



GLOBAL REPORT MTR TUCP

M-FNV & CNV-I

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ABA	Aceh Labor Alliance
AfDB	African Development Bank
BRT	Bus Rapid Transit
CARES	Comités d'Analyse et de Recherche Syndicale
CBA	Collective Bargaining Agreement
CEDDA	Centre Africain pour l'Environnement et le Développement Durable
CETU	Confederation of Ethiopian Trade Unions
CIPAME	Center for Innovation and Research on Just Energy Transition
CNV-I	CNV Internationaal
CS3D/CSDDD	Corporate Sustainability Due Diligence Directive
CSO	Civil Society Organization
CSP	Coordinadora Sindical Palmera
CSR	Corporate Social Responsibility
CSW	Commission on the Status of Women
CUT	Central Unitaria de Trabajadores
DAG	Domestic Advisory Group (EU Trade Agreements)
DDE	Directorate for Sustainable Economic Development
DPW	DP World (Senegal)
EHPEA	Ethiopian Horticulture Producer Exporters Association
ENS	Escuela Nacional Sindical
EU	European Union
EUDR	EU Deforestation Regulation
FFP	<i>Feminist Foreign Policy</i>
FSBPI	Federation of Indonesian Trade Unions
FWM	Fair Work Monitor
GAPKI	Gabungan Pengusaha Kelapa Sawit Indonesia (Indonesian Palm Oil Association)
GIZ	Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit
HRDD	Human Rights Due Diligence
HRDD	Human Rights Due Diligence
IFIs	International Financial Institutions
ILO	International Labour Organization
ILO	International Labour Organization
IMVO	Internationaal Maatschappelijk Verantwoord Ondernemen (IRBC)
IPOWU	International Palm Oil Workers United
IRBC	International Responsible Business Conduct
ITCILO	International Training Centre of ILO
IUF	International Union of Food, Agricultural, Hotel, Restaurant, Catering, Tobacco and Allied Workers' Associations

JAPBUSI	Jaringan Serikat Pekerja Buruh Sawit Indonesia (Palm Oil Trade Union Network Indonesia)
JET	Just Energy Transition
KBS	Koalisi Buruh Sawit
KBSI / KSBSI	Konfederasi Serikat Buruh Sejahtera Indonesia
LSD	Lumière Synergie Développement
M-FNV	Mondiaal FNV
M&E	Monitoring and Evaluation
MNC	Multinational Company
MoFA	Ministry of Foreign Affairs
MTR	Mid-Term Review
NASS	National Alliance of Social Security
NFFPFATU	National Federation of Farm, Plantation, Fishery and Agro-Industry Trade Unions
OECD-DAC	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development - Development Assistance Committee
OSH	Occupational Safety and Health
PK	Pimpinan Komisariat (Company-level union leadership)
PKB	Perjanjian Kerja Bersama (Collective Bargaining Agreement – Indonesia)
PM	Perempuan Mahardhika
RSPO	Roundtable on Sustainable Palm Oil
SARTUC	South Asian Regional Trade Union Council
SDGs	Sustainable Development Goals
SENA	Servicio Nacional de Aprendizaje (National Learning Service – Colombia)
SEP	Single Entry Point (EU complaint mechanism under Trade and Sustainable Development chapters)
SINDIKASI	Indonesian Freelance Workers Union
SRWG	Shared Responsibility Working Group (RSPO)
TAMICO	Tanzania Mine, Construction and Allied Workers Union
ToR	Terms of Reference
ToT	Training of Trainers
TPKS	Law on Sexual Violence
TUCC	Trade Union Cooperation Centre
TUCP	Trade Union Co-financing Programme
TURC	Trade Union Rights Centre (Indonesia)
UDTS	Union Démocratique des Travailleurs du Sénégal
USO	Union Sindical Obrera
WAF	West Africa Farms

FORWORD

We would like to extend our sincere thanks to Mondiaal FNV and CNV Internationaal for the constructive and open cooperation throughout the Mid-Term Review of the Trade Union Co-financing Programme (TUCP). This review would not have been possible without the active participation and valuable input of over 317 individuals who generously shared their time, perspectives and experiences.

We would like to acknowledge Rob Witte, Imron Sahetapy and Olivia Bwalya, who acted as key contact persons for FocusUP. Their support, responsiveness and coordination were instrumental in facilitating the review process across multiple countries and stakeholders.

We wish Mondiaal FNV and CNV Internationaal, its partners, and all those involved in the TUCP much success and courage in further developing and implementing the programme. May the findings and reflections from this review contribute to strengthening the important work being done under challenging circumstances.

Disclaimer

The findings, conclusions and interpretations presented in this report are entirely those of the evaluators. They do not necessarily reflect the views of Mondiaal FNV and CNV Internationaal or any of the individuals or organizations that participated in the review.

MTR Objective, Scope, Evaluation Questions

The objective of this mid-term review, as set out in the Terms of Reference (ToR), is primarily to generate learning from the implementation of the Trade Union Cooperation Programme (TUCP) over the past five years. The review aims to identify key lessons that will enhance the strategic and operational design of the programme, ultimately contributing to more effective systemic change. A secondary purpose is to assess the programme's intermediate outcomes by evaluating its effectiveness and the extent to which it has influenced both positive and negative developments, as well as identifying the factors that have facilitated or hindered these changes. Accordingly, the evaluation is guided by the OECD-DAC criteria of relevance and effectiveness. The scope of the review covers Mondiaal FNV's and CNV-Internationaals support to trade union partners in strengthening social dialogue at national, sectoral, and value chain levels, as well as its advocacy, lobbying, and knowledge-sharing activities. The evaluation included detailed case studies in Colombia, Ethiopia, Indonesia and Senegal, supplemented by document analysis for other regions where the TUCP operates. Five key evaluation themes, elaborated into twenty specific questions, have structured the assessment, addressing areas such as alignment with workers' needs, programme effectiveness, contributions to decent work and related Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), opportunities for learning and adjustment, and complementarities between Mondiaal FNV and CNV Internationaal.

Methodology

The evaluation applied a theory-driven, mixed-methods approach centred on the CIMO framework, which examines the interplay between Context (C), Intervention (I), Mechanism (M), and Outcome (O) to provide a nuanced understanding of programme impact. This approach is particularly suited for evaluating complex interventions, such as the TUCP, by addressing the questions of what works, for whom, to what extent, under what circumstances, and how. It explores not only the effectiveness of interventions but also the causal mechanisms behind their success or failure, considering diverse social, political, and economic contexts. Case studies were conducted in Indonesia, Senegal, Colombia, and Ethiopia, selected based on geographical spread, thematic diversity, the maturity of TUCP activities, and potential complementarities between Mondiaal FNV and CNV Internationaal. The evaluation involved an extensive document review of project documents, which were systematically analysed using ATLAS.ti to address the twenty evaluation questions. This desk research was complemented by in-country data collection through interviews and focus group discussions, particularly in the case study countries. The findings were triangulated across document analysis and field data to ensure robustness and to identify patterns and variations in outcomes across different contexts and interventions.

Limitations

The evaluation faced several methodological limitations inherent to the scale and complexity of the TUCP. The extensive number of projects and partners, spread across a wide range of geographical contexts, made it unfeasible to review every initiative in detail. Even within the four case study countries, not all partners and projects could be included. However, the evaluators are confident that a representative and strategically selected sample was analysed, enabling the extrapolation of findings across the wider programme. The high volume of projects also constrained the extent of triangulation and limited the possibility of conducting a full contribution analysis, particularly given the overlap of objectives between M-FNV partners and other organizations. Nonetheless, only outcomes for which TUCP's contribution could be verified through multiple sources have been included, acknowledging that this may have resulted in underreporting of certain impacts. An additional challenge arose from the large number of evaluation questions—twenty in total—as defined by the Terms of Reference. While it was not possible to address every question with equal depth, particularly during the limited time available for interviews and focus groups, the evaluation has generated substantial insights into the programme's core objectives. Furthermore, overlapping themes within the evaluation questions occasionally limited the ability to present fully distinct findings. Despite this, the report remains structured according to the formal evaluation framework, with careful cross-referencing to avoid redundancy and maintain readability.

Main Findings

Alignment with MoFA and DDE Policy Objectives

The TUCP demonstrates strong alignment with the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs' (MoFA) policy on Decent Work and Economic Growth, particularly through capacity-building for trade unions, advocacy for improved labour laws, and promotion of gender equality. The programme has contributed to better working conditions, strengthened trade unions, and supported systemic change, including legislative reforms. Gender and youth inclusion, as well as support for informal workers, were key themes, though sustained female participation remains challenging due to entrenched patriarchal norms. While activities linking Dutch and European value chains with workers in production countries have begun, this area could be further developed, particularly through deeper engagement with Dutch companies and embassies. Improved coordination with embassies and greater integration into their multi-annual plans could enhance programme relevance and impact.

Strengthening Social Dialogue and Collective Bargaining

The TUCP contributed decisively to enhancing the institutional strength of trade unions and their ability to negotiate better working conditions. In Indonesia, Senegal, Ethiopia, and Colombia, unions successfully negotiated hundreds of improved collective bargaining agreements (CBAs), many of which included wage increases, gender clauses, occupational safety provisions, and protections for vulnerable workers. Social dialogue mechanisms were institutionalized, resulting in greater recognition of unions and the peaceful resolution of disputes. There is strong and consistent evidence that

capacity strengthening of trade union leaders and negotiators—through training, peer learning, and technical assistance—has directly resulted in more effective social dialogue and improved collective bargaining agreements (CBAs). These CBAs often include tangible improvements in wages, occupational safety and health (OSH), job security, and gender-sensitive provisions. Importantly, this capacity strengthening is not only valued by trade unions but also acknowledged by employers, who report that negotiations with well-trained union leaders are more constructive, reduce unrealistic demands, and contribute to greater social peace. In this regard, the TUCP has created a win-win dynamic: enhanced worker protections go together with more stable industrial relations, benefiting employers, governments, and international buyers—including those in Dutch and European supply chains. A complementary value chain approach was applied in sectors with strong global supply chain linkages. By engaging with multinational buyers and leveraging global standards (e.g., RSPO, OECD guidelines, CS3D), unions were able to extend influence beyond the national level. The evaluation concludes that combining national-level social dialogue with international value chain engagement delivers the most sustainable impact and recommends expanding this integrated strategy.

Promoting Gender Equality and Women’s Leadership

Gender equality has been a cornerstone of TUCP efforts. Across countries, the TUCP supported unions to establish women’s committees, develop internal gender policies, and incorporate gender-sensitive clauses into CBAs. There is strong alignment with the Dutch Feminist Foreign Policy. Women’s participation in union structures has increased and advocacy for ratification of ILO Convention 190 has been pursued in several countries. Nonetheless, structural gender barriers persist (Such as, for example, the acknowledgment that women have an equal right to speak during meetings, and the recognition that, due to patriarchal structures, women are often able to dedicate less time to trade union work as they are disproportionately burdened with household responsibilities in addition to their professional duties), and further mainstreaming of gender in union strategies and monitoring of gender-disaggregated outcomes is needed.

Capacity Development and Data-Driven Advocacy

A notable strength of TUCP has been its emphasis on building long-term union capacity. Initiatives such as Indonesia’s “Data Academy” and Ethiopia’s Wage Indicator data collection have helped unions move towards evidence-based negotiations. Similar approaches in Kenya, Uganda, and Colombia contributed to stronger bargaining positions and more robust CBAs. The Fair Work Monitor, in countries such as Cambodia, Colombia, Peru, and Bolivia, also made a strong contribution to data-driven advocacy, particularly in relation to living wages. The development of internal research capacities and use of participatory data collection methods were identified as key drivers of impact.

Advocacy and System Change

TUCP-supported unions have effectively engaged in advocacy at both national and international levels. Achievements include influencing national labour policies, pushing for sectoral CBAs, and building alliances across sectors and countries. While many successes were noted, systemic change

remains difficult, especially in hostile environments. Political resistance and shrinking civic space in many countries continue to limit the full realization of policy ambitions.

Distinct Additional Findings

The evaluation found that the TUCP has played an important role in supporting union organizing efforts in non-traditional sectors and among informal and precarious workers. Another unique contribution of the programme has been the promotion of regional and transnational union alliances, which have been critical in amplifying local union voices on international platforms. The evaluation also highlighted that the TUCP's multi-stakeholder approach contributed to enhanced employer-union-government dialogue. The evaluation identified the unique role of M-FNV and CNV-I in fostering coalition-building between trade unions and civil society organizations. This "beyond the union" approach was particularly successful in advocacy activities on GBV. The evaluation considers this strategy of combining union action with broader civil society alliances as a distinctive feature of the programme, which has increased the influence and reach of partner unions in national and international labour policy debates.

Finally, the Mid-Term Review found that several employers and employers' federations considered it important for trade union leaders to be trained (by the TUCP) in social dialogue, labour legislation, and negotiation skills. Employers indicated that such training contributes to industrial peace within enterprises and reduces the occurrence of wildcat strikes. Moreover, according to the employers, it also led to more reasonable demands from the trade unions. This finding provides strong support for the capacity-building activities of trade unions within the framework of the TUCP.

There is still substantial room for both CNV-I and M-FNV to expand their cross-country collaboration within value chains. The evaluators suggest that existing initiatives, such as joint campaigns in the palm oil sector and cross-country research on labour conditions, have already demonstrated the added value of international coordination. Moving forward, there are several promising strategies for enhancing this approach. These include institutionalizing cross-country union platforms in key sectors and expanding training on HRDD and CS3D frameworks and supporting worker-led monitoring and transnational campaigns. Additionally, both organizations are encouraged to deepen their collaboration with Dutch companies across all stages of the value chain, which could generate mutual benefits and increase leverage over multinational actors

The evaluation of unintended effects in the first half of the TUCP programme across CNV Internationaal and Mondiaal FNV reveals several recurring patterns, which can be grouped into three overarching categories: structural dependency and sustainability risks, unequal institutional capacities, and limitations in gender transformative change. These effects emerge in both in both partners and reflect systemic dynamics. While not originally intended, these dynamics have implications for the outcomes and long-term impact of the TUCP programme and merit focused attention in the second half of the programme cycle.

Summary of Recommendations

Recommendation 1: Strengthening Dutch Trade interest & Decent Work. The MTR highlights that the TUCP has improved social dialogue, with employers and governments noting better negotiation outcomes due to strengthened trade union capacity. This results in fewer strikes and more stable supply chains, which benefits Dutch companies through improved production quality and trade stability. This link had previously been identified on an anecdotal basis, albeit among several partners and in various countries. The growing importance of EU legislation—particularly the CSDDD and other directives—makes it essential for companies to respect human rights and engage stakeholders, including trade unions, in their value chains. CNV-I and M-FNV can play a more important key role by connecting Dutch companies with local unions and informing both sides about relevant obligations and practices. This positions local trade unions as vital partners for Dutch businesses operating internationally.

Recommendation 2: Aligning the TUCP with the multi-annual programming of the embassies in the partner countries. The MTR finds that alignment between the TUCP and Dutch embassies can be improved. This is timely, as many embassies are currently drafting their multi-annual country strategies. The TUCP can play a strategic role in supporting Dutch trade and development interests through social dialogue, which is anchored in ILO conventions ratified by most countries. Social dialogue aligns with EU directives on human rights and responsible business conduct. Promoting Decent Work and engaging trade unions offers a strong entry point for formal cooperation with Dutch embassies.

Recommendation 3: Continue to strengthen capacities of trade unions. The MTR finds that the capacity building of trade unions and their leaders has been highly effective. It recommends continuing training in key areas such as labour law, negotiation, leadership, and strategic planning. Supporting research and data collection remains crucial for unions to effectively advocate for fair wages and better working conditions. Expanding Trainer of Trainers modules would improve sustainability and reduce costs. Developing digital learning platforms, possibly with ITC-ILO, could further enhance outreach and impact.

Recommendation 4: Maintain gender as cross-cutting theme. The TUCP has made notable progress on gender, particularly by increasing women's leadership, creating women's committees, and addressing gender-based violence. However, it operates in contexts with strong patriarchal norms, making gender equality a long-term goal. Therefore, gender mainstreaming must remain a core part of the programme. Involving men more actively—through initiatives like Male Champions and engaging spouses—could help shift norms and support women's participation. Addressing structural barriers, such as women's disproportionate care responsibilities, is essential for sustained progress.

Recommendation 5: Focus on less countries. Given the significant budget reduction in the second phase of the TUCP, the number of countries involved should be drastically limited. One approach is to select countries based on priority value chains, potentially applying a regional strategy. Alternatively, the selection should align with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs' policy to prioritise PSD countries. To enhance impact despite fewer countries, the programme should focus on scalable, multiplier strategies. These could include Training of Trainers, South-South exchanges, and digital knowledge-sharing platforms open to other countries and unions.

