project objective has been achieved: a federation has been established and joint campaigns and training activities have been carried out. The BWI coordinator in Chennai considers that it is still too early to start planning a merger of the affiliated unions, but discussions are ongoing about avoiding competition between the affiliates through not carrying out recruitment campaigns and other activities in the same areas.

AIPTF accounts for an increased number of members, both at national level and in Tamil Nadu.⁵⁰ Efforts are made to increase the membership dues where this is considered possible. Leaders and members at district and block level participate in study circles and weekend seminars. For local leaders a special training course, teachers' organisation development (TOD), has been developed. Issues such as

⁴⁹ It is noteworthy that, according to the 2007 annual report for the study circle project in India, training for new study circle leaders normally should consist of five-day workshops. Thereafter, the participants should be ready to assume the role as leaders of study circles.

⁵⁰ As is often the case with programmes and projects in India, figures vary between different documents. According to information in different documents AIPTF has a total membership of 1.5 to 2.5 million. In Tamil Nadu there are 112,000 members, according to credible sources. This seems to be an increase of 1,500 since 2007.

meeting techniques, collective bargaining and discrimination against women are highlighted during these training sessions. Special seminars for women are also organised.

Through lobbying, AIPTF has managed to influence the national government as well as state governments on a number of issues. The initial salary for a primary school teacher is about 10,000 rupees and a teacher who has worked for around 15 years earns about 15,000 rupees. AIPTF claims that these relatively good salaries are a result of the federation's efforts to raise teachers' status. In Tamil Nadu AIPTF lobbies for an increase in maternity leave, which is currently 90 days, to 135 days.

Of the twelve PSI members in India who are participating in the project, meetings took place with four during the evaluation visit to Chennai. Three of the unions lack collective bargaining rights.

Through lobbying, postcard campaigns, rallies and other activities these unions try to influence the government on various issues. All the unions have developed strategies for organising contract workers, either in existing unions or in separate ones. In some cases these efforts have resulted in contract workers being employed on a permanent basis.

Efforts to strengthen the role of women are part of all the four unions' activities. Training sessions are provided for women and some unions, such as the Indian National Defence Workers' Federation, have founded special women's sections. The Tamil Nadu Government Officials' Union has established a women's committee and tries to focus its activities on groups of government employees where women are in the majority. In accordance with the constitution of the union,⁵¹ one of the four vice-presidents is a woman.

5. Sustainability

Cooperation between AIPTF and the Swedish Teachers' Union has been ongoing since 1984. During this period AIPTF has managed to considerably strengthen its organisation. In Tamil Nadu, one of the strongholds of the federation, cooperation is now being phased out. Support for training activities has been finalised and, in order to maintain these activities, ten per cent of membership dues collected in the state are set aside for the project. Hence, sustainability has been achieved in Tamil Nadu while the project is less developed in other states. According to the general secretary of the federation several years will be needed for these states to reach the same level.

Concerning TCWF, the federation was only established last year and further support is likely to be required: "The federation is still very young and we will need support for some more years. But we already have a strong voice and we would not close down the shop without the funds from LO-TCO", the general secretary says.

Leader of TCWF also stress that the planning of the project is carried out by them: "We decide, based on the needs of the members." Contrary to this, the local coordinator of the two projects in Hyderabad says that the planning is done by ITGLWF: "We work according to their directions."

The support for the unions affiliated to the PSI is a regional project, with activities in four countries and in a number of places in each country. This means that the funds for each participating union are limited and that the activities the unions carry out are only dependent on the support from the LO-TCO Secretariat to a limited extent. Furthermore, most of the activities are part of the unions' core activities and are likely to be sustained, even without financial support from outside.

Concerning the support for the garment workers in Hyderabad and the occupational health and safety programme it is not relevant to discuss issues relating to sustainability as hardly any activities, as stated in the applications to the LO-TCO Secretariat, have been carried out.

⁵¹ The Government Officials' Union is in reality a national federation with 180 branch associations in the country.

All the projects include activities to strengthen women's role in the trade unions and it is obvious that support from the LO-TCO Secretariat and other donors⁵² has put increased focus on this issue. Without further support it is possible that these activities would not be sustained. Women leaders are still few, even in unions where female members constitute a majority, and few women have reached top positions within the unions. It is also obvious that most female leaders and members still need encouragement to speak out and voice demands. When asked about achievements from the trade union activities several women state, with more or less similar wording: "The main achievement is that I can participate in a meeting like this. That would not have been possible some years ago."

The study circles method has been introduced through the projects and is working well, according to several local leaders. Especially TCWF stresses that this is an excellent method to reach people with low levels of education as the group itself decides about the topics to discuss and the number of meetings. Despite this, however, only two of the unions of the construction workers' federation still use study circles. If more funding was forthcoming the study circles would be extended, leaders of the TCWF state. Also one of the PSI members, Tamil Nadu Electricity Board Accounts and Executive Staff Union, remarks that study circles are a good method for sharing knowledge but were not continued when funding was discontinued. Whether these answers imply a habit of carrying out donor-funded activities without enough of their own reflection about the needs of the union, lack of attention to capacity building of members – and thereby the internal democracy of the unions – or something else is an issue that might merit further investigation.

⁵² Several of the unions that have been studied during the field work of this evaluation also receive support from FNV in Holland for gender equality projects.

Annex C: Ghana

1. Introduction

Ghana has a population of approximately 22.2 million with a relatively well-functioning economy and a regulated labour market. Their HDI ranking is 135, with a GNP/capita at 1.245 (2006). As a multi-party-state since the 1990s with a stable economy and an annual growth rate of 6–8 %, Ghana is amongst the well-developing African states. All macro-economic indicators point to economic progress, with the noticeable exception of employment.

Ghana has an active civil society, freedom of the press and the unions are able to function legally and without repression, regulated by the Industrial Relations Act and the Freedom of Associations.

1.2 Trade union situation

According to the 2000 national census, 44% of the population were economically active. Nearly 10 million Ghanaians were employed in Ghana in 2007. 75% of these are estimated to be economically active, with 53% being fully employed, 14% underemployed and 5.4% unemployed. Nearly 90% of the working-age population are engaged in the informal economy where underemployment is high, working conditions are poor and salaries low.

As in many other countries, the trade union movement is now often in strong opposition to the government, not least due to the effects of the structural adjustment programmes and the extensive privatisation and massive job-losses in the 1990s and into the 2000s. Tripartite negotiations are respected, and employers' relations are respectful. The unions enjoy access to a number of national and sectoral committees, regulating labour market and socio-economic development.

The Ghanaian population is youthful, and the number of entrants on the labour market is about 250,000/year. Of these, only 5,000 are able to find employment in the formal sector. The government has embarked on a number of national programmes to create jobs, especially for youth. These include:

Growth and Poverty Reduction Strategy (GPRS II), which encompasses a number of other schemes: ILO Decent Work Programme, National Forest Plantation Programme and National Youth Employment Programme (NYEP). In 2007, 170,000 young persons had applied for a job under the NYEP, of which 90,000 were employed.

Ghana has a tradition of a very high percentage of organised labour, and the main unions in the formal labour market are:

Ghana Trade Unions' Congress (GTUC): 270,000 members, 17 affiliates

Ghana Federation of Labour (GFL): 10,500 members

Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union (ICU): 55,000 members

Ghana National Association of Teachers (GNAT): 175,000 members

For historical and political reasons, GNAT and ICU remain outside of GTUC. The GFL is without any real significance, although recognised by government.

2. Projects Selected

The evaluation assessed three programmes and projects. Due to budget and time constraints, field visits were arranged near Accra. For one of the projects (BWI 2105 Forestry project) field visits were not carried out, as this project was covered by the Burkina Faso evaluation (project nursery in Ouahiguya). The meeting with TWU was held in their main offices in Accra in April 2008.

Project 2210 (Ghana), Study Circle Project. Swedish requesting organisation: Industrifacket, GUF: ITGLWF, implementing organisation: Industrial and Commercial Workers Union (ICU). The project was started in 1997.

Programme 2105 (Regional Africa) Sustainable Forestry Management; Swedish requesting organisation: Swedish Building Workers' Union; GUF: BWI; Implementing organisation: Timber and Wood Workers Union (TWU). Project was started in 2007 (current phase), but has been ongoing at least 10 years.

Programme 10077: African Regional Programme to promote women's participation in their unions – Swedish requesting organisation: HRF, HTE, Kommunal, SIF, Livs. GUF: IUF; implementing organisation: Ghana Agricultural Workers' Union (GAWU). Project was started in 2007.

Programme 10038 (French speaking West Africa – Trade union education and organising – IUF) also has links to the 10077, as the project covers the same sectors and the unions involved are the same. Also, IUF's Regional OHS programme (no 10065) feeds into regional and national activities, which include GAWU. Project was started in 2003, current phase in 2007.

ITGLWF /ICU (2210)	Study Circle project
Overall objective:	<p>Long term development of trade union organisations in Ghana</p> <p>To enable trade unions to establish and successfully maintain education workshop schemes, on a self-supporting basis</p> <p>To promote long-term self-reliance within trade unions</p>
Immediate objectives:	<p>To hold a 6-day workshop to train 30 new study circle leaders</p> <p>To hold a 5-day intermediate training workshop for 30 study circle leaders.</p> <p>To hold a 2-day workshop for study circles to provide them with training on HIV/AIDS so that they can integrate this topic into study circle sessions.</p> <p>To provide study circles with support and back up to enable them to successfully organise a study circle programme for their members.</p> <p>To facilitate 12 quarterly meetings of study circles at which ideas will be exchanged, difficulties discussed and best practice encouraged.</p> <p>To sustain a programme of 150 study circles each meeting for 10 sessions with a combined participation of 1,350 rank and file members.</p> <p>To update and reproduce educational material for use in study circles as necessary.</p> <p>To redouble efforts to ensure that the participation by women members in all of the project activities is at least in proportion to the gender balance of workers in the industry.</p> <p>The P organisation will continue to make an increasing contribution towards the total project budget, this will rise to 52.5% in 2007 and 55% in 2008. In this way the P organisation will gradually take over increasing responsibility for the entire financing of the project activities with the ultimate aim of achieving self-reliance.</p>

BWI/TWU: 2105	Sustainable Forestry Management
Overall objective:	To contribute to the promotion of the improvement of living and working conditions for wood and forestry workers through the implementation of programmes aimed at realising safe, sustainable decent jobs in this sector.
Immediate objectives (#)	<p>Community forestry projects (Nursery development, Afforestation, Community/member involvement, other social partners)</p> <p>Advocacy of CLS in national and international forestry planning (OSH Committee formation/activities, HIV/AIDS education)</p> <p>Strengthening the union (Organising and capacitating – informal/formal, education)</p> <p>Promotion of social dialogue (OHS committee formation /activities, HIV/AIDS education)</p> <p>Transitions (transfer of project to TWU, plans for project and membership revenues, seek community partners to provide technical assistance to project)</p>
GAWU/IUF: 10777	African regional project to promote women's participation in their unions
Overall objective:	To reduce poverty by increasing full time, sustainable employment with safe working conditions and decent wages
Immediate objectives:	To improve the representation of women at all levels of their trade unions and thereby increase their bargaining power for better working conditions and wages
(#)	Note: The 5 IOs listed in the Project Application to LO-TCO by BWI are similar to 'headlines', with details under indicators and results. The brackets are our additions, from the LFA matrix

3. Relevance

3.1 Relevance in relation to Sida/CIVSAM's objectives

Study circles and general women's and trade union education mean that the unions have improved the capacity of their own cadres as well as rank and file members on issues such as basic labour rights, women's rights and position in society and workplaces, negotiation techniques, OHS and HIV/AIDS. This has strengthened the unions and increased their status in the eyes of government officials and of employers, NGO alliances and lobby groups, as well as the print media and radio/TV.

