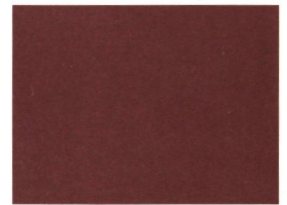


EXPANDING HORIZONS

The Netherlands



Written for the IRENE project
SOMO/Mechtild Rosier & Sjef Stoop
Amsterdam, may 1995
Revised edition september 1995



s o m o

stichting onderzoek multinationale ondernemingen
centre for research on multinational corporations



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1. The scene

1.a: Backgrounds to the union structure

Development education within the Dutch trade union movement has a long tradition. Many unions and federations have some activities in this field. To understand the complex pattern formed by all these activities, it is useful to describe the specific union tradition first.

Dutch history is marked by the fight against the water of the North Sea and the big rivers. This has led to a spirit of cooperation, a prerequisite to keep the water out. Cooperation was also needed to avoid becoming a 'frontline state' of eternal religious struggles, since the Netherlands are located on the borderline between the protestant and catholic parts of Europe.

This determination to wrap up all conflicts together with the threat posed by the emerging labour movement resulted at the end of the last century in the typical Dutch model of 'pillarization'. Society was divided in vertical pillars, organising all classes and ranks on the basis of a certain religion or ideology. These pillars organized every aspect of social life, like schools, churches, sporting clubs, broadcasting networks, and trade unions. Internally, the pillars were organized very hierarchically and without much democratic control.

The catholic and protestant pillars were most pronounced, followed by the socialist and liberal ones.

Dutch trade unions developed in an already 'pillarized' society, resulting in distinct catholic, socialist and protestant unions. Also the unions were grounded not as much by workers as by politicians, pursuing in the first place political goals. As a result of the 'pillarization' concept, trade unions did not seek for power on the shopfloor but looked for compromises at a higher level.¹ Unions became professionalised at an early stage and each segment of the union movement became strongly centralised, with strong central union federations dominating the weak individual unions. This tradition still marks the unions up to this day, although many things have changed too.

The pillarization of society has been in decline since the 1960s, but the division in the trade union movement was only partly overcome in 1980. The catholic and socialist trade union federations then merged into the FNV, while the protestant CNV stayed apart. A third federation, the MHP, was created in the 1970s, and is mainly organizing white-collar workers. The next table shows how Dutch union membership is divided. 25 out of each 100 people employed are member of a union. 15 out of each 100 people employed are member of a FNV union, the other federations are significantly smaller:

TABLE 1 : Union density by federation in 1990

FNV	CNV	MHP	Other	TOTAL
14.8	4.6	1.7	3.9	25.0

Note: excluding non-working members, making up 25% of the membership of FNV and CNV.

(Source: Visser see note 6, 1992)

¹ Peper speaks of the 'etatism' of Dutch unions (Stoof/Peper in: De toekomst van de vakbeweging, 14e jaarboek voor het democratisch socialisme (1993), page 94).

A second legacy of the old pillarization is the dominant role of national level consultation between the 'social partners' (employers and trade unions) and the government, starting in 1919 with the formation of a High Council of Labour.² This model came to full force after the second world war in the years of reconstruction. Influential bipartite or tripartite consultation councils exist in almost every social field, like labour policy, health care and vocational training. Even the employment offices and social security funds are managed by this kind of consultation councils. Thus the Dutch union movement is recognised as an important element of society, even without organising a very large part of the workforce. Full-time officers sit on national and sectoral level boards, while in boards governing local social security, all kinds of foundations, etc, often lay members represent the union.

Although in this way the unions are an integrated part of society, the unions are rather invisible in every day live. Doing much work in the conference rooms of all kinds of boards, they lack the clear presence unions in Belgium, Austria or Scandinavia have to ordinary members. In the media however, the unions have quite a high profile.

Since union density reached an all time high in 1977, with 40% of all employed, this figure has fallen to 25%, the lowest in North-western Europe (excluding France). Membership numbers started to rise again around 1990, but the growth did not match the increase in employment.

Despite a union density of 25%, about 75% of Dutch workers are covered by a collective agreement.

Within the federations the different unions are autonomous. This does not mean that the relationship between unions and federations is without changes. Over the past 25 years, the union-federations have become less influential. Decentralisation of collective bargaining goes hand in hand with a decentralisation of the trade union movement. Individual unions have grown much bigger by mergers, whereas the federations grew weaker by the demise of central tripartite consultation. So the catholic and socialist federations NKV and NVV in the past had a far more important position vis-a-vis the individual unions than the FNV has nowadays.

² Piet Vos in: De toekomst van de vakbeweging, 14e jaarboek voor het democratisch socialisme (1993), page 36.

TABLE 2: Membership main unions (> 35.000 members) per jan. 1st 1995:

FNV total:	1.141.061	
AbvaKabo		311.390 public sector
Industriebond FNV		240.572 manufacturing
Bouw- & Houtbond FNV		162.337 construction
Dienstenbond FNV		92.325 services
Vervoersbond FNV		74.476 transport
Voedingsbond FNV		64.719 food
Onderwijsbond ABOP		49.983 education
Druk & Papier FNV		45.685 graphical sector
11 Other FNV unions		99.624
CNV total	342.064	
CFO		87.297 public sector
Industrie- en Voedingsbond CNV		60.691 manuf./food
Hout & Bouwbond CNV		37.365 construction
16 Other CNV Unions		154.717
MHP ³ total:	158.034	white collar
Unie BHP		75.079
CMF		56.106
Other (VHP)		28.439
AVC total: (23 unions)	111.729	
±190 non-affiliated unions	± 250.000*	

Source: CBS 1995

(*: estimate based on Korver 1993:402 and table 1)

Dutch trade unions are generally organised at three levels: the national level, the district/regional level, and at a local level. At national and district level full time officers are appointed, at local level the union is run by lay members.

An important distinction in the Dutch union movement is between the professional apparatus and the 'vereniging', by which is meant the complex of active lay members, committees staffed by volunteers like those heading a local branch, etc. People from these committees often represent the union in all kinds of local boards, e.g. housing or of the employment office. The 'vereniging' also stands for the broader goals of unionism, as indeed people do not become active unionist just because of a fondness of conferencing. Many local branches have been in decline and some unions and the FNV federation want to diminish the number of local branches.

A second distinction concerns two different organizational principles, which can be found in any union: the geographical organization of local branches and the organization along companies and sectors. The very important activities concerning works councils are part of this second 'line'. The first 'line' is becoming less important due to the

³ MHP is not covered by this report. After consulting them, it turned out that they did not have any real development education activities.

decline of unionism as part of a social pillar, with the professionalisation of the unions and the ever increasing demands put on activists in companies. Lay officials, who do union work during time-off from work are mainly to be found within the company 'line', whereas the geographical 'line' is mainly staffed by people doing union work during their spare time, or people who are not doing paid work anymore.

Changes in the union movement concerning these distinctions have great impact on development education. Broadly speaking union development education has been depending more upon the 'vereniging' and has been more successful in addressing the regional line.⁴

The Dutch trade union movement has been characterised as an 'officers organisation' (bestuurdersorganisatie), a result from the choice for a strong professionalization made early this century. A strong professional central organisation was the backbone of the unions, not (active) lay members on the shop floor.⁵ By international standards, Dutch union confederations have one of the highest staff-membership ratios.⁶ In the past, most officials were selected from the rank-and-file. Over the past two decades the tendency to employ officials from outside the rank-and-file has accelerated.

This has not much influenced the degree to which development education items have received a warm welcome within the unions. A strong official commitment to third world issues can both be based on the commitment of fulltime officers as on the commitment of lay members. However, the character of being an 'officersmovement' does influence the way unions take up development education items. For instance, officers of the Horecabond FNV try to stimulate the use of Max Havelaar coffee in the institutes in which they sit as official representatives (vocational training, social security, etc.). But a programme to support lay members to do the same in their institutes, for instance through works councils, is lacking.

In the Netherlands the main task of a union officer is:⁷

- defending collective interest of workers: to negotiate collective agreements and redundancy packages, in the case of company restructuring.
- to defend individual interest of employees in grievance procedures: this may be done by regular fulltime union officers who are responsible for the company involved, or by special unionstaff members.
- internal unionwork ('verenigingswerk'): to support lay members, to further develop the union organization, to initiate new activities, giving special attention to certain groups (women, migrant workers, unemployed, etc.).

⁴ E.g., whereas the BOV campaign on human rights was very successful with its local based 'discussion project', the efforts to organise solidarity campaigns based on the 'company-line' (bedrijfssolidariteit) was not very successful.

⁵ Hans van den Hurk in Zeggenschap 1995/2 page 60-61.

⁶ J. Visser, The Netherlands. In: A. Ferner/R. Hyman (ed) 1992: Industrial Relations in the New Europe, page 332.

⁷ Although every union has its own characteristics, the following is a rough outline of an average FNV regional trade union officers job.

On the average, giving weight to these activities, a very rough estimate would arise at a 60-20-20 relation. Lay members support these functions. They also staff works councils, health and safety commissions within companies, etc.

1.b: training and education within the Dutch trade unions

FNV

Development education within FNV is done by a distinct department from FNV's education department (see next paragraph). Although development education within both FNV and CNV is not organised within the education departments, some short remarks on general union training have to be made to get the picture complete.

Both the federations and the individual unions offer a broad range of training and education courses and activities.

FNV has changed its central education department into a separate foundation: FNV Scholingsinstituut. Within this foundation a department 'Memberseducation' (ledenscholing) organises a Union school (Vakbondsschool): executed by volunteers from the local branches of FNV. It is aimed at basic knowledge about society and the role of unions, so topics are broadly defined e.g. social security. Members come from all unions, also family members of union members can attain the Unionschool. 'Memberseducation FNV' provided for material on a number of issues. In the past special topics relating to development education have been:

- Talking about commodities (Grondstof-Gesprekstof)
- Trade unions rights (Vakbondsrechten)

Another course organised by Memberseducation concerns Dutch language and arithmetic.

FNV Scholingsinstituut also has its own education centres which offer courses to all kinds of union groups and works councils. Quite important have been the central activists training of two years (containing 4 3-day courses). One of these courses was dedicated to international developments. But this central activists training of two years is to be renewed, amongst others in response to criticisms that it was not enough geared towards practical requirements.

FNV Scholingsinstituut also organises a 1½ year course for beginning trade union officers of the different unions. International solidarity is part of the section of the course on international affairs. This includes an analysis of the global economy, often done by outside experts like SOMO. This section may for instance contain a showing of the video 'The future has already started' (de toekomst is begonnen), produced by NCO, and/or 'The world chocolatefactory' (de wereldchocoladefabriek), produced by TIE. A problem with discussions about possibilities for international solidarity is the strictly practical orientation officers very often have, which cannot relate easily to development education issues.

Most FNV unions have their own course for members who are or want to become (active) lay members. Traditionally union officers played an important role in giving courses together with education officers. In collective agreements a clause is included giving union members the right to paid leave for a certain amount of days per year to attend union courses. The extent to which development education issues are part of this programme differs between unions.

CNV

The CNV general education program for (active) lay members and full-time officials,

always knows a fully integrated part on international development and solidarity. In 1993 four 3-day training courses for members were organised. Furthermore the CNV organizes social training courses, and in this moment is developing a sustained development course (including the education material), which includes aspects of international affairs and development cooperation.

1.c: Departmental organisation of international relations within the Dutch trade unions

FNV is affiliated to IFCTU. Within FNV policy formulation on international affairs is the responsibility of the national board of the federation, in cooperation with an advisory council consisting of officers from individual FNV unions.

Execution of this policy is the responsibility of the International Affairs Department of the FNV federation (FNV Internationale Zaken/FNV-IZ). Recently within this department, two different branches have been formed:

- General-European-Global (AEM Algemeen Europees Mondiaal), where amongst others the representation of the FNV within international bodies is organised.
- North-South.

The reason to organise the department like this was that development cooperation activities have been expanding and became hard to organise within the old structure. Policy formulation for the entire FNV-IZ department is still integrated within the advisory council.

Within North-South, there are three branches:

The first branch is the so-called projects branch consisting of four people responsible for the cooperation with unions in respectively South and Middle America, Africa, Asia, and Central and Eastern Europe; supported by administrative staff. Furthermore one woman is responsible for 'Women and Development', research, evaluation and policy formulation.

The task of the second branch within North-South is political lobbying and influencing policy, e.g. on Gatt or development education, often through the general European and global policy and contacts (ILO, ICFTU, etc).

The third branch is the one responsible for development education. The target group for this education consists of the members of all the affiliated unions, but also the 'general public'. The reason to make IZ also responsible for development education, was that development education demands for clear connections with international affairs to be able to provide for the most recent information.⁸ It also enables it to play a catalyst role on the other policy fields besides union training courses. The responsible staff member (Astrid Kaag) states that education should be the responsibility of the entire department, and not only of the education officers present.

Development education is organised by means of the BOV programme (Bewustwording Ontwikkelingssamenwerking Vakbeweging/Conscience-raising development cooperation trade-union movement). (For further information see chapter 2).

Within the first two branches, Eastern Europe is becoming ever more important.

FNV is represented by members of NZ on the board of several development NGO's such as Novib and Hivos.

FNV unions are active participants in their European and International trade union secretariats. To some unions, these links are the most important way for carrying out

⁸ Source: Terugblik op en evaluatie van het BOV projekt, page 19.

development cooperation projects. Recently FNV decided to work more with these relations instead of letting the IFCTU play a mediating role (see page 10, 52).

International affairs within the second largest federation, CNV, is the responsibility of the department 'International Affairs'(IZ) consisting of:

- a responsible general officer
- a staff officer International affairs, also responsible for the awareness raising education: He writes policy statements on for instance the Social Summit.
- a staff officer Europe
- a staff employee Women and Development;
- the staff of AKO (the third world organisation inside CNV, see below).

AKO has a secretary/project leader, secretarial staff and three project-employees: one responsible for Asia/Africa; one for Latin-America; and one for Central and Eastern Europe. Furthermore one woman within AKO is responsible for education, and there is administrative staff.

International policy of CNV is organized by means of cooperation with European T.U. organizations, the CNV-AKO, and by means of the education project development cooperation.

Internationally the CNV is affiliated to WVA/WCL, in Brussels. Within the CNV attention for international developments has a high priority. By means of the policy perspectives sustainability, solidarity and participation, international cooperation has become more and more an integrated part of the general policy.⁹

The CNV-AKO was established in 1967. Within the CNV the AKO-staff was responsible for the administration of the projects in the Third world that applied for funding. The educational work was the responsibility of the International Affairs officer.

So, formerly CNV organised activities in the field of international solidarity along two tracks: On the one hand projects in the third world and on the other: education (related to these projects) in the Netherlands. These two tracks are in 1994 brought together into one organizational structure: the CNV Aktie Kom Over (Action come over/AKO).

Since 1994 AKO is also mediating for projects in Eastern Europe.

The board of AKO decides independently upon the spending of funds, but has to report annually about this to the Union council.

All AKO policies are discussed Union council, in which the board of the federation is seated and all the affiliated unions are represented by their chairmen.

Before this however all issues are prepared in the relevant committees. For issues concerning development cooperation this committee, which advises the Verbondsraad, is called: IZOS.

The CNV doesn't have a mainstream program which the affiliated unions can follow, like is the case with the FNV. The emphasis in the CNV is placed on the activities of the separate unions. However it is the habit that the affiliated unions discuss their activities with the education officer of the CNV, who supervises these activities and who stimulates the unions to adopt projects.

The separate unions have their own international relations. CNV considers that they are quite well informed on the local situation. Sometimes the unions bring in a project themselves of which they have heard through their own international organisation.

⁹ CNV Action "Kom Over", Annual Report 1993.