1 INTRODUCTION

This global report presents the results of the mid-term review of the TUCP at programme meta level. It is based on 6 country reports (M-FNV & CNV-I Colombia reports, M-FNV Ethiopia and CNV-I Senegal reports, and the M-FNV and CNV-I Indonesia reports). In these four countries, local and international consultants collected data through interviews and focus group discussions. The data collection in these three countries took place between 20 January and 26 April 2025. In total, more than 317 individuals (including at least 146 in Indonesia, 110 in Colombia, 32 in Ethiopia and 29 in Senegal) were directly involved in the data collection (excluding M-FNV and CNV-I staff). For these four countries, a profound document analysis was also conducted.

In addition to the country reports, separate meta mid-term review reports were also produced for the individual programmes of CNV Internationaal and Mondiaal FNV separately. These reports addressed the evaluation questions at an aggregated level, incorporating document analysis from the other programme countries. All these reports were written as standalone documents. The present global report, which is an aggregated synthesis of eight underlying reports, has also been written as a standalone document. For reasons of readability, not all details from the underlying reports could be included in this global report. More detailed information can therefore be found in the eight individual reports.

The evaluators have tried to structure the report in a clear and accessible manner, ensuring a transparent link with the Terms of Reference. The next chapter of this report briefly outlines the objective of the mid-term review (MTR), its scope, and the evaluation questions. Chapter 3 provides a concise description of the methodology. Chapter 4 is the core of the report, as it presents the findings. No fewer than 20 evaluation questions were formulated, some of which include additional sub-questions. The report is structured according to these evaluation questions. To enhance readability, some questions have been merged. Given the inevitable overlap between certain evaluation questions, some repetition within the report could not be avoided. However, we have sought to keep this to a minimum. Finally, the report concludes with a chapter presenting the conclusions and recommendations.

2 OBJECTIVE OF THE MTR, SCOPE AND EVALUATION QUESTIONS

The goal of the mid-term review is clearly described in the ToR. FocusUP understands that the primary aim is to learn from the implementation of the past five years. Lessons learned should be identified to strengthen the strategic and operational design. These lessons should then contribute to more

effective systemic change. Additionally, the second objective is to assess the intermediate outcomes of the TUCP. This specifically relates to the effectiveness of the program and the extent to which it has contributed to positive and negative changes, as well as the factors that hindered or facilitated the change process. In other words, the evaluation should focus on the DAC criteria of relevance and effectiveness.

Programme Areas: M-FNV and CNV-I support trade union partners in strengthening social dialogue at national or sectorial level, and in value chains. Besides partner-projects, the lobby, advocacy and knowledge role of M-FNV and CNV-I have been evaluated. Several value chains and sectors have been included in the evaluation, like e.g. palm oil, mining, flowers, horticulture, construction. At the same time, particular attention was naturally devoted in the evaluation to the themes of social dialogue and gender.

Geographical Areas: As described below in the methodology chapter, the evaluation focused on three country case studies: Colombia (M-FNV & CNV-I), Senegal (CNV-I), Ethiopia (M-FNV), and Indonesia (M-FNV & CNV-I). In these four countries, additional data were collected through interviews and focus group discussions, complementing the document analysis. For the other countries and regions where M-FNV and CNV-I is active under the TUCP programme, the evaluation primarily relied on document analysis (see further details in the methodology chapter).

In the Terms of Reference (ToR), M-FNV and CNV-I defined five main evaluation themes (see below), which were subsequently operationalised into 20 evaluation questions (see annex):

1. Do the objectives, focus and interventions of the Theories of Change, respond to the needs and interests of workers (in all their diversity) and their trade unions and to what extent are the interests aligned with each other? Additionally, do they support and impact the new context of value chains, particularly with the HRDDD legislation? (OECD-DAC criterium relevance)
2. Which changes and results have been realized so far and how have these been realised (OECD DAC criterium effectiveness, leading towards impact)? Are there any unintended (positive and negative) effects to be seen which need attention in the second half of the TUCP programme?
3. How is the TUCP programming and TUCP delivery performing and how can it be improved on the key aspects of improving working conditions towards Decent Work for all (SDG8) and related SDGs (such as SDGs 1, 2, and 5) and the ILO Decent Work Agenda. The key aspects are:
 - Strengthening Trade Unions,
 - Improving collective bargaining and social dialogue,
 - Influencing policy, and
 - Improving working conditions in value chains

4. What can M-FNV and CNV-I and their partner organisations learn from successes and weaknesses to adjust their approach for continuing the TUCP between 2026 and 2030?
5. To what extent are M-FNV and CNV-I complementary to each other in countries and value chains they both work in? And what are possible improvements in view of effectiveness?

3 METHODOLOGY

3.1 CIMO APPROACH

During the MTR, every effort was made to apply the CIMO approach, particularly for three in-depth case studies. However, this was not always possible due to the scale of the programme, including in the three countries involved (see limitations).

The acronym CIMO stands for an approach in which the Context (C) and Mechanism (M) of an Intervention (I) are included in the analysis of an Outcome O. This approach fits within a theory-driven evaluation, where the following series of questions are central: *“What works, for whom, in what respect, to what extent, in what contexts, and how?”*

It goes beyond determining program effectiveness to explore the reasons behind its success or failure. In particular, this approach recognizes that outcomes are influenced by a combination of factors within a specific context

This approach is particularly useful for evaluating complex interventions where multiple factors interact to produce results. CIMO approaches are using mixed methods to understand program effectiveness, and focusing on the interplay between context, mechanisms, and outcomes to provide a comprehensive understanding of program impact. It values stakeholder participation, aims to uncover causal mechanisms, and can enhance transferability through theory development.

Below we describe the components of realist evaluation as expressed by acronym CIMO.

Intervention: e.g. implementation of TUCP programme by M-FNV and its partners/stakeholders (e.g. training activities, strengthening trade unions, support in research, advocacy & lobbying...)

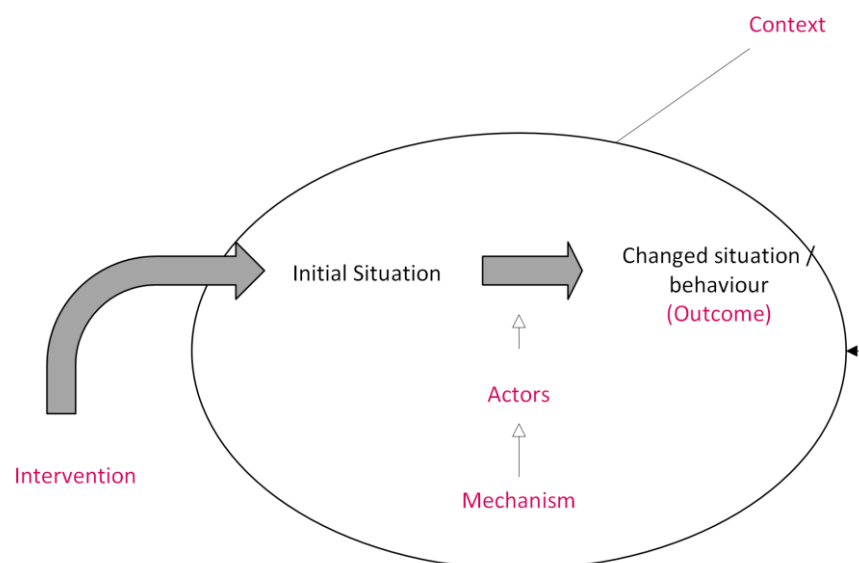
Context: The term ‘context’ refers to broad social or geographical characteristics (for example the country in which an intervention operates and its cultures); to features affecting the implementation of programs (for example whether the program occurs in context of shrinking civic space, suppression of freedom of association, etc..). It could also relate to the make-up of the participants on a program or the different population profiles of countries and value chains in receipt of an intervention

for example. What matters is developing an understanding of how a particular context acts on a specific program mechanism to produce outcomes – how it modifies the effectiveness of an intervention.

Mechanism: Mechanisms are at the heart of the CIMO approach. Mechanisms are referring to social mechanism. Social mechanisms are e.g. norms or belief systems, and social structures like e.g. gender, class, or cultural patterns of relationships, power relations and imbalances, etc...

Outcome (changed situation): An important principle of the CIMO approach is that the ‘causes’ of outcomes are not simple, linear or deterministic. Programs often work through multiple mechanisms. Some mechanisms are obvious and correspond to those intended by the program’s designers, some are less obvious, and some are not anticipated by the designers. Consequently, the same intervention can trigger different mechanisms for different participants, even within one location. Programs run across very different social contexts are quite likely to generate different patterns of outcomes in those different contexts.

Figure 1. Visualization of CIMO Approach



3.2 COUNTRY SELECTION

During the separate kick-off meetings with M-FNV and CNV-I staff members, a number of criteria for country selection were agreed upon. The main criteria are:

- A spread across different continents.
- ‘Combination Countries Addendum’ should be included in the selection.
- Countries working on different themes and/or value chains should be preferred thus maximizing the scope of the evaluation

- Only countries/partners where sufficient activities were already organized within the current TUCP program should be included. The reasoning is that with a short duration of cooperation, results may not yet be visible.
- The number of countries for face-to-face data collection was set at 4.
- Possible complementarity and synergy between M-FNV and CNV-I.

Based on the criteria above Indonesia, Colombia, Ethiopia and Senegal were selected as country cases. Indonesia and Colombia were selected for both M-FNV and CNV-I. In addition, Senegal was selected for CNV-I and Ethiopia for M-FNV. Below we provide a more detailed picture of these four countries based on the above criteria.

Table 1. Country Case Selection

Country	Value chains	Themes	'Combinatielanden'
Indonesia (M-FNV)	Palm Oil	Social Dialogue, Just Transition, gender equality (national level, palm oil, C190 lobby, including)	X
Indonesia (CNV-I)	Palm Oil, Mining	Social Dialogue, Labour rights, Just transition	X
Colombia (M-FNV)	Palm Oil, Mining (Energy)	Just transition, Gender equality global	X
Colombia (CNV-I)	Mining, Sugar	Social Dialogue, Labour rights, Just transition (mining), Living Wage (sugar)	X
Ethiopia (M-FNV)	Construction, Flowers	Social Dialogue, Just Transition, Gender equality (including TGSL), GUF's (BWI & IUF)	
Senegal (CNV-I)	Horticulture	Gender, Youth employment, Social Dialogue, Responsible Business Conduct & Decent work (labour rights)	X

3.3 DESK RESEARCH, INTERVIEWS & GROUP DISCUSSIONS

The desk research posed a significant challenge for the mid-term review. More than 2000 project documents being available to the evaluators, necessitating a selection based on the relevance of the documents. Since document naming conventions were not consistently aligned across all projects, each document had to be opened individually to ascertain its contents. Ultimately, the following types of documents were selected for in-depth document analysis:

- Progress reports
- Results reports
- Annual reports

- Narrative reports
- Project summaries (if available)
- Evaluation reports (if available)

Subsequently, the selected documents were uploaded into the Atlas.ti workspace and coded based on core codes assigned to paragraphs capable of answering the evaluation questions. Paragraphs from all these documents that related substantively were then analysed and interpreted, again guided by the evaluation questions. The choice was made to perform the content analysis across projects (cross-project approach) rather than answering the evaluation questions separately for each project. Therefore, the evaluation questions were addressed through a critical cross-project analysis. These analyses provided an initial interpretation of the answers to the evaluation questions. In doing so, topics requiring triangulation, gaps, and ambiguities were identified, which needed to be addressed during the data collection phase (interviews and group discussions).

Based on the document analyses, we identified the following outcome categories, which served as the focus for analysing the program's contribution. These were the outcomes most consistently reported as significant across all programs and countries. The outcome categories are:

- CBAs
- Evidence based social dialogue & advocacy
- Gender
- Social Dialogue versus value chain approach
- HRDD & IRBC

These outcomes have then been triangulated with data from internal and external stakeholders, and final beneficiaries.

Transcripts were created for all these interviews and group discussions and subsequently uploaded into the Atlas.ti workspace, where they were coded and analysed in Atlas.ti using a similar approach. In this way, findings derived from the desk research could be triangulated with the collected data, and various observations across different transcripts were further cross-triangulated. Consequently, the findings presented below have largely been confirmed by multiple sources of information.

The evaluators conclude, based on the document analysis, that a programmatic approach involving fewer countries and a smaller number of highly diverse partners would enhance the program's effectiveness. This is also reflected in our *Recommendation 1*.

3.4 LIMITATIONS

- The amount of information, projects, and partners involved in the collaboration with M-FNV and CNV-I within the TUCP framework is extensive. Additionally, these projects and partners are situated in various locations throughout the globe. Even for the four country case studies (Colombia, Senegal, Indonesia, and Ethiopia), it was not possible to examine all partners and projects due to the large number of projects and partners spread across highly diverse locations within the countries. Most of the direct partners of the projects have been interviewed, although indirect partners could not always be included. Some direct partners have operations in many different regions. So from a logistical point of view we had to limit the scope to a limited number of regions (as was the case in Indonesia e.g.) Nevertheless, we believe we have succeeded in analysing the most significant partners and projects. Thus, we can state with a high degree of certainty that the findings are extrapolatable to all projects. In other words, we believe we have analysed a representative sample of organizations and types of activities and objectives, as the type of activities and reported outcomes (from desk research) and trade unions supported are similar for those partners analysed compared to those not interviewed.
- Due to the large number of projects and partners, it was not feasible to triangulate all reported outcomes (impact) during the data collection phase. Therefore a sample has been used. Furthermore, performing an in-depth contribution analysis presented significant challenges. Numerous M-FNV and CNV-I partners, along with other organizations, frequently pursue similar objectives. A robust contribution analysis also requires testing alternative hypotheses and explanations, as well as incorporating stakeholders who are not always directly involved. This was not always achievable. Nevertheless, the findings reported in this document exclusively include outcomes whose contribution by the TUCP could be verified through multiple sources (triangulation). Consequently, this likely implies a certain degree of underreporting of outcomes and impacts in this report.
- The number of evaluation questions for the mid-term reviews was exceptionally high. No fewer than 20 evaluation questions (plus additional sub questions) were formulated by M-FNV and CNV-I in the Terms of Reference. This was particularly challenging during the data collection in the three country case studies. Interviews and focus group discussions typically last between 1.5 to 2 hours, which is insufficient to cover all topics. Consequently, careful selection was made regarding which questions could be addressed to which types of respondents. Despite the large number of questions, the evaluators believe they have gained sufficient insight into the key objectives of the evaluation. Naturally, the evaluation questions could not all be addressed with equal depth of analysis.
- Several evaluation questions are interrelated and cannot always be analytically distinguished from one another based on the findings and conclusions. From the perspective of

the report's readability, it would therefore have been preferable to apply a more flexible structure and to present the findings in a narrative format. This would likely have reduced repetition. Nevertheless, we have structured the report according to the evaluation framework. For certain evaluation questions, we have referred to other chapters and sections to avoid unnecessary repetition and to enhance the report's readability.

4 FINDINGS

4.1 EVALUATION QUESTION 1. PROGRAMME RELEVANCE

EQ 1. Are the programmes of M-FNV and CNV-I relevant in view of the policy objectives of the Dutch MoFA, especially the MoFA's DDE programme?

In general, M-FNV's and CNV-I's projects show a strong and multidimensional alignment with the policy objectives and priorities of the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MoFA) and those from the Directorate for Sustainable Economic Development (DDE). When the Ministry of Foreign Affairs' (MoFA) 2022 Theory of Change on Decent Work and Economic Growth (*Ministerie van Buitenlandse Zaken 2022*) is taken as a starting point, the following focal points are explicitly reflected in the TUCP:

- Working conditions have improved (direct outcomes)
- Strengthening of economic institutions, including Trade Unions (direct outcomes)
- Supporting formal changes in policy, legislation, and regulations (systemic objective)
- Combating poverty and inequality, especially among youth and women (impact level)

Both implicitly and explicitly, trade unions are assigned a significant role as actors in contributing to outcomes, systemic change, and impact, particularly in the areas of Decent Work and economic development. The response to the evaluation questions below demonstrates that the TUCP has made a substantial contribution in this regard.

The first level concerns the extensive capacity-building training programmes in areas such as labour law, negotiation techniques, social dialogue mechanisms, and leadership development, implemented by both CNV-I and M-FNV. These programmes have resulted in new and improved Collective Bargaining Agreements (CBAs), often including better wage conditions, improved working environments, and provisions addressing gender-based violence. Evaluators also found that employers and employers' federations prefer negotiating with trained trade union leaders, as this tends to reduce the occurrence of wildcat strikes and unrealistic demands from the union side.

A second level concerns advocacy and lobbying activities conducted both at the national level in partner countries and at the European and Dutch levels, with these efforts being linked to a value chain approach. Increasingly, both European and Dutch companies are subject to Human Rights Due Diligence (HRDD) obligations, which require them to identify risks within their value chains and to take action to eliminate the most severe risks, such as child labour and life-threatening working

conditions. As evidenced in this report, the trade unions involved in this TUCP programme have played an important and constructive role—not only by putting these risks on the agenda, but also by working collaboratively with employers to identify solutions. In this sense, trade unions have proven to be indispensable partners for many European and Dutch companies. The lobbying efforts of trade unions, both in the Netherlands/Europe and in the partner countries, have succeeded not only in improving working conditions at the enterprise level, but in some cases also in achieving systemic change, through legislative reforms.