The community and social work around the reforestation project in Brong-Ahafo region by Timber and Woodworkers' Union (TWU), and the community development work in the informal sector by GAWU, has enhanced their position and placed the unions in a key position as the providers of knowledge, support and even direct services to underprivileged communities. It has further given the two unions a strong advocacy and policy platform, respected nationally in their specific fields.

One of the key policies of the General Agricultural Workers' Union of Ghana (GAWU) is working for provision of food security in the rural areas, as well as organising in the informal economy. GAWU has a conscious drive and strategy to organise rural agricultural workers and associations of such workers. As such it is this union as a member of the Ghana Trade Unions' Congress (GTUC) family who has been instrumental in placing the need for reaching out to the informal sector and lobbying for food security onto the agenda of the national centre (even leading the GTUC), according to an executive of GTUC. GAWU has also been very active in advocacy and networking around issues central to the organisation, e.g. the EU Economic Partnership Agreements (EPAs)⁵³, and Food Security in the Food Security Network. GAWU is an atypical union in that most of its 50,000 members are actually in the rural areas, in the informal sector or seasonal workers attached to the larger plantations of oil palms, pineapple, groundnuts and other cash crops. The structure of the agricultural sector in Ghana – with more than 12 million small-scale farmers – is one of the reasons behind GAWU's links to, and preoccupation with, the informal sector and the rural areas.

⁵³ An interim EPA was signed by government of Ghana in Dec. 2007 – to the dismay and protest by the GTUC) (GTUC Policy Bulletin vol 4, 2008)

The ICU has 55,000 members and has opted to remain non-affiliated to the GTUC after a split some years ago⁵⁴. The ICU is the strongest individual and non-affiliated union in Ghana after the GNAT (Teachers). ICU organises in the hotel, tourism and commercial sectors, and is also in manufacturing, agro-based and service industries. By African standards for unions, ICU is doing rather well and is expanding its member base. Their membership is naturally fluctuating with closures and opening of industries, but ICU reports a net gain of approx 1500 members in 2007. ICU participates in tripartite fora and other policy negotiations as an independent organisation, separate from GTUC. One political priority for ICU is the fight against HIV/AIDS and in particular educating members about the pandemic.

The IUF/GAWU project on empowering women is part of a regional project in Western, Eastern and Southern Africa comprising 41 national IUF affiliates. The project was conceived in Lusaka in 2006, during an IUF regional women's workshop, which concluded that the unionisation among women in the agriculture, industry and tourism/restaurant sectors of IUF was far below its potential. The project can be said to be building on the ILO women empowerment programmes from the 1990s, which promoted many women members to become elected and active in their unions. In Ghana, GAWU and ICU are both involved in its implementation. According to both unions, the project has brought the two organisations together through the need to develop a national plan. The needs of the leadership of the unions as well as the target group (defined broadly as 'Women workers, leadership and workers in the informal economy') is – according to GAWU – contained in both the project document and the national work plan. Essentially, the women's project aims at empowering women by providing education through basic trade union training, study circles, and encouraging them to take up leadership positions, creating awareness on women's rights and promoting a general union membership drive. A review of the results in the project document reveals that the project has in fact developed a gender policy, a core group of trainers have been trained, the IUF women's manual is under development, and workshops and advocacy strategies are planned in GAWU⁵⁵. The GAWU advocacy and membership drive efforts in the rural areas are directly linked to its national policies, and to those of IUF. It is the assessment of the consultants that GAWU already has a strong platform and capacity for advocacy, developed over many years – and that this capacity is reinforcing the project outcomes and results, rather than vice-versa.

The Regional BWI/TWU sustainable forestry management project is part of a regional programme 2007–2008, covering Ghana, Mali and Burkina Faso. Cooperation in Ghana goes back to about 1995, when TWU established a 240 ha plantation and nursery.⁵⁶ TWU has some 15,000 members, and is affiliated to GTUC. One of the key policies of the TWU is promotion of sustainable forestry management practices, working to improve the lives of workers and community members around the forests. The sustainable forestry management (Sustainable Forestry) project in Ghana has become a success story, not only in terms of the plantation and nursery, but also because of the social and community efforts, as well as the advocacy work of TWU. The project has beyond any doubt tremendously strengthened TWU⁵⁷, and has through its successes (community involvement, employment, income generation, membership increase), contributed not only to achieving a very well-managed 'model forestry management practice' (labelled "pro-poor commercial forestry" by the ITTO), but also to enhancing the position of the TWU in civil society. Through its conscious policy and advocacy initiatives, the TWU has managed to create awareness nationally and internationally about Sustainable

⁵⁴ ICU's split from GTUC is mostly political, with allegations on both sides. The dialogue to get ICU back as a GTUC affiliate continues, however, and communication is friendly, if reserved.

⁵⁵ The joint budget for ICU and GAWU for the project in Ghana is 10,000 USD for 2008 – a meagre amount for a national project for two unions.

⁵⁶ The 2105 Sustainable Forestry project nursery in Burkina Faso (Ouahigouya) was visited as part of the evaluation in July 2008 (see report on B.F).

⁵⁷ Interviews with GTUC Dep. General Secretary on 19 August and with BWI Directors in Geneva 23 June

Forestry, as well as engaging government, NGOs, ITTO, ILO, BWI and GTUC in working for a national forestry certification standard. HIV/AIDS awareness programmes have also been developed and are today integrated into TWU standard trade union training, as well as being regular community activities around the project site, schools and in many other TWU workplaces throughout the country. TWU has also been appointed to the national OHS committee, which could also be attributed to the contributions of this project. The TWU Sustainable Forestry project has been subject to several international evaluations, latest in 2005 (BWI, Sida, Byggnads, LO-TCO) and in 2001 (LO-TCO)⁵⁸. Several visits are made annually to the project site by interested international parties.

Concerning the other Sida/CIVSAM objective, to enable poor people to improve their living conditions, the contributions from the projects and programmes supported by LO-TCO in Ghana are direct when it comes to the most underprivileged forestry and agricultural workers, and more indirect for those in the formal sector, benefitting from study circle projects. Concerning the LO-TCO's governing policy, the projects are more specifically contributing to combating poverty through stronger unions and a more equal distribution of economic resources, and towards promotion of gender and improving OHS at workplaces.

The LO-TCO, through IUF, supports GAWU under the regional Africa programme (promoting women's participation). In line with GAWU's policies and the rather broadly formulated objectives of the IUF programme (to improve representation of women at all levels of their trade unions and thereby increase their bargaining power for better working conditions and wages), this project essentially aims at increasing women's participation in union affairs, increasing the number of union members, as well as educating women about their working and social rights.

As pointed out above, GAWU has been active for years in organising in the rural areas and the informal sector. One of GAWU's examples of the drive to empower women in the rural areas is the village of Manchiyi, some 50 kilometres north of Accra⁵⁹. Since 1988, GAWU has been organising local women members in the area through training and income-generating activities – with funding from various donors, including FNV. The impact of this long-standing relationship is impressive, in that the village of some 750 inhabitants now has its own EU/Government funded school (0–6th grade), school latrines, borehole, electricity (to be installed shortly) and a cassava/maize processing facility owned and run by the 32-member women's committee. In terms of the project supported by LO-TCO, it can be said to complement or build upon the achievements already made, but since the project only started up in 2007 the local success in Manchiyi cannot be attributed to a national project covering (in principle) all 10 districts. Nevertheless, the impact on the women and the community of GAWU's continuous efforts in terms of poverty reduction and empowerment are commendable; links to the national IUF/GAWU/ICU project can be only vaguely established, however.

3.2 Relevance in relation to LO-TCO's objectives

The ITGLWF/ICU study circle project is a national project for Ghana only, and as such less ambitious in scope. The study circle project has been ongoing since 1996 and has known many disruptions. The current project runs from 2007–2008. Originally it had only textile sector focus, but has now been expanded to other sectors. The crisis in the international textile and garment industry, however, primarily as a result of the end of the quota system and China's massive export of garments after its admission to the WTO, has also affected the sector in Ghana negatively. Many industries have closed since 2005, and only recently some have re-opened and a set of new specialised printing and garment manufacturers have established themselves in Tema, Ghana's main industrial hub. Despite the difficulties outlined above, for a union of ICU's size the current number of study circles is not too impressive

⁵⁸ TWU introduction paper on Sustainable Forestry Project, undated (ca 2007)

⁵⁹ The village was visited by the evaluators on 20 August 2008 together with GAWU representatives.

(30 in total are reported as active ⁶⁰). The union has more than 900 active enterprises – with study circles established in just 8. The ICU executive consider they do not have the means (in terms of associated costs for manuals, transport allowances and refreshment) to expand the study circle concept to their entire membership – the current financial difficulties cited as the main reason.

The ICU management committee considers the study circle project highly beneficial and as having attained its objectives; it has been instrumental in enhancing the capacity of ICU shop stewards and staff, and has brought rank-and-file members benefits such as OHS and HIV/AIDS awareness, as well general trade union and labour law/rights training. Finally, the study circle project has heightened the profile of ICU and given the union a presence in the workplaces.

TWU has been able to carry its membership services well beyond what could be expected through the projects' active community development efforts. The project today employs permanent forestry staff, a number of seasonal and permanent forestry workers, owns a sawmill, and has managed to attract resources from the government for the allocation of forestry extension officers and advisers. The nursery and the sale of firewood and timber from the plantation generate income for the workers, their families and the local community. Beekeeping and other sustainable practices have been developed in the forest. The TWU has managed to increase its income directly from the project, as well as from its increased membership in the area.

According to TWU the project objectives totally correspond with TWU's own policies, the problems identified and the needs of its members. The documentation and evaluation reports available confirm this. TWU executives, as well as the evaluation reports, also confirm that the project has indeed benefited the intended direct target group (the TWU membership) and the indirect (the local community), even well beyond what could be expected. Through its increased awareness on OHS amongst workers, the income generating and educative outcomes, the project has beyond any doubt considerably improved living conditions and led to reduction of poverty.

During the long-standing study circle project, which has known several financial and technical disruptions,⁶¹ many trained study circle leaders left as they retired, were promoted or lost their jobs, and the ICU through the project seems not to have succeeded in the continuous retraining of new members to ensure that there is a stock of study circle leaders available.

According to ICU, the impact of the project is far beyond the study circles as the members benefit from the general education and as ICU staff trained as study circle leaders have taken many senior positions in companies, public offices and the ICU itself. One concrete impact is the establishment of OHS committees, regulated in the CBAs, in many of the companies.

Does the study circle project provide a relevant solution to the problems identified, as per the project application to LO-TCO? These problems are defined as: the state of the textile and garment industry, the short casual contracts for labourers, HIV/AIDS and the gender issue (women being a minority in this industry in Ghana). This analysis does not correspond to the objectives of the project (see above), notwithstanding that the ICU itself considers the project highly successful. The problem perceived by the union is rather one of educating and reaching out to ordinary members, as well as being able to provide a training scheme on awareness of basic union rights. The key methodology in the study circle project is obviously relevant to reaching these objectives. It is estimated, however, that the number of study circles at present does not allow ICU to reap the full benefits of the study circle methodology.

⁶⁰ ICU 2007 Annual Report to ITGLWF

⁶¹ E.g., ICU reported that only in Aug. 2008 did the funding for all of 2008 arrive from ITGLWF – which of course had a negative impact on the activities.

One conclusion on the study circle methodology is that this appears to be functioning, but regular meetings of the study circles is questionable, and they depend entirely on the company for transportation. Study circles are relevant to the union and to the objectives, but working conditions make their realisation difficult. As such, the project's actual impact on improving the living conditions of a broader base of ICU members is quite low.

It should be noted that the evaluation team, during its visit to the study circles in the textile factory, was unfortunately unable to see functioning study circles and to interview beneficiaries. The study circle leaders and the local union representatives were interviewed, however. The evaluation has no reason to doubt the existence of the number of study circles (according to the statistics provided by ICU), but it could not be verified what benefits these bring to ordinary members.