AKO has external relations with: ICCO, CEBEMO, NOVIB, Stichting Vluchteling, CLAT Netherlands, and the Dutch "Vrouwenberaad" (Women's league).

Both at FNV and at CNV two distinct kinds of activities are organised:

- development cooperation: fundraising, supporting projects in third world countries (FNV: Wij&Zij, and CNV: AKO)
- development education: activities in the Netherlands to built international solidarity.

This distinction can be traced back to the way the Dutch government is funding union activities in these fields:

- development cooperation is subsidized by the so-called VMP funds.
- development education is subsidized by the NCO funds.

As has been said before, at CNV these two have been integrated within AKO.

1.d: government funds for development cooperation and development education by unions

Development cooperation, both as part of government policy, and by NGO's is deeply rooted in Dutch society. Government provides for funds to be used by unions, both for development cooperation activities (e.g. supporting grass root union work in third world countries) and for development education activities. In a large survey, amongst 1500 FNV members, 57% stated to attach great importance to FNV activities fighting poverty in the Third World. 25% of the respondents thought the FNV did this (very) good.

Regularly the CNV inquires the opinion of the members on a wide range of union activities. The importance of activities on international affairs and development cooperation is one of the items of the questionnaire. Up till now these activities have generally been regarded as reasonably important, and belonging to the core tasks of the CNV union.

On the other hand, involvement of union members in basic third world related activities is limited.¹⁰

1.d.1: Vakbondsmedefinancierings-program (VMP) and fundraising¹¹

The trade union co-financing programme VMP, provided by central government, aims at subsidizing activities from CNV and FNV in third world countries. Besides VMP subsidies, both federations also do their own fundraising; FNV by Wij&Zij, CNV by AKO. In march 1993 the findings of the external evaluation of the VMP were published. In addition to the mainly positive results it was concluded that the accents and boundaries needed a minor shifting. More attention will e.g. be given to labour rights, child labour,

¹⁰ Some examples: subscription to the solidarityfund of the public services union AbvaKabo have been disappointing. In the letter writing campaign of FNV concerning violations of trade union rights 250 members have been involved. Although reported to be successful, the frequency of the mailings have been reduced from 6 to 4 times a year. The solidarity fund of FNV "Wij&Zij" does not have much subscribers bringing in f 70.000 (partly because it did not have priority of the department in the past). But one visit from the founder of a psychiatric clinic in Chile, specialised in treating unionist who fell victim to the dictatorship, organised by the AbvaKabo Chilegroup raised f 50.000!

¹¹ Wij en Zij, Annual Report 1993, FNV

equal treatment, and the informal sector. The program will be more regional and nationally concentrated (including Eastern Europe, and Central Asia), and be more open-minded towards non-union workers organizations.

VMP money was formerly mainly channelled through the IVVV (ICFTU), and only partly through the International Trade Secretariats (ITS) directly. But after the evaluation by the Dutch Ministry of the VMP, nowadays the ITSses have more influence on the destination of the funding. As a matter of fact the separate unions are involved in development issues through the ITS-line, and not through the ICFTU. In this way the affiliated FNV unions will be more directly involved to cooperate with their respective ITSses and in fundraising activities as well.

The evaluation also resulted in the decision to give more attention to unorganized people, especially women and children, and to research.

The total amount of money for the VMP was increased by the Ministry, from f 14.5 to 19 million, and will further increase to f 23 million in 1998.

The funds is divided between FNV and CNV according to the 70:30 per cent rate.

Apart from the VMP funds, FNV also has its own fundraising organisation 'Wij&Zij' (Us and them). For a long time there was not much energy put into this programme, as fundraising was criticised on political grounds (buy-off of bad conscience). But more recently it is again being considered as a good start for involving members in international solidarity activities.

In 1993 FNV supported 117 projects in developing countries, for more than f 13 million. The number of projects supported through the VMP, diminished a little; the number of projects financed from own Wij&Zij means was 18; and five projects were financed separately by DGIS.

About 80% of the VMP means were used for education and research projects, and about 12% for the building up of union organizations.

The number of projects in FNV supervision are those in the FNV program and those financed from the Wij&Zij and additional funds, with a total amount of 86 in 1993. The remaining 31 were administered by ICFTU (30) and WVA (1). Of the total amount of 117 projects 94 were financed out of the VMP (FNV + ICFTU + WVA).

The total number of specific women's projects diminished, but the number of projects with an integrated gender component rose sharply.

Of the total amount of 'Wij&Zij' means, more than 33% was spent to 6 projects in Europe. To the Wij&Zij-fund almost f 70,000 was contributed by donors, and an amount of f 190,000 was contributed by the FNV and affiliated organizations in 1993.

In 1993 CNV could spend f 4,5 million on projects in Asia, Africa and Latin-America. The money for these projects came from the VMP, as well as from member donations, fundraising actions of affiliated unions, from additional funds of the Ministry, and from the regular CNV budget.

Main attention in the projects was given to the establishment and strengthening of third world unions (40%), and education and research (50%). Main Target group: Women (and children), which is structured in the "Women and Development"-project.

9 projects were supported by own means (donations of members and affiliated unions and CNV budget).

About 20% of the money is channelled through two regional programs of WVA (Asia: BATU, and Latin America: CLAT). 31% of the VMP fund were used for projects in support of women, and 4% of the 'own financial means', in 1993.

This year (1995) AKO can spend f 6 million on projects, coming from the VMP, together with about f 0,5 million coming from the affiliated unions, or from individual

donors.

The donations of the various CNV affiliated unions differ very much, according to the projects that are handled. This year their contribution is reasonably high, because the unions put a lot of energy in activities around 'Central and Eastern Europe'.

The money of the AKO is almost exclusively used for financing projects. The projects of the affiliated unions themselves are for the biggest part paid by these unions too. Only for example the costs made for the production of information leaflets are paid by the CNV. Furthermore the CNV offers 'her' unions only material or supportive services like correspondence facilities.

The only affiliated union that does receive some CNV finances for a once-a-year development cooperation activity is the CNV union for women, which is a relatively poor union.

1.d.2: NCO

NCO is a typical heritage of the pillarised society in the Netherlands. As it was considered that development education was something very much related to peoples beliefs and/or convictions it was considered that central government should not have too much decision power vis-a-vis groups in society. Hence in 1970 an organization was established in which all pillars and social partners, in total 32 organizations, were to have a seat on the council and to decide how to allocate subsidies to projects concerning development education. In 1994 NCO spent *f* 17 million of central government money. *f* 4 million was spent on projects organised by NCO itself, and more than *f* 2 million was spent on the cost of the organisation itself. The remaining sum was to be divided amongst organisations applying for subsidies. FNV received *f* 300.000 in 1994, CNV *f* 270.000, the youth organisation of CNV another *f* 79.000 and CLAT Netherlands *f* 250.000. Separate unions of CNV and FNV do not apply for NCO subsidies. This is coordinated by their respective federations. NCO subsidies are to be spent in the Netherlands, so there is a clear distinction with supporting projects in the third world.

The education Activities of CNV-AKO (one employee plus administration staff) are financed for 75% by the NCO, and the remaining 25% is paid out of the CNV-budget. For 1995, the NCO has allocated *f* 250,000. For 1996 and 1997 the total amounts will be respectively *f* 220,000 and *f* 200,000.

2. Activities, overview by federation and union

FNV Federation

Activities:

Within FNV-NZ most development education activities are part of the BOV programme. Since 1990 these activities are organised within the framework of an overall campaign. These campaigns consist of two big conferences, a starting and a concluding conference with a broad range of activities in between. The conferences are especially important because they prompt important follow-up activities. E.g. union branches request for material to organise their own seminars on the subject. FNV also offers a student information service for students asking for additional information.

These campaigns make possible a purposive approach of a broad range of activities: concrete campaign activities by FNV-NZ itself, activities addressing a general public, lobbying, supporting and inducing activities of the individual unions, etc. Also BOV aims at influencing regular trade-union activities to include the view of development cooperation and international solidarity. This 'campaign model' was conceived partly as a response to some flaws in the way BOV activities were organised in the past, specifically the (too) important role of courses. In 1986-87 total participation on all BOV-courses of all unions together added to 150. Membership in all local BOV groups only added to 64. Compare: participation in the first campaign included amongst others 322 participants for the discussion project, which consisted of 4 evenings.

The most recent campaign is called 'the global labour market' and includes amongst others a campaign against child-labour (in connection with the international campaign against child-labour). For these 'three-year umbrella campaigns', FNV gets a f 300,000,- subsidy from NCO. The affiliated unions are free to link-up with this FNV program. Some of them do, others don't, and again others have developed their individual program. To the different affiliated unions, NZ performs a supportive task, for instance by handling requests for the quasi-government NCO funds on development education. The FNV develops a broad range of material for its programs and gives them elaborate publicity. The individual unions can make use of these materials for their own activities. They are responsible themselves whether or not they participate in any of these campaigns (see chapter 3 for a more detailed description of the campaign programme). Some unions organise activities outside the BOV.

Besides that some smaller additional activities were organised in the past. For example, the Working Group 'Palestine Union' visited the West Bank and Gaza Area. They strengthened the contacts with local unions and women's organizations, and tried to get attention in the Netherlands for the situation of the Palestinian union movement. Other additional activities cover South-Africa and Chile. Furthermore there are activities in local FNV branches, and of working groups in for instance Nijmegen, Groningen, and Haarlem. Most local BOV-groups have been dissolved as they became too much self-involved with little impact on the outside world, whereas they consumed a lot of time and energy.

Apart from this, the Foundation 'El Sol', a cooperation with several NGO's, successfully sending FNV-youth to building projects in Nicaragua was dissolved. Efforts to apply the same formula to other countries didn't succeed so far.

FNV plans to develop a standard package for use by local branches and other official

union bodies, who want to make a certain international topic item on their regular meetings. In that way the time-consuming establishment of special working groups or third world committees can be circumvented. Also the danger of isolating third world committees from other union bodies can be avoided.

Seminars:

In 1992 the FNV organized two seminars about trade unions in developing countries. The seminars were concerned with respectively 'South Africa' and 'Women and trade union rights in Export Processing Zones'.

The first one was visited by about one hundred members, witnessing the first 'Trade union Rights Award' being given to Jay Naidoo. A delegation from the South African COSATU furthermore explained why they didn't (yet) want the Dutch prime minister and the minister of foreign affairs to visit South Africa.

In november 1992 the second seminar took place, visited by 120 members and other interested persons. For this meeting a women organizer from Malaysia, and one from Sri Lanka were invited. The seminar was organized in cooperation with a few other Dutch NGO's.

Magazine:

The North South and International Affairs department publishes its own magazine about its activities: the IZ-Bulletin. The magazine is published 4 times a year (4000 piece) and informs interested members about international developments important to the union, and about trade unions in the South. Donors of the "Wij & Zij" fund receive this magazine. The magazine has an important informative role in the FNV three-year-campaigns.

The Department furthermore tries to get as much articles as possible published in the general 'FNV Magazine', which is sent to all FNV members.

It doesn't really inform directly about projects, but functions more as a way to fundraising and education.

NGO'S:

More and more the FNV is working together with alternative trade organizations. This is a consequence from an important shift from the special focus on organising action on the basis of peoples roles as producers (workers) to a focus which also includes peoples roles as consumers. This shift occurred in the 1980s, although some important activities already laid the groundwork in the 1970s, e.g. the boycott of products from Chile.

The fundamentals for this cooperation were laid at a conference on international trade in september 1991. The FNV cooperates on an ad hoc base with a variety of NGO's.

There is also a structural relationship with NOVIB, Stichting Vluchteling, and Max Havelaar; and good relations with: EVS; HIVOS, Amnesty International, SOMO, TIE, and the ZNF (South North Federation).

As part of the campaign against child-labour, a trade mark for carpets is being developed together with Novib, LIW (National India Committee), Unicef Netherlands, and a committee called "Kinderen in de Knel" (Children in trouble).

Vision:

The vision of the development education officer at FNV is that you have to inform a huge amount of people in order to get one person that is very much involved and active in development cooperation. A kind of three-layer pyramid may visualize this. You need a broad basis of people being interested. A part of them will make the effort of getting

more informed. From this group a smaller group of 'activists' might arise .

The aim of the concrete activities is to make people think, to stimulate them to reflect on their own situation as well as on that of others. The organization of concrete solidarity actions is up to the individual unions.

The campaigns should have a direct impact on, or at least some connection with the daily activity of the union member. It wants to stimulate works councils or groups of trade union activists to think of their own activities, to translate the information on development cooperation and international affairs to their own labour and union situation. For instance in stimulating an internal discussion on the necessity for protectionism as opposed to support for unions in the South.

Obstacles:

The NZ Dept. tries to influence the regular trade union education/training programs, in order to integrate international subjects. This proves to be very difficult. All training courses are full to the limit already. Third world issues are looked upon as being some little extras to the 'real issues'. But attention does shift a bit towards European and global issues (e.g. globalization). The aim however is to integrate 'true' North-South issues, without every handled subject automatically being translated into what it might implicate for our own (the Dutch) situation/people.

Also, fundraising and development education are to be integrated more. For instance, together with the presentation of projects for which donations are asked, more background information can be given on the countries' situation. Or, after a course when people feel the need to do something very practical, a project can be adopted.

Image of the South:

The image is not one of victims or people desperately needing help. Essential in the image is 'strength', preferably telling the story of individual people to make the information less anonymous.

However sometimes a shock effect is needed. For instance a confronting documentary on child labour.

CNV Federation¹²

Education activities:

Within the regular 3-day training/education courses for members, an 'international' component is always taken care of. Furthermore CNV is organizing 1-day courses for the existing provincial and union Working Groups, as well as presentations about union activities in the South, illustrated by audiovisual material.

The Federation coordinates writing actions "Free by Writing" in order to free imprisoned unionists, for example Pakpahan in Indonesia. On the one hand the members are asked to sign and forward blank postcards to, in this case, Indonesia. On the other hand union officers themselves work together in a letter-relay with Pakpahan in prison, to give him personal moral support.

CNV takes care of the organization of study-meetings for (active) lay members and visitors from the South, on subjects like: Child Labour; Cooperations (75 members attended the meeting); or Revaluation.

The Federation is organizing orientation programs: two times per year a group of 12 Trade Union leaders from the third world are invited -in response to their own request- to come to the Netherlands to follow a Trade union education program during two weeks in the trainingscentre in Doorn.

The two-weeks program is modelled according to the wishes of the group, which are usually very 'practical' requests, like skills training in collective bargaining, and the visiting of Dutch union offices, enterprises and factories.

The research department of the CNV employs one person who is specialized in International Affairs. Every year he does one "international" research. At the moment he is working on a desk-study on 'Globalisation'. Part of that study handles about the presumed runaway of service work to Asia, or maybe to Eastern Europe. This study will be used for internal (policy) as well as external (education) purposes. A seminar will be organized around this subject.

Campaign:

CNV coordinates two-year national campaigns. The aims of these campaigns are to give information to members and the general public; to get members involved; and fundraising.

The most recent one, about Madagascar(1993/94), is at the moment coming to an end. Such a campaign contains of all kinds of aspects: An informative brochure is made (60 pages); a 3-day education course, open to all members, is developed; training of members of the working groups; production of a slides series; fundraising actions; a lot of publicity; and cooperation with several NGO's. In 1991/1992 a similar campaign on Haiti was held.

Almost every Dutch province has its own CNV Working Group (on development cooperation), consisting of (active) lay members from the different CNV unions. They are supervised in their activities by the education officer of the CNV, and once every year the coordinators of these Working Groups meet together to discuss further policy and action. This meeting is called: L.O.O.S., meaning: national talks on development cooperation.