Finally, according to MoFA's ToC is "Investing in equal opportunities for women a cross-cutting theme in private sector development". An explicit wish of the MoFA is "to improve the position of women as entrepreneurs and employees by promoting decent working conditions, supporting female entrepreneurship, and fostering a private sector in which women's rights are respected" (*Ministerie van Buitenlandse Zaken 2022, p.20*). As evidenced in the following chapters, gender was a key theme, strongly integrated into numerous projects and partnerships, guided by clear policy frameworks from CNV Internationaal and Mondiaal FNV. The evaluators observed that gender was effectively mainstreamed throughout the programme, based on a strong and coherent vision. This also led to tangible results. On the one hand, female leadership within trade unions was strengthened; on the other hand, gender-based violence (GBV) was addressed both through improvements in company-level collective bargaining agreements (CBAs) and through legislative initiatives. Nevertheless, achieving sustained and equal participation of women in economic life and decision-making structures remains a challenge. Patriarchal structures often pose significant barriers. Youth were also identified as a target group in various projects, albeit in a less systematic and structured manner compared to women. Lastly, another important component over many projects was the emphasis in organizing and empowering vulnerable and informal workers, which aligns DDE's inclusion priorities.

In addition to these positive aspects, several areas for improvement were also identified. The alignment with the embassies could be strengthened in a few countries. Although M-FNV and CNV-I made efforts to engage in regular dialogue with the embassies and invited them to participate in their activities, embassy staff indicated that while they are interested in the TUCP, they lack the time (and thus the capacity) to follow up on the programme. A direct integration with the current priorities of the embassies did not always seem feasible. Increasing the programme's relevance for the embassies could involve seeking alignment with the multi-annual programmes of the embassies, many of which are currently under development. As established in this evaluation, several employers (and employers' organizations) have indicated that trade unions with knowledge of labour legislation and negotiation skills have a positive impact on business. Therefore, in addition to the private sector, trade unions are important stakeholders for the embassies.

The evaluators also noted that the value chain approach, with a clear focus on connections with Dutch companies, has been initiated, but compared to the strong emphasis on local social dialogue in partner countries, it could be further implemented. More attention could be given to identifying and

engaging with Dutch companies (and Dutch trade policy). Various stakeholders, including government and business representatives, indicated that well-trained trade union leaders with strong knowledge of labour legislation contribute to improved social dialogue and reduced social unrest. We were not able to systematically analyse the mentioned link in relation to employers and authorities. However, we were able to identify examples among various partners and in different countries that were part of the study. Therefore, the emphasis on social dialogue is a sound strategy and could be systematically applied within international value chains in which Dutch companies are active. This can create strong win-win relationships for Dutch trade, International Responsible Business Conduct / IMVO, and labour rights for local workers in the partner countries.

4.2 EVALUATION 4 & 6: EARLY IMPACT/OUTCOMES AND QUANTIFICATION OF RESULTS

EQ 4. What evidence is available of the (early) impact of interventions of CNV-I/M-FNV and local partners on the actual working conditions of Trade Union members and other (non-member) workers? Are there significant differences between a value chain-approach and a social dialogue country approach? And are there opportunities for M-FNV and CNV-I to create more impact by working cross-country in value chains? What unintended effects need attention in the second half of the TUCP programme and how can these be addressed?

EQ 6. To what extent can results be quantified, (e.g. in terms of numbers of beneficiaries, or relative changes, and in fending off negative impacts)?

4.2.1 EVIDENCE OF EARLY IMPACT

Summary: There is evidence across countries that the interventions of CNV Internationaal and Mondiaal FNV, in collaboration with local partners, have contributed to positive outcomes on the working conditions of workers, both unionised and non-unionised. These impacts have been realized through a combination of strengthened social dialogue and collective bargaining, which resulted in higher wages and better working conditions and increased attention to gender equality in the workplace. The TUCP also enhanced union capacity, and growing union membership and engagement in some sectors and countries.

A vital pathway for improving working conditions has been through more institutionalised and effective social dialogue and collective bargaining processes. In multiple countries, trade unions supported by CNV-I and M-FNV succeeded in negotiating or renewing a significant number of collective bargaining agreements (CBAs) that resulted in higher wages and better occupational safety and health (OSH) standards. For instance, in Ethiopia, over 786 CBAs were signed or renewed with support from M-FNV (e.g. by supporting trainings on labour law & negotiation skills), while in

Indonesia, CNV-I partners such as HUKATAN negotiated or renegotiated CBAs across plantation and industrial sectors, reaching thousands of workers. In Colombia, unions supported by both organisations achieved CBAs with companies in the mining and palm oil sectors that were described by workers as the most progressive in decades.

Improvements in working conditions were not limited to wages and job security. The interventions also contributed to improved physical and social working environments. CNV-I's support to HUKATAN in Indonesia led to the replacement of precarious day labour with fixed-term contracts, improved access to clean water, and the reduction of unrealistic productivity quotas. In Senegal, plant-level agreements supported by CNV-I partners led to benefits for women workers, including breastfeeding bonuses, access to childcare support, and mechanisms to raise complaints about workplace conditions. In e.g. in India, Uganda and Colombia, trade unions supported by M-FNV negotiated specific clauses in CBAs addressing climate-related risks, OSH issues, and protections for outsourced or informal workers.

Gender equality emerged as a cross-cutting area of early impact. Both CNV-I and M-FNV placed strong emphasis on integrating gender dimensions into their programming. This led to the inclusion of gender-sensitive provisions in CBAs, greater participation of women in union leadership and negotiations, and the establishment of gender committees (*see more on gender related evaluation questions below*).

Capacity building for unions was a central intervention strategy and a major driver of improved working conditions. Through extensive training programmes, technical assistance, and peer learning, CNV-I and M-FNV helped strengthen the analytical, legal, and negotiation skills of union leaders and members. In Colombia, unions gained new capacities to analyse company financial reports and market trends, which enhanced their bargaining power. In Indonesia, KSBSI and HUKATAN developed regional networks and CBA departments, improving their strategic capabilities. In Ethiopia and Senegal, training cascaded to grassroots levels and, in some cases, included company HR representatives, contributing to improved mutual understanding and dialogue.

Finally, the interventions contributed, according to several respondents, to increased union membership and engagement, especially in previously unorganised sectors or regions. In several countries, new unions were formed or revitalised, and union density increased. CETU in Ethiopia saw its membership grow from approximately 570,000 in 2019 to over 823,000 by 2024, while HUKATAN in Indonesia reported sustained growth across its plant-level branches. In Colombia, the CSP union expanded its geographic reach and nearly tripled its membership. Although growth in membership figures could be observed and verified, it is of course impossible to attribute the growth in the number of members of federations and confederations directly to the programme's contribution. What the evaluation was able to establish, however, is that in the case of basic trade unions or unions operating within specific companies (such as plantations), where direct support was provided (for example through training), membership numbers increased in these highly localised unions.

4.2.2 COMPARING VALUE CHAIN AND SOCIAL DIALOGUE APPROACHES.

Summary: The analysis of CNV-I and M-FNV strategies shows that they are aligning around two complementary approaches.: social dialogue at the national level and value chain engagement at the transnational level. Rather than being in opposition, these strategies are used synergistically to reinforce trade union effectiveness. Social dialogue strengthens institutional foundations and labour relations within national contexts, while the value chain approach extends union influence beyond borders by connecting to international frameworks and actors. Together, they form a multi-layered strategy that supports both immediate labour gains and broader systemic change.

Through comprehensive training programs, unions have enhanced their negotiating skills, legal knowledge, and leadership capacities. This investment has translated into tangible outcomes, such as improved collective bargaining agreements (CBAs), better conflict resolution mechanisms, and more constructive labour relations between unions, employers, and governments. These gains have been particularly visible in sectors where unions previously had limited influence, leading to greater legal recognition and credibility of trade unions at national and local levels. For example, both CNV-I and M-FNV supported trade union training in Senegal and Ethiopia that resulted in stronger CBAs and greater employer recognition of union rights.

The value chain approach, on the other hand, targets the transnational dynamics of labour governance. By engaging with international certification schemes such as the Roundtable on Sustainable Palm Oil (RSPO) and leveraging EU-level due diligence frameworks like the Corporate Sustainability Due Diligence Directive (CS3D), unions have positioned themselves as actors not only in local industrial relations but also in global corporate accountability. This strategy has been evident in Colombia's coal mining sector, where CNV-I linked occupational safety and labour concerns with global energy transition debates, leading to more protection for workers. Similarly, M-FNV supported palm oil unions in Indonesia and Colombia to jointly pressure international companies through the International Palm Oil Workers Union (IPOWU) and certification mechanisms, leading to better complaints mechanism for unions.

What emerges is a strategic complementarity between the two approaches. Social dialogue builds the enabling environment necessary for workers to exercise their rights, while the value chain approach enables those rights to be scaled and protected across borders (like e.g. the mining sector in Colombia and seeds sector in India, where labour conditions have been addressed and improved by including multinational companies). This duality is particularly impactful in sectors with strong corporate concentration and transnational supply chains. The horticulture sector in Senegal and the flower sector in Ethiopia demonstrate how local analysis and stakeholders, when integrated with cross-border campaigns, can amplify union voice and legitimacy in negotiations with multinational companies, often recognized by these international companies as good practices. This resulted e.g. in higher wages for workers in the horticulture and flower sector.

There is still substantial room for both CNV-I and M-FNV to expand their cross-country collaboration within value chains. The evaluators suggest that existing initiatives, such as joint campaigns in the

palm oil sector and cross-country research on labour conditions, have already demonstrated the added value of international coordination. Moving forward, there are several promising strategies for enhancing this approach. These include institutionalizing cross-country union platforms in key sectors and expanding training on HRDD and CS3D frameworks and supporting worker-led monitoring and transnational campaigns. Additionally, both organizations are encouraged to deepen their collaboration with Dutch companies across all stages of the value chain, which could generate mutual benefits and increase leverage over multinational actors (*see recommendation 1*).

4.2.3 UNINTENDED IMPACT

Summary: The evaluation of unintended effects in the first half of the TUCP programme across CNV Internationaal and Mondiaal FNV reveals several recurring patterns, which can be grouped into three overarching categories: structural dependency and sustainability risks, unequal institutional capacities, and limitations in gender transformative change. These effects emerge in both in both partners and reflect systemic dynamics. While not originally intended, these dynamics have implications for the outcomes and long-term impact of the TUCP programme and merit focused attention in the second half of the programme cycle.

The first category pertains to structural dependency and sustainability risks. Both CNV-I and M-FNV partners face an dependence on external funding in some cases, which undermines the long-term sustainability and autonomy of partner unions. The embeddedness of this risk suggests that current capacity strengthening efforts may not sufficiently include long-term resource mobilisation or income diversification strategies, potentially stalling the resilience of union structures once donor support tapers. The financial independence of partner trade unions is, of course, implicitly aimed for through an increasing number of members. The more members, the higher the membership contributions, the greater the income, and the more independently the union can operate. Naturally, the financial vulnerability of the trade unions is also linked to the low wages of workers and employees. Due to these low wages, the union contributions per member are very limited. It is also important to note that, in comparison with (international) NGOs, trade unions contribute a relatively higher share of their own financial resources, precisely because of the membership contributions. Nonetheless, within the framework of the TUCP, important steps have been taken towards greater financial independence from donors, although these remain insufficient. This should be a key point of attention in the next programme (*recommendation 3*).

A second category involves unequal institutional capacities among unions, which risks reproducing or exacerbating inequalities across sectors and geographical regions (like in Indonesia e.g.). Although capacity building is a core intended outcome, the unevenness of results signals differential absorptive capacities and contextual disparities. Besides that, CNV-I and M-FNV note that some sectors—such as coal mining, palm oil, and construction—have developed stronger union structures, while others,

such as agriculture and informal sectors, remain weaker and more externally dependent. This results in unequal access to representation, rights protection, and decent working conditions. The unintended effect is a growing intra-movement imbalance, where the programme inadvertently contributes to sectoral fragmentation rather than cohesion.

The third category is limitations in achieving deeper gender transformative change. While there has been progress in raising gender awareness, both implementing partners observe persistent gaps in mainstreaming gender into collective bargaining agreements (CBAs) and union strategies. Clauses addressing gender-based violence (GBV), though introduced and supported by training efforts, remain “new” and not fully institutionalised and internalised due to persisting patriarchal value patterns. Although gender transformative have been organized, at hoc basis, these should be further developed and integrated in the next phase of the TUCP (*see recommendation 5*).

4.2.4 QUANTIFICATION OF RESULTS

Both CNV Internationaal and Mondiaal FNV have extensive monitoring systems that include a very large number of quantifiable indicators. These indicators cover various levels, such as the output level (e.g. number of training participants) and the outcome level (e.g. number of CBAs concluded and the number of final beneficiaries benefiting from improved working conditions through these CBAs, or the number of youth/women in leadership positions). For both organisations, the evaluators identified more than 80 indicators. Most of these indicators are quantitative. In short, a large volume of quantitative data is available in the monitoring systems of both organisations. However, since the evaluation primarily had a qualitative focus, it was not possible for the evaluators to validate the rich quantitative dataset across all projects, partners and countries covered by TUCP.

4.3 EVALUATION QUESTION 5 & 12: GENDER & GENDER EQUALITY

EQ 5. To what extent have gender issues been addressed and what gender changes can be observed? And to what extent have gender issues been addressed and observed in line with the Feminist Foreign Policy (among other policies) of the MoFA?

EQ 12. To what extent have trade unions improved their strategies, and methods applied in the various structures, processes, and activities to address gender equality? How can this be improved?

The evaluators assessed how gender issues have been addressed within TUCP, with specific attention to their alignment with the Dutch Feminist Foreign Policy (FFP). The evaluation team examined both the extent to which gender equality has been integrated into program strategies and structures, and the gender-related

changes that have become visible as a result. In reviewing the diverse interventions across countries and regions, the evaluators identified five overarching and interrelated analytical topics. The categories are:

- *institutional mainstreaming of gender,*
- *gender-responsive collective bargaining and workplace transformation,*
- *legal and policy engagement,*
- *leadership and empowerment of women within the trade union movement,*
- *and cultural and intersectional transformation.*

4.3.1 INSTITUTIONAL MAINSTREAMING OF GENDER EQUALITY

Both CNV-I and M-FNV have invested in embedding gender as a cross-cutting theme within trade union structures and governance. This process of institutional mainstreaming reflects a strategic and systemic approach, aiming not only to improve gender sensitivity but also to shift organizational cultures and decision-making dynamics.

At the core of this approach is the establishment of formal mechanisms within unions to address gender issues. CNV-I supported the formation of gender committees and participatory gender audits in countries like Senegal, Benin, Niger, Mali, and Côte d'Ivoire. These audits provided a critical self-assessment of union structures, statutes, and practices, and leading to higher representation of women in union structures (e.g. 30% quota in the Hukatan board structures). In Senegal, the union UDTS institutionalized women's committees at both national and regional levels and joined the broader inter-union network RENAFESS. These bodies increased the representation of women and created platforms for sustained engagement with gender-specific concerns.

M-FNV adopted a similarly systemic approach. In Ethiopia, over 30 women's desks were created within various sectors. These desks were staffed by trained women committee members and functioned as safe reporting spaces for sexual harassment cases. In Indonesia, M-FNV facilitated the creation of task forces within the palm oil sector, targeting 50 plantations by 2024. These task forces operated within daily routines—such as the “morning circles”—to raise awareness, document abuse, and liaise with local authorities. In Colombia, CSP (Coordinadora Sindical Palmera) created a Gender Committee tasked with formulating bargaining positions, organizing trainings, and linking with national and transnational women's networks.

These examples illustrate the development of structural mechanisms that go beyond ad hoc project activities, anchoring gender equality as a sustained institutional concern. They also align with the FFP's emphasis on inclusive governance and the institutionalization of women's rights within formal systems.

4.3.2 GENDER-RESPONSIVE COLLECTIVE BARGAINING AND WORKPLACE TRANSFORMATION

Gender-responsive collective bargaining (GRCB) is one of the most visible and measurable outcomes of both CNV-I and M-FNV's programs. Across multiple countries, unions supported by both organizations succeeded in negotiating collective bargaining agreements (CBAs) that incorporate gender-sensitive clauses and workplace protections. But as mentioned above, the equal integration and participation of women remains a challenging issue, largely due to patriarchal structures.