4. Effectiveness

4.1 Effectiveness of project set-up and planning

4.1.1 Project set-up

All three of the projects have a national scope and are implemented in Ghana through GUFs – with the ITGLWF from their main offices in Brussels, with the IUF through their regional office in South Africa – but also with support from Geneva and with the BWI through their regional office in Johannesburg (and sub-regional office in Ouagadougou; BWI Head office is also involved in the project, though). With no GUF offices in Ghana, the planning of the TWU and GAWU/ICU regional projects was done at regional (or even Africa) workshops, where the sub-regional coordinator for BWI and some of the IUF national and sub-regional representatives were present, along with representatives of the GUF's regional office and even Head Offices.

“The IUF is owned by its affiliates – we need to channel any assistance through our governing body, according to the issues and policies affecting disadvantaged workers. The Swedish unions are also part of the IUF discussions – with their support to work on the identified problems”⁶²

The projects are designed from regional and global perspectives. One example is the regional IUF conference for women in Lusaka, 2006, where globalisation trends affecting women workers were discussed, especially casualisation and the precarious working conditions of most women workers in the sector. A dominant trend in the hotel, restaurant and food processing industries is to use temporary workers, especially women. The link to IUF's global policies, the International Framework agreements for the sector with large multinationals such as Coca Cola, Accor Hotels and the preoccupations of the national unions are thus combined. This provides the opportunity to address problems affecting workers in these sectors in a coherent manner.⁶³

4.1.2 Relationships in the LO-TCO cooperation chain

The unions in Ghana describe their relationship with LO-TCO and the Swedish unions as distant, even given the GAWU quote above. The Swedish unions are important in terms of discussing at conferences, visits during planning workshops or occasional country visits, but the general feedback is that the attention of LO-TCO and its Swedish affiliates – even though they take an interest in the projects – is intermittent. ICU deals regularly with ITGLWF's Education Secretary in the UK, and sometimes they do talk with LO-TCO members, such as Industrifacket (a visit was arranged to ICU with ITGLWF and Industrifacket in 2007). TWU has had several visits from Byggnads and LO-TCO to their project site,

⁶² Interview with GAWU's Head of Industrial Relations Adwoa Sakyi 19 August 2008.

⁶³ Interview with IUF's coordinator Barbro Budin, Geneva, 24 June 2008, IUF Women's Organising manual, IUF Website, and interview with GAWU's Head of Industrial Relations Adwoa Sakyi in Accra on 19 August 2008.

and LO-TCO even did an evaluation of this project in 2001. The BWI and Byggnads both participated in the recent 2005 evaluation.

All the individuals responsible for projects have a very good understanding of the complex relationship chain. They have a clear picture about when contacts with the Swedish unions are political (e.g. for advancing and getting projects approved or extended) and when they are more technical. The technical and administrative contacts are very sporadic if not absent. Monitoring of the projects is in all cases rather weak, and the reporting is directly to the GUFs.

4.1.3 Relationships with other stakeholders

As demonstrated under 3.1., both GAWU and in particular TWU maintains numerous strategic alliances and close collaboration with various NGOs, national platforms and alliances, and a generally respectful relationship with the employers.

This is of course due to the stable political and economic environment and the relatively well-functioning labour market and social dialogue in Ghana. The GTUC with its members, as the most important national labour organisation, enjoys good and regular contacts to both ministers, the Ghana Employers' Association, and civil society at large, and is represented in bodies such as the Board of the Youth Employment Programme, the National Food Security Network, the monitoring group of the GPRS II, amongst others. Needless to say, GTUC is also represented on regular tripartite bodies such as the negotiation committee for public employees. In the 2008 May Day address of the GTUC General Secretary, the GTUC called upon the government to ensure that

“Constitutional bodies such as the Commission for Human and Administrative Justice, the National Media Commission, and the national Commission for Civic Education should be resourced to enable them play their roles in our democracy. As things stand, these important pillars of democracy are weakened by the lack of resources”⁶⁴

The labour organisations in Ghana – including those supported through LO-TCO – are thus mature and responsible organisations, with a profound understanding of their role as social partners and in ensuring respect for democratic and labour rights, and with the necessary relevant links to national and international stakeholders.

With respect to ensuring that the gains of organised labour should also benefit and extend to the informal economy and to rural areas, the trade unions have understood that they need to change their approach and engage with other social partners in addressing this major challenge. GAWU (with ICU) and TWU have, as demonstrated, already been active in this field for years. Given the enormous size of the informal sector, however, the unions have still not been able to advance very far, as is the case in most developing countries.

4.2 Effectiveness in relation to LO-TCO's objectives

As shown under Relevance, the impacts of the TWU sustainable forestry project reach beyond its intended outcomes. The GAWU and the ICU projects have a more limited outreach and therefore also limited effects, even if they are relevant to both the unions and the target groups.

One major problem here is the missing causal links in the project documents, and in particular the definition of objectives and results and the absence of quantitative indicators. Each of the local unions has their own perception of the projects and the national activity plans linking up to them.

As an example, the ICU study circle project has as one objective: “to enable trade unions to establish and successfully maintain education workshop schemes, on a self-supporting basis”. On visiting the study circle leaders, some results were reported – but their effects on a broader scale are questionable:

⁶⁴ Kofi Asamoah, General Secretary GTUC, in GTUC Policy Bulletin, Vol 4, No 2, May 2008.

“Workers are now more aware of labour relations, which leads to fewer grievances and increased productivity”

“Workers are now more willing to wear protective gear – before they were more than reluctant. They are even passing their knowledge on to their colleagues in the different units”

“HIV/AIDS awareness has increased, and we get the strangest questions about e.g. infection routes”⁶⁵

A problem for the ICU study circles is that it is only possible for the union to arrange study circles for the morning shift (06:00–14:00) – because the workers have to catch the last company staff bus at 16:00 – otherwise the ICU has to compensate them, and the budget does not allow this. The study circles are thus totally dependent on company transportation. Somewhat contradictory, union representatives stated that the study circles would be unable to function without financial support from the project (for transport allowances and refreshments).

There is no doubt that the study circle project and the profile of the ICU has benefitted from the now long-standing study circle project through the ITGLWF. Employers respect the ICU as a professional organisation, as counterparts in negotiations, and they approve of the study circles as long as they help educating the members and do not take place during working hours. As a social dialogue instrument in the Ghanaian context, therefore, there is no doubt that the study circle concept is valid. It is also valuable in training members about trade union rights, negotiations, OHS as well HIV/AIDS. However, as a means of broader policy and advocacy, its application and value seems limited, in particular as the number of study circles is quite low.

5. Sustainability

It can safely be concluded that the Ghanaian trade unions supported by the LO-TCO would be able to continue as unions and undertake their regular trade union activities even without external support. All of the unions are fairly large (TWU with 15,000 members being the smallest), and even though the dues collected are not high (current minimum salary in the agricultural sector is 2.3 GHC/day, or just above 2.1 USD, of which 2% is paid in dues), this income is stable and the workers contribute. ICU and GAWU are better off, financially, with a larger membership base.

Neither the TWU/BWI project nor the ICU/ITGLWF project would be able to continue without external financial support. Or they would be able to function but on a much lower scale as they would have to find operational funds from within their limited budget, according to ICU executives.

The challenge for TWU's Sustainable Forestry Project is that the funding expires in 2008, rendering the future of the project uncertain. According to the TWU general secretary, the Sustainable Forestry Project is a long-term investment – when the timber can be harvested and cashed, then the income will allow for self-reliance. At the moment, the union does not deem that it would be able to finance its activities on a full scale, and the momentum gained would be lost.

GAWU's assessment of its Women's Empowerment Project is – as the project is integrated and complementary to the regular outreach programmes of GAWU in the sector – that it would be sustainable. The union considers that it does have the capacity to continue, and also believes that the project could be replicated elsewhere in the sector.

⁶⁵ ICU Study Circle leaders at Ghana Textile Company in Tema, 18 August 2008.

TWU and ICU also consider that their projects could be replicated elsewhere. The problem with the TWU project is that this would be a long-term investment necessitating a major and sustained effort. For the ICU, their assessment is that the concept is valid and replicable; the question is why the union has not yet embraced it for dissemination on a wider scale.

One major point of concern concerning sustainability is the length of the LO-TCO cooperation. In the case of the TWU, the project is not only of a union capacity-building nature, and thus should have a stronger base for self-reliance. The ICU project has been ongoing since 1996, but is still not self-sustainable, even in a union as strong as the ICU.

Annex D: Togo

1. Introduction

Togo is a small country with 6.3 million inhabitants and a GDP/capita of 1,506 USD, the HDI is 0.512 and it a ranking of 152 of 177 developing countries. Poverty is widespread, and 25% of the population cannot expect live beyond 40 years of age.⁶⁶

Out of the 156 countries with both HDI and Gender Development Index values, 145 countries have a better ratio than Togo's.

After many years of military dictatorship, Togo held its first general elections for decades in 2005. The son of the deceased president, F. Gnassingbé, assumed power in a much-contested and criticised election. The elections led to wide-spread unrest, and in 2006, an agreement was signed between the government and the opposition, establishing an electoral commission to prepare for elections, which are yet to be held.

The political and human rights situation has much improved since the change of government in 2005. Before the new elections, now announced for 2010, the president will depend substantially on the support of foreign donors. Almost unilaterally, the donor community has frozen any support to the Togolese government. To avoid the 'old guard' in the ruling RPT party from blocking any development efforts, it will be necessary for the donors to demand very tough measures in exchange for re-opening their financial support. These include strict budget control measures, public audits and a close monitoring of presidential and general election processes.

1.2 Trade union situation

As in other countries in the region, the informal sector has grown immensely, now estimated at more than 92–93% of the economy. Due to the freeze on foreign aid, and the almost total absence of foreign direct investments, the country has virtually come to a standstill.⁶⁷ Thus, no major construction is undertaken in Togo, and all the large-scale contractors have closed down their operations. The sector is now totally dominated by informal constructors, and the jobs have simply disappeared.⁶⁸ During the serious floods that devastated the country in July 2008, the government was heavily criticised for being close to ignorant, and for not providing emergency relief to the victims. Large parts of the country remain cut-off from the world with bridges and roads washed away.⁶⁹

In 2006, new labour market legislation was adopted, giving limited access to strike and to collective bargaining agreements, except in export processing zones (EPZ). This was preceded by threats of a general strike in November 2006, forcing the government to honour the agreements which had already been made, and giving minimal concessions to the unions.

In this situation, the government has, in 2006, launched a committee on social dialogue, representing a platform for advancement of claims and requests by workers and a forum for continuous political and socio-economic dialogue. For example, in August 2008 the Prime Minister called in the six national trade union centres for consultations, as the government announced a 30% increase in petrol prices. These consultations addressed compensation and demands from the unions which were met partially by the government.

⁶⁶ UNDP HDI report, Togo, 2007

⁶⁷ Interviews with several employers, trade unionists and observers, as well as personal observations

⁶⁸ BWI affiliates in Togo, interview 13 August 2008

⁶⁹ Radio France Transmissions in August, and information from journalists and GUFs during visit

There is a serious weakness and division amongst Togo's unions, with six national centres. The unions are numerous and with very small membership.

None of the unions met by the evaluators had a membership or revenue from dues that allowed them to be functioning organisations (with staff, budget, an office and means of communication or transport). The viability of the majority of the Togolese unions is therefore questionable. The current dues level (2400 CFA/year = 4 EUR) does not allow the unions sufficient revenues to be able to function as service organisations for their members. Some unions are currently without any revenue at all or have a negligible level.