Besides the provincial working groups also a few union-bound working groups (on development cooperation) exist, which fall under responsibility of the CNV. The CNV

¹² Main source; interview with Mr.Pruim, project leader.

offers training and education materials. The number of members present at seminars or the like, organized by the different working groups varies from 8 to 1,500.

Vision:

The secretary of AKO, which is also the project leader thinks in future it will probably be more effective to try to bind members for a shorter period of time to a certain project or campaign, instead of striving for long-term Working Groups in each separate union, or province. Here we see a parallel with the FNV vision.

Furthermore he doesn't believe in the categorization into relatively rich (Hong Kong; Taiwan), and extremely poor countries (in Africa, Bangladesh) much handled by governmental or development financing organizations, which should be the basis for allocating financial support yes or no. He thinks it is rather a question of the local division of income and power which should be decisive in the allocation of help. For instance, support to a small new union in Taiwan (NAFITU) is possible in the CNV-view, as well as basic groups in Chile, or independent unions in Indonesia, Korea and Hong Kong.

And another view:

"Development can only be sustainable if there is a social component involved, otherwise the new prosperity can never last for long".

Obstacles:

Integration of international development and solidarity issues in the mainstream education and education activities of the union, causes an intrinsic dilemma. Members join the union, in the first place to stand up for their own right and position. Claiming solidarity with people in the South from the members might lead to conflicting interests (with other workers in the Netherlands, or Europe, but also further away). What is good for the position of workers in the third world, might be bad for the workers here, and vice versa. The speaker says: You have to be very careful with handling these dilemmas and discussions, in order not to cause a negative effect.

A concrete example: The CNV supported the action of the "Max Havelaar" organization in the Netherlands to buy so-called 'fair coffee'. This is coffee for which is guaranteed that a fair price is paid to small-scale producers. However, CNV has many members at the Douwe Egberts company, one of the bigger companies offering coffee blends. These people felt threatened by the fair-coffee-campaigns of Max Havelaar. The CNV stimulated them, to push their employers to give a fair price to (part of) the small farmers offering coffee to the DE company, too. In this way the employees became aware that it was possible for them to interfere positively in the buying policy of their employer.

The company gave in (partly) to the request of its workers, and its buying practice is very closely monitored by CNV at the moment.

In this way, the speaker says, the alternative brands have a pioneer-function. These pioneers can help to change the practices of existing producers and sellers.

NGO's:

The CNV has a structural cooperative relation with several NGO's, like CLAT Netherlands, Stichting Vluchteling, ICCO, CEBEMO, and FMO. These are national organizations, and organizations from catholic, and protestant origin. In addition to that they also work together with a lot of NGO's on an ad hoc basis, depending on the subject. The CNV however prefers to cooperate with "organisations with a profound identity" as the speaker says, which the CNV can endorse.

Image of the South:

When AKO started about 25 years ago, the basic idea was to establish Christian unions all over the world. This point of departure was left fairly quickly because a lot of union organizations were already in existence in the Third world, and the CNV started to support (part of) these existing unions.

The image of the South presented in education and so forth has not changed very much, according to the speaker. The issues of attention however did change a lot through time. In the beginning many countries still knew a dictatorship and no union rights at all. However most countries have become democratic today, and new unions are establishing themselves the speaker says: "this has been a good development of course, but -in a way- in the past it was easier to support the existing unions as an anti-movement opposite to the totalitarian or dictatorial powers.

Today giving support to new and developing union organizations demands different kinds of support, and other themes to consider.

Materials:

In the first place a monthly magazine for (active) lay members is published: "CNV Opinion", including publications regarding international affairs (20,000).

All publications can be ordered by members free of charge.

- A publications series named: Trade Union Movement International.

In this series reports are published about visits of CNV delegations to for instance South-Africa, or the US; about the activities of specific Dutch companies in third world countries; and about certain themes related to the trade unions, like housing, multinationals, or cooperations.

- The magazine "Kom Over" is published three times a year, by the development cooperation department of CNV. It informs about projects supported by CNV, about persecuted trade unionists, unions in third world countries and their activities, and of course about the campaigns.

- In October 1991 a video was produced: 'CNV and international solidarity' (in Dutch). A scenario is written for the members of the 'working groups international solidarity' to accompany the video, to give background information and answers to questions that might come up with the presentation of the video.

- Madagascar, as already stated, was in 1993/1994 the 'adoption-country' to which CNV directed its campaign. Most attention in the campaign went to the union SEKRIMA. Within the scope of this campaign an information newspaper was made; a study on this country and its trade union movement was published; a slide series was developed with accompanying text; and a brochure and leaflet giving information on the campaign.

- The research department of CNV regularly brings out study reports on different countries, e.g. the social-economical situation in Surinam, union work with agrarian women in Ghana and the Ivory Coast, and cooperatives in Costa Rica and Colombia.

The different districts have their own district-magazines. And CNV has its own press agency (CNV-NEWS) that offers articles and information for the different magazines of the 16 affiliated unions.

Industriebond FNV¹³

Activities:

The international work of this union is done through the company line. Most of its solidarity work is delegated to the international union secretariats.

The Industriebond has very little influence on the handling of projects by the federation, and it hardly has any financial support projects of its own. However, it sometimes organizes major activities.

In Hungary the union has given education about social security and there has been a project for Rumanian women workers. Recently a large ad hoc activity was organised, which included an international part:

On March the 10th a large manifestation for Industriebond-women was organised, working in different sectors and companies. One of the companies involved was the Dutch multinational Philips. In one of the working groups for female Philips employees the people present focused their attention to the situation of their colleagues worldwide, and especially in the third world. A video about Malaysian Philips workers was shown; a researcher from SOMO told about the history and situation of women workers within the company worldwide, and a Brazilian Philips employee was invited to tell about the local working conditions. Furthermore letters, send by Philips women from e.g. South Africa, Thailand, Poland, Spain and Hong Kong, were exhibited; even as a Photo exhibition about the Philips union in Brazil.

The combination of this information made a deep impression on the attendants of the working group, and the Industriebond is now, together with SOMO and of course a group of (active) lay members, trying to find the best way, and the (financial) means to, on the one hand support the Brazilian Philips workers, and on the other hand to investigate the possibility to set up an international Philips-women-network.

Education:

Industriebond FNV does not have its own development education branch, and the union hardly offers any general training courses for lay members. However it does offer a very intensive education course to (active) lay members, who seem to request a lot of information concerning the European Union.

An existing education program concerning Europe is called: "Vertrouwd met Europa" (familiar with Europe). The course yearly runs two times during three days, and educates amongst others about workers' participation in other European countries.

This union, according to our spokespeople, focuses mainly on Europe. 'The general point of view of the union has returned to the core activities, and to the needs of the members'.

In the IB FNV education program for full time officers, no global issue is treated.

IB FNV has a very extensive education department. Trends and discussions within this education department can highlight some general problems concerning development

¹³ Main source: interview with Lineke Paulidus (international dept.) and Hans van de Hurk (education dept.)

education in unions.¹⁴

In the 1970s, union education was based on the ideas of Oskar Negt. On the basis of peoples own experiences, a training course would clarify the structural social and political background, which would lead to more political awareness of the participants. In practice this method had two flaws:

- an emphasize on general discussions with few practical possibilities to do something with what had been learned. All practical problems were to be trailed back to the general structures of society.
- automatically it was assumed that members did experience problems, but were not able to interpret them rightly, whereas those who would be giving the course are by definition able to give the right interpretation.

In the second half of the 1980s, education in IB-FNV has changed goals from a general education based on a critical understanding of society, to support in executing specific tasks given to (active) lay members. The background to this was formed by two tendencies. Firstly within the union (active) lay members became more and more important in defending interest of their fellow-workers (a task formerly reserved for union officers), instead of being the supporters of the social union organization (vereniging). Secondly, laws on health & safety and on works councils put an increasing weight on the shoulders of (active) lay members for executing tasks. This led to the emergence of more specialised courses, often for a shorter period and not integrated in an overall structure of training and education. Another change occurred compared with the two main courses which formed the backbone of the unions' education in the past. Training became more and more the job of specialised trainers instead of an additional task performed by fulltime officers.

At the beginning of the 1990s it became clear that these gradual and often ad hoc changes demanded for a total rethinking of union education within Industriebond FNV in relation to the changing role of (active) lay members and in reaction to 3 related problems concerning union education:

- 1- professional trainers lack inside knowledge of shopfloor problems.
- 2- training is integrated poorly into union work in general
- 3- training is supplied in a massive and inflexible way

These problems will be elaborated below.

- 1- professional trainers lack inside knowledge of shopfloor problems.

Learning functional skills in a way which is not based on the day-to-day experiences of (active) lay members, is just as dysfunctional as the too general courses of the 1970s. Professional trainers tend to create their own demand, without exact knowledge of the needs of (active) lay members. Profesionalisation of union education must be supported by the development of a system of recognising training needs and translating them in training programs.

- 2- training is integrated poorly into union work in general

This problem does no relate to an isolation of trainers within the union, but relates to

¹⁴ This part is based on three articles in Zeggenschap (1991-1993) by Industriebond-FNV education officers Luuk Brug and Hans van den Hurk, and the interview with Hans van de Hurk /Lineke Paulidus. The authors of this report are responsible for conclusions on relations with development education.

the tendency to see a training course as a solution to practical problems by itself. But a training or educational course needs a preliminary stage and a follow-up stage to be successful. Learning is a long-term process, in which the course itself only contains a certain stage. Prior to the course, the specific educational needs from the participants should be established. Then, after the course, participants should be guided into their attempts to bring into practice what they have learned. Without these 'of-and-on ramps', education in itself is very little effective.

By cutting the link between the education structure and the union officers, the courses were often not leading to an improvement of the role played by the members within their part of the union.

We may conclude that this approach runs contrary to the 'pyramid' approach as advocated by FNV-BOV (see page 13). The pyramid approach expects a trickle down effect from development education to awareness, to practical activities, without considering exactly how this will happen.

-3- training is supplied in a massive and inflexible way

This problem concerns the fact that many union courses contain a broad range of elements, whereas participants often have specific needs concerning their specific activities, e.g. as member of a health and safety committee, and related to their specific level of experiences, e.g. as a starting or experienced works council member.

A solution to this approach may be to organize courses on a modular basis with very specific modules tailored to specific functional needs.

This solution will have consequences for development education as it impedes the approach in development education to make 'third world' issues an integral part of mainstream union courses.

Discussing these items, our spokesman at IB-FNV educational department wondered that perhaps they have gone too far in tying education to very specific functional needs. Time and again (active) lay members also show a need for activities which relate to their political convictions which forms the basis of their specific union activities. Development education may well fulfil these needs, especially when tied to concrete solidarity actions.

Dienstenbond FNV ¹⁵

The services union, Dienstenbond FNV, has about 94,000 members at the moment. Most of them are employed in local, national, or at the most European-based companies, rather than international/multinational ones (except for the banking sector).

Within the Dienstenbond (DB) FNV responsibility for international affairs is divided over two departments since 1992. Matters concerning Europe are organised within the department for labour conditions policy. Everything concerning the area outside of Europe falls under the responsibility of the General Secretary of the union, Mr. Drijver.

Since 1986 the Dienstenbond concentrates its activities on specific areas. In that period there was a strong involvement with the Union of Service Workers in Hungary. This involvement with Hungarian colleagues started with an exchange program, and developed later into structural support for the process of building up union structures and activities. This involved amongst others training in negotiating for Hungarian colleagues.

Another geographical area on which there is still a very motivated working group of union members, is Southern Africa.

This so-called "working group Southern Africa" started their activities with support of the South African Trade unions, during a period of about two years. In this period they tried to raise awareness among fellow members for the situation in South Africa. Later on they broadened their perspective to include Zimbabwe and Zambia as well.

A group of about ten people is the active core of the working group. Around them a group of committed members exists, followed by an even bigger group of members interested in information on development issues.

In 1991 an exchange-visits program started, financed through the FNV BOV funding channels. The DB follows the activities of FNV BOV, but also has its own activities within this umbrella program.

The four year exchange visits cycle started in 1991 with (active) lay members from Zambia visiting the Netherlands. The working group Southern Africa organised this visit, and arranged contacts for these unionists (one male, one female) with Dutch colleague unionists. They also visited a number of Dutch factories, and were able to meet trade union members in these factories too. The working group Southern Africa made a comprehensive report of the visit, lively illustrated with pictures. In the next year Dutch (active) lay members made a return visit to Zambia, where they also met with trade unionists and visited trade union offices and factories.

In 1993 a same kind of visit was arranged for (active) lay members from Zimbabwe, and the cycle was concluded with a visit of the Dutch delegates to Zimbabwe. One of the prerequisites for the composition of the delegations is a 50-50 gender division. All activities were elaborately reported.

Because the activities of the working group tend to follow the FNV BOV program, the Dutch delegates visiting Zambia and Zimbabwe focused their information gathering on the subjects prevailing in the BOV policy. For instance in Zimbabwe they widened their knowledge on informal labour, child labour, and female employment opportunities. These lines of approach are culturally defined and rather controversial and therefore quite difficult to handle.

The activities of the working group are aimed at awareness raising amongst other

¹⁵ Main source: interview with Mr. Wibe Drijver and Mrs. Lettie Kleyer.

members of the union in the Netherlands. Members of the working group visit meetings of union members in the branches to inform them about their experiences in the African countries and with the African colleagues visiting the Netherlands.

The interest for this kind of education is constantly changing in time. For now there are about 7 new information meetings planned throughout the country.

In december 1993 the congress of the Dienstenbond adopted an overall policy program for the years 1994-1997, including international policy.¹⁶

The four year activity cycle of the working group was evaluated december 1993. The aims of the working group seem to be very pretentious but at the same time their enthusiasm is enormous. One of the conclusions of the evaluation was that the program did more or less meet the aims of awareness raising, and exchange of information, but that there was still room for improvement. The working group felt the need to broaden their contacts to other unions in the countries visited. They also felt the need to ensure that more information was gathered on the use of the exchange experiences in Zambia and Zimbabwe, and for adopting more concrete projects with a feasible result.

For instance in Zambia the delegates spontaneously decided to support a small local project for child care.

After some discussion about the possibility to change region for the next activity cycle, it was decided to maintain Zambia and Zimbabwe as areas of attention for the next four years, where after the working group will probably shift attention to other African countries. The general policy with regard to the fact that 50% of each visiting party has to consist of women was prolonged.

According to mr. Drijver companies tend to react positively to visits from unionists from abroad to their enterprise; and they use these visitations in their own Public Relations, usually through articles in local newspapers, and company news bulletins.

Funding:

The working group Southern Africa is financed by the union. The working group wants to have its own small budget to be able to support projects that they come across when they visit African countries. The maximum budget for the working group is f 5000,-. Whenever the account exceeds this amount of f 5000,- the surplus is put on the DB account in the "Wij & Zij" Fund. The criteria that should be handled to grant support are still to be discussed.

Most of the money for the international activities of the Dienstenbond are derived through the FNV BOV fund. But besides that also specific fund raising activities are organised by the members of the union, for instance members agreed to deposit reimbursed travel expenses into a Dienstenbond fund for third world activities. Also during a campaign to recruit new union members, the premium for bringing in new members could be given to this fund. Sometimes members give their attendance fees to the fund.

The policy is that every project that is adopted, will be financed on a temporary basis, which has to lead to self sustainment. At the moment the Dienstenbond is checking the possibilities to set up its own fund within the "Wij & Zij" fund of the FNV. The money should be a put on a separate account, but the administration of the fund should be taken care of by the FNV.

¹⁶ Information leaflet concerning the international policy directed to the sister unions in Southern Africa GUZ, NUCIW, ZUFIW, ZIBAWU, CWUZ, 21 february 1995.

