

Civil society voices for
Better Aid

The TUDCN – Trade Union Development Network was set up in 2008 by the ITUC. The network is an open and inclusive structure, based on voluntary commitment of the trade union organisations active in development cooperation both in the North and in the South. The “TUDCN Development Papers” are meant to present and disseminate trade unions positions and views on international development cooperation policies.

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1. Introduction

As social partners and key actors in the quest to realize development and decent livelihoods for all, trade unions have been active players in the aid and development effectiveness debates arising out of the Paris Declaration (PD) and Accra Agenda for Action (AAA) processes. They have built strong alliances with CSOs, and are members of the main CSO Platforms around aid and development effectiveness: the Better Aid Platform and the Open Forum process on CSO Development Effectiveness. They have also followed closely, and been a part of the OECD-DAC Working Party on Aid Effectiveness. In the context of the preparations for the Fourth High Level Forum in Busan (HLF-4), trade unions wish to align themselves with the positions taken by the Better Aid Platform, and articulated in the paper: CSOs on the Road to Busan: Key Messages and Proposals”

Trade unions join the call of the Better Aid Platform for *A Busan Declaration on Development Effectiveness* [that would] set out ambitious commitments for renewed partnerships for a development cooperation system that focuses on human rights, recognizing the centrality of poverty reduction, gender equality, social justice, decent work and environmental sustainability... [and that would] also deliver an implementation framework with specific, time-bound, measurable benchmarks, which can be independently and regularly monitored, for these commitments.”

Building on the Better Aid positions, trade unions wish to further the debates and deepen the analyses from a labour perspective, presenting a number of positions and proposals arising from the trade union consultations that have taken place over the past year and a half, at regional and global levels, organized by the Trade Union Development Cooperation Network (TUDCN).

While trade unions have recognized the Accra Agenda for Action (AAA) as an advance on the Paris Declaration in some areas important for aid effectiveness, they have deplored its limited technocratic view of what constitutes aid effectiveness, and its failure to link the Paris/Accra process to the broader normative and policy environment for development, despite the recognition in the AAA that aid is not the only factor contributing to development. Indeed, aid delivery does not take place in a vacuum, and cannot be effective without functional linkages to broader policies and normative frameworks aimed at achieving poverty eradication, decent work, enjoyment of human rights, gender equality, and environmental sustainability.

These trade union positions arise out of a long experience of international cooperation within the labour movement, and support to trade union organizations and workers in developing countries. As part of civil society, trade unions are also stakeholders in a highly unique sense, as social partners, along with employers’ organizations and governments, in the tripartite statutory decision-making bodies of the International Labour Organisation at international level, as well as in similar tripartite arrangements at national level, in both donor and developing countries.

2. The Social and Political Economy Context

It is against the backdrop of this rich experience and expertise that trade unions make these inputs into the HLF-4 process. Trade unions assert the need to place the Aid Effectiveness Agenda within the current social and political economy context, given its profound impacts in terms of increasing poverty, unemployment, underemployment, and inequality. Because of its emphasis on market-led, export-oriented growth and capital accumulation, the pre-dominant neo-liberal economic policies have been producing weak labour markets and jobless growth over the past three decades. In addition to this, prospects for realizing the Decent Work Agenda have been severely challenged since 2008 by the impacts of multiple crises: the financial, economic, energy, food and climate crises. With the resulting social exclusions and shrinking of democratic spaces for civil society and trade union engagement, social instability and unrest are on the rise, as manifested most starkly in the popular uprisings that have taken place in North Africa and the Middle East.

After an initial period of proposed regulatory reforms in the financial sector in response to the crisis, as well as coordinated recovery packages to stimulate demand-led growth globally, and create jobs, policy-makers in most G20 countries have reverted back to neo-liberal policies, emphasizing, fiscal consolidation and austerity. And the IFIs are prescribing the same policies for the developing world, prioritizing structural adjustment, labour market deregulation, and cuts in public spending. At the same time, profit maximization and repatriation by multinational corporations have reached unprecedented levels. Capital flight to tax havens is rife, and huge resources are lost to reinvestment in development and decent work. This is, for example, the case for the extractive industries in Africa. Nor have the new development cooperation actors from emerging market economies made any departures from these highly exploitative investment strategies.

Regressive taxation regimes are on the rise, rather than progressive taxation on capital. And once again, these resources are lost to development. There is evidence of the increasing duality of economies, whereby wealth is created and concentrated in the financial sector, with weak distributive links to the real economy for the creation of decent jobs and the spread of well-being. Wage developments have not kept pace with productivity growth, and the labour share of national income has been declining in most countries over the past decade. The net result is the growing informality of work and the increasing feminization of poverty, as many women are forced into precarious, low-paying jobs in the informal economy. In addition, increasing numbers of young people are failing to find decent jobs. The numbers of the working poor, with limited upward social mobility opportunities, are on the rise. Social protection coverage remains limited. The benefits and costs of international trade are spread unevenly between industrialized and developing countries. Social dialogue and respect for freedom of association for trade unions is under tremendous pressure, and freedom to engage in trade union activity is routinely curtailed in many countries (see ITUC Annual Survey of Trade Union Rights, 2010).