Even though a tripartite forum has been formed, the unions remain split and weak. Many unions have a diminutive membership, and there are six national centres, the largest of which is CSST with 55,000 members and UNSIT with 8,000. It is a positive sign that the six centres at least discuss their demands prior to meeting employers and government, but they have little leverage due to their small size and lack of unity.

2. Projects Selected

In Togo, the projects financed by LO-TCO are only multilateral, and implemented through the regional offices of the GUFs: PSI, IUF, BWI and UNI. All the projects visited were in the capital, Lomé.

- Programme 90503: African Regional HIV/AIDS prevention and wellness programme. Swedish requesting organisation: SV/FB. GUF: UNI. Implementing organisations: SYNBANK (Bank and insurance), SYNTRASTO (National social security scheme), SYNECTO (Commercial, SYNCOIFTO (Hairdressers). 2006–2007.
- Programme 10333 : Public Sector unions in French-speaking W-Africa. Swedish requesting organisation: ST. GUF: PSI. Implementing organisations: FENASSEF (National Federation of public sector services): SYNISTAT, SYNTRAAGESSATO, SYNTRAGAVO, SYNTERSANTO, SYNPRODEET, SYNPESEFIT. 2005–2008
- Programme 10038: Trade union education and organising in French-speaking W-Africa. Requesting organisation: HTE. GUF: IUF. Implementing organisations: SYNTEB (Brewery and bottling plant workers ; SYNIAT (Agro-based industry workers). 2005–2009.
- Programme 2103: Trade union Development and organising programme. Requesting organisation: SBTF. GUF: BWI. Implementing organisations: SYNTRAGAVO (Public works, water and energy), FTBC (Federation of cement, wood, masonry and construction materials workers), SYNBARCOT (Construction). The project ended in 2007.

3. Relevance

Cooperation with LO-TCO through the GUFs has allowed the unions in Togo to assume a much more active role in the social dialogue – a real and political one. Their participation in the social dialogue committee through the union centres has been reinforced through their participation in these projects.

Better recognition from employers and public authorities has been noted, which can be attributed to the projects especially concerning issues such as HIV/AIDS and OHS. Also, the projects have given the union leaders a higher level of professionalism which gives them the respect of their employers.

The HIV/AIDS components in the projects lead to an increased level of knowledge and recognition amongst the public services about the pandemic and its consequences. Thus, public authorities have begun to pay more attention to their employees, providing support to the unions and their activities,

even in certain public services requesting the unions to provide specific HIV/AIDS training and awareness sessions. In SYNBANK, the main employer, BCTI, has given the union leaders much direct credit and has provided funds for and requested that SYNBANK provide training sessions, they have launched voluntary testing schemes. Even the board of directors have been sensitised.⁷⁰

In the public political and social dialogue, it can be noted that the unions have grabbed the chance of publicly and politically engaging with their government and their employers. Even though this cannot be directly attributed to the GUF and LO-TCO projects and programmes, it is evident that this more active role has been supported by the regional offices of the GUFs, with a certain variation according to their proximity and capacity. The GUFs actively support and debate with their affiliates in Togo about their role in civil society. In this aspect, the cooperation model is certainly relevant, even if the specific role of the LO-TCO and the Swedish unions is not clear, or is not well understood by all the local trade unions

4. Effectiveness

4.1 Effectiveness in project set-up and planning

4.1.1 Project set-up

The majority of the unions encountered in Togo consider that the chain of relationships in LO-TCO-GUF-union cooperation is very long – and they find themselves at the end of a long line. These relationships are not well understood by all unions.

Some unions – but not all – did have a copy of the French Project Document, and receive funds from the GUF activity by activity. In some cases, funds are handled by the GUF regional coordinators, personally coming to Togo with them, paying the unions according to the agreed activities ('envelope system').

Some of the unions in Togo did not appreciate the model of financing and rather tight financial control through the GUFs, even if they had to accept it.

As target groups are not defined in the project documents, and unions universally claim that their projects are for all members, it is not possible to make an immediate distinction between primary and secondary beneficiaries. It has been established, however, that the seminars and workshops related to OHS, female leadership, organising, as well study circle trainers, are mainly for union committee members and leaders. While the campaigns on OHS, HIV/AIDS, the role of women, the educational and community awareness activities are intended for workers, employers, and even family members and potential members in and around the workplaces or in community centres. To most unions (which at any rate are very small) there is no real difference between the two types of activities, and the reports available at union level only give the subject and an attendance list.

4.2. Effectiveness in relation to LO-TCO's objectives

An exception to the above is the FENASSEP (Federation of Public Sector Services), which do have updated narrative reporting, manuals and study circle materials available. It is noted that in 2006 and 2007, FENASSEP reports to have conducted campaigns reaching some 4,000 individuals (even gender distribution), corresponding to 65% of their total (2007) members. The seminars on female leadership, OHS, privatisation of public services and instructors' workshops are strictly for the union leaders or representatives who are interested. Thus, here there is a logical distinction of targets groups, and the number of individuals reached in the indirect target group, all things equal, is quite impressive.

Study circles are a category of their own, and it has been noted that this has activated a number of members – who would otherwise not be very interested in union affairs.

⁷⁰ Personal interview, SYNBANK executive member Mr. S. Adjálé, Lomé 13 August 2008.

Concerning the results of organisational development and capacity building, union management and administration and dues collection, very little has been achieved and few activities have been realised. Even having conducted seminars on these subjects, the Togolese unions have not been able to achieve any concrete improvements in their capacity development. It is deemed, however, that this is due to the very low capacity available, rather than the irrelevance of the capacity building efforts. But with non-existing or totally voluntary union organisations, it is very difficult to achieve better capacity.

In relation to the results of women's empowerment, union leadership, OHS and study circles, and not least the awareness campaigns outlined above, the unions interviewed and evaluated have in fact realised a large number of activities and training events. The capacity amongst the representatives and shop stewards and active members has thus been reinforced, and these activities have brought about a very visible dynamic as well as impact which surpasses even the planned results.

The observation remains that, at local level, these projects have actually delivered very tangible results, even if these were not well-defined in the project documents and not all activities have been realised. In particular, these concern women's committees and study circles – which seem to be working well, at least in the public sector where they have been embraced even enthusiastically – OHS campaigns and establishment of OHS committees in certain private enterprises; quality public service campaigns (by FENASSEP, which has led to a higher recognition by the public employers of the unions); awareness programmes for members, families and employers – for example HIV/AIDS.

Employers are quite appreciative of the unions' increased interest and participation in (and better preparations for) salary negotiations and collective bargaining agreements (even quoted as being quite tough negotiators), as well as in the establishment and active participation in OHS committees (with better trained and more knowledgeable shop stewards). There is now a better, more profound and mutual respect in the public and private enterprises and services visited during this evaluation.

A very visible impact on the target groups (even though these have been poorly defined in all the projects evaluated) has been observed, especially in the area of empowering women and in the HIV/AIDS campaigns. This impact is far beyond what could be reasonably expected from such weak unions. As an example, the SYNCOIFTO, the hairdressers union under UNI, on a weekly basis conducts – in 13 different locations in Lomé – training and awareness sessions for the apprentices on technical issues (fashion, hygiene, techniques, chemicals etc.) and also HIV/AIDS awareness training. The evaluation had the opportunity to visit one such session, and the level of knowledge and the enthusiasm of the young apprentices was impressive. SYNCOIFTO undertakes this type of awareness even after the funding for the UNI project has ended.

5. Sustainability

After termination of financing of the UNI and BWI programmes, some of the participating unions have succeeded in mounting and continuing activities and campaigns which are essentially without costs or are very low-cost. The Togolese unions are in no position to assume any type of substantial disbursements of any kind.

It was noted that women's committees, study circles, OHS campaigns and establishment of OHS committees have been undertaken by some of the BWI and UNI affiliates which are no longer supported by LO-TCO through their GUFs.

OHS and women's committees, which were created by several of the unions, for example SYNTRAGAVO, continue to function. These structures have resulted in not only improved knowledge amongst members, but also gained the respect of the employers. The women's committees in particular have revitalised the unions – offering to the women members an avenue for much more active participation

in union matters and structures. The mission has noted several examples of this – for example among the public health workers and under the FENASSEP federation.

Obviously, some of the unions have not been able to undertake any activities after the termination of funding – or having very limited activities. The unions in the BWI family seem to have been especially hard hit by the termination of the 2103 programme, and the total collapse of the Togolese construction sector.

In spite of an unusual and adverse context for the Togolese unions, even without further financing for some of the UNI and BWI members, the projects have resulted in launching of activities and campaigns, and the establishment of more or less permanent and durable structures. Through these campaigns, the women's committees and in particular the awareness campaigns, a majority of the unions have been revitalised, and the projects have exerted an impact surpassing their objectives and the budgets available.

Annex E: Burkina Faso

1. Introduction

Burkina Faso is one of the world's poorest countries, with 13.6 million inhabitants, a GDP/capita of 1,213 USD, and an overall HDI ranking of 176 (the second lowest amongst LDCs). Life expectancy is 51 years, and poverty is widespread and amongst the most severe in Sub-Saharan Africa.⁷¹

With very limited natural resources, Burkina Faso is one of the very indebted poor countries. Its population is made up of 85%² peasant-farmers still using obsolete agricultural techniques. Economic development is weak, and a majority of the population remains impoverished and outside the formal economy. The estimate is that only 4% of the economically active population is employed in the public and private formal sectors.

Political stability has characterised the country since 1991 (even if there has not been any change of the party in power), and provides a favourable context for trade unions and promotion of civil society in general. The political debate in Burkina Faso is alive, but the state continues to interfere with the media and media workers especially face considerable difficulties. The ITUC observes that despite the legal provisions for freedom of association and the right to strike, the labour code is very restrictive and authorities seek to undermine unions – often subjecting union members to intimidation, harassment and dismissal.⁷² The opposition criticises the lack of respect for law, impunity for political crimes and abuse of power by the state.

Since 1991, when the constitution of the IVth republic was adopted and the first Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) was embarked upon, the country has gone from a single party system to a multiple-party democracy, and from a strongly interventionist state-owned economy to a liberal and market economy in a context of regional integration and globalisation.

The government initiated a comprehensive political and economic reform programme in the early 1990s. These reforms included democratisation, decentralisation, public sector reforms, judiciary reforms as well as a policy for good governance. Substantial progress has been made, but the speed of reforms is still slow in several areas, and corruption remains a serious problem. The liberalisation of the economy and the privatisation of public enterprises has led to massive shedding of jobs and increased cost of living.

Since 2004, the country has been disrupted by some twenty general demonstrations at national level, spontaneous manifestations and violent riots against the cost of living in February 2008 in Bobo-Dioulasso, Ouahigouya, Banfora and Ouagadougou. In 2008, the University of Ouagadougou was closed following violent student demonstrations.

The causes have mainly been the high cost of living, rising petrol prices, lack of progress in the national tripartite negotiations and the failure of government to meet the demands of the workers.

1.2 Trade union situation

The trade unions in Burkina Faso are divided and generally very weak. The country has more than 80 registered unions and six national centres. According to the unions interviewed during this evaluation, the members generally do not pay their dues, leaving the unions in a very difficult position.

⁷¹ UNDP Human Development Report, 2005

⁷² www.ituc.org, 2008

The unions have been able to be more active as civil society organisations during the last 8–10 years and have, as an example, joined the national coalition of concerned citizens against poverty and corruption and for civil rights (CCVC). Despite their division, the national unions have recently realised the need for unity of action – towards the government in negotiations and also assuming a more proactive role in the CCVC. The authorities and the employers today understand their role as a ‘barometer’ of civil society and their importance in prevention of crises such as the violent uprising in February 2008.

Tripartite negotiations are held, and the six national centres participate regularly. Generally, the unions have been unable to fulfil their key function: to negotiate decent salaries and working conditions. The tripartite negotiations are led by the government. At the latest central negotiations in August 2008, however, the six central unions obtained less than satisfactory results.