In Indonesia, CNV-I partners such as HUKATAN and KSBSI embedded detailed provisions into CBAs—addressing menstrual leave, maternity protection, reassignment of duties during pregnancy, and safety during night shifts. HUKATAN secured a CBA with 1.5 months of pre-natal leave and 2 months post-natal leave. These provisions included safeguards against the dismissal of pregnant women. As far as the evaluators were able to determine, based on interviews with end beneficiaries—i.e. workers in the companies concerned—these CBAs were also largely implemented correctly. To ensure enforceability, unions began using more precise and standardized language in CBAs, recognizing that vague clauses (e.g. classifying menstrual leave as sick leave) could lead to employer abuse. Similarly, M-FNV-backed unions like SPN and KBS-partners negotiated CBA clauses addressing violence and harassment, equal pay, menstruation leave, and wage security during emergencies. In Ethiopia, unions in the construction and agriculture sectors included clauses for extended paid maternity leave (up to six months in cases of twin births), equal pay, and protections from gender-based violence. In Tanzania, within a regional M-FNV-supported project, unions negotiated sexual harassment protections into the CBAs of e.g. Vasso Agro Ventures.

Beyond the formal content of CBAs, the programs contributed to raising union capacity to engage in evidence-based negotiations. For example, M-FNV facilitated trainings by TURC and Perempuan Mahardhika that trained unionists to use data and legal frameworks to strengthen bargaining positions. The inclusion of gender clauses into CBAs aligns with FFP goals to eliminate gender-based discrimination in the workplace and ensure that women's economic rights are protected through binding instruments.

4.3.3 LEGAL AND POLICY ENGAGEMENT ON GENDER EQUALITY

Both CNV-I and M-FNV supported union efforts to engage in legal and policy advocacy, particularly in relation to national legislation and international labour standards such as ILO Convention 190 (C190).

In Indonesia, CNV-I partners were active in pushing for the adoption and implementation of the 2022 TPKS Law on Sexual Violence. KSBSI contributed to advocating for the law and subsequently supported the adoption of the 2023 Ministerial Decree No. 88, which mandates companies to create sexual violence prevention task forces and establish confidential complaint mechanisms. M-FNV partners contributed to the same process through advocacy, research, and capacity building.

In Senegal, CNV-I partner UDTS collaborated with legal experts (AJS) to support victims of gender-based violence and raised awareness through public campaigns. While C190 had not yet been ratified in many countries, these actions laid the groundwork for future policy change. Similarly, in Benin, Mali, and Niger, unions launched helpdesks, formed monitoring networks, and advocated for the ratification of C190. In Latin America, M-FNV-supported unions in Bolivia and Colombia integrated C190 in campaign slogans and advocacy strategies, promoting digital activism and feminist discourse in male-dominated sectors such as mining and agriculture.

The linkage to the FFP is direct: by advancing legal protections and strengthening accountability systems, the programs contribute to broader policy environments that uphold women's rights.

4.3.4 WOMEN'S LEADERSHIP, REPRESENTATION, AND EMPOWERMENT

Both CNV-I and M-FNV recognize that representation is a cornerstone of gender equality. Their programs focused not only on increasing the number of women in leadership positions, but also on reshaping the underlying power dynamics and institutional barriers that prevent women's full participation. To this end, the TUCP supported structural changes in the statutes of partner unions, encouraging quotas for women in leadership positions. In addition, support was often provided for the development of gender policies within the unions. Leadership training for women therefore constituted an important component of the TUCP.

In Indonesia e.g., KSBSI adopted a 30% leadership quota for women, created gender committees, and actively promoted women to senior positions. Participatory gender audits in Senegal and other countries identified structural inequities and resulted in reforms, including revised statutes and leadership training.

M-FNV's leadership interventions spanned Asia, Africa, and Latin America. In Ethiopia e.g., 341 participants (82% women) were trained in negotiation and public speaking, leading to increased female representation in union boards. In Colombia, women demanded training beyond traditional "gender" topics, reflecting an evolved understanding of leadership and representation.

4.3.5 INTERSECTIONALITY, CULTURAL CHANGE AND INFORMAL SECTOR INCLUSION

An important dimension of the gender strategies adopted by both CNV Internationaal and Mondiaal FNV is their sensitivity to intersectionality, cultural context, and the inclusion of women working in informal or traditionally excluded sectors. While both organizations have strongly emphasized institutional reforms and collective bargaining, their efforts have also extended to the deeper societal norms and structural inequalities that shape women's roles in and outside of the labour movement. This dimension—often less visible—has proven instrumental in shifting mindsets and embedding gender equality in environments where deeply rooted patriarchal or socio-cultural barriers persist.

Across the programs, unions have recognized that women’s experiences of inequality are shaped not only by their gender but also by their position in the labour market, their socio-economic status, geographic location, and the informal nature of their work. This recognition has led to tailored strategies to address the specific barriers faced by women workers in sectors that are less regulated, less protected, and often less visible to traditional union structures.

For example, in Senegal, CNV-I worked with unions to create women’s committees at national and regional levels and supported participatory gender audits that exposed internal barriers to female leadership. These efforts were accompanied by leadership training and peer exchange, helping women build the confidence and skills needed to engage in male-dominated spaces. Similarly, in Indonesia, “role model” strategies have been implemented to increase the visibility of female leaders. These measures helped shift internal cultures and signalled institutional commitment to women’s inclusion, even in environments where women’s public participation is not always socially accepted. In Ethiopia, where patriarchal values remain strong, M-FNV facilitated the creation of women’s desks and basic leadership training for women in precarious employment sectors. These structures offered safe and accessible entry points for women to raise issues, seek redress for workplace violations, and gradually take on leadership roles within their unions.

Despite these efforts and the progress achieved, there is still a long way to go in terms of gender equality. Many partner countries of both M-FNV and CNV-I are characterized by deeply rooted patriarchal value systems, which are slow and difficult to change. It therefore remains important to maintain gender mainstreaming as a key theme over the next five years and to introduce a number of innovative approaches to promote greater gender equality within trade unions and in the workplace (*see recommendation 4*).

4.4 EVALUATION QUESTION 7: CONTRIBUTION

EQ 7. Is a significant contribution of CNV-I /M-FNV to the outcomes (in terms of funding, expertise, networking) plausible or proven?

The assessment of this evaluation question draws on evidence from both CNV-I and M-FNV across diverse geographical contexts and thematic areas. Three analytical dimensions have been analysed:

- funding,
- expertise/training,
- and networking.

4.4.1 FUNDING

The financial contributions of both CNV-I and M-FNV are consistently described by partner organisations as essential for the realisation of activities that would not have occurred otherwise. The plausibility of impact is reinforced by partners' detailed accounts of the link between funding and specific outputs and/or intermediate outcomes. In most cases, the outcomes achieved (as described in the previous paragraphs) are improved CBAs that entail better working conditions for the workers involved.

For CNV-I e.g., funding was vital for union capacity building and operations in multiple countries. In Indonesia, the establishment of JAPBUSI's grievance mechanisms, complaint documentation systems, and meetings were made possible through CNV-I's financial support. Similarly, in Colombia, CNV-I's funding enabled the operationalisation of the "Colectivo de Trabajadores por una Transición Justa", which influenced national debates on energy transition. In Senegal and other African countries, CNV-I's support enabled campaigns on gender-based violence and CSR engagement, especially in contexts where resource constraints would otherwise hinder such initiatives.

And for M-FNV e.g., partners explicitly noted that many activities would not have materialised without the financial support. The impact of funding is evident in diverse domains: from supporting grievance posts and CBAs with gender-sensitive clauses, to enabling social dialogue initiatives, and financing gender committee formation and legal advisory work. In most of the countries funding directly supported CBA negotiations and advocacy for labour rights such as maternity protections and minimum wages.

While causal contribution remains challenging in complex settings, the uniform testimonies across regions and sectors provide evidence that the availability of consistent, flexible, and context-sensitive funding from both CNV-I and M-FNV was an important enabling factor. Many activities would not have taken place without funding of the TUCP. Besides that, other potential contributing variables could be excluded as funding of other donors. Moreover, other contextual factors (like e.g. legislation were in most of the cases absent).

4.4.2 TRAINING AND EXPERTISE

Both M-FNV and CNV-I made significant investments in training and capacity development, which emerged as a cornerstone of their strategies. These efforts covered a spectrum of topics—ranging from foundational union knowledge and collective bargaining to emerging themes such as just transition, digital organising, gender-sensitive strategies, and responsible business conduct.

In most of the countries, training programs were directly linked to improved CBA outcomes, with union leaders crediting CNV-I's support in negotiation techniques and knowledge building (HRDDD & European legislation). In Colombia, the co-development of a diploma on mining-energy transition

was a strategic intervention that not only built knowledge but produced actionable project proposals by unions, thus connecting learning with strategic positioning. In Senegal and Vietnam e.g., CNV-I integrated training on social dialogue, collective bargaining, gender, and digital advocacy into broader union strategies. The use of a “train-the-trainer” model further enhanced the sustainability and internalisation of expertise within partner unions.

M-FNV similarly prioritised training as a vehicle for impact. In many countries, like in Ethiopia and India, support ranged from financial management to OSH, with a notable focus on federations and women’s structures. And in Colombia e.g., M-FNV helped institutionalise gender-sensitive leadership training and climate policy awareness among union leaders. In, for example, Ghana and Uganda, trainings enhanced HRDD awareness and negotiation capacity with multinational firms. While some follow-up activities could not be implemented due to limited resources, the foundational training interventions are strongly associated with improved social dialogue outcomes (CBAs) and deeper engagement in policy dialogues and advocacy (legislation)

Moreover, the evaluators note that some employers themselves acknowledged the improvement in negotiation skills and social dialogue practices of union partners, explicitly linking this development to the training efforts under the TUCP framework. This third-party validation substantiates the contribution of training and expertise. We were not able to systematically involve employers and authorities into the evaluation. However, we were able to identify employers and authorities among various partners and in different countries that were part of the study.

4.4.3 NETWORKING AND STRATEGIC ALLIANCES

Both CNV-I and M-FNV made strategic investments in fostering local, national, and transnational networks. The facilitation of networking served multiple purposes: enhancing visibility and legitimacy, amplifying advocacy efforts, promoting collective learning, and ensuring unions’ participation in global policy platforms.

CNV-I’s contribution to networking was multidimensional. Nationally, it enabled coalitions such as the “Unité d’Action Syndicale” in Niger and facilitated union-employer CSR dialogues in Senegal and Benin. Internationally, CNV-I supported union participation in RSPO and Bonsucro platforms, amplifying their voice in global labour rights standards. In Colombia and Peru, it supported complaints filed through the EU’s Single-Entry Point, enhancing international accountability for labour rights violations. In Africa, digital networking was leveraged to enhance union coordination, as seen in Senegal’s WhatsApp-based monitoring systems.

M-FNV likewise demonstrated a strong record in fostering networks with tangible outcomes. The creation of IPOWU linked unions across continents in joint campaigns and RSPO advocacy, creating a transnational labour voice in the palm oil sector. In Ethiopia, M-FNV connected CETU to International Financial Institution (IFI) meetings, positioning unions in global infrastructure governance dialogues. In Colombia, M-FNV enabled cross-sectoral linkages (e.g. CIPAME and SNTT), increasing

unions' strategic leverage across value chains. Participation in international events such as COP28 and alliances with IUF further illustrate M-FNV's role in enhancing global solidarity and union legitimacy.

Although the direct causal relationship between networking and specific labour rights gains can be complex to establish, the triangulated evidence—ranging from interview data to employer testimonies and policy participation outcomes—supports the conclusion that these networks contributed meaningfully to unions' strategic positioning, advocacy capacity, and ultimately to improved bargaining outcomes.

4.5 EVALUATION QUESTION 9: CAPACITY DEVELOPMENT

EQ 9. Depending on the specific TUSO focus areas for capacity building, where have changes and results been most achieved with regards to:

- ✓ strengthening trade unions in terms of their lobby capacity, membership, share of women in union membership and leadership, integration of gender issues and wider social issues into the union agenda and programmes, inclusiveness, and sustainability (CNV-I)/financial resources (MFNV),
- ✓ their capacity to consult (diverse) constituencies, formulate negotiation proposals and negotiate with other stakeholders,
- ✓ strengthening longer term strategic planning, and
- ✓ the supply-chain approach and the impact on various levels and target groups

4.5.1 STRENGTHENING TRADE UNIONS INTERNALLY: LOBBY CAPACITY, MEMBERSHIP, GENDER INTEGRATION, INCLUSIVENESS, SUSTAINABILITY / FINANCIAL RESOURCES.

Both CNV-I and M-FNV contributed to the internal strengthening of trade unions. Both CNV-I and M-FNV focused e.g. on qualitative institutional development, such as strengthening internal democracy, integrating women and youth, building inclusive structures and financial sustainability, particularly through increased membership and fee-based income.

Across regions, union lobby capacity demonstrably improved. CNV-I-supported unions in e.g. Indonesia expanded their policy agendas to include social protection and environmental transitions and forged tripartite agreements with employers' organisations to address COVID-19 fallout. And in

Colombia e.g., unions influenced national development plans through platforms such as the “Colectivo de Trabajadores por una Transición Justa.” In Senegal, UDTS gained visibility and credibility through structured policy engagement, grounded in evidence-based recommendations.

For M-FNV, the integration of gender and inclusiveness into union structures was a key success. In Ethiopia, CETU amended its statutes to raise the quota for women in leadership and established more than 30 women’s committees, accompanied by a significant increase in membership. Similarly, in Colombia and Indonesia, women-led grievance structures and gender committees enabled safer and more responsive union environments, which translated into growing female participation and influence. M-FNV’s financial sustainability contribution is evident in Ethiopia, where unions such as IFT-LGWTU experienced increased revenues through membership expansion.

However, evaluators caution that many unions remain structurally dependent on TUCP support, pointing to the need for diversified funding strategies and further mobilizing new members.

4.5.2 CAPACITY TO CONSULT CONSTITUENCIES AND NEGOTIATE

Significant progress was observed in both organisations’ support for unions’ ability to consult diverse constituencies, formulate proposals, and engage in social dialogue. The evaluators consider this one of the strongest aspects of the TUCP: the fact that the capacity building of trade unions led to more effective and higher-quality negotiations with employers, resulting in improved collective bargaining agreements (CBAs) with more and better working conditions for workers. The improved quality of social dialogue (and thus social peace) is also acknowledged by various employers in different partner countries.

CNV-I prioritised grassroots consultation mechanisms, creating feedback loops from members into union policy and negotiation agendas. Unions in Indonesia (e.g., HUKATAN) embedded member consultations into CBA preparation and used simplified, accessible communication tools. In Colombia and Senegal, participatory data collection informed negotiation strategies and policy positions, and youth and women’s committees were actively involved in agenda-setting.

M-FNV’s added value lay in systematising evidence-based negotiation through data use. In Indonesia, unions used Gajimu data (Wage indicator) to support demands on wages and working conditions, while in Ethiopia, flower sector unions applied social dialogue protocols backed by data insights. Training on negotiation skills and use of labour rights frameworks strengthened unions’ capacity to engage employers and state actors. In Colombia, more than 40 workshops by CSP built shared negotiation capacity, and studies on discrimination informed CBA content. Across East Africa, projects on infrastructure led to improved engagement with employers and IFIs, using regional databases to inform advocacy.

Both organisations enabled unions to formulate coherent and data-driven negotiation agendas, engage meaningfully in social dialogue, and extend representation to previously underrepresented constituencies.

4.5.3 STRENGTHENING LONGER-TERM STRATEGIC PLANNING

While strategic planning remains uneven across the landscape, both CNV-I and M-FNV contributed to important shifts in how unions conceptualise and plan their long-term development. CNV-I supported unions in creating strategic frameworks grounded in member needs and local contexts. This included multi-year plans for gender and youth employment (e.g., in Mali and Benin), sectoral strategies in Indonesia (e.g., JAPBUSI), and strategic lobbying and advocacy plans e.g. in Niger. The emphasis on theory of change, financial sustainability, and internal coordination reflects a maturing approach to union strategy, even if full institutionalisation is still evolving.

M-FNV took an operational approach, pairing strategic planning with foundational capacity development. In Ethiopia, CETU and affiliates formulated five-year plans to guide post-project activities. In Indonesia, strategic planning was coupled with improvements in internal democracy, digitalisation, and informal sector outreach. In Colombia, CIPAME developed proactive strategies around the just energy transition, using study-based roadmaps and diploma programs to institutionalise new expertise and anticipate long-term structural shifts. In other regions, strategic visioning supported by M-FNV enabled unions to clarify their advocacy priorities and plan for organisational growth beyond project cycles.

While strategic planning was often initiated with external facilitation, evidence suggests a growing internalisation of this capacity, although lack of diversified funding and resources are still limiting a full scale embedded strategic approach.

4.5.4 SUPPLY CHAIN APPROACH AND IMPACT ON MULTIPLE LEVELS AND TARGET GROUPS

The application of a supply chain approach by both CNV-I and M-FNV has generated tangible, multi-level outcomes. CNV-I's support led to strategic engagement in sectors such as palm oil, mining, sugarcane, and horticulture. In Indonesia and Colombia, unions gained access to global platforms (e.g., RSPO, Bonsucro), where they influenced sustainability standards and grievance mechanisms. In Senegal, unions began mapping the cashew value chain, laying groundwork for multi-stakeholder engagement. Data tools like the Fair Work Monitor were instrumental in translating workplace realities into negotiation leverage, resulting in improved OSH provisions and protections against outsourcing.