The idea is to let it be a part of collective bargaining with employers that it is negotiated whether the employers are willing to put a certain percentage of the money involved in the DB fund. In this way the Dienstenbond hopes to be able to support more projects within its own sector worldwide, especially small projects that are not paid for by the FNV.

Education:

The Dienstenbond uses education material derived from FNV, ICFTU and FIET. Members of the working group Southern Africa give presentations of their experiences on member gatherings in the local union branches, for instance on evenings where members celebrate their jubilee.

The department 'Education and training' of the union is responsible for the training of officers. In this program the attention for international affairs is directed to on the one hand information on the history of the FIET, and the role of the union within this European body, and on the other hand international institutions like ILO. International trade-union solidarity is not part of this training program yet, but they want to give more attention to international solidarity and awareness raising in future.

The magazine of the union regularly publishes articles on the activities of the working group Southern Africa.

Image:

Years ago the image of the South used by the union was an image of 'victims' that were in need of help. Today, as a result of a mutual learning process, the people in the South are seen as independent colleague unionists, who know very well what they have to offer, and what they need. That is also the image that prevails in the informative activities of this union.

This information is about people, unionists in their labour situation, with the local rules and possibilities, with their own negotiating structures, and with the existing position of women.

Future:

The Dienstenbond is prepared to organize information evenings in the framework of regular trade union education, but so far there have been no concrete requests to do so. Furthermore the union plans to organize a one-day seminar on international solidarity and development co-operation, on top of the information meetings of the working group southern Africa.

The ideal of the Dienstenbond is to have a same sort of working group for Eastern Europe as exists for the Southern African region. But for the near future all energy to get a program on eastern Europe is directed towards the organizational level of the union, whereafter it will be brought to the members.

Material:

-A documentation portfolio, on the Working Group Southern Africa, consisting of information publications on the African countries involved and reports of the exchange visits.

-List of the presentations given in various branches;

-Policy on supporting of third world unions, by means of Wij&Zij,

-Reports of the meetings of the Working Group Southern Africa, 1994 and 1995;

Vrouwenbond FNV ¹⁷

The Vrouwenbond (Women's Union) is affiliated to the FNV federation. The union does not organise women in specific companies or industries, most of them don't have a job (anymore). It has about 8300 members, organized in 135 local branches, divided over 12 districts. This union is the only one left with a general branch structure, while in other unions most of the branches have merged into bigger entities.

Activities:

The unions' five year policy plan contains a chapter about the international division of labour, and a chapter on international solidarity as well. Besides, officers the union reserve in their annual activity plan an amount of days for the 'international work'.

The union organises a so-called 'Discussion project' every two years. The last one was named " of beam and splinter", running from september 1993 to june 1995. More than 1200 women participated. The discussion project aims at stimulating discussions about prejudice and image building about foreign people living in peoples neighbourhood. The national education team, based at the union office in Amsterdam formulate the themes, produces accompanying materials and develops possible ways to handle these subjects and projects in the branches and districts. Furthermore it organizes the training courses for the tutors.

Project material is send to the branches to use it for the organisation of their activities. Usually such a discussion project is making use of pre-formulated questions and theses to help members to have discussions with each other.

The discussion project started off in the first year with a special game, named "With the neighbours" (in Dutch, made by ARIC in Rotterdam). The game is about four different immigrated families, from Turkey, Surinam, the Dutch Antilles, and Marocco. With the help of questions the players are made aware of their own prejudices about foreigners, and are stimulated to discuss these existing views with each other. In the second year the pre-formulated questions are used to discuss in groups the possible causes of discrimination and racism. Living and working conditions of the participating women are discussed and analyzed, and then compared with those of most of the migrant people living in our country. Before this takes place the union branch officers (or volunteers) who have to prepare and instruct these discussion meetings are educated how to do that in a training course during two days, organised by the union. Last time about 40 women were in this way trained to tutor these activities, part of them working with the union, but part of them volunteers who were interested in leading these kind of meetings.

According to mrs. van der Kraan, the union never has any problems to find enough motivated and enthusiastic people to work in these projects. Besides the union officers and volunteers assisting in the organisation of development education activities there is also a database of district education teams. It is their task to instruct the branches, and to organise seminars on specific subjects.

When the bi-annual discussion projects are concluded the team gives advises and recommendations for further action. For instance information on how to get some structural cooperation with existing local or national organisations of black and/or migrant women. Also a list is send to the officers in which they can find information about available written, audio-visual and other educational materials which could be of help to them in the organising of activities, and where these materials can be obtained.

¹⁷ Main source: interview with Tineke van der Kraan.

To give an example: a video, in Dutch, about a family who had migrated to Australia years ago. The video told about these people who were getting old, and seemed to be having lots of problems with all kind of rules and habits in Australia, as well as with the local language. This video proved to be a real eye-opener to the viewers because of the strong parallels with the situation of foreign migrants living in our country.

There are also training courses given in the twelve districts, by the national education team, in order to inform and prepare them for the development awareness raising campaigns of the FNV federation.

The Vrouwenbond follows the central campaigns of the FNV Federation.

The officers of the union regularly send a leaflet to all the branch offices in which they inform them about the activities of the FNV federation which might be interesting for the local groups. In these leaflets they also give several ideas about how to handle the international development and solidarity subjects in their own local branches.

Every april each district has its annual meeting, where results are made known of the projects and activities that were organised.

For instance a member of the central board visited Sierra Leone in as part of the Cacao and Coffee project. Publications and information about this trip were available. Various districts as well as branches took the opportunity to organise a manifestation/seminar for their own members.

In 1987/1988 an exchange visits project with the Philippine KMK, organised by the Dutch NGO NOVIB, resulted in the establishment of five working groups throughout the country. They organised cycling sponsoring tours, and seminars and collect coins for the financial support of the women's union in the Philippines. Also slide series about the Philippines were available. Up till now one of these working groups, in the South Holland province, is still active within the union structure, three groups ceased to exist, and one still functions on an independent base, but within the structure of the Gabriela¹⁸ organisation. The working group in South Holland has broadened its activities from the Philippines to other areas.

A positive aspect of the coin collection actions was the fact that it proved to be a very good occasion to bring the subject (situation of women in the Philippines) under broad attention.

Some branches have independent development education activities for which they don't ask financial support from the head office of the union. These activities can for instance be twinning with a women's organisation in a third world city, or a manifestation day about a special subject. So the head office does not always know exactly what awareness raising activities are organized in the branches, until they receive the annual report of the local branches, and districts.

Another activity of the Vrouwenbond which has become a regular one is the sending of postcards to women's groups in the South on the occasion of the 8 march (international women's day) celebration. One of the employees of the union headquarters writes an example letter with greetings, in English. This letter is send to all the branches and districts. These letters are forwarded to amongst others: KMK, The Green Belt Movement, and Sierra Leone.

Magazines and Conferences:

¹⁸ A network of support groups for Philippine women.

Besides the special leaflets sent to the branches the union publishes its magazine named "Binding" (20 pages) in which gives a lot of attention to international development issues. Each member of the Vrouwenbond receives this magazine regularly. Conferences on development issues organised by the FNV Federation always attract a relatively large delegation from the members of Vrouwenbond, even though they are not individually stimulated to be present at these meetings by mailings of the union, as this is the habit in some other unions.

At the start of a new project usually a 'Binding-special' is issued exclusively about the ins and outs of this project.

Furthermore the union sends a magazine called "Info News" to the branches every two months, informing branch officers. This magazine always contains announcements of the activities and available materials of the FNV Federation and the Vrouwenbond, for example elaborate information on the international union women's conference (ICFTU) held in The Hague, the Netherlands in 1994.

Feedback of members:

The individual members of this union all seem to be in favour of this kind of information, and have a positive view on activities with a solidarity aspect. The speaker explains this extraordinary interest -compared with that of members of most of the other unions- of members for other people's situation in the Netherlands as well as abroad, from the specific character of this union.

At seminars it is even sometimes stated by individual members that international solidarity ought to be the most important subject in the union policy. The subject of the latest discussion project on migration however was clearly considered to be more sensitive, because it came closer to the women's own living and working conditions. The discussion project however was evaluated as having positively contributed to the ideas people have on migrant people, also due to the fact that in the project there was enough room to discuss the personal situation of the participating members as well as that of the migrants.

Funding:

Funding for education activities is available from a union budget reserved for these kind of activities. The fact that the districts/branches can apply for finances for the organisation of a gathering including a development educational aspect has proven to be stimulating for the union officers to do so.

The union derives its funding through the BOV of the FNV. Two-thirds of the costs can be financed by the FNV-BOV, and one-third is derived from the regular union budget. In the budget of the Vrouwenbond to apply for funding of the FNV-BOV, always contains an amount of money estimated for the publishing of four (extra) pages once a year in 'Binding', about development issues.

A condition to receive the requested funding is among others that the activities have to be innovative. Districts and branches can in its turn put in a budget for the costs they estimate to make when organising an activity including or concerning development education for its members. A branch can get a maximum of f 250,-, and a district an amount up to f 1500,-. This money is mainly used for travel expenses of the members visiting the activity, as well as for hiring accommodation, and audiovisual material for the gathering.

NGO's:

This union works together with several NGO's and other (women's) organisations, like NOVIB, AI, IRENE and the like. They also take part in the "Clean Clothes Campaign",

striving for the production of garments under the best labour en environmental conditions. .

Material:

Example of discussion questions

Subsidie aanvraag women's union for the FNV-VMP

Policy plan of the union

Annual report of the union 1993

Several union magazines

Evaluation of the last discussion project

Example of a solidarity greeting letter (8 march)

Binding magazines

The ABOP is the General Union for Education Staff within the FNV.

Mr. Dumont is two days per week employed within a highschool, and three days per week by the ABOP in Amsterdam. Of these three days, one is for his participation in the national board of the ABOP, and two days are used for his responsibilities in the International Affairs of this union (mainly for European contacts with other unions and educational committees).

ABOP is affiliated to the Dutch FNV, and as such they follow the 'international' campaigns of the federation. This means that the ABOP informs its members, mainly through the unions magazine about the agenda of FNV activities in this area. The ABOP therefore has a facilitating role in these activities towards its own members. Its members can get additional information through the 'members service- telephone lines', and can be directed to other persons or organizations for more information. When there is a lot of interest among the members on a specific subject, the possibility exists that the ABOP will organize its own separate activities, but in general financial means to do this are unfortunately lacking.

Mr. Dumont is one of the about eight 'effective' members of the BAR within the FNV Federation. The BAR is the place where the ABOP is actually involved in advising on projects -mainly those on the subject of education and training- which are adopted, or want to be adopted by the 'Wij en Zij'-fund.

Development education:

Before 1985 the education program of the ABOP was much broader, according to Mr. Dumont. In those days development co-operation was one of the integrated subjects of the educational courses. But it seems to be disappearing completely. ABOP used to be a union with a very broad range of political activities and many members active in committees on behalf of the union, for instance in the campaign for nuclear disarmament. The ABOP has been actively involved in a radio-station in South Africa in the beginning of the nineties. And ten years before that they were active in Nicaragua and Cuba, with regional, but also national projects. Projects like that, in the third world are not existing at the moment. This can be partly explained by the enormous demands placed on the union by the restructuring of the education system, which caused a massive decline in employment and membership.

What is existing is a project in Lituania. In 1992 the ABOP celebrated its 100 years of existence, and for that opportunity f 100,000 was brought together for Eastern Europe. Today the ABOP is focusing on the position of teachers in Kosova (former Yugoslavia), and strengthening contacts with a union of (dismissed) Albanian teachers.

Money to support these activities comes from the local branches of the union, and therefore not directly from the members. There are about 130 local branches within the union, but they are not very active. The union membership is growing, but on the other hand the amount of (active) lay members is diminishing.

Nowadays union courses have a much more 'practical' contents for instance: how to function within union policies as a member; what is codetermination, etcetera. Development issues are viewed as 'not concrete' or 'not practical' enough by a big part of the members. This is not a positive evolution according to Mr. Dumont, but it is

¹⁹ Main source: interview with Andre Dumont.

reality.

Only the so-called emancipation groups (migrants, women, youth and homosexuals) still have a sort of authentic union education perspective.

The dependence on government funding for union education becomes stronger every day, and this is also a reason for the shift in education subjects and policies.

Involvement with others/NGO's:

- Formerly ABOP was involved in 'Centrum voor Internationale Vorming in het Nederlandse Onderwijs' (CEVNO-Centre for international education in Dutch education), which rendered inactive in 1994. This NGO directed itself towards teachers and schools/educational organisations.
- Now ABOP is a member of the 'Stichting Europees Platform' (European Platform) which is acting as an intermediate between the program of the EC and the Dutch education program. So while the scope within CEVNO was a global one, now, as a result of financial policy, the view is restricted to Europe only.
- The Dutch NGO NOVIB finances its own projects in the South, and the ABOP does inform its members by its magazine about certain projects relevant for the members. In that way individual members can support these projects, but also the regional branches of the union can organise support activities on these particular projects with local members.

Future outlook:

The ITS to which the ABOP is affiliated is called 'Education International' (E.I.). The ABOP works together with them on policy on international affairs in education.

The EI may spend f 1 to 1.5 million of VMP money through the FNV, on projects regarding education in the South. The ABOP would like to have more influence on the destination of this money. But a strong participation and involvement of (a group of) members is a prerequisite. It should involve a two way flow of information and involvement, between 'there and here', otherwise it is of no use to interfere in EI policy on project funding. The ideal situation would be one like prevailing in Norway, where at least 20% of financial means comes from the unions themselves, and 80% from government, instead of all money coming from government. This huge contribution from the unions means that a strong involvement with the members exists.

The ABOP would prefer to have an other relationship towards the FNV program, but it is still unclear what would be the best way for the ABOP to be more actively involved in this policy, with an active contribution from (a group of) members.

The ideal would be if the ABOP would have its own fund to finance projects. Another ideal would be when the ABOP would have enough money to have its professional staff on development education etcetera.

The very minimal involvement of the ABOP with international development activities is a result of the present situation. According to Mr. Dumont, it may prove to be more effective to react on incidental subjects or projects spontaneously with activities supported by (a group of) members, than keeping structures going in a rather artificial way.

There is a need for a rank and file of actively involved members to be able to evaluate activities and in order to have a clearer defined involvement in North-South projects. In that case the ABOP could, for instance, agree with the EI to 'adopt' 3 of the about 20 projects that the EI are involved in, and in that way exchange of information and solidarity could possibly be organised.

magazine:

In the union magazine regularly articles are published about international issues. Concluding from the letters members write to the magazine in reaction to these kind of articles, one could say that there is a (large?) part of the members that doesn't want to be informed or involved in these subjects.

On the other hand within the membership of ABOP also a group of people exists that is very much interested in a broader, global perspective of their union. They form a steady group which for instance visit the FNV conferences on international development subjects, and regularly ask for additional information on these subjects. When an amount of ten to twenty members visit conferences like these, this is evaluated by the ABOP as very positive.

Obstacles:

Today the ABOP is involved in a possible merger with an other Dutch 'teachers union', the NGL, with members mainly among university and highschool staff. At the end of this year (1995) it will have to be decided whether the ABOP and the NGL will merge. The ABOP has about 50,000 members, and the NGL about 20,000. According to Mr. Dumont a total membership of about 70,000 people is the minimum to keep a full union staff functioning, which would plead in favour of a merger with NGL.

But a possible merger like that, demands discussions about mutual aims and objectives. NGL is not concerned about development co-operation issues, according to Mr. Dumont. So, a merger would mean that these issues would even become more invisible, than they already are now, within the ABOP. Ironically in the discussions with NGL about possible mutual objectives, the board of ABOP is clearly striving for a broad perspective on union policy, including international solidarity, and a global perspective. But in the daily activities of the ABOP this so-called broad union perspective is not a priority at all. Hardly any money is reserved for international issues, so any activity or policy in this direction seems to be totally depending on the involvement of a few people within the ABOP who feel responsible for these issues.