Further, the collective bargaining right, although recognised in the labour codes, is not respected by the national government. For example in 2006 the national union centres did not present their annual grievances to the government, since those presented in 2005 had still not been met. Negotiations on a range of issues broke down in May. The government then unilaterally increased fuel prices, although this issue had been high on the list of the unions’ minimum claims. This triggered a 48-hour nation-wide strike on 23–24 May, followed by another on 10 June and finally one on 27 September, which led to the resumption of negotiations on 28 September 2006. The six national centres reported that their leaders and members faced threats and intimidations over their actions. An agreement was reached, but the unions reported that they were still waiting to see whether the government would live up to its commitments.⁷³

Interestingly, the Burkinabé Prime Minister has personally chaired the very difficult 2008 tripartite negotiations – according to national centre representatives a clear sign that the unions are no longer regarded as subversive. These negotiations led to increases in private sector salaries of 4–8 %. However, compared to the presented minimum demands from 2007, the gains fell far short of the 25% demanded.

A recent study⁷⁴ concluded that, in Burkina Faso, “an implicit questioning of union freedom is exemplified by”:

- politicising of trade union leadership among which some have set up corrupt practices
- corruption or moral harassment of union activists in the companies.

The employers remain suspicious towards the unions and resist their initiatives such as the request to introduce check-off systems, as well as study circles and participative meetings, which are considered as structures competing with ‘quality circles’⁷⁵

2. Projects Selected

PANAF 2060 LO-TCO/OATUU/ITUC: Panafrican Study Circle Programme. Ongoing since 1992.

FNV-1511– LO/TCO-PSI Programme 10333 : Public Sector unions in French-speaking W-Africa. Swedish requesting organisation: ST. GUF: PSI. Implementing organisations: SYNTIB, SAIB, UGMB. (2005–2008)

Programme 10038 (French speaking West Africa – Trade union education and organising francophone Africa. Swedish requesting organisation; HRF, HTF; GUF: IUF). Linked to 10077, as the project covers the same sectors and the unions involved are the same.

⁷³ www.ituc.org

⁷⁴ African Workers’ Participation Development Programme (PADEP), 2006

⁷⁵ Communication with union leaders in Ouagadougou, July 2008

Programme 10077: African Regional Programme to promote women's participation in their unions – Swedish requesting organisation: HRF, HTE, Kommunal, SIF, Livs. GUF: IUF.

Programme 2103: Trade union Development and organising programme. Requesting organisation: SBTF. GUF: BWI. Implementing organisations: FNTCS, (National Federation of Forestry Workers), and National Federation of Wood Workers (FTBBF)

Programme 2105 (Regional Africa) Sustainable Forestry Management; Swedish requesting organisation: Swedish Building Workers' Union; GUF: BWI; Implementing organisation: National Federation of Forestry Workers (FNTCS)

BW1 5100 – Global occupational health and safety programme.

Programme 90503: African Regional HIV/AIDS prevention and wellness programme. Swedish requesting organisation: SV/FB. GUF: UNI. Implementing organisations: FESBACI, SYNTRAPOST, SYNATEL. 2006–2007.

3. Relevance

In Burkina Faso, the PANAF programme and seven other LO-TCO projects are ongoing or have just come to an end, implemented through the GUFs and/or national centres affiliated to these. Generally, the objectives of the LO-TCO projects and programmes in Burkina aim at strengthening the trade union movement in its partnership role in the development and democratisation process. The LO-TCO projects and programmes are also aimed at reinforcing the capacity of the trade unions.

The eight projects evaluated can all be considered as relevant to both Sida's civil society and poverty objectives and there has also been some general strengthening of the capacities of unions, as well as a higher rate of participation of women in some of the unions. As such, the projects and programmes are also considered relevant to LO-TCO's objectives.

It is deemed that the unions are today more active in civil society, they participate in national alliances and coalitions (such as the CCVC). The general capacity building efforts, including the focus on women's participation, have meant that the unions are more confident, more professional in their dealings with government and media. Also, to a certain extent, the women are today more active in the union movement.

Gender issues are integrated into all the projects, but the effects on women's participation are not always evident. It is noted that mobilisation of women and youth and their participation in decision making within the unions is a priority in interventions in the IUF and PSI projects supported by LO-TCO.

Members of GUFs in Burkina Faso also admitted their inability to bring the employers to the bargaining table for the adoption or review of collective bargaining agreements by sector and for the introduction of a check-off system on salaries. The unions attributed this inability to their division and weakness. Without the power to stop or seriously disrupt production, trade unions have a problem in making themselves respected by the employers.

The project coordinators and individuals interviewed are unanimously positive about the development and achievements of unionism in Burkina Faso since the beginning of their cooperation with LO-TCO in 1992, particularly as far as the PANAF programme is concerned. The project's activities have rendered services and results generally leading to the achievement of objectives, and sometimes beyond.

The capacity building interventions of the unions in the LO-TCO projects can be summarised as enabling them to

- recruit more active union members in the structured sector of the economy
- extend their basis to workers in the informal economy and the rural areas (which represents approx. 90% of the active working population)
- train shop stewards and union representatives, especially in management of individual and collective disputes
- train members on awareness of their role and responsibilities in the union, and participate financially and practically in the unions
- train leaders in the democratic administration and management of an organisation

Despite a number of inadequacies in project design and implementation, trade unions are now more visible and active than in 1992 during the first phase of the PANAF Programme (the oldest of the projects).

LO-TCO projects helped them to strengthen their capacity, especially in the following areas:

- organisation of workers
- training and awareness of union members
- increase their strength
- extension of the unions' scope to provinces and to informal sector workers and to some extent in the rural areas
- acquisition of office and campaign equipment

3.1 PANAF Unity

The study circle programme PANAF, which is implemented in 14 African countries, of which Burkina Faso is one, has as one of its dual overall objectives⁷⁶ to promote national unity among the centres or federations in a country. The other objective is to strengthen the unions through the application of the study circle method. The PANAF objectives are highly relevant to the LO-TCO objectives.

Apart from study circles being held in Burkina Faso, PANAF has also, as a concrete outcome, achieved the effective establishment of national cooperation between the six competing national centres. The centres have a tight cooperation on PANAF, and a joint implementation unit, staffed by a national coordinator. Five of the centres contribute 10% of the costs of running the programme.

It has to be taken into account that Burkina Faso is a country where pluralism is embraced among unions. One of the most significant outcomes of the PANAF is that the programme has actually made the centres realise that they must take common action and cooperate at the workplace, sector and national levels, if they are to become stronger.

4. Effectiveness

4.1 Effectiveness in project implementation and planning

All of the projects supported by LO-TCO in Burkina Faso, apart from the PANAF, are implemented through GUFs. The BWI has placed their regional coordination office in Ouagadougou, and the other GUFs have regional representations elsewhere in Francophone Africa (Togo, Cote d'Ivoire). Support from the GUFs' design and management of projects (follow-up of implementation, elaboration of narrative and financial reports) was highly appreciated by the officials of the national unions.

⁷⁶ In fact it is a precondition for a country to join the PANAF that the national centres unite and form a confederation. (PANAF application and 2004 Evaluation report)

However, the union representatives also indicated inadequacies in implementation of some projects, especially regarding the choice of some participants in certain activities:

- non respect for qualifications and prerequisites
- distribution of the participants without taking into account the varied strength of the organisations, and/or their real presence in the provinces.
- non respect for gender quotas, (including blind application of positive discrimination; to meet quota requirements formulated by donors, some organisations invited women to the seminars who did not express any interest/sympathy for the union).

Some shortcomings were also indicated in the design of the projects. Some GUF members felt that their main priorities and most appropriate solutions for the achievement of the objectives were not often highlighted in the summaries established by the regional or head offices of the GUFs in charge of finalising project documents – arguably to favour their own priorities or to meet the requirements of donor organisations.

Officials of the field organisations and beneficiaries did not have a clear understanding of the term “indicators”. Many beneficiaries declared not to have been consulted during the problem identification process, and deny having participated in discussions on implementation.

It can be concluded that the LO-TCO partnership chain and its complex relationships was understood by some, but far from all, the union leaders interviewed. Some of them were even unaware that their projects were implemented through a GUF. The unions did not all participate in the planning and design of the projects.

The unions have entered into cooperation and set up alliances with other civil society organisations and national platforms such as the CCVC.

4.2 Effectiveness in relation to LO-TCO's objectives

As seen under Relevance, some of the results of the LO-TCO projects and programmes reach beyond their intended outcomes. One problem here relates to the design of the project documents' objectives and results, the weak monitoring and the problem of attributing outcomes and achievements to the LO-TCO projects. Even so, the assessment is that the LO-TCO projects, on important counts have been effective, but with considerable variation.

The effectiveness of the projects for improving the working and living conditions of workers is more doubtful, which is closely linked to the general weakness of unions and their low leverage vis-à-vis employers. Trade unions essentially recruit their members in the formal sector, with their emphasis on improving living conditions and work of wage earners. They have not, to any significant degree, been able to reach out to the poor, the self employed or the workers in the informal sector and in the rural areas. One exception here is the 2105 BWI Sustainable Forestry Management Project, which has succeeded in increasing membership and reaching out to rural workers and communities in Yatenga.

Trade unions supported by LO-TCO indicate a significant increase in their membership which, according to the information available, can be attributed to the projects. For example, the PSI affiliate SYNATIP has increased by 1,600 and SAIB and UGMB by 3,000 each. The BWI affiliate FNTCS has increased its membership from 2,000 to 8,000, implementing the sustainable forestry management in Yatenga Province. This union has been able to extend its scope and strength, which has allowed it to increase its membership. Members of the rural sections of the FNTCS were trained to carry out income generating activities: drying of vegetable, weaving, dyeing, carpentry, grain milling.

Project LO-TCO/UNI 90503 on Prevention and management of HIV/AIDS in West Africa made it possible for FESBACI, SYNTRAPOST, to undertake campaigns and train its leaders, cadres and union representatives. Thousands of workers, but also employers, in the field of occupational health and safety, community members benefited from HIV/AIDS study circles and awareness campaigns.

In summary, thousands of workers, but also employers in the field of OHS, HIV/AIDS, have benefited from training by study circles and sensitising campaigns. Campaigning materials, various pedagogical aids, including materials for the study circles (with themes taking into account the daily concerns of workers) were produced and distributed. As a result, union members are much more aware of their rights and obligations as workers and citizens. They are more responsible towards occupational hazards and are better briefed on the risks and implications of HIV/AIDS.

Some unionists trained in study circles gained promotion within their union structures, and even later occupied positions of responsibility at confederation level.

4.2.1 Study Circles

The PANAF Programme has been on-going since 1992. One of the achievements is the joint coordination and action between the national centres.

The other achievement is the study circles that are set up by study circle leaders trained by the project. The aim of the study circles is to provide union members with knowledge and skills so that they know their rights and duties as workers and their roles in the unions.

The study circles are run by trained PANAF study circle leaders, on a general allowance or lump sum, covering transport, stationery etc. They are not paid as such.

According to the national coordinator of PANAF, union members have obtained considerable knowledge and maturity thanks to the study circles.

The distribution of study circles among the five union centres was a concern to some of the centres participating in the programme. More than half of the study circles that were reported between July 2007 and June 2008 were established by one union centre, CGTB (with 438 circles). SYNATEB (an independent trade union for primary school teachers), not being a part of the project, was ranked second with 150 circles established; this exceeded the number of circles created overall by the four other union centres, parties to the project (with 128 circles).

Distribution of PANAF study circles per centre and independent union

	CGTB	CNTB	CSB	ONSL	USTB	SYNATEB	Others	Total
Total	438	17	10	75	26	150	12	728

There are other projects employing the study circle model: PSI 10033: 80 study circles among which 67 are operational (42 in Ouagadougou, 17 in Bobo-Dioulasso, 2 in Koudougou, 2 in Kaya, 1 in Tenkodogo, 2 in Dori and 1 in Koupela). For the IUF and the BWI projects, no data on their study circles is available.