M-FNV took the supply chain strategy further by promoting transnational union coordination. The establishment of IPOWU exemplifies this, enabling unions in Colombia, Indonesia, Ghana, and the Netherlands to jointly advocate for labour rights in the palm oil sector. Regional flower sector strategies led to improved wages and OHS outcomes across 17 companies in East Africa. Cross-country data sharing and coordination increased unions' capacity to pressure international buyers and

regulators. Infrastructure projects leveraged regional databases to hold employers and IFIs accountable for working conditions, with CBAs negotiated across borders. In Colombia, linking palm oil with transport unions enabled cross-sectoral leverage, strengthening bargaining power across the supply chain.

4.6 EVALUATION QUESTION 10: USE OF STUDIES & KNOWLEDGE RESOURCES

EQ 10. Have trade unions improved their use of studies and other knowledge resources, either internally or sourced from support NGOs, researchers or expertise centres?

The integrated analysis of the M-FNV and CNV-I programmes reveals an important and systemic improvement in trade unions' use of studies and knowledge resources. This transformation can be clustered into four interrelated categories:

- (1) Strategic Use of Research for Advocacy and Social Dialogue,
- (2) Development and Dissemination of Knowledge Tools,
- (3) Institutionalization of Data Systems and Evidence-Based Campaigning, and
- (4) Translational Communication and Policy Influence.

These categories manifest across countries and sectors, indicating a deeper institutional embedding of research and data use within union practices.

Trade unions supported by M-FNV and CNV-I have improved their use of studies and knowledge resources. The integration of research and data into union practices is becoming embedded in how unions advocate, negotiate, organize, and educate. Although the level of institutionalization varies across contexts, the use of studies and knowledge resources by unions and other partners is considered as one of the main strengths of the TUCP by the evaluators.

4.6.1 STRATEGIC USE OF RESEARCH FOR ADVOCACY AND SOCIAL DIALOGUE

Both M-FNV and CNV-I have demonstrably contributed to the growth of unions' strategic engagement with studies—moving beyond passive consumption towards co-creation and applied use in lobbying and negotiation. Research is not only being produced more systematically but also tactically deployed in national and international advocacy platforms.

In the M-FNV programme, Indonesian unions used Perempuan Mahardika's 2017 study on gender-based violence in industrial zones as a launchpad for legislative advocacy even during the current programme (ILO C190 and the TPKS Law). In Ethiopia, sectoral studies on industrial peace and

women's empowerment informed negotiation strategies and amplified union voices with concrete evidence. The Colombian CIPAME centre has institutionalized this approach through its policy-oriented research on energy transitions, which shaped national reforms and legal proposals. Likewise, in CNV-I's portfolio, the Indonesian palm oil sector unions co-developed a guideline on women's rights in collaboration with employers and used a critical study (implemented together with M-FNV) on the Omnibus Law to mobilize transnational accountability networks. In Colombia, union-driven research on coal mine closures was instrumental in pushing for planned transitions, echoing similar methods used by Senegalese union UDTS in the context of CSR and collective bargaining.

4.6.2 DEVELOPMENT AND DISSEMINATION OF KNOWLEDGE TOOLS

Unions supported by both M-FNV and CNV-I have invested in practical tools, manuals, templates, and publications tailored for internal capacity building and external influence. These tools bridge the gap between technical research and grassroots organizing, facilitating learning, empowerment, and alignment around advocacy objectives.

M-FNV examples include TURC's gender advocacy modules and SOPs in Indonesia, CETU's negotiation guides and model CBAs in Ethiopia, and the transnational knowledge exchange around palm oil unions in Ghana. These tools are participatory, contextualized, and widely disseminated—from posters and pamphlets to PowerPoint modules. In the CNV-I programme, a similar pattern emerges: Senegalese unions developed technical notes and health insurance policy proposals that directly influenced national dialogue frameworks. Meanwhile, South-South exchanges enabled Colombian unions to adopt best practices from e.g. Salvadoran CBAs, demonstrating horizontal knowledge transfer within a strategic framework.

4.6.3 INSTITUTIONALIZATION OF DATA SYSTEMS AND EVIDENCE-BASED CAMPAIGNING

One of the most transformative elements is the institutionalization of digital data systems. These not only support union legitimacy but have also become organizing and campaign tools in their own right. TURC's Data Academy in Indonesia is a clear example of this change. By training unions in digital survey design and interpretation, it enabled mass-scale data collection (e.g., 47,000 factory workers) feeding directly into CBAs. The Wage Indicator platform (Gajimu.com) was instrumental in democratizing access to CBA benchmarks. Similarly, in Ethiopia, unions utilized the Wage Indicator to measure living wage gaps, feeding data into collective bargaining. In Colombia, the Fair Work Monitor and the Escuela Nacional Palmera aims to build internal data competence, a step toward self-reliant knowledge generation. Other tools like HUKATAN's real-time complaints database and KSBSI's decentralized data collection indicates parallel trajectories of data institutionalization. These systems empower unions not just reactively but strategically, enabling proactive agenda-setting in

dialogues and bargaining. In many cases, also at enterprise level, collected data and analysis of the data, have been used as input for successful social dialogue leading CBAs with higher wages and better working conditions.

4.6.4 TRANSLATIONAL COMMUNICATION AND POLICY INFLUENCE

A major challenge in knowledge use is transforming complex evidence into accessible formats. Both CNV-I and M-FNV programmes have addressed this by supporting unions in producing infographics, simplified policy papers, legal toolkits, and visual media, bridging the gap between analysis and mobilization.

In Colombia, CIPAME's toolkits on energy transition created bottom-up understanding of technical reforms among grassroots unionists. In Senegal, UDTS's collaboration with CARES produced thematic research supporting regional trade union coherence, while CNV-I initiatives in Vietnam, Cambodia, and Peru enhanced union skills in digital communication and storytelling. The use of petitions and joint letters e.g. in Cambodia further exemplifies the capacity to translate field-level grievances into structured political messages. These communication strategies do not merely support advocacy but actively shape the narrative terrain on which labour policies are contested. And in Ghana e.g., as part of transnational advocacy on living wages and OSH, workers conducted participatory surveys and then translated their findings into joint advocacy materials for international platforms like RSPO. The use of data was not technical alone; it was communicated through simplified reports and policy briefs prepared for audiences such as European buyers and certification bodies.

4.7 EVALUATION QUESTION 14 SYSTEM CHANGE

EQ 14. To what extent has influencing policy and improved capacities of trade unions by CNV-I/M-FNV contributed to system change (i.e. more space for social dialogue and collective bargaining, improved living wage, stronger IRBC (International Responsible Business Conduct), increased employability of youth, among others)? And if so, how have they contributed?

This evaluation question largely reiterates aspects covered under previous evaluation questions related to trade union capacity strengthening, collective bargaining, social dialogue, gender and youth inclusion, and engagement in international value chains. Therefore, this analysis offers a synthesis integrating findings from CNV Internationaal CNV-I and Mondiaal FNV and illustrating the extent to which their joint interventions have contributed to systemic change.

The overall evidence points to a meaningful contribution to system change, primarily through enhanced capacities of trade unions which led to strengthened social dialogue structures and the negotiation of collective

bargaining agreements (CBAs). Both CNV-I and M-FNV facilitated the development of union leadership and negotiation skills, which translated into improved working conditions for a substantial number of workers across multiple sectors and countries. These gains are observable in the increased number and scope of CBAs that addressed wages, occupational health and safety, and gender-sensitive protections. Notably, systemic impact is evident in contexts where sectoral CBAs were institutionalized and linked to tripartite or bipartite mechanisms at national or regional levels.

Both organizations also contributed to policy influence and regulatory frameworks by enabling unions to engage with national and international policy platforms. CNV-I partners advanced policy dialogue using structured wage benchmarks like the ANKER methodology in Latin America and Southeast Asia, which fed into more informed wage negotiations and the formalization of informal labour. While these advances suggest progress toward institutional change, structural reforms—such as the introduction of a national minimum wage or ratification of ILO conventions—have remained limited in some contexts, illustrating the constraints posed by political and economic environments.

Another dimension of systemic change is trade union engagement in global value chains and IRBC frameworks, which both organizations pursued through targeted strategies. CNV-I and M-FNV facilitated union involvement in international certification and monitoring platforms (e.g. Bonsucro, RSPO, IPOWU), which increased their leverage with multinational companies and helped frame labour issues as a core element of responsible business practices. While this increased visibility and bargaining power of unions, concrete corporate behavioural change is still emerging and tends to be slow. Furthermore, the evaluators identified weak linkages in some countries between advocacy efforts in the Netherlands and tangible changes on the ground. This is not surprising. M-FNV and CNV-I have primarily focused their advocacy efforts on responsible business conduct legislation and fair trade in the Netherlands (and Brussels). The effects of these efforts will, in any case, only become visible in the partner countries after several years.

Finally, the evaluation underscores that progress toward system change remains fragile and uneven. While the foundations of systemic change—stronger union capacities, broader social dialogue, strategic alliances, and engagement in IRBC—are in place, these advances are often vulnerable to shifting political conditions (*see also recommendation 1*).

4.8 EVALUATION QUESTION 15: PLAYING CHESS

EQ 15. More in general, “policy influencing is like a play of chess (see IOB Evaluation of Policy Influencing by Civil Society organisations, 2007), where each move will be answered by moves of the other actors.....” Have the interventions of CNV-I/M-FNV and Trade Union partners contributed to the necessary strategic overview? And how can TUSOs best support their trade union partners on these issues?

The interventions of M-FNV and CNV-I have contributed to enhancing the strategic orientation of their trade union partners, albeit to varying extents and with limitations in systematic evidence

collection. Drawing on the metaphor of policy influencing as a game of chess, where each move is countered by others in a dynamic and politically sensitive environment, the analysis reveals that both TUSOs have enabled unions to better position themselves on the board. They have done so by improving their strategic foresight, negotiation preparedness, and capacity to respond adaptively to changing power dynamics.

However, this strategic overview is still uneven and remains largely dependent on local contextual factors, leadership commitment, and opportunities provided by political shifts. Both M-FNV and CNV-I contributed to the early steps of building strategic thinking, but there is room to strengthen structural mechanisms that institutionalize strategic reflexivity and responsiveness among union partners. The support, as observed by the evaluators, offered by the TUSOs has not yet consistently translated into deeply embedded strategic planning cultures within unions, partially due to constraints in the partners' internal (financial) capacities and political volatility.

A defining contribution of both CNV-I and M-FNV lies in their support to the integration of short-term union actions within longer-term policy advocacy frameworks. In both narratives, this is reflected in a cultural shift among union leaders who increasingly acknowledge the value of strategic foresight. Trade union leaders in both programmes began to perceive the necessity of planning advocacy with a long-term horizon, influenced by training and project design. While the mid-term review could not confirm this change at scale, due to methodological constraints, the available examples offer meaningful insights.

In Colombia, supported by M-FNV, unions in sectors such as palm oil and mining/energy adopted multifaceted strategies combining local-level engagement, national advocacy, and international networking. This integrated approach reflects an emerging capacity to operate on multiple levels of the policy chessboard. The case of the CSP in the palm oil sector, for example, illustrates how unions began to understand the importance of aligning local efforts with broader regulatory frameworks, seeking not just immediate workplace improvements but more structural, legal guarantees for labour rights through sectoral legislation. The creation of the Palmera Trade Union School is a concrete institutional innovation aimed at ensuring continuity of strategic thinking and informed decision-making, underpinned by data use and knowledge production. This initiative represents a key strategic move: not merely reacting to the opponent's move (e.g. company pushback) but investing in the long game by shaping the rules through evidence-based advocacy. Likewise, the unions' engagement with the government under the Petro administration, and with international actors such as EU institutions, signals a conscious exploitation of political opportunities and external leverage. Particularly in the just transition agenda, CIPAME's proactive role shows a heightened awareness of windows of opportunity and the necessity of credible, evidence-based positioning in policy dialogues.

Similarly, under CNV-I's support, Indonesian unions such as HUKATAN and KSBSI enhanced their ability to understand the national political economy and sectoral supply chains. The example of the "JAGA SAWITAN" platform, developed jointly with employers, suggests a sophisticated grasp of social dialogue as both a tactic and a strategic pathway. This initiative goes beyond confrontation and seeks sustainability in employer-union relationships, again reflecting a move from reactive to strategic engagement. In Senegal e.g., UDTS strategically lobbied multinational companies and the

government. The identification of high-impact targets such as DP World and Bolloré indicates a re-fined sense of political economy and leverage. Moreover, in the ratification campaigns for ILO Convention 190 across multiple West African countries, CNV-I supported unions to build alliances and shape national discourse, even if formal ratification is pending. This demonstrates an awareness of incremental progress and layered influencing.

Despite these positive illustrations, the analysis underscores a key limitation: these advances are not yet embedded across all unions or generalized into systematic capacities. Focus on less partners and countries would minimize these risks and would create opportunities to address strategic orientations more profoundly (see recommendation 5)

4.9 EVALUATION QUESTION 16: ROLES & PRIORITIES OF CNV-I & M-FNV

EQ 16. Are the roles and priorities of CNV-I/M-FNV supportive of the priorities and strategies of the regional, national and sectoral partners? Particularly looking at work in the Netherlands/Europe on IRBC and HRDD.

EQ 17. Especially regarding Value Chains, does CNV-I/M-FNV succeed in brokering effective systemic change (incl. policy influencing or collective bargaining-oriented relations)? In general, and specifically in the countries, international and between Southern partners and Dutch actors (Multi-national Corporations, investors)?

The alignment between the roles and priorities of CNV Internationaal and Mondiaal FNV and those of their regional, national, and sectoral partners reveals both a shared strategic orientation and notable gaps in operational synergy, particularly in relation to International Responsible Business Conduct (IRBC) and Human Rights Due Diligence (HRDD). At a metalevel, the evaluation demonstrates that both organizations express a clear commitment to supporting partners' agendas through capacity strengthening, advocacy, alliance-building, and influencing global supply chains. This alignment is most evident in areas where local unions are themselves engaged in IRBC and HRDD-related struggles. However, the degree to which the IRBC and HRDD efforts in the Netherlands and Europe effectively reinforce these local struggles varies, and the connection between international lobbying and local impact is not yet visible.

Both CNV-I and M-FNV have invested in disseminating knowledge on HRDD and IRBC frameworks among their Southern partners, with the aim of enhancing their influence in national policy arenas and in global supply chains dominated by European actors. Conceptually, this represents a coherent strategy: using Europe-based leverage to bolster labour rights advocacy abroad. In practice, however, the effectiveness of this approach depends heavily on how these frameworks have a legally binding character, which is currently not the case. The challenge of translating European norms into local action is also evident in the broader observation that partners' familiarity with complex European legal and policy instruments remains uneven. This is not unique to either organization but highlights

the structural limitations in transnational labour solidarity efforts that rely on complex regulatory frameworks.

Although good cooperation strategies could be identified e.g. in Indonesia (RSPO), Colombia (SEP complaint submission), India (linking FNV unionists operating in multinationals based in the Netherlands in the seed sector with their trade union partners in India) and Senegal (see e.g. improved CBAs at e.g. AGL & DP World), the evaluators do believe that these examples could serve as good practices for a more structured overall strategy, in which strong cooperation between trade unions in the Netherlands and in the partner countries is linked to companies based in the Netherlands (*see recommendation 1*).

That said, it should be emphasised that significant results have been achieved within the TUCP in the areas of HRDD and IRBC through advocacy efforts in the Netherlands and at the European level, as for example:

- Advocacy on HRDD and CSDDD through the participation in the SER (Sociaal-Economische Raad) with highly influential advisory opinion, lobbying of parliamentarians and ministries. These advocacy activities have been supported by policy papers and briefs.
- Development of models for sectoral cooperation, created in collaboration with employers' organization providing a structured approach for companies to work together on due diligence like risk analysis and stakeholder engagement across their value chain.
- Both, CNI-I and M-FNV seem to be recognized by external stakeholders, in the Netherlands as well as in the European Arena as partners with high technical expertise (e.g. in the sectors of Palm Oil and Sugar Cane) in the areas of CSDDD.

4.10 EVALUATION QUESTION 17: BROKERING EFFECTIVE CHANGE

This evaluation question examines how CNV Internationaal (CNV-I) and Mondiaal FNV (M-FNV) contribute to systemic change in labour rights through transnational union alliances, the localisation of international frameworks, and regulatory leverage. It highlights their strategic role in fostering cross-border collaboration, embedding global standards such as the OECD Guidelines and HRDD into local bargaining practices, and engaging with international complaint mechanisms. These interventions demonstrate a multilevel systems approach, connecting grassroots union action to national and international policy arenas. However, the analysis also underscores a key limitation: the insufficient linkage between these Southern efforts and accountability within Dutch and European corporate supply chains, pointing to a gap in fully realising systemic change (*see recommendation 1*).