Material: HS Het Schoolblad: nr. 20, 1994 and nr. 1,2,3,4, and 6, 1995.

FNV Vervoersbond ²⁰

Within the FNV Vervoersbond (Transport Workers Union) mr. in 't Veld is responsible for the education of the trade union activists.

Another person, Mr. Dick Ketting is staff officer on the 'international affairs department'. International refers particularly to Europe and European contacts, with ITF (International Transport Federation) for instance.

Education:

The education courses for union members usually take three days, and are visited by about fifty people each time. These courses contain a chapter on the position of the Vervoersbond within Europe; and a chapter concerning international solidarity. These chapters integrated in the general education courses are viewed by the participants both as an eye opener as well as "to far away".

Activities:

In september 1991 a working group named "Internationale Vakbondssolidariteit" (IVS, International Trade Union Solidarity), was established, consisting of about ten people. They coordinate the support of certain existing solidarity projects towards the complete sector covered by this union.

The establishment of this IVS has given development cooperation a fixed position in the structure of the Vervoersbond.

The aim of the committee is to stimulate that the Vervoersbond FNV and its members will actually exert themselves to develop activities directed to the improvement of trade union and human rights globally.

In principle the Vervoersbond FNV follows the campaigns of the FNV International Affairs department. At this moment the FNV is campaigning against child labour worldwide. The Vervoersbond wants to pick up this subject to elaborate it further for their own members, since child labour is a problem much encountered in city transportation in third world countries. The IVS is responsible to think of a way to get this kind of information to the sectors involved, for example through making a leaflet on this subject and arranging education as well.

In the past (1988/'89) there has been a project in the ports on shipments of coal from South Africa. A video tape was made for education purposes plus some written material.

Links with NGO's:

Vervoersbond has some important links with NGO's, for example with Amnesty International, and with TIE, especially concerning the automobile industry, incidentally also with IRENE, who organised a conference in Berlin.

In the education courses for (active) lay members often external experts are hired to inform on a specific subject. These specialists are often coming from IRENE, TIE or the FNV federation.

Funding:

Within the general budget of the union, there is a fixed amount of money reserved for educational activities.

²⁰ Main source: interview with Aad in 't Veld.

Image of the South:

The image used has through the years evolved to one of militant instead of vulnerable people.

Druk&Papier FNV (D&P), the graphical union does not take part in the BOV activities of FNV. For D&P the main channel for international solidarity work is not provided by FNV-IZ, but by its international trade secretariat IGF and its European secretariat EGF. This is expressed by the high involvement of the union in these international organization, e.g. the president of D&P is also the president of IGF. This is the result of a clear policy intention. In the international secretariats resources can be pooled with for instance the Scandinavian unions, which have a strong tradition and commitment to international solidarity. The choice for the international graphical secretariat as the main channel also stems from the professional identity of the graphical trades, which has been very strong by tradition and thus provides for a common international foundation. Also there is a strong tradition of pragmatism among graphical workers, according to our spokesman, which demands a specific approach in international solidarity work. According to him, FNV-BOV activities do not concern most union members. These activities appear to be far away from their daily interests and understandings.

Activities:

Recently the union organized a conference on the globalization of the graphical trades and international solidarity. In this sector, the massive shift of labour-intensive production to low wage economies has started only quite recently. At the moment it is a very hot topic. Against protectionist sentiments, the union firmly advocates a policy of supporting unions in these low wage countries to be able to fight social dumping from their side. This, in combination with an upgrading of the graphical sector in the Netherlands, to make the employment less prone to competition based on low wages. Fifteen members visited the meeting. The programme contained an introduction by a FNV-BOV staffmember, a discussion by a member working in a multinational company on relocating work to low wage countries, a showing of the cacao video (see page 46), material on the Clean Clothes Campaign (see page 50) and a discussion on some theses: on protectionism, on reserving 1% of the wages for international solidarity and on relocation of jobs.

These theses were discussed both at the beginning and at the end of the meeting. Opinions appeared to have remained unchanged.

This day was organised by the training department of the union.

Education:

D&P organizes its own training course for (active) lay members. International aspects, e.g. globalization, form an integral part of the course.

D&P does not have its own international department or development education department. Indeed this results from the way its policy of working through the international secretariats is worked out.

Vision:

International activities are widely supported by the union council, in which lay members can decide upon the basic policy of the union.

D&P strives to involve many officers and lay members in its international activities, e.g.

²¹ Main source: interview with mr. Jan de Geus, public relations officer and mrs. Paula Schunselaar, education officer.

lay members sat on its delegation to the 4-yearly congress of IGF. Also the international activities are extensively reported back to national meetings, for example the monthly meeting of all full-time officers.

This provides full-time officers with arguments to counter protectionist arguments put forward by members in companies which are badly affected by competition from low-wage economies. D&P does not wish to 'preach' international solidarity. But members bump in international items by themselves because of economic developments and then the union will discuss its policy.

D&P also strives to have an article on international items in its union magazine at least once every quarter. Information on union development cooperation projects is provided this way, e.g. on the Aids-epidemic in Zimbabwe where D&P supports a union project.

Funding:

Funding is mainly provided by the union itself. Only for strict development cooperation projects, outside funding is sometimes applied, e.g. from the EC or ministry of foreign affairs. It has not (yet) applied for funding for its development education activities, for example from NCO, as they are not separate from other educational activities the union undertakes. However, D&P is considering a change of policy in this respect. Also the union considers to cooperate more with NGO's in the field of development cooperation and environmental issues.

AbvaKabo ²²

Development education:

Within AbvaKabo, the public services union affiliated with FNV, development education is closely related with the FNV-BOV activities, to avoid too much ad hoc activities and to take advantage from the general FNV possibilities and sources.

AbvaKabo has started a programme to strengthen local branches by merging and decreasing the number of branches from 200 to 50. One aims at relating development education activities to these new local branches.

AbvaKabo will become more directly involved in development cooperation projects, as the FNV has decided not to channel support projects through the ICFTU, but through the ITS's. The AbvaKabo assesses that this provides a good opportunity to link development education activities directly to these projects, for example to clarify the specific problems of unions in Africa or Palestine.

AbvaKabo defines two goals for its solidarity work:

- awareness raising by giving more information and involving members in solidarity activities
- fundraising

Lobbying is done very little. The international department of AbvaKabo consists of 1 person, who can spend about 10% of his time on BOV activities, being:

- Solidarity work with South-African and Eastern European unions
- Writing articles for international magazine
- supporting local AbvaKabo BOV groups

Funding:

About 5% of the total budget for international activities (excluding affiliation fees to the ITS and ETS) is spent on BOV activities. Financial sources for development education activities come from NCO and internal union fund. In 1993 the union decided not to apply for external NCO-funding for BOV as this takes a lot of exertion with little reward. In general the AbvaKabo congress supports international activities wholeheartedly. Over the last 10 years congress contributed f 750.000 from the resources of the union to activities related to South-Africa. A new internal discussion paper is being produced, in which the subject is how to give depth to the solidarity activities, and how to involve the members successfully.

Activities:

Development cooperation is mainly practised in relation to Eastern Europe, with direct support to unions in Bulgaria. Solidarity work with Chile ended in 1992 because of declining support, and the fact that Chile became a democracy again. In the past it was very successful, amongst others with an adoption campaign in which members or local branches could 'adopt' a Chilean family and give financial support.

A problem with this campaign, as observed by AbvaKabo, was that it was organised on a very individual basis, without feedback from the union on changes in Chile.

AbvaKabo organises special conferences on specific themes, in coordination with FNV and paid for by 75% by NCO. Examples: a day on the debt crisis (attendance 40 people); a day on woman and trade union rights in cooperation with the AbvaKabo women secretariat (attendance 75 people)

²² Main source: interview with mr. George de Roos, international department.

There are two local BOV groups which are really active, in the Hague and Groningen. They are mainly involved with solidarity work with South-African unions and joint activities with Amnesty International.

In The Hague the local group is called 'The Hague Support Committee for the South African union movement (Haags Steunkomitee ZuidAfrikaanse vakbeweging). It organises campaign weeks together with neighbourhood groups and social centres. The city council also gives financial support.

In Groningen 80 persons came to a meeting called '10 years of international union solidarity'. An officer from the South African public services union addressed this meeting.

Besides these two local groups which are very active, AbvaKabo also has a national South-Africa group, which organizes amongst other things an annual meeting in which up-to-date information is given on the South African union situation. They also campaign for union-to-union support. Exchange visits with South African unions are always extensively reported.

In concurrence with the international PSI, AbvaKabo has been involved in letter writing campaigns, e.g. on SAP's and the debt crisis ('Stop the war against the poor') by distributing 1200 postcards among (active) lay members.

Publications:

Four times a year a 'newspaper' concerning international affairs is published, in a 1200 numbers edition.

AbvaKabo produced a booklet in English and Dutch "Freedom at last, A report on Cosatu's public sector trade unions about south Africa's first free elections in 1994." Also a quarterly set of press clippings concerning South Africa is produced and distributed to about 200 members.

An interesting contribution concerning development education was published in the Newsletter of the National South Africa Group (january 1994). After stating that subscription to its solidarity fund was rather disappointing (218 subscribers bringing in f 9.000), it states its surprise about the preference brought forward by subscribers to give money to COSATU. But this preference meant that members gave their permission to spend the money according to its own sound judgment in favour of one of the sister unions in public services.

It clarified also the possibilities of doing solidarity work within the trade union: in public services 'workscouncils', in the local Union schools, information activities towards new members, etc.

Vision:

The international department of AbvaKabo sees itself mainly as a unit to provide for the conditions for local branches to undertake activities, not to do them themselves. 'The union should do more than just defending the direct interests of the members. With this kind of work you notice every now and then a certain fatigue. Also themes are changing. Campaigns centred on specific countries are becoming less "in vogue". Eastern Europe as a theme is not really very popular amongst BOV activists like Chile was or South-Africa. A main point of consideration is: how to involve local branches more in BOV activities.'

'We do not directly aim at perspectives for action. That is more the job of 'specialists', we aim at a broader group of people interested. This group should be reached by the branch officials, they are the key persons with contacts with the individual members. Therefore we want to produce a booklet about BOV.'

A new idea is to include development education themes more into regular union education programmes (for new members, lay officials and full time trade union officers), with a central focus on union rights. This may result in reaching a bigger audience than specific theme-conferences do, and also in an 'unchecked spread' by reaching people which themselves reach more people, etc. A booklet "Een wereldgebeuren" will be produced (circulation 5000), to reach the above mentioned aim.

Voedingsbond FNV ²³

The food and agricultural workers union Voedingsbond FNV has over the last 15-20 years established a tradition of being one of the most progressive unions within FNV. Two factors contribute to this. Firstly, after the merger of the catholic and socialist foodworkers union, a considerable number of officials entered the higher ranks of the union who had a background in an informal working party 'critical union movement', which tried to change the union from the inside in the early 1970s. This led to a union which sees itself as part of a social movement, very open to other social movements. Secondly, the food industry by tradition was a low-wage sector, which led Voedingsbond to 'automatically' give much attention to the 'lower side' of society. For instance Voedingsbond was one of the first to pay special attention to people depending on social security. In development issues, Voedingsbond is also one of the most active unions, which can be traced back to the same tradition of a strong orientation towards the under-privileged.

Education:

Themes are often linked to international discussions, e.g. the 1994 global IFCTU women conference inspired discussion on women and development and female labour; the 1995 UN social summit stimulated discussing social development.

Annual conferences of one day on a certain topic are supplemented by a more specific follow-up by the different sectors of the union. In 1995 topics relating to child labour will be the main subject, in concurrence with the general FNV and IFCTU campaign.

Every year Voedingsbond organizes an 'international day'. 100-120 (active) lay members, about half of the total number of members who are very much involved with international solidarity, meet. The main aim is to give the participants some extra inspiration.

Activities:

One national officer is mainly dedicated to internal affairs. But other fulltime officers also play a role in this field. Indeed Voedingsbond stresses the policy that the specific sector groups within the union carry responsibility for international affairs in their own sector. International solidarity is not supposed to be the special job of a distinct group within the union.

Voedingsbond is participating quite considerably in international solidarity activities, both with FNV-BOV, its international secretariats IUF and IFPAAW (recently merged), as with others like AI, TIE, Solidariteit, Inzet, Studio 3, SOMO, Foodworld, Werkgroep Beter Zuivelbeleid, Wereldvoedseldag, and Spil. It staffs the FNV seat in the board of Max Havelaar. During the South Africa campaigns, Voedingsbond cooperated with all the committees involved, including "Shell uit Zuid-Afrika", a radical committee which organised a blockade of the Shell premises.

Activities are organised in a three-layer structure:

- by a working party within the union: International Affairs-BOV, consisting of fulltime officers and coordinating the union policy in this field.
- by a working party within the union: International Solidarity, consisting of fulltime officers and (active) lay members, discussing ways of practising international solidarity.

²³ Main source; interview with mr. Dick de Graaff, district officer.

- within the different sectors of the union (e.g. agriculture, dairy, etc), which bear responsibility for executing solidarity work in their sector (including financial sources).

Vision:

Voedingsbond has accepted as a policy that internal relocation of work may be a good thing provided it improves environmental or development prospects. Even if this runs contrary to the union members' short term interests. At this moment a concrete example is at stake in the meat processing sector. Should the union not plead against subsidies for exporting meat to Africa? Voedingsbond is considering joining a platform of third world and environmental groups which advocates a decrease in meat consumption.

Tensions arise out of this policy of course. But in the end, the union is not the one to decide where production has to take place, it can only influence company decisions to a small degree. By indirect means the union also exercises influence, for example by its policy recommendation to the bi-partite National Agricultural council (Landbouwrraad), to the Economic and Social Council of the EU, etcetera. In general this proves to be less controversial except for sectors which are very reliant on governmental or EU policy, for instance agriculture.

Members can be motivated to consider the international dimensions of their work by meeting fellow workers from other countries. The cacao project (see page 45) has shown that this may change the view of global relations from an abstract threat to something which is the result of human actors. Something which can be changed also. International relations must become relations between people before real International Solidarity can be built.

The cacao project has resulted in a comprehensive package of activities and a vision on the future of the sector, which may inform about the unions' policy based on longer term perspectives, where the interest of those who have the weakest position in the production chain can be given priority. This will be the model to elaborate new activities in all sectors of the Voedingsbond, for instance in meat industries. Crucial is the connection between three activities:

- 1- policy development
- 2- solidarity work
- 3- supporting concrete projects in the South (including stimulating personal relations between people in these projects and union members in the Netherlands.

2 and 3 give concrete perspectives to build 1, whereas otherwise policy might be too abstract. For instance members will be more willing to support a less defensive union policy in the chocolate industry (1), once they have become acquainted with colleagues overseas (2) and have concrete ways of supporting them, e.g. by way of helping a farmers collective in Ghana (3).

Furthermore, VB-FNV will elaborate themes covering all sectors, e.g. child labour.

Funding:

Congress decided in 1992 to establish a solidarity fund for unions in Eastern-Europe and the Third World. The union magazine publishes regularly about solidarity issues. The aim is to have an article with an international dimension in every issue.

Eastern Europe has been a topic for the Voedingsbond since a long time. In 1986 it started an exchange programme with Hungarian unions, to counter cold war ideology. Now, projects in Eastern Europe can apply for funding from the International solidarity fund although the extent to which this fund may be used for Eastern European projects

is under discussion. Opinions vary from very little to a bit more.

VB-FNV is willing to pay an increasing share of the BOV activities itself, instead of applying for funding by NCO.

The Bouw & Houtbond FNV (B&H FNV, Building & Woodworkers Union) has a membership of about 160,000 and is by far the largest union in the sector.