In order to interview PANAF study circle leaders and participants, the evaluator proposed three locations for a field visit to the national PANAF coordinator. The coordinator chose one of these and provided the contact with the coordinator of the national centres in the province. This proposed location was Kaya (Sanematenga), where 14 active study circles were reported during the period July 2007 to June 2008.

In Kaya, however, the study circle leaders who had been trained at a seminar in September 2007, told the evaluator that they had not started any study circles and had no plans to do so. Various reasons for this were given, such as the exclusion of autonomous unions of which some are more important than the national centres and budget constraints which do not allow participation of union members who are living outside the city.

The study circle leaders were not aware of any other study circles in Kaya. The coordinator of the national centres in the province stated that, during the five years he had lived in Kaya, he had never heard about PANAF study circles in the area.

Due to this it was not possible for the evaluator to interview any study circle participants. An attempt was made to carry out another field visit to Fada, but because of the deadline of the report this visit had to be cancelled.

5. Sustainability

The awareness of rank and file members, the trained union members and shop stewards and the united action among the participating unions will be sustainable and continue to be available to the unions in Burkina Faso. The trainers, especially the members of the executive committees, can continue training activities with minimum resources on their own. The sensitising materials, instruction books of the study circles will reduce the costs of the activities that beneficiary trade unions will be able to conduct even after LO-TCO funding ceases.

The PANAF officials are well aware of the fact that the programme will not last forever, and they rely on the government to make higher level contributions to the unions to continue after the programme ends.

Even though the officials in charge of the projects within the trade unions know that “the financial aid will not be continuous”, very little is done to improve their financial base in order to maintain the achievements and carry on the activities at the end of the current projects. Also, internal union structures or systems allowing the trainers or union members to continue their work and encourage them to do so are not in place.

As indicated, the participating unions contribute 10% of the costs of running the PANAF programme. PANAF officials believe that unions can pursue their activities with part of the government subsidies to trade unions. In addition, a strategy aimed at withdrawing donor financial support is actually part of the contract with LO-TCO.

However, many of the GUF affiliates were not informed of any withdrawal of donor funds:

- “for the time being, it is not possible for any organisation to continue the activities of the project without any external financial aid”
- “we are up on our feet but we cannot walk yet” or
- “without international support, there will not exist any functioning trade union in Burkina, members do not pay their dues”.

All interviewees unanimously stated that union members do not pay dues. Many workers do not go on strike, fearing reprisals from their employers in the public or private sectors. Worse still, for some workers “training rhymes with per diem”⁷⁷.

⁷⁷ Interview with shop steward in Ouagadougou, July 2008. The statement is interpreted as meaning that unless there is some allowance or per diem involved in training activities, the union members would not be interested in participating.

It can be concluded that with trained union members and leaders, but also with equipment and other technical and campaign materials, activities such as study circles, unionisation and sensitising campaigns (gender, OHS, HIV/AIDS) would be able to continue, but on a much smaller scale. It should be noted that, due to the very low collection of dues, it would be difficult for most LO-TCO project beneficiary unions to carry on activities which require financial resources. If the unfortunate 'per diem' mentality is a general attitude among workers and officials, this would further exacerbate the problem of reaching out to ordinary members.

The impact of the awareness campaigns and the general capacity training will remain with the unions for some time – but given the very low revenue of the Burkinabé unions, it will be difficult for most of the beneficiaries to continue after financial support is withdrawn.

Annex F: Terms of Reference

Terms of reference for an evaluation of sida's support to the lo-tco secretariat's development cooperation

1 Background

A considerable part of Swedish development cooperation is channelled through Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs). At present the Division for cooperation with NGOs (Sida/CIVSAM) within the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (Sida), contributes funds to Swedish organisations and their cooperation partners in over hundred countries worldwide. During the last years, disbursements from Sida to Swedish NGOs for development cooperation have annually exceeded 1,200,000,000 SEK.

In order to streamline the administration and assessment procedures for project proposals, Sida has introduced a system of Framework Agreements with the Swedish NGOs, at the moment this entails fourteen organisations. The agreements are based on procedures; principles and criteria laid down in Sida's Conditions and Guidelines for NGO support. As part of the Framework Agreement Sida allocates funds on a multi-year basis to the organisations. These allocations normally do not exceed 90% of the total project costs.

The goal of Sida's NGO cooperation is strengthening of civil societies. Since a considerable part of Swedish development cooperation is channelled via Swedish NGOs, it is of growing interest to assert the degree to which Swedish NGO development cooperation contributed to the overall objective of Sida/CIVSAM, i.e. to the strengthening of a dynamic and democratic civil society in partner countries as well as strengthening human rights. Furthermore, Sida's overall objective is to help create conditions that will enable the poor to improve their lives.

The fourteen Framework organisations are either operative organisations with partners in the developing countries or so called umbrella organisations⁷⁸. The umbrella organisations channel support through other Swedish NGOs to the cooperation they have with local partners.

LO-TCO Secretariat is one of the framework organisations that work in co-operation with Sida. A Framework Agreement between Sida and LO-TCO Secretariat is valid to 31 December 2009. During the financial year 2008, the LO-TCO Secretariat's Framework Agreement with Sida/CIVSAM amounts to 121 000 000 SEK (*including Developing countries 102 MSEK, Russia 4 MSEK and 15 MSEK Information in Sweden*).

This evaluation is part of the general follow up of programmes supported by Swedish NGOs co-financed by Sida/CIVSAM and is as such an important part of the dialogue between Sida and the Framework organisations.

⁷⁸ Sida/CIVSAM support 6 umbrella organisations: Forum Syd, LO/TCO Council of International Trade Union Cooperation, Olof Palme International Centre, The Swedish Pentecostal Mission/PMU, Swedish Organisations' of Disabled Persons International Aid Association & Swedish Mission Council. 8 operative Framework organisations: Africa Groups of Sweden, Diakonia, Swedish Cooperative Centre, Plan Sweden, Swedish Society for Nature Conservation, Save the Children, Church of Sweden & Training for Development Assistance/UBV. Additionally, Sida also has a frame organisations for Humanitarian Assistance: the Swedish Red Cross.

2 Purpose and Scope of the Evaluation

The overall purpose of the Evaluation is to assess if LO-TCO Secretariat development cooperation contributes to the Sida/CIVSAM objective of strengthening the civil society and enabling poor people to improve their living conditions.

The specific objective is to evaluate the effectiveness, impact, relevance, sustainability and efficiency of the LO-TCO's programmes financed via support from Sida/CIVSAM.⁷⁹ In this evaluation emphasis should be put on examining effectiveness, relevance and sustainability, although all the five areas mentioned interrelate. Effectiveness in regards to if LO-TCO and their partners' contribution to the Sida/CIVSAM goal as well as their own goals. Relevance is a matter of the extent to which the objectives of the LO-TCO address the priorities for the stakeholders (target groups), conform relevant policies and in particular contribute to the Sida/CIVSAM goal. Sustainability concerns the continuation of development effects after the completion of a particular support. Impact, in the sense of long term development effects, is of less concern in this evaluation, although negative and positive (intended or unintended) may be of interest to document or comment on. Efficiency can be assessed, but not merely in strict economic terms, but also in relation to the selection of partners, the partnership model and its added value to LO-TCO. The selected programmes reviewed should constitute a representation of the programmes supported.

Moreover, the evaluation should serve as a learning tool for both LO-TCO and Sida/CIVSAM, as well as an instrument for Sida's overall assessment of LO-TCO. It should suggest improvements for the LO-TCO concerning planning, implementation and monitoring of their development cooperation. As well as contribute to the learning of good methods and examples for strengthening civil society that might emerge during the evaluation.

3 The Assignment

The evaluation should cover a representation of LO-TCO's current operations and its partners (may also include operations terminated during the last year). The evaluation should also address the following questions:

- a) What is the Effectiveness of LO-TCO's partners' in terms of Sida/CIVSAM's overall objective⁸⁰?

Assessment of the effectiveness of LO-TCO's partners' work is in relation to the Sida/CIVSAM overall objective. A particular concern is to what extent the strategies, methods and goal chosen by LO-TCO contribute to Sida/CIVSAM's overall objective. The implementation work of the local partners should be investigated including an assessment of the relationship between LO-TCO and its partners and with other stakeholders. This analysis should, in turn, give an input into an assessment of the results and impact of programmes/projects funded by LO-TCO, in relation to the level of fulfilment of the LO-TCO's overall objectives. The implementation work of the local trade unions partners should be investigated including an assessment of the relationship between the LO-TCO Secretariat and its partners; Swedish Trade Unions, Global Union Federation's (GUF), the regional offices of the GUF's and local trade union partners. Also assess if the goals could be reached through alternative means or partners.

⁷⁹ Sida's Evaluation Manual 2nd revised edition 2007 should be used for definition of each term.

⁸⁰ Contributing to the development of a dynamic and democratic civil society and strengthening and enable poor people to improve their living conditions

b) What is the Relevance of LO-TCO's partners' programmes in the local context?

Assessment of LO-TCO's partners' relevance considering sectors, stakeholders⁸¹ and areas of operation in relation to the problems identified. Furthermore, addressing the relevance of the partners' work in the local context is of importance. Could there for instance be target groups or areas of support that are neglected and ought to be given higher priority in the programmes? What role does LO-TCO partner play in their local civil society and how does it coordinate its work with other actors at different levels in society. What is the added value of this specific cooperation? Of special interest is to assess the value added of the present model of partnerships between the LO-TCO Secretariat and its partners; Swedish Trade Unions, Global Union Federation's (GUF), the regional offices of the GUF's and local trade union partners.

c) What is the Sustainability of LO-TCO's programmes?

After the cessation of support is there a continuation and longevity with respect to the development effects resulting from the intervention? Of special interest is to assess the value added of the present model of partnerships between LO-TCO and its partners.

4 Methodology, Evaluation Team and Time Schedule

The evaluation has been commissioned by Sida, the Division for cooperation with NGOs, (Sida/CIVSAM). A Steering group consisting of the Head of Sida/CIVSAM, a representative from Sida's Evaluation Department as well as the programme officer from Sida/CIVSAM will approve the inception report as well as the draft report. A reference group with representatives from Sida/CIVSAM as well as the LO-TCO will be of access to the Consultant through out the evaluation process. The programme officer at Sida responsible for the evaluation is Johan Norqvist.

4.1 Evaluation process

The selected Consultant is asked to begin the assignment by preparing an *inception report* not exceeding 3 pages elaborating on the basic design and plan for the evaluation. The consultant should submit suggestions and criteria for selection of countries/partners to be assessed. The inception report shall be approved by Sida/CIVSAM within ten working days.

The Consultant shall evaluate relevant background documentation that will be provided by LO-TCO or Sida, as well as examine a sample of partner organisations and projects in at least two countries. Any studies that recently have been undertaken in regard to LO-TCO, as well as the principal steering document for Sida's cooperation with NGOs should be used as background material⁸².

The partner organisations and projects shall be selected in order to ensure a reliable and representative basis for the purpose of this evaluation. The locations and/or organisations to be visited shall be determined in dialogue with Sida and LO-TCO.

During the evaluation process the consultant has to give relevant feedback on and discuss the initial observations/findings with the partner organisations i.e. included in the visits to the selected countries. Furthermore, before leaving a country visited the consultants should carry out a debriefing with partner organisations and when relevant with staff of the Swedish NGO or Embassy present.

A *draft report* will be submitted to Johan Norqvist (Sida/CIVSAM) both by mail and in ten hard copies. Sida/CIVSAM will disseminate the draft to the Steering Committee and the reference group in order for them to be given the opportunity to comment and correct any factual errors.