4.10.1 TRANSNATIONAL ALLIANCES AND CROSS-BORDER UNION COOPERATION

Both CNV-I and M-FNV have brokered or supported regional and transnational trade union alliances as a vehicle for systemic change. These alliances allow for collective action across borders, amplifying workers' voices and bargaining power with multinational companies (MNCs) and international financial institutions.

M-FNV's support to the East African Infrastructure Union Alliance exemplifies a robust effort to leverage IFI accountability mechanisms. Through engagement with the African Development Bank in Tanzania's BRT (Bus Rapid Transit) project, unions were able to confront labour violations on an infrastructure project financed through transnational capital. This involved coordinated lobbying supported by regional data consolidation—a systemic practice rather than an ad hoc intervention. Similarly, M-FNV facilitated the East and Southern Africa Flower Sector Network, where unions achieved not only wage increases but also regulatory improvements in CBAs with international buyers, like Vasso Agro Ventures. This reflects systemic gains that stretch across national boundaries and embed normative changes (e.g., GBV clauses, OSH standards) in binding agreements.

For CNV-I, transnational action also played a significant role, notably in the coal sector in Colombia. Here, CNV-I-supported unions co-developed a national policy framework for Just Energy Transition (JET), later tied into CNV-I's international advocacy, including through the Dutch Responsible Business Conduct Agreement for the metal sector.

4.10.2 EMBEDDING INTERNATIONAL FRAMEWORKS IN LOCAL BARGAINING AND ADVOCACY

A key dimension of systemic change (defined as e.g. change in relationships between employers and trade unions in the form of social dialogue, e.g. new legislation changing labour conditions, e.g. changing mechanism in global value chains). lies in how global norms are translated into actionable strategies in CBAs and policy proposals. Both organisations support the operationalisation of frameworks like the OECD Guidelines, HRDD, and the CSDDD into Southern contexts, equipping unions with tools to reframe bargaining processes and enhance their leverage.

M-FNV has enabled unions in Ethiopia and Colombia to integrate these standards directly into CBAs. In Ethiopia's flower sector, union leaders received training on EU due diligence frameworks, which they then used in multi-stakeholder negotiations. The inclusion of OSH and GBV clauses demonstrates how abstract norms were grounded in legally enforceable agreements. In Colombia, the Coordinadora Sindical Palmera drew on RSPO and OECD standards to push for pesticide safety and union recognition in palm oil CBAs—linking normative international standards to concrete bargaining outcomes. Likewise, in Indonesia, the union KBS benefited from M-FNV-facilitated exchanges with Colombian unions, sharing strategies for embedding RSPO and OECD principles in CBA clauses. This transnational peer-learning model contributes to systemic change by harmonising norms across different geographies within a single global value chain.

CNV-I adopted a similar logic, helping partners in Benin and Senegal to apply political pressure for the development of national Responsible Business Conduct (RBC) frameworks. This shows an important replication of international standards in Southern policy spaces. CNV-I also engaged with the Domestic Advisory Groups of the EU's trade agreements, using evidence from partners in Latin America to inform the enforcement and evaluation of EU trade policies—thereby feeding bottom-up evidence into top-down institutional processes.

4.10.3 REGULATORY LEVERAGE AND INTERNATIONAL COMPLAINT MECHANISMS

Both organisations have supported the use of formal complaint mechanisms to enforce labour standards in global trade agreements, reinforcing systemic change through legal and quasi-legal channels. In Colombia and Peru, CNV-I partners filed a formal complaint to the European Commission's Single-Entry Point, denouncing violations of labour clauses in the EU-Andean trade agreement. This mechanism transcends traditional advocacy and positions unions as rights-holders in supranational legal structures. By supporting such engagements, CNV-I catalyses systemic enforcement and brings international regulatory pressure to bear on governments and MNCs.

In parallel, CNV-I and M-FNV have contributed to legislative advocacy in the Netherlands and Brussels, promoting the CSDDD. This lobbying not only pushes European legislation forward but also links it back to national union contexts, for instance through the inclusion of living wage benchmarks and gender protections in certification bodies like Bonsucro and RSPO. These efforts reinforce the pressure on multinational buyers to improve practices across the supply chain.

4.10.4 LIMITATIONS

Overall, CNV-I and M-FNV succeed in brokering systemic change in several critical ways: they facilitate cross-border union coalitions, strengthen the embedding of global labour standards in CBAs and national policies, and harness regulatory mechanisms at EU and IFI levels to advance decent work. These actions span from local union empowerment to macro-level policy advocacy, indicating a multilevel systems approach.

However, there remains a structural asymmetry in how far these efforts extend into the heart of Dutch corporate supply chains. While Southern unions are trained and positioned to engage employers with due diligence tools, the connection to Dutch or European companies sourcing from these sectors is still underdeveloped. The full systemic feedback loop—where Dutch actors internalise and respond to pressures exerted from the base of their supply chains—requires further strengthening (*see recommendation 1*). This observation is corroborated by findings under evaluation questions 14 to 16 and points to a missed opportunity to more decisively mobilise Dutch corporate leverage in service of

global labour rights. Binding legislation, as advocated by M-FNV and CNV-I could accelerate this process, as was already observed during the development of the RBC legislation.

4.11 EVALUATION QUESTION 18: COMBINATION COUNTRIES

EQ 18. Specifically focusing on the Combination Country Addendum, to what extent has the approach taken by CNV-I/M-FNV adhered to the policy objective to combine aid and trade? And to what extent will it contribute to the policy objective to combine aid and trade moving forward?

The Dutch 'Combination Policy' was formally introduced in the 2022 policy note for Trade & Development Cooperation¹ with the aim of strengthening the link between Dutch aid and trade. To this end, 14 countries were appointed 'combination countries' in which the Ministry would combine trade and development cooperation activities in the form of 'combi-tracks' focused on a specific sector linked to Dutch trade interests. In the more recent policy letter of 2025² the Netherlands emphasizes the combination approach as a win-win, creating opportunities for Dutch companies (and experts) and the Dutch earning capacity, as well as contributing to economic development and employment in low- and middle-income countries.

CNV-I and M-FNV saw opportunities to contribute to this new approach. A meta-level analysis of the implementation shows promising practices in some countries and sectors. The results to date suggest that the contribution to the policy objective is context-dependent and heavily influenced by the priorities and strategic engagement of Dutch embassies in the respective countries.

In some countries, notable progress has been made in linking labour rights advocacy and trade-related processes. For example, in India, the Dutch Combitrack aimed to improve labour conditions in the seed sector and link these improvements directly with the responsibility of the companies. Through the project, contacts with companies have increased, although companies remain somewhat wary of trade unions. The unions are also working to demonstrate to companies that collaborating with trade unions on the ground, for instance, to monitor child labour through community committees, is a more effective and sustainable approach than traditional audits and can be a "win-win situation" for the company, protecting their image. Also in Senegal, UDTs piloted a promising good practice by integrating decent work objectives into a value chain approach aligned with Dutch aid-trade policy. The partnership with the SOCOOPAD cooperative brings together producers, unions, and value chain actors—including potential Dutch companies—in a multi-stakeholder platform. This model protects workers' rights while preparing for compliance with the upcoming EU Corporate Sustainability Due Diligence Directive (CSDDD). It combines local union empowerment with

¹ <https://www.government.nl/documents/policy-notes/2022/10/10/policy-document-for-foreign-trade-and-development-cooperation-do-what-we-do-best>

² <https://www.rijksoverheid.nl/documenten/kamerstukken/2025/02/20/beleidsbrief-ontwikkelingshulp>

constructive engagement of Dutch companies and the embassy, framing decent work as a win-win for all. The approach is innovative, regionally connected, and offers a replicable model for inclusive, rights-based international cooperation.

These examples demonstrate how sustained engagement, and sectoral anchoring can yield a tangible link between aid-financed trade union capacity building and Dutch trade policy interests.

The success of the combination approach is also contingent on the active involvement of Dutch embassies. In some countries, embassies played a proactive role in facilitating trade union involvement in trade missions and public-private dialogues, contributing to stronger alignment between aid and trade objectives. In others, such involvement was minimal or absent, limiting the potential for integrated action.

In conclusion, the Combination Country Addendum has initiated valuable pathways to combine aid and trade, particularly where there has been long-term sectoral engagement, active embassy support, and a strategic orientation toward international regulatory frameworks. While these achievements have so far been context-specific and varied in their implementation, they offer important lessons for broader application. There is a clear opportunity to build more structural engagement with Dutch private sector actors and to further develop and strengthen the combination country activities of CNV/FNV. Moving forward, a more deliberate and consistent integration strategy is needed—one that recognises the essential role of embassies, incentivises private sector engagement, and builds on the demonstrated potential of transnational union-led advocacy to shape trade and investment for the benefit of decent work (*see recommendations 1 and 2*).

4.12 EVALUATION QUESTION 19: HOSTILE ENVIRONMENT

EQ 19. How has CNV-I/M-FNV and their Trade Union partners dealt with the issues of “expected resistance” and “power play”, in planning of interventions to attain policy/system change, and in its monitoring? This question relates especially to the “hostile” environment trade unions often must deal with.

Both CNV Internationaal (CNV-I) and Mondiaal FNV (M-FNV) demonstrate a contextualized and strategic understanding of the structural resistance and power dynamics trade unions face in their efforts to influence policy and systems, particularly in hostile environments, often characterized by shrinking civic spaces. A cross-case analysis reveals that both organizations have institutionalized a pro-active engagement with “expected resistance” and power asymmetries as an aspect of intervention design, implementation, and monitoring. Both organizations’ approaches lie in an acknowledgment that resistance is not an incidental or exceptional occurrence, but a systemic feature of the socio-political and economic terrain in which unions operate. This resistance manifests in various forms—

legal restrictions, employer retaliation, political hostility, and weak institutional accountability – and is often compounded in contexts where civic space is shrinking.

A first strategy to deal with these hostile environments across the two organizations is the normalization and institutionalization of resistance analysis in project design. Both CNV-I and M-FNV employ planning and foresight mechanisms to anticipate and map sources of pushback. This goes beyond mere risk mitigation; it represents a shift toward embedding critical political economy insights into programmatic logic.

A second strategy is alliance-building as a structural response to power asymmetry. Both organizations invest in coalitions and networks that scale up union leverage, enabling influence over actors and processes that would otherwise be inaccessible. These alliances span the national, regional, and transnational levels, reflecting a deliberate effort to rebalance power.

Third, evidence-based advocacy emerges as a shared methodology to neutralize corporate and institutional resistance. Both CNV-I and M-FNV support their partners in deploying data – on wages, safety conditions, compliance, or legal gaps – to bolster credibility, strengthen legal claims, and create pressure points.

Fourth, legal empowerment and use of formal grievance mechanisms are crucial components in resisting coercion and institutionalizing union voice. Both have enabled unions to navigate and utilize legal frameworks – not just to defend but to advance worker rights.

Lastly, institutionalized social dialogue – both bipartite and tripartite – is supported to neutralize resistance through legitimacy and formal recognition. While the efficacy of such platforms depends on the political will of employers and states, both organizations recognize dialogue not as a technocratic fix, but as a power-mediating mechanism.

4.13 EVALUATION QUESTION 20: COMPLEMENTARITY

EQ 20. To what extent are M-FNV and CNV-I complementary to each other in countries and value chains they both work in? And what are possible improvements in view of effectiveness?

In general terms, the evaluators conclude that there is strong complementarity between CNV-I and M-FNV. The partners within their respective value chains and countries are usually different. Sometimes they choose to work with company level trade unions, at other occasions they work with federations, confederations or GUFs. In most of the cases they do not work with the same partners.

The partnership structure of M-FNV and CNV-I follows a strong bottom-up approach, starting from the needs of workers and trade unions. M-FNV works with a wide variety of partners (trade unions, confederations and NGO's), while CNV-I is mainly working with trade unions and (con-)federations. One of the major differences between M-FNV and CNV-I is that M-FNV regularly establishes intensive networks between trade unions and NGOs, resulting in collaborations that go beyond traditional trade union work. These collaborations and networks are, however, very valuable for the capacity building of local workplace unions. Since M-FNV often aims to support emerging unions, the

capacities of experienced and larger NGOs prove useful in strengthening the leadership skills of new local unions.

Since M-FNV and CNV-I, in certain areas of the TUCP, operate within the same value chains and countries, one could question whether it might be more effective to engage with the same partners – in other words, to pool resources and thereby enhance the influence and capacity of the involved partners. However, this Mid-term Review also found that working with different partners strengthened the advocacy activities. Put differently, the fact that various organizations addressed the same issues – such as gender-based violence (GBV) – and that broad societal support was built through the participation of multiple stakeholders, made the advocacy efforts more effective in the sense that not only one actor pushed for reforms but that many different civil society actors were able to advocate for the same goal. This was the case especially the case in Indonesia and Colombia.

5 RECOMMENDATIONS

EQ 2. How can CNV-I/M-FNV improve relevance of the TUCP for (inclusion of, strengthened agency of) marginalized and disadvantaged groups of workers in all their diversity (*CNV-I focuses on youth, women and informal/outsourced workers, M-FNV focuses on women, migrants and LGBTQI+ communities*)? Specifically relating to trade union work, policy advocacy and improving incomes and livelihoods

EQ 3. How can CNV-I/M-FNV improve their leverage and network in the Netherlands/Europe to strengthen their trade union partner organizations?

EQ 8. How can CNV-I/M-FNV and their Trade Union partners improve their effectiveness in relation to reaching outcomes on improved labour conditions (as specified above)?

EQ 13. How can partners and CNV-I/M-FNV improve capacity strengthening?

5.1 RECOMMENDATION 1: STRENGTHENING DUTCH TRADE INTEREST & DE-CENT WORK

One of the key findings of the Mid-Term Review is that, in several cases, employers' federations and governments indicated that the quality of social dialogue had significantly improved thanks to the capacity building of trade union members through the TUCP. Employers noted that trade union negotiators who are knowledgeable about labour legislation, possess negotiation skills, and can rely on facts are, in many cases, able to reach compromises that are acceptable to both employers and workers. In other words, social dialogue leads to fewer escalating conflicts and wildcat strikes. This is, of course, also important for Dutch trading partners, as it leads to more stable trade relations with supply chains that are less likely to be disrupted. Moreover, it has been demonstrated on multiple occasions that satisfied workers deliver higher production quality, which benefits the buyers in the value chain, including Dutch companies. Finally, European and Dutch companies are increasingly being held accountable for human rights violations within their supply chains. Of course, the CSDDD would be the most important directive. The CSDDD is forcing big companies to identify the risk in their entire value chain and to implement strategies to prevent and remediate these risks. Member States of the European Union are obligated to designate supervisory authorities responsible for monitoring compliance with the directive. Companies failing to meet the stipulated obligations may be subject to sanctions, including fines of up to 5% of their worldwide turnover and civil liability for damages resulting from negligence. Even if the CSDDD is significantly weakened in the coming months, other European directives (such as EU Deforestation Regulation-EUDR / EU Batteries Regulation / Conflict Minerals Regulation albeit for specific sectors and EU Directive on the protection of young people at work (94/33/EC) and Regulation (EU) 2024/3015 on Forced Labour Regulation), still require the respect of human rights and mandate that large companies consult stakeholders (such as trade unions) within their value chains. Within this context, CNV-I and M-FNV could assume a more

prominent role (and good practices could serve as an example) by explicitly facilitating the connection between Dutch companies and the supply chain with local trade unions in partner countries. This can be achieved by informing Dutch companies about their obligations and the specific practices within the chain in partner countries (IRBC obligations). In partner countries, the work related to decent work and HRDD and can be further strengthened by informing partner trade unions about European legislation and obligations. In other words, Dutch businesses will find local trade unions in partner countries to be an important and indispensable stakeholder, as illustrated in this MTR.

5.2 RECOMMENDATION 2: ALIGNING THE TUCP WITH THE MULTI-ANNUAL PROGRAMMING OF THE EMBASSIES IN THE PARTNER COUNTRIES

One of the key findings of the MTR is that the alignment between the TUCP and Dutch embassies could be further enhanced. As this midterm review clearly demonstrated, social dialogue (between trade unions and employers) leads to improved social conditions and social peace. This, in turn, enhances the Dutch investment climate, as it enables compliance with Human Rights Due Diligence (HRDD) requirements. It is therefore important that the activities of the embassy are mutually aligned with the TUCP, and that CNV Internationaal and Mondiaal FNV are actively involved in consultations with the embassies. Social dialogue (between employers and workers) is deeply embedded in binding ILO conventions and therefore serves as an excellent instrument to safeguard Dutch trade interests within the framework of Corporate Social Responsibility and in line with various European Directives and OECD regulations requiring European companies to respect human rights, including decent working conditions and living wages. In summary, the promotion of Decent Work and the active engagement of trade unions through social dialogue mechanism, within the framework of the ILO's international conventions, constitute a strong argument to include trade unions (besides private sector partners) as key stakeholders in the activities of the embassies. Besides that, CNV and FNV should link to the Multi-Annual Country Strategies (MACS) of Dutch Embassies to ensure proper alignment with and contribution to the Netherlands' policy objectives – objectives that underpin the rationale for their funding. This connection would enhance the effectiveness, impact, and synergy of their work with country-specific approaches, ensure that trade unions are well-embedded in broader strategies, and foster buy-in and involvement from embassies. Such involvement can strengthen union efforts through diplomatic support, connections with other Dutch-funded programmes, strategic use of embassy networks, and identification of opportunities from a Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs perspective.