Characteristic for the sector is the dominance of small and medium size companies. Out of 43,000 companies, 97% has less than 50 people employed. That is why most of B&H FNV's activities take place on local branch, sectoral or general level, the company line is less important.

Internationalization of construction firms occurs only on a modest scale. Only the largest Dutch firms have affiliates abroad, mostly within the European Union only. Direct international contact is a practically unknown phenomenon. Two exceptions have to be made. First, detachment of workers is a well-known phenomenon and takes place across national borders. Second, the dredging sector is very much internationalized. However, the number of workers in that sector is limited.

Development education:

B&H FNV's department for International Affairs consists of two persons, one responsible for Europe and the other for the area outside Europe. The theme 'development education' is relevant in several areas, although it is renamed as 'international union solidarity'.

In terms of financial involvement, the international education programs have a limited, but growing, budget. An annual amount of f 25,000 is assigned for support of affiliated unions. The actual expenses are higher due to the fact that for several years not all the money was spent, thus creating a reserve fund. That reserve fund is used now. Occasionally additional subsidies are applied for to finance meetings. However, the largest part of educational activities is integrated in other, 'regular' activities.

For long, the Wij & Zij Foundation canalized most fund to trade-union congresses. On 'rank-and-file' level no initiatives were taken. The latter changed recently and a growing part of the funding is now canalized through International Trade Secretariats.

Activities:

B&H FNV's own activities are limited to: (1) educational programs within its Voortgezette Kader Opleiding (VKO, Secondary Activists Training), (2) contacts with two non-Western European unions, and (3) activities around one theme.

(1) Voortgezette Kader Opleiding (Secondary Activists Training, VKO):

One of VKO's issues is international trade union solidarity. The subject is dealt with in the relations with:

- German and Belgium sister unions;
- the European Federation of Building and Woodworkers, to which the B&H FNV is affiliated;
- the International Federation of Building and Woodworkers.

Experiences with international cooperation form part of the program, although it still tends to be a 'separate afternoon'. Right now plans are developed for a more integrated approach of the theme, e.g. in programs on 'Health & safety', 'Labour relations & CLA's', etc. Because of this vision no separate committee on development affairs was formed.

There are no educational programs solely dealing with the issue 'Third World'. Attention

²⁴ Main source: interview with Harrie Bijen, International Affairs Bouw&Hout.

to the subject is given in regular union bulletins, and also in the B&H Magazine, in order to enlarge the support for these kind of activities.

(2) Contacts with two non-Western European unions:

- Bulgaria

Since 1983 contacts exist between the B&H FNV and the then official Bulgarian building and woodworkers union. In 1990 contacts with a new union occurred. The latter union, Pot Crepa, was established after the fall of the communist regime. The relations between Pot Crepa and B&H FNV are warm. With the other union, SITUB, only formal relations exist. Both Bulgarian unions are IFBWW affiliates.

Cooperation with Pot Crepa consists mainly of support for their education program. Until now B&H FNV delivered contributions on issues like 'What is a CLA and how to negotiate?'; 'Working conditions and Health & Safety'; 'Mobilization technics and how to campaign' and 'Set up a union and lead an organisation'. On each theme B&H FNV officials visited a three to four day seminar.

- Ghana

The education program from the Ghanaian union is financially supported. Considering the large differences between Ghana and the Netherlands a contribution to the program itself is not possible, nor useful. Support is given on evaluation methods and in finding ways to enlarge the reach of the program. A Ghanaian delegation visited the Netherlands on which occasion a meeting of the Board of the Union and a CLA meeting were attended.

(3) Theme activities:

- Sustainable trade in tropical hardwood

The B&H FNV is involved in designing a covenant on tropical hardwood. According to this covenant all hardwood imported in the Netherlands after 1 January 1996 has to be produced in a sustainable way. The contribution of the B&H FNV aims at including social criteria in the definition of sustainable. However, other partners hardly respond. Of all felling of trees in rainforests only 6% is for the supply of woodprocessing industry. Nevertheless, these fellings provide the infrastructure necessary to start the entry of farmers burning down large areas of forests for the establishment of arable land. B&H FNV believes that it is an absolute necessity to create as much value added in the woodproducing countries as possible to stop this development and to create employment. The right to organize and freedom of trade unions is a logical element of this strategy. The Dutch campaign 'Stop the Felling' resulted in a wipe out of tropical hardwood on the Dutch market. In that sense the campaign obstructed the discussion on long lasting solutions.

Inside the B&H FNV the discussion on this issue was put on the agenda of the sector board on wood and furniture, with little success.

Within the frame of the same theme a contribution was delivered to a regional congress in Indonesia on the issue of the role of multinational companies in worldwide felling, trading and processing of wood. Almost all tropical hardwood used in the Netherlands is imported from that region, especially from Malaysia.

- Child labour

B&H FNV plans new activities within the context of the FNV campaign against child labour.

Industrie en Voedingsbond CNV²⁵

The Industrie en Voedingsbond CNV (IVB-CNV, Industry and Food workers union) is with 61,000 members the largest CNV union.

The board exists of 11 fulltime officers, 6 of them are leading the 6 district officers and the other 5 officers form the executive board and are working on the head office.

The IVB-CNV is organized in a structure of 38 regions and these 38 regions are devised in 6 districts. The highest organ of the IVB-CNV is the Federal Council, existing of 38 members. In total 350 collective agreement are negotiated for by this union.

The union has a separate department for education of (active) lay members and lay officers, plus a training course for fulltime officers, under the responsibility of the general secretary of the union.

IVB-CNV has a general vision which is not specifically directed towards the third world, but which prescribes the union to be a sort of shield to protect the poor and weaker people in society as a whole, out of solidarity and justice.

Coordination of all the international contacts and activities of this union rests in the hands of Mr. van der Jagt. He is assisted by a person who is responsible for all European union affairs, like the European Works council.

The union is affiliated to the WVA as well as to the ICFTU.

On a global level the IVB-CNV is affiliated to the WFIW and the WFTC, which are federations of the WCL (World Confederation of Labour) and to the IUL and the IMB, which are federations of the IFTUC (International Federation of Trade Union Confederations).

The board of these federations normally meet 4 till 6 times a year and some of them yearly organize seminars. The seminars of the WFIW and the WFTC are sometimes financed with fees from the members, AKO, Worldsolidarity (from Belgium), and the EC. Every 3 till 5 years there are worldwide congresses.

Activities:

The CNV federation has working groups spread through the country, in which also members of this union are represented and active. These working groups usually invite a (foreign) speaker, show a video or slides and organize an information market on a certain subject, with international or global implications. The union doesn't have its own working groups on this subject, in contrast to some other CNV unions.

Education:

The education of this union is done by an external education institute (SBI) in Doorn, the Netherlands. In the education program no standard part concerning global development or international solidarity is included. Years ago it used to be included in the regular program however. Attention has moved increasingly to the European trade union situation.

This union doesn't produce its own (international) education material, but uses the available audiovisual and published material of the CNV. The speaker however does regularly visit meetings in the districts or regions where he contributes to the program by telling out of personal experience about his visits to 'colleague' unions in the South.

²⁵ Main source: interview with Mr. Wim van der Jagt, responsible for coordinating international affairs.

Funding:

Next year (1996) this IVB-CNV will be 100 years in existence. For that occasion it started a fundraising action to get support for the FLATI, the Federation of unions for Food and Industrial workers in Latin America, affiliated to the WVA. Every new recruited member of the IVB-CNV can decide whether he/she wants to appropriate the fee to the FLATI-fund. So far about one hundred new members have decided to do so.

The union has its own 'International Solidarity Fund'. Out of the regular union budget every year f 75,000,- are deposited in this fund. Furthermore individual people also donate money to the fund. This money is used to support "own" projects in the third world, but also in Eastern Europe. The union is often advised about projects by the AKO, of the CNV.

For example, a delegation of the IVB-CNV visited CNT, a sugar factory in Paraguay. They learned that some unionists of the factory were dismissed by the directors. Spontaneously the CNV union delegates decided to support these union leaders. The salaries and costs of lawyers, of these men were paid for during three years.

So, the projects that are supported by the own funds of the union, sometimes spontaneously come into sight, but usually they come in through AKO, and very rarely directly through international personal contacts. The last years much projects have been financed in Rumania.

All these international activities have become a integrated part of the regular union activities. Sometimes projects are financially supported while the f 75,000,- have already been spend. In those cases these support activities are booked otherwise.

A policy discussion is going on whether the amount of money, that the union yearly deposits in the funds should be divided into two funds (third world and Eastern Europe), or should be doubled?

Magazine:

Every two weeks "Bondsbeeld" is published, the union magazine, with all kinds of articles to inform the members. Sometimes, not regularly, it contains articles on development cooperation.

Feedback:

On general meetings individual members usually ask for more international solidarity activities of the union. It is unclear whether this concerns a representative part of the union membership.

NGO's:

The union has a fixed relationship with Amnesty International. Whenever union leaders are threatened one way or another the members of the union board write solidarity letters in cooperation with AI. In the different branches of the union these AI writing actions are coordinated by the local officers. The union is a supportive member of CLAT Netherlands.

Materials:

Blue leaflet on international activities, concerning Europe and the rest of the world. Information on the union and the sectors involved.

3. Analysis of some major activities

Cacao project

The Cacao project started in 1987, carried out by TIE, IUF, Voedingsbond FNV, IFPAAW and SOMO. recently also the Vervoersbond FNV joined the project. It is aimed at broadening the understanding at the grassroots level of the international dimension behind cacao growing, processing and chocolate manufacturing, based on regular exchanges of experiences and information. This is crucial for the development of effective trade union strategies. Another objective is the gradual creation of international links among union organisations within the cacao chain. The programme is carried out in co-operation with many local and national trade union organisations throughout the world. Since 1987 various international conferences and bilateral meetings, visits etc. have taken place. Big international conferences took place in 1989 and 1992 both in Brazil. In 1996 a meeting in Vienna is planned. Besides, specific sector conferences were held on cacao processing and chocolate manufacturing, and there was a meeting for women working in the chocolate industry.

Because of the large differences between workers in the international cacao chain, the programme started with organising small international workshops on very specific topics. Topics which however were related to each other too. An important item recurring in many meetings has been the use of pesticides. This issue was of particular importance to for instance the Vervoersbond FNV. A project was organised on the transport chain of cacao from the harbours of Brazil to Amsterdam. In Brazil tablets of the highly poisonous phosphine are added to the cacao in order to kill the insects. Workers loading these ships in Brazil and unloading these ships in Amsterdam got ill because of these tablets. A Dutch delegation visited the port in Brazil, and vice versa. Protests of the unions resulted in a decrease in the use of phosphine.

After an initial stage aimed at building contacts on a personal and bi-lateral basis, the project has now reached the stage to be integrated in the international trade union structures. An international steering committee decides on policy issues. National platforms exists, e.g. in Brazil and the Netherlands, to discuss new initiatives, to do the practical work etc.

The program is funded by external sources, such as churches, unions and NGO's.

One of the activities in the Netherlands has been the organization of a 'cacao week' in the Zaan, the region where almost all Dutch cacao processing is concentrated and bordering the Amsterdam harbour, the world's most important cacao harbour. A council member of Itabuna an important cacao town in Brazil opened the week. The local union produced a special 16-page newspaper with background to the global problems related to the cacao industry. This paper, financed amongst others by many advertisements of chocolate companies, was folded in a weekly door-to-door newspaper. In public libraries an exhibition of photographs was held to show the position of people in the cacao chain.

An extensive network of international contacts has been built, often by shopfloor unionists. This has led to a deeper understanding of the sector, an internationalist view of workers problems and often also to many manifestations of international solidarity.

In the context of the project a video and a booklet in German, Dutch, English and Portuguese have been produced, called 'the world chocolate factory'. It presents the situation in Ghana, Brazil, the UK, Austria and the Netherlands.

BOV: union rights are human rights campaign

Since the early 1970's FNV federation and unions have executed a 'BOV' program (at first it was called SOSV)²⁶. BOV stands for: Bewustwording Ontwikkelingssamenwerking Vakbeweging (Awareness raising Development-cooperation Trade unions).

BOV is subsidized by NCO for ±65%, the other 35% coming mainly from union resources. In the early 1990s this still provided for a staff of 3 at the federation.

BOV's main task is to provide for a broad basis for FNV's activities in the field of development cooperation by way of giving information and raising awareness .

This task was specified as follows:

- information gathering and distribution on international developments
- indicating the relations between national and international developments
- translating such developments in terms of consequences for workers in the Netherlands and in the third world
- critical concern with the FNV's development policy.

An important role in these activities was played by local groups for which special so-called BOV groups were established.

In 1990 FNV's BOV activities were evaluated. Some important conclusions:

- it turned out to be a problem that BOV activities were carried out by special groups which were hardly integrated into the overall trade union structure
- these groups were intensely instructed by the central FNV BOV department. In that way FNV was lead to an in-depth approach of development education by coaching small groups of very active persons, which proved to be detrimental for general activities. This meant that support was found wanting for FNV members who were not active in BOV groups but active in other organisations. Thus they were not able to bring FNV policy to the fore in these organisations. The great amount of time and resources spent in supporting BOV groups was also detrimental to the facility of giving information in general to a broad audience. The local BOV groups on their part tended to introvert with little effect on outsiders. A positive effect of the groups was that it maintained a core of activists. The choice of some of them to act as a critical opposition group within the unions ('luis in de pels') only reinforced the isolation of the groups within the union.
- since the early 1980s development education issues had to compete with others for attention.

In 1987 it had already been concluded that the BOV groups should organise more activities and built links with other groups. Also the BOV should be more integrated into union structures.

The need for more structured and less ad hoc activities led in 1991 to a new approach. With the campaign 'Trade union rights are human rights', FNV-NZ set up its first campaign with a central theme in order to coordinate BOV activities during several years. It ran from 1991 to 1993. Furthermore FNV-NZ collaborated with groups and organizations outside its own department in a unprecedented way. FNV-Memberseducation provided materials and tutorials; Amnesty International provided speakers; SOMO wrote a 'Handbook company solidarity', etcetera.

²⁶ This part is based on the written 1990 evaluation of the BOV project (Terugblik op en Evaluatie van het BOV-project), Verslag discussieproject 1992 by FNV, and the report Beweging Gewogen (Impactstudie NCO).

Material produced included a video, the Handbook already mentioned, and a tutorial for trainers.

To avoid the image of people in the third world as being victims, much information was given on their union and other activities, with the perspective of 'taking your life in your own hand'.

Also the yearly overview produced by ICFTU on violations of trade union rights was translated into Dutch.

The campaign was mainly financed by subsidies of NCO (which require of the receiver to contribute part of total project costs).

The beginning and the end of the campaign were both marked by a one-day conference. But the most important part of the campaign was a so-called local discussion project of 4 evenings, which took place in april 1992.

FNV organizes a discussion project on a general theme every year. Themes in the past were 'Europe 1992' and 'the environment'.

In 52 towns, FNV tried to set up discussion groups, of which 35 succeeded. Also in 13 local Union schools the theme was part of the yearly course. The total number of groups was a bit disappointing and less than it had been with earlier projects. 565 members applied for the project, of which 322 actually participated.

Main characteristics of participants (%):

Attended 3-4 evenings:	67
Female	23
Aged under 30	8,5
Aged over 49	45
Active union member	75
First time participant in discussion project	51,5
Reports interest in follow-up	52

These figures clearly show the strengths and limits of the project, which in fact to a large extent reflect strengths and limits of development education in the unions, indeed of unionism as a whole. A relatively small group is strongly committed, with an under-representation of women and youths.