⁸¹ Who are the stakeholders? How do stakeholders participate? Are participatory methods used in planning and implementing of programmes?

⁸² "Sida's Guidelines for support to development programmes of Swedish NGOs (2007) "Perspectives on Poverty (2002)" and "Sida's policy for Civil Society" (2004) and any other document that might be of relevance.

4.2 Method

The evaluation should be carried out in adherence to Sida's Evaluation Manual 2nd revised edition 2007 and to Dac's Evaluation Quality Standards. The analysis is expected to include a study of relevant documentation, e.g. documents in Sweden of applications and assessment memos and descriptions of organisations. Interviews will be done with 8–10 local partners of LO-TCO and their branches. Selection of partners to assess will be done by the consultant in dialogue with Sida and LO-TCO.

Sida/CIVSAM considers that the evaluation team focus on lessons learnt and to the degree possible reaching the conclusions and recommendation in close dialogue with the LO-TCO and the selected partners to emphasise the participatory learning process.

The evaluation requires an overview of the objectives, purpose, plans and priorities of LO-TCO and the selected partners. It also involves an overview of the implemented programmes and projects of the selected partners. The assessment of the value added of the partnership should include an overview on the activities of LO-TCO that was done as part of the partnership, and the extent to which the partner perceived the partnership as relevant. Information on the programmes and projects may be found in Sida/CIVSAM database www.sida.se/ngodatabase

In order to assess the relevance in terms of civil society needs and priorities a review of secondary sources of information has to be undertaken. This might include the context analysis of the partners, study of the poverty reduction strategy paper of the country and alternative papers and persons well informed of the function and roles of civil society in the country. It could also include other types of reviews and research. It is also important to contact and if relevant interview personnel, at Swedish Embassies.

An obvious problem with any evaluation of this type is that a major source of information comes from the partner organisations themselves. Hence, the consultants should, to the largest extent possible, try to get "second opinions" from other informants less at stake in the present partnership, or in other ways can add a different perspective. These informants might include other NGOs, community leaders, journalists, researchers, or whomever most suitable.

Furthermore, the consultants are required to have a transparent discussion, *for each* of their main conclusion, on the type of sources they were able to use, the extent by the informant could be considered to have a stake in the issues, the extent by which they were able to corroborate or triangulate the conclusion by other sources with a different perspective or stake, or if they have any alternative explanation of their observations.

4.3 The consultant and composition of team

The Consultants assigned to carry out the evaluation are called off from the "Framework agreement for Consulting Services in relation to Civil Society" with the regard to services of evaluations/developments of methods, March 2007.

The Consultant should seek to use a participatory approach and if possible to have a gender balanced team. The Team Leader should have thorough experience of Swedish Development Cooperation including civil society issues as well as documented experience of conducting evaluations.

The team should include:

- appropriate knowledge about civil society contexts (e.g. perhaps use national or regional consultants with relevant experience of evaluating civil society)
- experience of gender issues
- knowledge about trade union and global unions
- management and organisational skills.

The bid should include criteria's of selection as well as suggestions of what countries/programmes to include in the evaluation.

4.4 Time schedule

The time needed for the assignment is estimated to a maximum of 12 person weeks, including the time required to prepare the inception report and including time for completing the report and a presentation at a seminar of the draft report.

5 Reporting and Timing

The evaluation shall be started no later than the 2008-05-01. An inception report shall be presented no later than 2008-05-15 which Sida should approve within ten days. A *draft* of the full report shall be presented to Sida's NGO Division for consideration, not later than the 2008-09-01. Sida and LO-TCO will comment the draft report within fifteen working days, after which the Consultant shall prepare the *final report*.

When the draft report has been submitted the consultants will present the report at a seminar at Sida, Stockholm.

The report must include a presentation of the process in drawing up the evaluation design and choosing methodology. It shall also list all contributors to the evaluation (excepting those that have opted for anonymity).

The final report should be delivered by the Consultant to Sida's NGO Division within two weeks after received comments. The final report shall not exceed 50 pages excluding Annexes and be submitted electronically and in 10 (ten) hardcopies.

The report shall be written in English. The final report must be presented in a way that enables publication without further editing, which includes having been professionally proof read. The format and outline of the report shall therefore follow, as closely as is feasible, the guidelines in Sida Evaluation Manual – a Standardised Format. The evaluation shall be written in programme Word 6.0 or later version as attached file and copy on CD. Subject to decision by Sida, the report might be published in the series *Sida Evaluation*.

Other

Sida's strategy for the internal development of capacities implies that Sida and LO-TCO personnel should have a possibility to participate in the ongoing work of the Consultant when appropriate.

Specification of Requirements

Sida will, after evaluating the call-off proposals using the criteria specified below, decide upon which call-off proposal is most suited for the assignment. Sida will then make a decision and sign the call-off orders under the "Framework agreement for Consulting Services in Relation to Civil Society" with the regard to services of evaluations/developments of methods, March 2007.

The call-off proposal shall present the following information: How and when the assignment is to be done;

- The working methods employed in order to complete the assignment and secure the quality of the completed work; use a participatory approach and if possible a gender based team including local consultants;
- State the total cost of the assignment, specified as fee per hour for each category of personnel, any reimbursable costs, any other costs and any discounts (all types of costs in SEK and exclusive of VAT);

- A proposal for time and working schedules according to the Assignment, including suggestions and criteria for selecting countries/programmes to be examined;

The consultant should be able to sign the call-off order no later than the 2008-04-01.

Annex G: People Interviewed

People interviewed in Sweden, Denmark, Switzerland and France:

Andersson, Carin, sr. Project coordinator, UNI
Anonuevo, Tos, education secretary, BWI
Axell Margareta, int secr, Swedish Teachers' Union
Budin, Barbro, programme coordinator, IUF
Cappuccio, Silvana, health and safety expert, ITGLWF
Enström, Niklas, Swedish Electricians' Union
Eriksson, Robert, head of financial department,
LO-TCO Secretariat of International trade Union development Cooperation
Furstenborg, head of commercial section, UNI
De Groof, Wim, assistant education secretary, BWI
Hallberg, Monica, Asia regional project coordinator,
LO-TCO Secretariat of International Trade Union Development Cooperation
Hammarlund, Mats, regional administrator, LO-TCO
Herber, Henrik, Swedish Teachers' Union
Hoffman, Christine, head of section, UNI
Jansson, Peter, Programme Director, PANAF programme
König, Arne, vice president, Federation of Swedish Journalists
Lucasson, Nathalie, Latin America regional project coordinator, LO-TCO
Luck, Jenny, PSI
Møller, Anders Stig, director, Danish LO-FTF Council
Murie, Fiona, director, occupational health and safety, BWI
Normark, Anita, general secretary, BWI
Raquena, Raul, director, international cooperation, UNI
Roos, Christine, director, dept. of int. union development, PSI
Ryd, Veronika, methodological development,
LO-TCO Secretariat of International Trade Union Development Cooperation
Schmidt, Johan, project coordinator, LO and Swedish section of Reporters Without Borders
Strandberg, Torbjörn, director,
LO-TCO Secretariat of International Trade Union Development Cooperation
Svensson, Mats, int secr, IF Metall
Svensson, Åsa, methodological development, LO-TCO
Tauson, Carl, Union of Service and Communication Employees
Wickman, Solveig, Africa regional project coordinator,
LO-TCO Secretariat of International Trade Union Development Cooperation
Wintour, Nora, dep. Secretary-General, PSI

People interviewed in Colombia:

Luis Farfan, Secretary for International Relations, Sintraelecól,
Carlos Bustos, project coordinator, ICEM Colombia,
Jorge Luis Agudelo, General Secretary, Sintracarcol,
Carlos Ortiz, General Secretary, Sintrainbec
10 workers, affiliated of Sintracarbon at multinational companies Endesa,
Union Fenosa, Owen Illinois, Linde, Billington, Angloamerica, Xstrata and SCA,
Beethoven Herrera, consultant and project coordinator, ILO office in Colombia
Humberto Rubiano, General Secretary, Sintravidricol,
Jorge Enrique Cubillos, temporary employed worker at glass factory Peldran
Holmer Fabian Roza V, not unionised worker at glass factory Peldran
Torgny Svenungsson, Counselor, Swedish Embassy
Pastora Rosales, board member, Sintraquim,
Gilberto Martínez, Ivonne Rodríguez and Dolly Paredes,
coordinating team of CUT transformation project, CUT
Benjamin Rizzo, project coordinator, CUT,
Arturo López, labour lawyer, independent from CUT,
Luz Stella Viera, director of Inspection and Vigilance Office at the Ministry for Social Protection,
Diógenes Orjuela, board member, CUT
Alberto León Gómez, labour lawyer,
coordinator of Swedish supported project to advice and support CUT in judicial matters,
Jorge Romero, labour lawyer, CUT,
Marcelo Castro Fox, resident representative of ILO in Colombia,
William Reyes, trade union member, public sector,
Ulpiano Gutiérrez, Secretary General, National Trade Union of Transportation Workers,
Patricia Gaviria, trade union leader, public sector,
Eduardo Márquez, project coordinator, CESO-FIP,
Ada Echenique, treasurer, FECOLPER,
Pedro Antonio Cárdenas, journalist under protection of Ministry of Interior, member of FECOLPER
Humberto Coronel, journalist, representative of Media NGO IPYS,
Karen Cepeda, project coordinator, CESO-FIP,
Andrés Monroy, judicial advisor, CESO-FIP,
Eduardo Cárdenas, project officer, FES (Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung)
Luis Alejandro Pedraza, project coordinator, UNAC-IUTA.
Guillermo Rivero, president, Sintrainagro
Adela Torres, president, women's committee, Sintrainagro
Manuel Angel Téllez, first vice president, CUT Cundinamarca.
Augusto Solana, president, ASOCOLFLORES
Martha Moreno, manager, Social Development, ASOCOLFLORES

Aura Elizabeth Rodríguez, Executive Director, Cactus Corporation

Mario Germán Bonilla Romero, Director, Agrosolidaria, UNAC-IUTA-member

People interviewed in India:

T M Anbarasan, Minister of Labour, Tamil Nadu

S V Angappan, general secretary, Tamil Nadu Electricity Board Accounts & Executive Staff Union and other staff of the union

Mr Ameen, manager, Fantoosh, Apparel Export Park

S Eswaran, secretary general, All India Primary Teachers' Federation, S Anbalagan, secretary general, Tamil Nadu Elementary School Teachers' Federation, K R Jaganathan, coordinator, G Kakshmikantham, coordinator, M Murthy, treasurer

Azha Gesan, secretary, Construction workers' welfare board, Tamil Nadu

G B Gawde, project coordinator, Ambekar Institute for Labour Studies

R Prakash Goud, local coordinator, Hyderabad, General Secretary, INTUC, Andhra Pradesh

M Jayachandran, deputy general secretary, B M Malathy, T Murali, M Thiruvengadam, Indian National Defense workers' Union

Raman Kannan, project coordinator, PSI

Vazhapadi R Kannan, general secretary, TCWF, president, INRLF, K M Ratham, general secretary, UNIFRONT, Pon Kumar, president, TKTMS, S Shengakasubbu, treasurer, TMKTS, S V Nagarejam, general secretary, INRLF, M Paneer Selvam, general secretary AIKTMS

Sheila Kumari, S Hemalatha, G Kaveri, member of Tamil Nadu Government Officials' Union

Madhavi Latha, divisional merchandising manager and other members of the management, Cherma's Exquisite Ltd, Apparel Export Park

Leaders (about 30) of the Apparel Export Park workers' association

Local leaders and members (about 15) of AIKTMS

Local leaders and members (about 30) of TKTMS

A Munusamy, ass head teacher, R Muthulakshmi, teacher, C Latha, teacher, M Geva Anandhi, teacher, C Thennarasi, member of zone executive committee, D Ezhilvizhi, member of district committee, E Rajkumar, teacher, K Tamilselvi, teacher, Chennai corporation middle schools