RECOMMENDATION 3: CONTINUE TO STRENGTHEN CAPACITIES OF TRADE UNIONS

One of the main findings of the MTR is that the capacity building of trade unions, union leaders, and negotiators has proven highly effective. It is therefore recommended to continue training activities on labour law, negotiation skills, leadership development, social dialogue, organizational development and strategic planning. In addition, ongoing support for research and data collection remains essential, as these serve as powerful tools for unions to advance labour rights, including living wages and improved working conditions. Consideration could be given to expanding Trainer of Trainers modules, which would enhance the sustainability of the programme by enabling trained trainers to independently deliver new training at lower cost. The development of digital learning platforms could also be explored, potentially in collaboration with the ITC-ILO.

5.3 RECOMMENDATION 4: MAINTAIN GENDER AS CROSS-CUTTING THEME

TUCP has also achieved strong results in the area of gender, particularly in increasing the participation of women in trade union leadership, establishing women's committees within unions, and advancing the fight against gender-based violence and for women's rights more broadly. Nevertheless, TUCP operates in many countries where patriarchal values and norms prevail. The emancipation of women in the world of work is therefore a long-term endeavour. For this reason, gender must continue to be mainstreamed throughout the programme. Within this framework, consideration could also be given to increasing the involvement of men in the programmes. Gender-based violence (GBV) is often perpetrated by men, who are therefore frequently the offenders. One possible approach could be to recruit Male Champions who can act as ambassadors for women's rights. Furthermore, women, who often bear a disproportionate share of family responsibilities, may face difficulties in taking on leadership roles within trade unions. This challenge could be partially addressed by innovative approaches involving men (such as spouses and family members) in programme activities and raising their awareness of the importance of women's participation in trade union work.

Although gender transformative have been organized, at hoc basis, these should be further developed and integrated in the next phase of the TUCP

5.4 RECOMMENDATION 5: FOCUS ON LESS COUNTRIES

Since the budget will be significantly reduced in the second phase of the TUCP, the evaluators consider it essential to limit the number of countries. One possible criterion could be to focus on several priority value chains and based on that, select the countries and/or regions. Within this framework, it could be considered to involve other countries through a regional approach, starting from the selected countries. Another criterion, depending on the policy choices of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs

(MoFA), could be to prioritise the PSD countries (see recommendation 2). The selection of countries (and thematic priorities) can therefore be further aligned with the cooperation agreement between M-FNV/CNV-I and BZ/DDE. If the number of countries is reduced, it is advisable to maximise the programme's potential for multiplier effects. This may include (successful) innovative approaches such as Training of Trainers (ToT), South-South exchanges, and the establishment of (digital) knowledge-sharing platforms within partner countries, with the possibility of opening these to other countries and trade unions.

However, from a value chain perspective, it would be undesirable if future programming were restricted solely to the national level. As illustrated in this Mid-Term Review, regional approaches have led to very good practices. Below, we summarise the main arguments once again:

- Many labour-related issues—such as supply chains, labour migration, and the practices of multinational corporations—transcend national borders.
- Regional cooperation strengthens workers' bargaining power in the face of cross-border economic dynamics.
- Regional alliances enable trade unions to coordinate more effectively with international labour movements and help ensure that labour rights are embedded in global and regional trade agreements.

6 CONCLUSION

The mid-term evaluation of the TUCP demonstrates that the programmes of CNV Internationaal and Mondiaal FNV have made significant contributions to advancing decent work, improving working conditions, and strengthening trade union capacity in partner countries. These contributions are well-aligned with the objectives of the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the DDE's policy on sustainable economic development.

The TUCP aligns strongly with the Dutch government's goals around decent work, gender equality, and inclusive economic development. Trade unions have emerged as vital actors in local and global efforts to combat inequality and improve working conditions, including for women, and to a lesser extent youth, and informal workers. However, alignment with Dutch embassies could be strengthened, especially by linking TUCP activities to multi-annual embassy programming (see recommendation 2).

The TUCP programme is active in a very large number of countries, which complicates programme management and results in resources being spread across numerous partners and countries. In line with the previously expressed preference of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and DDE, the evaluators also recommend reducing the number of countries, particularly in light of the significant decrease in TUCP funding expected over the coming five years—an issue that was already known at the start of the programme (see recommendation 5).

There is strong and consistent evidence that capacity strengthening of trade union leaders and negotiators—through training, peer learning, and technical assistance—has directly resulted in more effective social dialogue and improved collective bargaining agreements (CBAs). These CBAs often include tangible improvements in wages, occupational safety and health (OSH), job security, and gender-sensitive provisions. Importantly, this capacity strengthening is not only valued by trade unions but also acknowledged by employers, who report that negotiations with well-trained union leaders are more constructive, reduce unrealistic demands, and contribute to greater social peace. In this regard, the TUCP has created a win-win dynamic: enhanced worker protections go hand-in-hand with more stable industrial relations, benefiting employers, governments, and international buyers—including those in Dutch and European supply chains. So, the programmes have built capacities across multiple dimensions—internal governance, negotiation skills, membership mobilisation, gender integration, and long-term strategic planning. Still, strategic planning remains fragile in some cases, and sustainability risks persist due to reliance on TUCP. It was also observed that there is a strong need to train more trade union leaders and members. This can be achieved by seeking multiplier effects and exploring innovative forms of capacity building (see recommendation 5). Given the excellent results achieved, the evaluators recommend continuing the capacity building efforts (see recommendation 3).

The evaluation highlights the strategic and institutionalised use of data, research, and evidence by trade unions as a critical enabler of effective negotiation, advocacy, and policy influence. Both CNV Internationaal and Mondiaal FNV have supported the development of digital data systems, wage monitoring platforms, grievance mechanisms, and research-based advocacy tools. These have empowered unions to build credible, fact-based arguments in negotiations and to engage with governments, employers, and transnational frameworks on more equal footing. This shift toward evidence-based trade unionism is widely regarded as one of the programme's most transformative outcomes and should be further expanded and sustained.

The evaluation confirms that social dialogue and the value chain approach are complementary and mutually reinforcing. Social dialogue builds institutional capacity at the national level, while the value chain approach allows unions to engage with transnational actors and push for accountability across borders. This strategic duality is especially impactful in sectors with concentrated corporate power, such as palm oil, flowers, mining, and infrastructure. However, there is still room to better connect these approaches and to strengthen the links between partner country efforts and Dutch/European trade policy (*see recommendation 1*).

Both organisations have made progress on institutionalising gender equality through leadership quotas, gender committees, and gender-responsive CBAs. Legal advocacy, training, and cultural change initiatives have also contributed to the inclusion and protection of women workers. Yet, structural barriers remain, and efforts toward gender transformation—while well designed—require more time, resources, and sustained commitment to become fully internalised (*see recommendation 4*).

7 ANNEX 1: BIBLIOGRAPHY

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8 ANNEX 2: EVALUATION MATRIX

Evaluation Topic 1: Theory of Change, Needs analysis, Value Chains & HRDD	
<p>First Main Evaluation Question (based on ToR) Do the objectives, focus and interventions of the Theories of Change, respond to the needs and interests of workers (in all their diversity) and their trade unions and to what extent are the interests aligned with each other? Additionally, do they support and impact the new context of value chains, particularly with the HRDD legislation? (OECD-DAC criterium relevance)</p> <p>Underlying Idea The critical reflection of the ToC should be the starting point of the evaluation exercise. Here, it is important to gain an understanding of the intervention logic and result chain and carry out a critical analysis in the activities, outputs, outcome (and possibly impact). It is important to critically analyse the assumptions and the potential effects of the assumptions as well as the effects of external factors.</p> <p>This evaluation topic is addressing the following DAC-criteria: relevance and effectiveness. Below we included the research questions as formulated in the ToR. We suggested some indicators, judgment criteria and data collections tools.</p>	
Evaluation Questions (cfr ToR)	Indicators & judgement criteria & data collection tools
<p>EQ 1. Are the programmes of M-FNV and CNV-I relevant in view of the policy objectives of the Dutch MoFA, especially the MoFA's DDE programme?</p> <p>Priority question for:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - CNV-I - Indonesia - M-FNV-GEP- Indonesia - M-FNV-PO- Indonesia & Indonesia (esp. women / informal workers) - M-FNV-SD/Flowers 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Degree to which the objectives of M-FNV and CNV-I programmes align with MoFA's DDE objectives. (In particular: Portfolio 1 results (Ind. 1.2., Ind.1.4, Ind.1.5, Ind 1.6, Ind 1.7) and Portfolio 3 results (Ind.1.5., 1.6. and 1.7) 2. Level of cooperation and engagement with MoFA and other stakeholders (local governments, civil society, etc.). 3. Adaptability to local contexts 4. A critical analysis of the available ToCs and country ToCs 5. A critical analysis of the quality and the validity of the assumptions: <p>Resources & data collection tools:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ Critical theoretical analysis of ToC based on literature review (CIMO approach). ✓ In depth interviews with most important stakeholders involved in the development of ToC and monitoring of the ToC-indicators. ✓ Interviews with identified stakeholders of MoFA ✓ Programme documents including M&E reports ✓ In-country interviews.

<p>EQ 2. How can CNV-I/M-FNV improve relevance of the TUCP for (inclusion of, strengthened agency of) marginalized and disadvantaged groups of workers in all their diversity (<i>CNV-I focuses on youth, women and informal/outsourced workers, M-FNV focuses on women, migrants and LGBTQI+ communities</i>)? Specifically relating to trade union work, policy advocacy and improving incomes and livelihoods.</p> <p>Priority question for:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - CNV-I Senegal - M-FNV-PO- Indonesia & Colombia (esp. women / informal workers) - M-FNV-JT Colombia - M-FNV-SD/Flowers 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 6. Representation of marginalized groups (youth, women, informal/outsourced workers, migrants, LGBTQI+ communities) in trade union leadership and decision-making roles. 7. Advocacy efforts specifically focused on the needs of marginalized groups within the trade union's policy agenda. 8. The extent to which marginalized and disadvantaged groups have access to union services, such as legal support, labour rights education, and negotiation representation. 9. The level of outreach conducted by CNV-I and M-FNV to recruit and engage marginalized workers in trade union activities. 10. Evidence that union-supported initiatives (e.g., training, collective bargaining, income-support schemes) lead to improved livelihoods for marginalized groups. 11. Degree to which CNV-I/M-FNV's trade union work and policy advocacy has contributed to improving the livelihoods of marginalized and disadvantaged workers. <p>Resources & data collection tools:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ Critical theoretical analysis of ToC based on document analysis ✓ Inclusion of Marginalized and disadvantaged groups into the data collection phase. ✓ Focus Group & Discussions ✓ Key informant Interviews (KIIs) ✓ Analysis of Advocacy campaign data
<p>EQ 3. How can CNV-I/M-FNV improve their leverage and network in the Netherlands/Europe to strengthen their trade union partner organizations?</p> <p>Priority question for:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - CNV-I Indonesia - M-FNV-PO- Indonesia & Colombia esp. leverage in key platforms, also consider joint lobbying with CNV) - M-FNV-JT Colombia 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 12. Leverage in Key Platforms (advocacy and policy influence), considering the distinctions to be made by value chain 13. Number of strategic partnerships formed in European networks 14. Representation in labour policy discussions and advocacy spaces 15. Frequency of consultations and relevance of the consultations. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Expansion of the Networking and collaboration ▪ Capacity building activities ▪ Visibility and advocacy presence ▪ Institutionalization and relevance of networks <p>Resources & data collection tools:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ Critical analysis of meeting minutes, project reports, agreements ✓ Media publications (social media, website, traditional media) ✓ Interviews & focus group discussions with network stakeholders and trade union partner organizations

Evaluation Topic 2: Effectiveness, part 1: Achievements to date on the intermediate and outcome level

Second Main Evaluation Question (based on ToR)

Which changes and results have been realized so far and how have these been realised (OECD DAC criterium effectiveness, leading towards impact)? Are there any unintended (positive and negative) effects to be seen which need attention in the second half of the TUCP programme?

Related to outcomes in terms of improved labour conditions, i.e. wages, occupational health and safety, precarious and informal work, working hours, living conditions, and other “decent work” indicators

Underlying Idea

This evaluation topic is addressing the following DAC-criteria: effectiveness (impact) and sustainability

Effectiveness: Is the intervention achieving its objectives? The extent to which the intervention achieved, or is expected to achieve, its objectives and its results, including any differential results across groups.

Sustainability: Will the benefits last? The extent to which the net benefits of the intervention continue or are likely to continue.

Evaluation Questions	Indicators / judgement criteria / data collection
<p>EQ 4. What evidence is available of the (early) impact of interventions of CNV-I/M-FNV and local partners on the actual working conditions of Trade Union members and other (non-member) workers? Are there significant differences between a value chain-approach and a social dialogue country approach? And are there opportunities for M-FNV and CNV-I to create more impact by working cross-country in value chains? What unintended effects need attention in the second half of the TUCP programme and how can these be addressed?</p> <p>Priority question for:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - CNV-I Indonesia, Colombia & Senegal - M-FNV-PO- Indonesia & Colombia (working together with Indonesia, Colombia, Ghana and the Netherlands in a joint platform) - M-FNV-Ethiopia - SD/Flowers-Construction 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Description of the main outcome results based on the quantitative and qualitative programme indicators and the data in the monitoring and evaluation system. ▪ Analysis of activities and contribution of activities to outcome results. ▪ Potential identification of positive & negative, intended an unintended effect on the outcome results. ▪ On Sustainability: analysis of mainly financial, social, and institutional capacities to sustain the net benefits over time (including risks and trade-offs and conditions for sustainability). ▪ Tangible improvements in worker rights and conditions that can be directly linked to interventions ▪ Identification of potential unintended consequences of interventions ▪ Plans to mitigate or address these in the second half of the TUCP programme. <p>Resources & data collection tools:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ Starting point for the analysis: the M&E system and the outcome harvesting data available or collected during the country data collection. ✓ The (selected) outcomes will be further verified based on interviews and focus group discussion online and during the desk study and country visits. ✓ Elements of contribution analysis will be applied to verify and detect contribution of programme elements to the achievements (outcome results). ✓ Profound analysis of institutional and political context. ✓ Principle of triangulation: import to notice is that several resources will be triangulated to formulate conclusions, lessons learned and recommendations on the achievement of outcome results.
<p>EQ 5. To what extent have gender issues been addressed and what gender changes can be observed? And to what extent have</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Observed improvements in the working conditions of women, LGBTQI+ individuals, and other gender minorities, particularly in areas such as pay equity, job

<p>gender issues been addressed and observed in line with the Feminist Foreign Policy (among other policies) of the MoFA?</p> <p>Priority question for:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Senegal CNV-I - M-FNV-GEP- Indonesia - M-FNV-JT Colombia 	<p>security, and safety from harassment, based on the indicators in ToCs and M&E, both at TUCP level as at the FFP MoFA level.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Evidence of gender inclusivity within the different approaches (value chain and social dialogue) and whether they have addressed specific needs of women and marginalized groups. ▪ Evidence of advocacy actions taken by trade unions to influence gender-related policy changes in line with FFP objectives. ▪ Number and type of gender-related policies adopted as a result of the program's interventions (e.g., equal pay policies, maternity leave enhancements) ▪ Documented changes in informal workers' conditions, with attention to gender disparities <p>Resources & data collection tools:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ Starting point for the analysis: the M&E system and the outcome harvesting data available or collected during the country data collection. ✓ The (selected) outcomes will be further verified based on interviews and focus group discussion online and during the desk study
<p>EQ 6. To what extent can results be quantified, (e.g. in terms of numbers of beneficiaries, or relative changes, and in fending off negative impacts)?</p> <p>Priority question for:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - CNV-I Indonesia - M-FNV-SD/Flowers 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Check M&E data in relation to formulated programme indicators. ▪ Additional indicators if it deems necessary/possible to identify: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ Total number of direct beneficiaries reached (disaggregated by gender, age, employment status, marginalized groups, etc.). ✓ Number of beneficiaries from marginalized or disadvantaged groups (e.g., women, youth, informal workers, LGBTQI+, migrants). ✓ Percentage change in employment conditions (e.g., wage levels, benefits, contract security) for beneficiaries over a specific period. ✓ Change in reported livelihood security for different groups (e.g., increased income, job stability) ✓ Relative change in access to social protection systems or services (e.g., healthcare, pensions) among targeted beneficiaries. ✓ Change in the number of legal cases won or successfully mediated to prevent layoffs, unsafe working conditions, or discrimination. ✓ Increase in union membership or participation in social dialogue among marginalized groups. ✓ Number of negative impacts identified (e.g., job losses, exploitation, unsafe conditions) and resolved through intervention. ✓ Frequency and severity of unintended negative impacts reported by beneficiaries ✓ Percentage of cases where a negative impact was prevented (e.g., prevention of layoffs, discrimination) through program activities

	<p>Resources & data collection tools:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ M&E data ✓ The (selected) results will be further verified based on interviews, focus group discussions the desk study research and if possible, through survey research.
<p>EQ 7. Is a significant contribution of CNV-I /M-FNV to the outcomes (in terms of funding, expertise, networking) plausible or proven?</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Contribution of Funding ▪ Expertise and knowledge contribution (including Capacity strengthening & training) ▪ Networking/alliance Contribution ▪ Advocacy and lobbying contribution <p>Resources & data collection tools:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ Contribution analysis based on data collected to answer evaluation questions 4-6 ✓ Case study approach based on data collected to answer evaluation questions 4-6 ✓ Triangulation based on data collected to answer evaluation questions 4-6
<p>EQ 8. How can CNV-I /M-FNV and their Trade Union partners improve their effectiveness in relation to reaching outcomes on improved labour conditions (as specified above)?</p> <p>Priority question for:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Indonesia CNV-I - M-FNV-GEP- Indonesia 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ The identification of the main challenges, lessons learned, and good practices (and possible recommendations) will be the logical consequence of the analyses resulting from the evaluation activities under evaluations questions 1 to 7.