Tutors of the groups were recruited by the FNV districts²⁷. The FNV districts also bared responsibility for distributing the leaflets advertising the course, for recruiting participants, and for providing material support. It proved to be easy to find people willing to act as a tutor. 87 people were prepared in a two-day course to being a tutor, and eventually 80 of them participated as a tutor.

The project clearly stressed the view of union rights as being part of human rights. Therefore, Amnesty International was given a central place in the project, with the first evening highlighting this issue, often with an introduction by active AI members.

The relation between union rights in the western world and in third world countries was the main topic of the project. This relation was established by raising themes like: union

²⁷ FNV has 9 districts staffed by full-time officers, which form the layer between national headquarters and the local branches (the last ones are staffed by lay officers).

politics; and the relation between market liberalisation, parliamentary democracy, and union rights. One item included the comparison of Poland and Zambia, two countries which only recently won political and economic liberty.

The third evening, participants could choose between 3 topics:

- consumer actions
- women and union rights
- company solidarity.

Most groups chose the first option. As very few participants worked in multinational companies, 'company solidarity' was chosen very little.

The goals of the project were defined in terms of giving information, increasing understanding and commitment, stimulate members to start concrete action and describe the international activities of FNV and NGO's like Amnesty International.

Some interesting follow-up activities which were reported:

- associate with the local town-twinning with a Czech town
- advocate the use of Max Havelaar coffee in all unions
- 7 local groups agreed after the end of the project to continue discussing local follow-up activities.
- raising the topic on local union meetings (e.g. yearly local branch and district conferences, 1-may meeting)
- start fundraising activities
- start letter writing campaigns.

Various unions participating in the BOV project also organised activities around the theme 'union rights are human rights': AbvaKabo, Voedingsbond, Vervoersbond, and Vrouwenbond. Besides that, the theme was made an element of the basic education courses given by FNV, for instance in exercise texts of literacy courses (yearly attendance 1500).

Fair Trade Charter for Garments

This project is an example of an initiative started by NGO's, in which union involvement has become quite important.

The 'Clean Clothes Campaign' (CCC) together with the FNV and the development organisation NOVIB, recently presented a Fair Trade Charter for Garments to the Dutch Federation of Clothing and Textile Retailers: VGT. The Fair Trade Charter on Garments is a code of conduct linked to a controlling mechanism and a sanction. It specifies conditions for production based mainly on ILO norms.

In this charter retailers are asked to take full responsibility for the working conditions under which the clothes they sell are produced, and to comply with independent monitoring. Negotiations are expected to start shortly.

The aim of the Clean Clothes Campaign is to help to improve the labour conditions of all the workers in the garment industry, both in Europe and in other parts of the world. The CCC started in 1989. A beginning was already made in 1987 when SOMO started a project on C&A, describing some subcontracting chains. A Dutch consumer organisation took the initiative to start the Clean Clothes Campaign on Garments in 1989, gathering different organizations involved in some way in the Garment industry (NGO's, labour and labour-related organisations, a women's group etc.).

The CCC supports garment **workers** who are organising to improve their conditions by mobilising public attention, writing letters of support, getting large NGO's to sign such letters, and with financial assistance (the CCC set up a strike-fund). CCC puts pressure on retailers, organizes effective solidarity actions, informs consumers, etc.

Currently, the CCC has a small secretariat and is supported by a foundation with a number of militant organizations. These are the alternative consumers union AKB, the Philippine Support Group, the Bangladesh People Solidarity Centre, the Dutch India Work Group and SOMO (Centre for Research on Transnational Corporations). For several activities working groups are set up, involving also other organizations. Activities include:

- Firstly the CCC appeal to **consumers** to be more conscious when buying clothes, and to support the demands the CCC is making to the retail companies. The CCC supplies information (info-packs, a newsletter, videos), gives lectures and participates in discussions and holds pickets and other street-actions. Regular meetings are held with among others the Fair Trade organisations, church-based groups and, more recently, environmental NGO's.

- Secondly, the CCC stresses that the **retailers** are responsible, and should be made to account for the conditions under which garments are produced at their orders. This holds true for the entire subcontracting chain.

The Fair Trade Charter, including a proposal for a monitoring system, was presented to the Dutch federation of Retailers in december 1994, by a working group consisting of federation FNV department of international affairs, Dienstenbond FNV, the industriebond FNV, the developmental organisation NOVIB and the Clean Clothes Campaign. Dienstenbond FNV has taken the responsibility to negotiate this charter with the federation of retailers.

Upon signing, retailers get the right to a trademark they can put on their shops, with which they can advertise themselves as sellers of clean clothes, and commit themselves

to allowing an independent organisation to investigate their company. This organisation is to be set up by a coalition of representatives of workers and sector organisations. The institution will investigate complaints and check on the information supplied by the retailer. The retailer can be challenged, and eventually lose the trademark, if the clothing they sell is produced in violation of the code. Retailers are also obliged to support the monitoring institution financially by donating a certain percentage of their annual turnover.

4. Summary and conclusions

Background

The research has looked at development education activities from two federations; FNV and CNV and the biggest affiliated unions.

Development education within the Dutch trade union movement has a long tradition. Many unions and federations have some activities in this field. Development cooperation, both as part of government policy, and by NGO's is deeply rooted in Dutch society. On the other hand, involvement of union members in basic third world related activities is limited.

Financial sources

Development cooperation activities from unions/federations receive large amounts of money from government funds (plus internal funding):

- development cooperation is subsidized by the so-called VMP funds.
- development education is subsidized by the NCO funds.

VMP money was formerly mainly channelled through the IVVV (ICFTU), and only partly through the International Trade Secretariats (ITS) directly. But after the evaluation by the Dutch Ministry of the VMP, nowadays the ITSses have more influence on the destination of the funding. Individual unions are involved in development issues through the ITS-line, and not through the ICFTU. In this way the affiliated FNV unions will be more directly involved to cooperate with their respective ITSses and in fundraising activities as well.

Apart from the VMP funds, FNV also has its own fundraising organisation 'Wij&Zij' (Us and them). For a long time there was not much energy put into this programme, as fundraising was criticised on political grounds ('buy-off of bad conscience'). But more recently it is again being considered as a good start for involving members in international solidarity activities.

The separation between project support/fundraising (development cooperation) and development education which existed in the past is nowadays being reconsidered as it turns out that it is often useful to combine these two activities.

Formerly CNV organised activities in the field of international solidarity along two tracks: On the one hand projects in the third world and on the other: education (related to these projects) in the Netherlands. The AKO-staff was responsible for the administration of the projects in the third world that applied for funding. The educational work was the responsibility of the International Affairs officer. In 1994 these two tracks have been brought together into one organizational structure.

A general obstacle for subsidised projects seems to be the need for continuity in projects, in order to make better understanding and more direct involvement possible, versus the regularly shifting trends of the subsidy donating organisations. Time and again new subjects become fashionable, forcing applicants for subsidies, such as unions, to redirect their priorities.

Organisation of activities

Within FNV-NZ most development education activities are part of the BOV programme. The need for more structured and less ad hoc activities led to a new approach in 1991. With the campaign 'Trade union rights are human rights', FNV set up its first campaign with a central theme in order to coordinate BOV activities during several years. These overall campaigns consist of two big conferences, a starting and a final conference and a broad range of activities in between. The conferences are especially important because they prompt important follow-up activities.

These campaigns make possible a purposive approach of a broad range of activities: concrete campaign activities by FNV-NZ itself, activities addressing a general public, lobbying, supporting and inducing activities of the individual unions, etc. Also BOV aims at influencing regular trade-union activities to include the view of development cooperation and international solidarity. This 'campaign model' was conceived partly as a response to some flaws in the way BOV activities were organised in the past, specifically the (too) important role of courses. In 1986-87 total participation on all BOV-courses of all unions together added to 150. (active) Lay membership in all local BOV groups only added to 64. Compare: participation in the first BOV-campaign (on human and trade union rights) included amongst others 322 participants for the discussion project, which consisted of 4 evenings.

The most recent campaign is called 'the global labour market' and includes amongst others a campaign against child-labour (in connection with the international campaign against child-labour).

For these 'three-year umbrella campaigns', FNV gets subsidy from NCO. The affiliated unions are free to link-up with this FNV program. Some of them do, others don't, and again others have developed their individual program. To the different affiliated unions, NZ performs a supportive task, for instance by handling requests for the quasi-government NCO funds on development education.

CNV coordinates two-year national campaigns. The aims of these campaigns are to give information to members and the general public; to get members involved; and fundraising.

The most recent one, about Madagascar(1993/94), is at the moment coming to an end. Such a campaign contains of all kinds of aspects: An informative brochure is made (60 pages); a 3-day education course, open to all members, is developed; training of members of the working groups; production of a slides series; fundraising actions; a lot of publicity; and cooperation with several NGO's. In 1991/1992 a similar campaign on Haiti was held.

Demise of local groups

In the 1970s, an important structure within the BOV programme has been formed by local BOV groups.

In 1990 FNV's BOV activities were evaluated. Some important conclusions:

- it turned out to be a problem that BOV activities were carried out by special groups which were hardly integrated into the overall trade union structure
- these groups were intensely instructed by the central FNV BOV department. In that way FNV was lead to an in-depth approach of development education by coaching small groups of very active persons, which proved to be detrimental for general activities. This meant that support was found wanting for FNV members who were

not active in BOV groups but active in other organisations. Thus they were not able to bring FNV policy to the fore in these organisations. The great amount of time and resources spent in supporting BOV groups was also detrimental to the facility of giving information in general to a broad audience. The local BOV groups on their part tended to become introvert with little effect on outsiders. A positive effect of the groups was that it maintained a core of activists. The choice of some of them to act as a critical opposition group within the unions ('luis in de pels') however only reinforced the relative isolation of the groups within the union.

- since the early 1980s development education issues had to compete with other issues for attention.

In 1987 it had already been concluded that the BOV groups should organise more activities and built links with other groups. Also the BOV should be more integrated into union structures. Most local BOV-groups by now have been dissolved.

CNV has its own Working Group (on development cooperation) in almost every Dutch province. They consist of active lay members from the different CNV unions. They are supervised in their activities by the education officer of the CNV, and once every year the coordinators of these Working Groups meet together to discuss further policy and action. This meeting is called: L.O.O.S., meaning: national talks on development cooperation.

Besides the provincial working groups also a few union-bound working groups (on development cooperation) exist, which fall under responsibility of the CNV. The CNV offers training and education materials.

The secretary of AKO, which is also the project leader thinks in future it will probably be more effective to try to bind members for a shorter period of time to a certain project or campaign, instead of striving for long-term Working Groups in each separate union, or province. Here we see a parallel with the FNV vision.

NGO's/fair trade

Both FNV and CNV work together on an extensive scale with NGO's. The willingness to cooperate with NGO's to find answers to the challenges posed to development education in the 1990s is quite large, and seems to become even larger.

FNV is increasingly cooperating with alternative trade organizations. This is a consequence from an important shift from the special focus on organising action on the basis of peoples roles as producers (workers) to a focus which also includes peoples roles as consumers. This shift occurred in the 1980s, although some important activities already laid the groundwork in the 1970s, e.g. the boycott of products from Chile.

Supporting consumer action may sometimes be difficult to conform with defending national workers interests, as is shown by the CNV support for the action of Max Havelaar coffee. The CNV supported the action of the "Max Havelaar" organization in the Netherlands to buy so-called 'fair coffee'. However CNV has many members at the Douwe Egberts company, one of the bigger companies offering coffee blends. These people felt threatened by the fair-coffee-campaigns of Max Havelaar. The CNV stimulated them, to push their employers to give a fair price to (part of) the small farmers offering coffee to DE too. In this way the employees became aware that it was possible for them to interfere positively in the buying policy of their employer.

The company gave in (partly) to the request of its workers, and its buying practice is monitored very closely by CNV at the moment.

In this way the alternative brands have a pioneer-function. These pioneers can help to

change the practices of existing producers and sellers.

Cooperation

Most individual unions do not execute international solidarity work by themselves. Two different ways of cooperation can be distinguished in the way international solidarity work is performed:

- cooperation with the national union federation (examples: Dienstenbond, AbvaKabo)
- cooperation with the international trade-union secretariat. The intensity of this cooperation may range from intensive in some (eg Druk&Papier), to limited (up to the point of delegation) in others.

Most unions make use of a mixed approach, in which these two tracks are combined one way or another. Unions who work intensively along the lines of the ITS, often receive their inputs from the South by way of their linkages to an ITS.

Besides this distinction, 3 models of organisation of development education within the unions can be distinguished:

- 1- structurally: a special department or specialised officers have the responsibility for development education activities. Activities are set up in a systematic way as part of larger programmes where follow-up is provided (eg AbvaKabo, Dienstenbond, federations FNV and CNV).
- 2- integrated: a conscientious choice is made not to set development issues apart within the union, but to organise them within mainstream union activities and structures (eg Voedingsbond FNV).
- 3- ad hoc: special development education activities are organised every now and then, but not organised in a structural way (eg Industriebond FNV).

The integrated model is most demanding. It can only be employed after an initial stage in which the structural model seems to be the most appropriate. In fact only Voedingsbond can be cited as an example for this model. Voedingsbond shows that it takes a lot of energy over many years to successfully develop this model, but that it can be very rewarding too.

The activities of unions are often depending on the involvement of individual full time officers, who in turn need the backing of their union board and other full-time officers on the one hand and of a considerable number of committed (active) lay members on the other. These three conditions can only be developed fruitfully when they balance each other.

D&P FNV provides for an interesting example in which development education activities are neither ad hoc, nor structurally imbedded in the union. A fourth model, the 'implicit model' would be more adequate to describe this kind of approach. The intensive involvement of this union with its international trade union secretariat has led to a deep penetration of internationalist ideas within the union apparatus. Thus for instance, trade union officers are always able to dispute protectionist sentiments arising at regular union meetings.

Obstacles

Can development education activities be integrated into regular training?

The answer seems to depend on the answer to the question: Can international solidarity

be fully integrated in the day-to day union work?

All unions agree that international solidarity is an integral part of the basic philosophy of unionism. But most unions also seem to realize that to integrate it fully in the day-to day union work is not feasible. In collective bargaining or grievance procedures, the item does not arise. Indeed, some tension may exist between the principle of international solidarity and the concrete tasks of union to defend the interests of their members. Voedingsbond FNV for example stresses the need stemming from developments in other parts of the world (e.g. the South) for solidarity from the North and discusses whether the union perhaps defends vested interest in structures which impede chances for development in the South.²⁸ Within this philosophy, it is crucial to distinguish between short term and long term interests.

Social clauses within trade agreements may be cited as an example in which the defence of interests in the North and in the South run parallel. But it must be remembered that trade agreements are not part of the day-to-day operations of a union.

In many unions the idea is that issues relating to international solidarity may or may not be integrated in educational activities. But as to integration in other union activities, they see little possibilities. International solidarity deserves a place in its own right but will always be somewhat apart from day-to day union work.

Others suggests that development education can be part of two general tasks:

- defending collective interest of workers: to negotiate collective agreements and redundancy packages, in the case of company restructuring.
- internal unionwork ('verenigingswerk'): to support (active) lay members, to further develop the union organization, to initiate new activities, giving special attention to certain groups (women, migrant workers, unemployed, etc.).

Reorganizations often have an international dimension, where it can be questioned if defending Dutch employment should always come first. In internal union work it is quite obvious that development education can play a role.

More worrying however, were the conclusions from the 1990 FNV BOV evaluation that members of the local working groups were rather isolated within the union structures, and not much involved with other union activities.

Many development education projects within trade unions are marked by the same strengths and limits as unionism in general. A relatively small group is strongly committed, with an under-representation of women and youths.