Praveen Rao, research and education officer, Maniben Kara Institute

P Raja, youth secretary, Tamil Nadu Government Officials' Union

S Ravi, deputy general secretary, All India Association of Inspectors & Superintendents Posts and other members of the executive board

K Gopal Reddy, education coordinator, South Zone, BWI

Sanjeeva Reddy, president, INTUC, Member of Parliament

Varun Sadh, partner, Kartik Exports, Apparel Export Park

Sharad T Sawant, advisor, Ambekar Institute for Labour Studies

K R Thangargi, district president, J Sivarman, district president, study circle leader, K G Gopi, district president, study circle leader, M Jayachitra, executive committee member, A Sankar, block president, M R Mutnkrishnan, district president, R Vivekanandan, district executive committee member, TCWF

Kartikeyan Vaitheeswaran, project officer, ILO, UN Team for Recovery Support

G Soryamurthy, state president, Tamil Nadu Government Officials' Union and Victor Paubaj, coordinator

Susamma Varghese, national coordinator, Bureau for workers' Activities, ILO
Shyam Sundev Yadav, Indore, and other leaders of ITGLWF project 1037

People interviewed in Ghana:

Dr Yaw Baah, Dep. General Secretary, Ghana Trade Unions' Congress
Gilbert Awinongya, Chairman, Interim Management Committee,
ICU Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union
Lucy NN, Education Officer, ICU
Emmanuel Yabani, Sr. education officer, ICU
Solomon Koté, Interim Management Committee member, ICU
8 Members and representatives, study circle leaders at Ghana Textile Company, in Tema
Mrs Adwoa Sakyi, HoD, Industrial Relations, Ghana Agricultural Workers' Union (GAWU)
Chairperson of women's committee
Comfort Zormelo, member, GAWU
GAWU members and Manchiyi women's Cassava Group (5 representatives)
Joshua Ansah, General-Secretary, Timber and Woodworkers' Union
Kofi Bayitse, Human Resource Director Ghana Textile Company
Michael Besha, Assistant Secretary General, Member of the PANAF Committee, OOATU
Kathrin Meissner, Resident Director Friedrich Ebert Stiftung
Sulley Gariba, Executive Director Institute for Policy Alternatives
Chris Twum, journalist, The Business Chronicle

People interviewed in Togo:

Teko Kpodar, Regional Director, PSI
Kamissa Démbélé, Programme coordinator, PSI
Mathieu Agonglou, General Secretary, SYNISTAT (Statistics and Informatics Employees),
President Of FENASSEF (National Federation Of Public Service Unions)
Bomda-Bagna Makawabe, President, SYNTRAGAVO (Water, Utilities, Public Works)
Dagbègnikin Kossivi, General Secretary, SYNTERSANTO (Health Sector Workers)
Gbati Nigberi, General Secretary, SYNPRODEET (Water and Electricity Workers)
Bowessidjaou Akou, President of Womens Committee SYNTERSANTO
Obim Kafui, General Secretary, SYNTRAGAVO
Foyeme Jeanne D'arc, Study Circle Leader, SYNISTAT
Kinde Houkpanou, Deputy General Secretary, SYNPESEFIT
(Economic, Financial and Personnel Service Workers)
Djabey Eya Louise, Study Circle Leader, SYNPESEFIT
Lawson-Oloukounle Nadou, General Secretary, SYNPESEFIT
Kpalete Djodji, General Secretary, SYNTEB (Brewery Workers)
Six Members Of Executive Committee, SYNTEB
General Secretary, SYNTIA, (Dairy Workers)

Members Of Executive Committee and Shop Steward Representatives Of SYNTIA
 Secretary General and Members Of Executive Committee FTBC – Federation Of Construction Workers
 Secretary General and Members Of Executive Committee SYNBARCOT
 – National Union Of Construction
 General Secretary, Members and study circle leader of SYNCOIFTO (Hairdressers)
 S. Adjale, Executive Committee Member, SYNBANK (Bank and Financial Workers),
 UNI Coordinator In Togo
 Adje Koffi Guezo, General Secretary, SYNBANK
 Akutey-Akue Adovi, Fan Milk, Human Resource Management
 Dr Kara, Head Of Occupational Health and Safety Service, Direction Générale De Santé,
 Ministry Of Public Health
 Christine Magnier-Kergoat, Administrative and Financial Director, Brasserie Bb Lomé S.A
 Kofi Amegda, Editor, Le Canard Independent (Independent Newspaper)

People interviewed in Burkina Faso:

BWI Plantation project beneficiaries

Solo Ouédraogo, Issa Sawadogo, Kalifa Sawadogo, Boubakaré Ouédraogo, Abdoulaye Sawadogo,
 Souleymane Ouédraogo, Fati Sawadogo, Fati Ouédraogo, Assita Sawadogo, Azèta Sawadogo,
 Orokia Sawadogo, Aoua Sawadogo, Zakaria Sawadogo, Kadiiso Ouédraogo, Aguirétou Ouédraogo,
 Abdou Wahabo Sawadogo, President FNTCS, Yatenga province, Azéto Ouédraogo, Fatimata
 Ouédraogo.
 Abdoul Karim Ouédraogo, BWI Francophone coordinator;

PANAF

Sagnon Tolé, General Secretary, CGTB, Chair of Coordination committee,
 Liliou Mathias, General Secretary, CSB
 Kaboré Paul, General Secretary, ONSL
 Badini L. Malick, Deputy General Secretary, USTB
 Kafando A. Jean Apollinair, General Coordinator PANAF-Burkina,
 Sakandé Ousseni, Coordinator, PANAF
 Namoano Hindétou; Coordinator, PANAF

Kaya

Study Circles animators: Nacro Ismael, Ouédraogo D. Eloi, Drabo Bietoa, Zore Youssouf,
 Ky Bruno, coordinator of the national centres in the province

UNI Members

Liliou Jean Mathias, General Secretary, FESBACY,
 Pare Achille, General Secretary SYNTRAPOST, SYNATEL

BWI Members

Ben Larba, General Sec/FNTCS
 Rosine Soubeiga, Gender coordinator FNTCS
 Constant Nabyoure, General Sec/FTBBF
 Guillaume Zoungana, Education coordinator FTBBF;

PSI members

Francois Tapsoba, General Sec SYNTIP,

Soumoutié Louguet, General Sec SAIB,

Gabriel Sebgo, General Sec UGMB,

Groupe de presse Le Pays (Daily Newspaper)

Mahourou Kanazoé, Acting Director of publication

IUF members:

Nakoulma Laurent, Coordinator IUF Burkina

Abourhimou Diaouga, Subregioonal Coordinator, IUF (Niger)

Traore Adama, OHS Trainer

Traore Assetou Esperance, President of Women's Committee IUF, Burkina Faso

Nebie K. Alfred, Secetary General,,Coordination IUF Burkina

Siambo Emmanuel, General Treasurer, IUF Burkina

Tapsoba Victorine, Gender Issues Secreaty

IUF Beneficiaries at Tara bakery (Boulangerie Tara)

Madi Koanda, Shop Stewards, Tapsoba Alain, Ouedraogo Salif, Belem Abdoulaye

Nikiema Acura, Kabore Marcel, Ouedraogo Maxime, Shop Steward, Ouedraogo Adamou,

Kouanda Achille, Zoungrana Moussa, Sanfo Mahamadi, Bonkougou Narcisse

Compaore Soumaïla, Compaopre Abdoulaye, Badini A Kassoum,

Kabore Didier, Ouedraogo Adama;

Annex H: Abbreviations

General

AFL-CIO, American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial organisations
BWI, Building and Woodworkers International
FES, Friedrich Ebert Stiftung (Germany)
FNV Mondiaal, Dutch Trade Union Solidarity Organisation (parallel to LO-TCO)
GUE, Global Union Federation
IE, Education International
IFJ, International Federation of Journalists
IUF, International Union of Food, Agricultural, Hotel, Restaurant, Catering, Tobacco and Allied Workers' Associations.
ITTO, International Timber Trading Organisation
ITGLWF, International Textile, Garment, and Leather Workers' Federation
ITUC, International Trade Union Confederation
LO-TCO, LO-TCO Secretariat of International Trade Union Development Cooperation
LO-FTF Council, Danish LO-FTF Council (parallel to LO-TCO)
LO, Swedish Trade Union Confederation
OATUU, Organisation of African Trade Union Unity
OHS, Occupational Health and Safety
PANAf, Panafrican Study Circle and Education Programme (LO-TCO)
PSI, Public Service International
SASK, Finnish Trade Union Solidarity Organisation (parallel to LO-TCO)
Sida/CIVSAM,
Sida's Department for Cooperation with NGOs, Humanitarian Assistance & Conflict Management
SSO, Solidarity and Support Organisation
UNI, Union Network International
TCO, Swedish Confederation of Professional Employees

India

AIPTE, All India Primary Teachers' Federation
BMS, Bharatiya Mazdoor Sangh
INTUC, Indian National Trade Union Congress
INTWF, Indian National Textile Workers' Federation
SEKO, The union of service and communication employees
TCWF, Tamil Nadu Construction Workers' Federation

Colombia

CESO-FIP, Center for Solidarity-International Federation of Journalists

CSO, Civil Society Organisations

CTA, Cooperatives of Associated Workers

CUT, Unified Worker's Central organisation ENS, National Trade Union School

FECODE, Federación Colombiana de Educadores

FECOLPER, Federation of Colombian Journalists

FENALTEC, National Federation of technicians, electricians and allied workers

FLIP, The Foundation for Press Freedom

ICEM, Federación Internacional de Sindicatos de la Química, Energía, Minas e Industrias Diversas.

Sintracarbon, National Trade Union of Industrial Charcoal Workers

Sintracarcol, National trade union of paper workers in Colombia

Sintraelecrol, Trade union for workers in the electrical sector of Colombia

Sintrainagro, National trade union of workers in the agricultural industry

Sintraquim, Trade union of workers in the chemistry industry

Sintravidricol, Trade Union of workers in the glass industry and allies

UNDP, United Nations Programme for Development

UNAC-IUTA, Union Agroalimentaria de Colombia-Union Internacional de trabajadores de la Alimentación, Agrícolas, Hoteles, Restaurantes, Tabaco y Afines.

Ghana

GTUC, Ghana Trade Unions' Congress

GAWU, Ghana Agricultural Workers' Union

ICU, Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union

FES, Friedrich Ebert Stiftung (Germany)

ITTO, International Timber Trading Organisation

TWU, Timber and Woodworkers' Union

Burkina Faso

FNTCS, National Federation of Forestry Workers

CGTB, Congress of General Workers of Burkina Faso

CSB, Confederation of Trade Unions of Burkina Faso

ONSL, National Organisation of Free Trade Unions

USTB, Trade union syndicate of Burkina Faso

FESBACI, National Federation of Banking, Assurance and Financial workers)

SYNTRAPOST, National Federation of Postal Workers

SYNATEL, National Federation of Telecommunication Workers

FTBBF, National Federation of Wood Workers

SYNTIP, National Union of Health Service Workers (Polygraphic)

SAIB, National union of nurses and health workers

UGMB, Public Service Workers' Union

Togo

FENASSEF, National Federation of Public Service Unions

FTBC, Federation of Construction Workers

SYNISTAT, Union of Statistics and Informatics Employees

SYNTRAGAVO, Union Water, Utilities and Public Works employees

SYNPERSANTO, Union of Public Health Sector Workers

SYNPRODEET, Union of Water and Electricity Workers

SYNPESEFIT, Union of Economic, Financial and Personnel Service Workers

SYNTEB Union of Brewery Workers

SYNTIA, Union Dairy Workers

SYNBARCOT, Union of Construction Workers

SYNCOIFTO, Association of Hairdressers

SYNBANK, Union of Bank and Financial Workers

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