Evaluation Topic 3: Effectiveness, part 2

Third Main Evaluation Question (based on ToR)
 How is the TUCP programming and TUCP delivery performing and how can it be improved on the key aspects of improving working conditions towards Decent Work for all (SDG8) and related SDGs (such as SDGs 1, 2, and 5) and the ILO Decent Work Agenda. The key aspects are:

- a) Strengthening Trade Unions,
- b) Improving collective bargaining and social dialogue,
- c) Influencing policy, and
- d) Improving working conditions in value chains

Underlying Idea
 This evaluation topic is addressing the following DAC-criteria: effectiveness (impact) and sustainability
 Effectiveness: Is the intervention achieving its objectives? The extent to which the intervention achieved, or is expected to achieve, its objectives and its results, including any differential results across groups.
 Sustainability: Will the benefits last? The extent to which the net benefits of the intervention continue or are likely to continue.

Evaluation Questions (cfr ToR)	Indicators & judgement criteria & data collection tools
Related to Trade Union Capacities	
<p>EQ 9. Depending on the specific TUSO focus areas for capacity building, where have changes and results been most achieved with regards to:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ strengthening trade unions in terms of their lobby capacity, membership, share of women in union membership and leadership, integration of gender issues and wider social issues into the union agenda and programmes, inclusiveness, and sustainability (CNV-I)/financial resources (MFNV), ✓ their capacity to consult (diverse) constituencies, formulate negotiation proposals and negotiate with other stakeholders, ✓ strengthening longer term strategic planning, and ✓ the supply-chain approach and the impact on various levels and target groups <p>Priority question for:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - CNV-I Indonesia & Senegal - M-FNV-GEP- Indonesia - M-FNV-PO- Indonesia & Colombia [membership increase, as TU density is low; also capacity building locally (plantation union level)] - M-FNV-JT Colombia - M-FNV SD Ethiopia 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Check M&E data in relation to formulated programme indicators. ▪ Additional indicators if it deems necessary/possible to identify (e.g.): ✓ Lobby capacity: Number and quality of lobby initiatives led by unions (e.g., policy papers, position statements). ✓ Membership Growth: Year-over-year percentage growth in union membership. ✓ Increase in women’s representation in decision-making bodies (e.g., executive committees). ✓ Presence of gender and social inclusion policies in union charters or strategic plans. ✓ Representation of marginalized groups (e.g., youth, informal workers, migrants, LGBTQI+) within unions ✓ Long-term financial and operational sustainability strategies developed. ✓ Frequency and diversity of consultation processes ✓ Quality and frequency of negotiation proposals presented to stakeholders (e.g., employers, government bodies) ✓ Number of collective bargaining agreements (CBAs) negotiated or renewed ✓ Existence of long-term strategic plans (e.g., 5- or 10-year plans) ✓ Evidence of unions adapting to changes in the labour market (e.g., digital transformation) ✓ Documented improvements in working conditions along the supply chain ✓ Number of coordinated actions between unions at different levels (local, national, international). ✓ Specific interventions targeting vulnerable groups (e.g., informal/outsourced workers, migrants, women) <p>Resources & data collection tools:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ Existing M&E data ✓ Document review of Union strategic plans, reports, gender policies, and financial statements. ✓ Key informant interviews with: Union leaders, members of trade union federations, government officials, and supply chain stakeholders ✓ Focus groups & discussions with: Marginalized groups (e.g., youth, women, informal workers, migrants).
<p>EQ 10. Have trade unions improved their use of studies and other knowledge resources, either internally or sourced from support NGOs, researchers or expertise centres?</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Check M&E data in relation to formulated programme indicators. ▪ Additional indicators if it deems necessary/possible to identify (e.g.): ✓ Internal use of knowledge resources (number of internal studies, research reports, policy briefs)

<p>Priority question for:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - CNV-I Indonesia, Senegal & Colombia - M-FNV-JT Colombia - M-FNV SD Ethiopia 	<p>produced by the trade union; Frequency of internal meetings/workshops where research studies are discussed and integrated into decision-making processes</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ External sourcing of knowledge resources (number & diversity of external studies, papers, etc sourced from NGOs, researchers and expertise centres, quality of collaboration with expertise centra, extent to which external research is disseminated and used internally for strategic planning or lobbying activities) ✓ Knowledge integration and application (degree to which research and studies inform key areas such as planning, negotiation positions, and advocacy/lobbying) ✓ Perceived relevance and usefulness of research among union leaders (and members). <p>Resources & data collection tools:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ Existing M&E data ✓ Studies, and policy briefs, External research or studies sourced from NGOs, research institutions, or expertise centres, strategic plans, and decision-making documents from the trade union, Training materials and curricula related to knowledge use, Formal collaboration agreements (MOUs) with research or knowledge partners ✓ Interviews, FGD, document review
<p>EQ 11. How have trade unions been able to better mobilize other stakeholders to advocate for labour issues or exert political pressure in favour of better working conditions? Also, specifically in the supply-chain approach, how have trade unions been strengthened in their capacity to work in supply chains to influence (global, including Dutch) companies' IRBC practices?</p> <p>Priority question for:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - CNV-I Indonesia & Colombia - M-FNV-PO- Indonesia & Colombia (MNC IRBC / HRDD / CSDDD practices) - M-FNV-JT Colombia - M-FNV SD Ethiopia 	<p>16. Check M&E data in relation to formulated programme indicators.</p> <p>17. Additional indicators if it deems necessary/possible to identify (e.g.):</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ Number and diversity of stakeholders ✓ Number and types of consultations held with external stakeholders ✓ Evidence of increased media coverage, public campaigns, or social media traction highlighting labour issues ✓ Tangible political commitments, joint declarations, or agreements between trade unions and policymakers addressing key labour issues ✓ Extent of engagement with supply chain actors (global, including Dutch companies) ✓ Trade unions' participation in or contribution to supply chain-related policy frameworks ✓ Influence on company IRBC practices: Examples of company behaviour changes in the supply chain related to labour conditions, such as improved wages, working hours, or adherence to international labour standards ✓ Capacity-building efforts in supply chain-specific negotiations ✓ Existence and quality of strategic plans or campaigns specifically targeting IRBC practices in key sectors or supply chains <p>Resources & data collection tools:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ Critical analysis of meeting minutes, project reports, agreements, campaign materials, third party reports

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ FGD, KII with union leaders, members, policy makers, external experts, business representatives. ✓ Surveys with some of the target groups if it is deemed possible
<p>EQ 12. To what extent have trade unions improved their strategies, and methods applied in the various structures, processes, and activities to address gender equality? How can this be improved?</p> <p>Priority question for:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - M-FNV-GEP- Indonesia - M-FNV SD Ethiopia 	<p>18. Check M&E data in relation to formulated programme indicators.</p> <p>19. Additional indicators if it deems necessary/possible to identify (e.g.):</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> a. Structural indicators (Representation of Women in Leadership Positions; Gender Balance in Membership; Presence of Gender Equality Policies; Gender-Based Organizational Changes) b. Process Indicators (Inclusion of Gender in Union Negotiations; Training on Gender Equality; Gender Sensitivity in Union Activities; Consultation with Women Members) c. Potential additional outcome indicators (improved working conditions for women; increased gender-sensitive advocacy, changes in gender equality perceptions, reduction of discrimination) <p>Resources & data collection tools:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ Critical analysis of project reports, agreements, campaign materials, third party reports ✓ FGD, KII with union leaders, members, in particular women
<p>EQ 13. How can partners and CNV-I/M-FNV improve capacity strengthening?</p> <p>Priority questions for:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - M-FNV SD Ethiopia 	<p>20. The identification of the main challenges, lessons learned, and good practices (and possible recommendations) will be the logical consequence of the analyses resulting from the evaluation activities under evaluations questions 8 to 12.</p>
<p>Related to (3) influencing employers, employers' organizations, government departments and government policies</p>	
<p>EQ 14. To what extent has influencing policy and improved capacities of trade unions by CNV-I/M-FNV contributed to system change (i.e. more space for social dialogue and collective bargaining, improved living wage, stronger IRBC, increased employability of youth, among others)? And if so, how have they contributed?</p> <p>Priority question for:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - CNV-I Colombia - M-FNV-GEP- Indonesia 	<p>21. Policy Influence and Social Dialogue (Number and quality of policy changes (laws, regulations, guidelines) influenced by trade union advocacy; Number of formal social dialogue mechanisms (tripartite bodies, sectoral dialogue forums) established or strengthened; Perception of increased legitimacy or space for unions in social dialogue among key stakeholders (government, employers)</p> <p>22. Collective Bargaining (Increase in the number of collective bargaining agreements (CBAs) negotiated or revised with improved terms; Percentage of workforce covered under collective bargaining agreements (disaggregated by gender, youth, migrant workers, etc.).</p> <p>23. Living Wage: monitor data + Number of employers adopting living wage standards or adjusting wages to align with living wage benchmarks; Improvements in wage-related grievances raised and resolved within the framework of collective bargaining.</p> <p>24. Strengthening IRBC (International Responsible Business Conduct) [Number of companies/industries adopting or</p>

	<p>committing to IRBC principles in supply chains; Number of labour rights violations identified and addressed within supply chains through union intervention</p> <p>25. Employability of Youth (Number of youth-specific employment policies or training programs developed with trade union influence; Percentage of youth employed in sectors covered by trade unions or benefiting from collective bargaining.)</p> <p>26. Unintended outcomes (positive or negative) (Instances where trade union advocacy unintentionally resulted in shifts in labour policy or employer behaviour beyond the initial scope)</p> <p>Resources & data collection tools:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ Contribution analysis based on data collected to answer evaluation questions 1-14 ✓ Case study approach based on data collected to answer evaluation questions 1-14 ✓ Triangulation based on data collected to answer evaluation questions 1-14
<p>EQ 15. More in general, “policy influencing is like a play of chess (see IOB Evaluation of Policy Influencing by Civil Society organisations, 2007), where each move will be answered by moves of the other actors.....” Have the interventions of CNV-I/M-FNV and Trade Union partners contributed to the necessary strategic overview? And how can TUSOs best support their trade union partners on these issues?</p> <p>Priority question for:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - CNV-I Indonesia - M-FNV-GEP- Indonesia - M-FNV-PO- Indonesia & Colombia (how can we as TUSO best support TU “coalitions” at the national level policy influencing) 	<p>27. Evidence of Strategic Policy Mapping</p> <p>28. Capacity to Anticipate Opponent Moves</p> <p>29. Collaboration and Alliance-Building</p> <p>30. Adaptability in Negotiation Processes</p> <p>31. Support possibility</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. Support in Strategic Capacity Development b. Provision of Context-Specific Intelligence c. Facilitation of Reflection and Learning Spaces d. Support in Alliance Building and Networking

Evaluation Topic 4: Partnership Support & lessons learned	
<p>Fourth Main Evaluation Question (based on ToR)</p> <p>What can CNV-I, M-FNV and their partner organisations learn from successes and weaknesses to adjust their approach for continuing the TUCP between 2026 and 2030?</p> <p>Related to the roles that CNV-I /M-FNV play as funders, knowledge and network brokers, campaigners, lobbyists, supporters and initiators of organizational and financial capacity strengthening.</p>	
<p>Evaluation Questions</p>	<p>Indicators / judgement criteria / data collection</p>

<p>EQ 16. Are the roles and priorities of CNV-I /M-FNV supportive of the priorities and strategies of the regional, national and sectoral partners? Particularly looking at work in the Netherlands/Europe on IRBC and HRDD.</p> <p>Priority question for</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - M-FNV-JT Colombia - M-FNV-Flowers Ethiopia 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Alignment with Partners' Strategies ▪ Support for IRBC and HRDD Priorities / contribution to capacity building ▪ Coordination with regional, national, international and sectoral partners ▪ Policy influences an advocacy on IRBC & HRDD ▪ Flexibility and Responsiveness ▪ Unintended effects <p>Resources & data collection tools:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ Key document analysis ✓ Focus groups & discussions and KII with stakeholders and staff of CNV-I /M-FNV
<p>EQ 17. Especially regarding Value Chains, does CNV-I /M-FNV succeed in brokering effective systemic change (incl. policy influencing or collective bargaining-oriented relations)? In general, and specifically in the countries, international and between Southern partners and Dutch actors (Multinational Corporations, investors)?</p> <p>Priority question for:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Colombia CNV-I - M-FNV-PO- Indonesia & Colombia (pesticide research) - M-FNV-Flowers Ethiopia 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Number of national or sectoral policies in partner countries influenced by CNV-I/M-FNV interventions ▪ Evidence of CNV-I/M-FNV's role in influencing legislative discussions, consultations, or advocacy with national governments, sectoral bodies, or international agencies ▪ Number of instances where CNV-I/M-FNV or its partners have been invited to participate in policy development related to labor issues, collective bargaining, or value chains. ▪ Documented improvements in trade unions' ability to engage with policymakers and companies on value-chain issues. ▪ Increased collective bargaining agreements (CBAs) ▪ Scope of CBAs ▪ Cross-border and multinational collective bargaining ▪ Shift in business practices ▪ Improved worker representation ▪ Adoption of responsible business practices ▪ Sustainability of systemic changes ▪ International partnerships with global actors ▪ Cross-border policy harmonization <p>Resources & data collection tools:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ Analysis of M&E data ✓ Content analysis of (all types of) documents ✓ KII & FGD with trade union representatives, multinational corporations (MNCs) and investors ✓ KII with ILO, OECD
<p>EQ 18. Specifically focussing on the Combination Country Addendum, to what extent has the approach taken by CNV-I/M-FNV adhered to the policy objective to combine aid and trade? And to what extent will it contribute to the policy objective to combine aid and trade moving forward?</p> <p>Priority question for:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - CNV-I Colombia /Indonesia / Senegal 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Promoting fair wages, ethical production ▪ Promote responsible business practices within the supply chains ▪ Environmental protection, worker rights ▪ Inclusion of marginalized groups in trade opportunities ▪ Policy influence and advocacy for systemic change ▪ Engagement with European policy initiatives ▪ Engagement with European or Dutch policy frameworks (e.g., IRBC, HRDD) to align trade practices with aid objectives in 'combinatielanden'. ▪ Contributions to systemic change that foster resilience, especially for marginalized groups, within supply

	<p>chains and local economies</p> <p>Resources & data collection tools:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ Extensive document analysis ✓ KII: staff & leadership CNV-I/M-FNV, trade union representatives, local governments, private stakeholders, MoFA ✓ FGD with workers, local producers, local advocacy groups
<p>EQ 19. How has CNV-I/M-FNV and their Trade Union partners dealt with the issues of “expected resistance” and “power play”, in planning of intervention to attain policy/system change, and in its monitoring? This question relates especially to the “hostile” environment trade unions often must deal with</p> <p>Priority question for:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - M-FNV-JT Colombia 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Right to associate ▪ Right to assemble peacefully ▪ Right to express opinion freely ▪ Right to strike ▪ Social Dialogue willingness & Tripartite consultations ▪ Impact of shrinking civic space ▪ Impact of backsliding of democracy ▪ Respect and ratifications of ILO Conventions <p>Resources & data collection tools:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ Socio-economic and political economy analysis
<p>EQ 20. To what extent are M-FNV and CNV-I complementary to each other in countries and value chains they both work in? And what are possible improvements in view of effectiveness?</p> <p>Priority questions for:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - M-FNV PO Indonesia - M-FNV-JT Colombia 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ The identification of the main challenges, lessons learned, and good practices (and possible recommendations) will be the logical consequence of the analyses resulting from the evaluation activities under evaluations questions 1 to 19.

9 ANNEX 3 TERMS OF REFERENCE (SEE SEPARATE DOCUMENT)

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