Unions are in a process of change, some are even trying to re-define their basic activities. Everywhere pragmatism and more attention for the interests of individual members are stressed. Still, many people within the unions realise that, although a union is primarily an interest group, a union has to have a specific character. Members' decisions to defend their interest in a collective way by joining trade unions, and not for instance by private insurance schemes, also have a certain political or moral element. Too much pragmatism may damage this. Development education may form part of this political/moral element which sets unions apart from other ways of defending interests.

Changing context

As a part of the third world movement development education is changing too. This

²⁸ Voorlichting en bewustwording Ontwikkelingssamenwerking. Voorlichtingsplan 1994 1996. FNV, september 1993.

results from social changes making necessary a change in working methods. Unions and third world movement NGO's are challenged to find alternatives to the specialised local working groups, which are becoming less important in both FNV and CNV.

But besides the need for a change in methodology which is a common issue for both the trade union and the third world movement, also the changing international context provides for challenges which are similar to the third world movement and the development education departments within the union movement.

It can be concluded from this survey that supply, of education and project activities on issues concerning 'Eastern Europe' is growing, but the interest and involvement of the members doesn't (yet?) run parallel with this trend. Involvement of members with eastern Europe is not at the same level as it was with Vietnam, Chile, Nicaragua, or South Africa. As a general rule, interests have shifted from a specific country to a specific topic (e.g. sustainable development).

The third world movement does not seem to have found a new role in the world after the cold war. New items for international solidarity campaigns, for instance based on international migration and racism, are far more controversial.

There seems to be some underlying 'model of explanation' why international solidarity is directed towards some countries and less towards others (compare the Philippines and South Korea). But we encountered few attempts to analyse why this seems to be the case.

In general, the third world movement has become weaker in its public influence. This induces the DE departments in the trade union movement to take on a more active role in formulating new campaign items, organising discussion, etc.

Lacking methodological backgrounds

As for methodological concerns, it is tempting to conclude that development education in many unions lags behind union education in general, as may be seen from the discussions on training within Industriebond FNV. Their approach of making training/education part of a process with adequate activities before and afterwards, to ensure the effectiveness of training, runs contrary to the 'pyramid' approach as advocated by FNV-BOV (see page 13). The pyramid approach expects a trickle down effect from (1) development education to (2) awareness, to (3) practical activities, without considering exactly how this will happen.

Even when development education is not integrated in the education departments of unions and federations, it may be very useful for development education officers to discuss training methods with their colleagues from the education departments.

List of trade union terminology and their translation in this report

afdeling: local branch
bestuurder: full time officer
kaderlid: (active) lay member
vrijgestelde: lay officer
scholingsmedewerker: education officer
dagelijks bestuur: executive board
beleidsmedewerker: staff officer

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY: 'EXPANDING HORIZONS', THE NETHERLANDS

Part I Contexts.

Dutch trade unions developed in an already 'pillarized' society, resulting in distinct catholic, socialist and protestant unions. Also the unions were grounded not as much by workers as by politicians, pursuing in the first place political goals. As a result of the 'pillarization' concept, trade unions did not seek for power on the shopfloor but looked for compromises at a higher level.

The pillarization of society has been in decline since the 1960s, but the division in the trade union movement was only partly overcome in 1980. The catholic and socialist trade union federations then merged into the FNV, while the protestant CNV stayed apart. A third federation, the MHP, was created in the 1970s, and is mainly organizing white-collar workers.

Today influential bipartite or tripartite consultation councils exist in almost every social field, like labour policy, health care and vocational training. Even the employment offices and social security funds are managed by this kind of consultation councils. Thus the Dutch union movement is recognised as an important element of society, even without organising a very large part of the workforce. Therefore, although the unions are an integrated part of society, they are rather invisible in every day live.

Despite a union density of only 25%, about 75% of Dutch workers are covered by a collective agreement.

Within the federations the different unions are autonomous. The relationship between unions and federations have been changing over the past 25 years. Individual unions have grown much bigger by mergers, whereas the federations grew weaker by the demise of central tripartite consultation.

Dutch trade unions are generally organised at three levels: the national level, the district/regional level, and at a local level. At national and district level full time officers are appointed; at local level the union is run by lay members.

An important distinction in the Dutch union movement is between the professional apparatus and the 'vereniging', by which is meant the complex of active lay members, committees staffed by volunteers like those heading a local branch, etc.

A second distinction concerns two different organizational principles, which can be found in any union: the geographical organization of local branches and the organization along companies and sectors. The very important activities concerning works councils are part of this second 'line'. The first 'line' is becoming less important due to the decline of unionism as part of a social pillar, with the professionalisation of the unions and the ever increasing demands put on activists in companies.

Changes in the union movement concerning these distinctions have great impact on development education. Broadly speaking union development education has been depending more upon the 'vereniging' and has been more successful in addressing the regional line.

Development education within the Dutch trade union movement has a long tradition. Many unions and federations have some activities in this field. But anyway, involvement of union members in basic third world related activities is relatively limited.

As a part of the changing third world movement, development education is changing too. This results from social changes making necessary a change in working methods. Unions and third world movement NGO's are challenged to find alternatives to the

specialised local working groups, which are becoming less important in both FNV and CNV.

But besides the need for a change in methodology which is a common issue for both the trade union and the third world movement, also the changing international context provides for challenges, which are similar to the third world movement and the development education departments within the union movement.

It can for instance be concluded from our survey that supply, of education and project activities on issues concerning 'Eastern Europe' is growing, but the interest and involvement of the members doesn't (yet?) run parallel with this trend. Involvement of members with Eastern Europe is not at the same level as it was with Vietnam, Chile, Nicaragua, or South Africa. There seems to be some underlying 'model of explanation' why international solidarity is directed towards some countries and less towards others (compare the Philippines and South Korea). But we encountered few attempts to analyse why this seems to be the case.

Development cooperation, both as part of government policy, and by NGO's is deeply rooted in Dutch society. Unions/federations receive large amounts of money from government funds (plus internal funding):

- development cooperation is subsidized by the so-called VMP funds.
- development education is subsidized by the NCO funds.

Apart from the VMP funds, FNV also has its own fundraising organisation: 'Wij&Zij' (Us and them).

The separation between project support/fundraising (development cooperation) and development education which existed in the past is nowadays being reconsidered as it turns out that it is often useful to combine these two activities.

Formerly CNV organised activities in the field of international solidarity along two tracks: On the one hand projects in the third world and on the other: education (related to these projects) in the Netherlands. In 1994 these two tracks have been brought together into one organizational structure.

A general obstacle for subsidised projects seems to be the need for continuity in projects, in order to make better understanding and more direct involvement possible, versus the regularly shifting trends of the subsidy donating organisations. Time and again new subjects become fashionable, forcing applicants for subsidies, such as unions, to redirect their priorities.

Part II Structural aspects and main activities.

Within FNV policy formulation on international affairs is the responsibility of the national board of the federation, in cooperation with an advisory council consisting of officers from individual FNV unions.

Execution of this policy is the responsibility of the International Affairs Department of the FNV federation (FNV Internationale Zaken/FNV-IZ). Recently within this department, two different branches have been formed: -General-European-Global (AEM), and
-North-South (NZ)

The NZ-branch is amongst other things responsible for development education, organised by means of the BOV programme (Bewustwording OntwikkelingssamenwerkingVakbeweging/Conscience-raisingdevelopmentcooperation trade-union movement). Thus, development education within FNV is done by a distinct

department from FNV's (general) education department.

The target group for this education consists of the members of all the affiliated unions, but also the 'general public'.

The need for more structured and less ad hoc activities led to a new approach in 1991. With the campaign 'Trade union rights are human rights', FNV set up its first campaign with a central theme in order to coordinate BOV activities during several years.

The most recent campaign is called 'the global labour market' and includes amongst others a campaign against child-labour.

These campaigns make possible a purposive approach of a broad range of activities: concrete campaign activities by FNV-NZ itself, activities addressing a general public, lobbying, supporting and inducing activities of the individual unions, etc. Also BOV aims at influencing regular trade-union activities to include the view of development cooperation and international solidarity.

For these 'three-year umbrella campaigns', FNV gets subsidy from NCO. The affiliated unions are free to link-up with this FNV program. Some of them do, others don't, and again others have developed their individual program. To the different affiliated unions, NZ performs a supportive task, for instance by handling requests for the quasi-government NCO funds on development education.

Within the second largest federation, CNV attention for international developments has a high priority. By means of the policy perspectives sustainability, solidarity and participation, international cooperation has become more and more an integrated part of the general policy.

International affairs within CNV, is the responsibility of the department 'International Affairs'(IZ) consisting of staff officers, and the staff of AKO, the third world organisation inside CNV, responsible for the projects, and for development education. Within CNV the general education program for (active) lay members and full-time officials, always knows a fully integrated part on international development and solidarity.

The CNV doesn't have a mainstream program which the affiliated unions can follow, like is the case with the FNV. The emphasis in the CNV is placed on the activities of the separate unions.

However, the CNV coordinates two-year national campaigns, aiming to give information to members and the general public; to get members involved; and fundraising.

The most recent one, about Madagascar(1993/94), is at the moment coming to an end. In 1991/1992 a similar campaign on Haiti was held.

In the 1970s, an important structure within the FNV-BOV programme was formed by local BOV groups. In 1990 FNV's BOV activities were evaluated, concluding that the in-depth approach of development education by coaching small groups of very active persons, was hardly integrated into the overall trade union structure. By now most local BOV-groups have been dissolved.

CNV has its own Working Group (on development cooperation) in almost every Dutch province. Besides the provincial working groups also a few union-bound working groups exist, which fall under responsibility of the CNV. The CNV offers training and education materials.

The secretary of AKO, which is also the project leader thinks in future it will probably be more effective to try to bind members for a shorter period of time to a certain project or campaign, instead of striving for long-term Working Groups in each separate union,

or province. Here we see a parallel with the FNV vision.

Part III Some specific itmes.

Both FNV and CNV work together on an extensive scale with NGO's. The willingness to cooperate with NGO's to find answers to the challenges posed to development education in the 1990s is quite large, and seems to become even larger.

FNV is increasingly cooperating with alternative trade organizations. This is a consequence from an important shift from the special focus on organising action on the basis of peoples roles as producers (workers) to a focus which also includes peoples roles as consumers. Supporting consumer action may sometimes be difficult to conform with defending national workers interests, as is shown by the CNV support for the action of Max Havelaar in the Netherlands to buy so-called 'fair coffee'. However CNV has many members at the Douwe Egberts company, one of the bigger companies offering coffee blends. These people felt threatened by the fair-coffee-campaigns of Max Havelaar. The CNV stimulated them, to push their employers to give a fair price to (part of) the small farmers offering coffee to DE too. In this way the employees became aware that it was possible for them to interfere positively in the buying policy of their employer.

The company gave in (partly) to the request of its workers, and its buying practice is monitored very closely by CNV at the moment.

In this way the alternative brands have a pioneer-function. These pioneers can help to change the practices of existing producers and sellers.

Most individual unions do not execute international solidarity work by themselves. Two different ways of cooperation (varying from intensive to limited) can be distinguished in the way international solidarity work is performed:

- cooperation with the national union federation (examples: Dienstebond, AbvaKabo)
- cooperation with the international trade-union secretariat.

Besides this distinction, 3 models of organisation of development education within the unions can be formulated:

- 1- structurally: a special department or specialised officers have the responsibility for development education activities. Activities are set up in a systematic way as part of larger programmes where follow-up is provided (eg AbvaKabo, Dienstebond, federations FNV and CNV).
- 2- integrated: a conscientious choice is made not to set development issues apart within the union, but to organise them within mainstream union activities and structures (eg Voedingsbond FNV).
- 3- ad hoc: special development education activities are organised every now and then, but not organised in a structural way (eg Industriebond FNV).

The integrated model is most demanding. It can only be employed after an initial stage in which the structural model seems to be the most appropriate. In fact only Voedingsbond can be cited as an example for this model. Voedingsbond shows that it takes a lot of energy over many years to successfully develop this model, but that it can be very rewarding too.

The activities of unions are often depending on the involvement of individual full time

officers, who in turn need the backing of their union board and other full-time officers on the one hand and of a considerable number of committed (active) lay members on the other. These three conditions can only be developed fruitfully when they balance each other.

D&P FNV provides for an interesting example in which development education activities are neither ad hoc, nor structurally imbedded in the union. A fourth model, the 'implicit model' would be more adequate to describe this kind of approach. The intensive involvement of this union with its international trade union secretariat has led to a deep penetration of internationalist ideas within the union apparatus. Thus for instance, trade union officers are always able to dispute protectionist sentiments arising at regular union meetings.

Can development education activities be integrated into regular training?

The answer seems to depend on the answer to the question: Can international solidarity be fully integrated in the day-to day union work?

All unions agree that international solidarity is an integral part of the basic philosophy of unionism. But most unions also seem to realize that to integrate it fully in the day-to day union work is not feasible. In collective bargaining or grievance procedures, the item does not arise. Indeed, some tension may exist between the principle of international solidarity and the concrete tasks of union to defend the interests of their members.

Social clauses within trade agreements may be cited as an example in which the defence of interests in the North and in the South run parallel. But it must be remembered that trade agreements are not part of the day-to-day operations of a union.

Company restructuring often has an international dimension, where it can be questioned if defending Dutch employment should always come first. In internal union work it is quite obvious that development education can play a role.

In many unions the idea is that issues relating to international solidarity may or may not be integrated in educational activities. But as to integration in other union activities, they see little possibilities. International solidarity deserves a place in its own right but will always be somewhat apart from day-to day union work.

Many development education projects within trade unions are marked by the same strengths and limits as unionism in general. A relatively small group is strongly committed, with an under-representation of women and youths.

Unions are in a process of change, some are even trying to re-define their basic activities. Everywhere pragmatism and more attention for the interests of individual members are stressed. Still, many people within the unions realise that, although a union is primarily an interest group, a union has to have a specific character. Members' decisions to defend their interest in a collective way by joining trade unions, and not for instance by private insurance schemes, also have a certain political or moral element. Too much pragmatism may damage this. Development education may form part of this political/moral element which sets unions apart from other ways of defending interests.

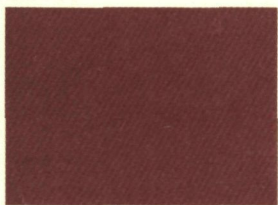
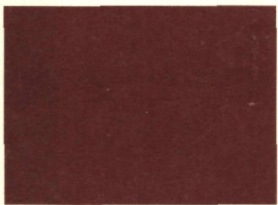
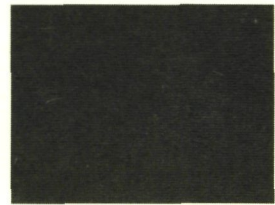
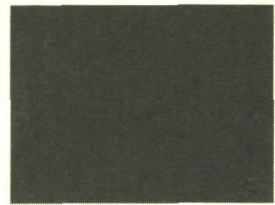
As a general rule, interests have shifted from a specific country to a specific topic, e.g. sustainable development.

Part IV Successes and challenges. Recommendations.

In general, the third world movement has become weaker in its public influence. This induces the DE departments in the trade union movement to take on a more active role in formulating new campaign items, organising discussion, etc.

As for methodological concerns, it is tempting to conclude that development education in many unions lags behind union education in general, as may be seen from the discussions on training within Industriebond FNV. Their approach of making training/education part of a process with adequate activities before and afterwards, to ensure the effectiveness of training, runs contrary to the 'pyramid' approach as advocated by FNV-BOV. The pyramid approach expects a trickle down effect from (1) development education to (2) awareness, to (3) practical activities, without considering exactly how this will happen.

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stichting onderzoek multinationale ondernemingen
centre for research on multinational corporations

Keizersgracht 132
1015 CW Amsterdam
the Netherlands
tel 020-6 3912 91
fax 020-6 3913 21
E-mail: Internet:
somo@antenna.nl