Trade unions contend that the current paradigm of development, based on “market fundamentalism”, has not only achieved mere modest gains in poverty reduction, but it has actually caused inequalities and poverty, and has contributed to an erosion of workers’ rights and a weakening of workers’ organisations in many developing countries. This is attributed to its [practice] of “labour market flexibility, privatisation, deregulation and market liberalization”.¹

¹ ITUC Resolution on a sustainable and just development model for the 21st Century, 2nd World Congress,

3. Evolution of the Aid/Development Effectiveness Agenda

Trade unions have noted some advances in the AAA as compared with the Paris Declaration, in that it provided a framework to accelerate progress in achieving the Paris Declaration commitments on a number of fronts:

- A broadening of the notion of ownership, emphasizing the role of CSOs and parliamentarians;
- A recognition that aid is not the only factor in achieving development, and introduction of the notion of development effectiveness;
- An emphasis placed on the importance of gender equality, respect for human rights and environmental sustainability;
- Reference to the importance of South-South cooperation, setting out alternative principles and emphasizing non interference, equality and diversity;
- An emphasis placed on the need to accelerate progress and introduce other aid effectiveness principles (e.g.):
 - Predictability – donors will provide 3-5 year forward information on their planned aid to partner countries;
- A shift to partner country systems as the first option for aid delivery, rather than donor systems.

Trade unions welcome the advances made in the Aid Effectiveness agenda in Accra, but contend that many processes need to be deepened, implemented systematically, and monitored to ensure real progress. In addition, trade unions assert that the slow progress recorded to date in meeting development goals, notably poverty eradication and decent work, point to the need for the HLF 4 to move beyond the narrow focus on aid effectiveness to embrace the broad concept of development effectiveness as the critical goal of the entire process.

Development effectiveness is defined by trade unions as the generation of positive social outcomes in terms of decent work, social protection, social dialogue, respect for human and trade union rights, gender equality, environmental sustainability, and the enjoyment of decent livelihoods and well being by all.

Trade unions further concur with the findings of the Better Aid Platform which noted that the HLF 3 registered no achievement on certain crucial issues related to development effectiveness (BetterAid, 2009), e.g. :

- **Mutual Accountability:** Very little progress has been made in terms of applying the principle outlined in the Paris Declaration of Mutual Accountability for development results. “Few development cooperation agreements at national level set out explicit and public targets for individual donors, to which they can be held accountable.”
- **Conditionality:** The Accra Agenda for Action goes beyond the Paris Declaration by seeming to recognize that conditionalities need to be streamlined in order to reduce their number and the burden they impose on developing countries (§25). But the AAA does not recognize that policy conditionalities weaken democratic ownership, undermine the human right to development and prevent developing countries from exercising real policy choices.
- **Untying of aid:** No progress was achieved in Accra on untying 100% of aid. The donors only restated existing commitments, and “agree to elaborate individual plans to untie their aid to the maximum extent” but without any reference to a date when these plans should be produced, nor any target.

4. Shifting to a Comprehensive Paradigm for Development Effectiveness

Trade unions have highlighted the shortcomings of the neo-liberal paradigm that has dominated development policy-making and caused persistent poverty and a huge decent work deficit. They emphasize the need for a paradigm shift from the narrow definition of aid effectiveness that is part and parcel of the neo-liberal paradigm. They are therefore calling for a comprehensive development paradigm, one that shifts from aid to development effectiveness, as defined in the foregoing section. This enhanced development paradigm should therefore prioritize decent work opportunities for all, and achieve balanced economic and social progress, compatible with environmental sustainability.

Gender equality must be a priority, and development actors should sharpen the focus of development policies, with a view to achieving positive gender impacts. While trade and investment are necessary for successful development, they should not be undertaken at the expense of domestic markets and local needs, or respect for workers' rights. Provision of universally accessible quality public services must be an important policy priority, as it will contribute to the reduction of poverty and inequality. Provision of basic public services also constitutes an essential prerequisite for achieving gender equality and empowerment of women.

Social justice is also key, and this encompasses democracy, fairness, good governance, strong and accountable institutions, and the elimination of corruption. In that regard, and in keeping with the principle of mutual accountability, rigorous measures should be put in place to ensure that funds from donor agencies and IFIs do not contribute to corruption and poor governance.

Redistribution should be at the heart of this comprehensive development paradigm. Fairer distribution of income is a precondition to any sustainable form of development, and a mechanism to reduce inequalities, including gender inequalities. Fairer distribution of income should be based on proactive policies such as collective bargaining, progressive fiscal policies, living wages or improved minimum wages, guaranteed accessible and high-quality public services and improved social protection. Additionally, with their development partners, governments should seek to establish or strengthen the income redistribution function of their tax systems by establishing progressive regimes that require the highest tax contributions from capital gains and from the wealthy, and to provide tax relief for low income families and the poor. Increased mobilisation of domestic resources for development should focus on fiscal reform, strengthening tax administration, broadening the tax base, and eradicating tax fraud and tax evasion.

The ILO has a unique mandate to promote social justice across all areas of economic and social policy, including trade and finance (reinforced by the 2008 Declaration of Social Justice for a Fair Globalization). Trade Unions take the view that the ILO can offer development solutions which are coherent, sustainable and effective. Its competence should be fully recognized and utilized, with a view to achieving the policy coherence necessary for true development effectiveness.

5. Decent Work at the Heart of Development Effectiveness

Because of its capacity to produce self sustaining growth, the Decent Work Agenda must be at the heart of development effectiveness, and of the new development paradigm. This means that creation of Decent Work should become an explicit objective of aid and development policies. As a global policy framework, the Decent Work Agenda will help to increase the coordination between donors in the pursuit of its objectives. The promotion of decent work will also help to achieve the objective of the first MDG, the eradication of poverty. Moreover, for each of the four pillars of the Decent Work Agenda, (employment, core labour standards, social dialogue and social protection), initiatives that could be supported by aid and development partners can already be identified (e.g.):

Job creation:

- Infrastructure and other projects benefiting from ODA (Official Development Assistance) should incorporate specific employment and decent work objectives, including local recruitment targets, and use of local SMEs (Small and Medium Enterprises). - . Donor programme and project support should be provided, , as well as general budget support, aimed at stimulating the productive base of local economies, and overcoming supply-side constraints, such as the need for training and skills development.
- Given women's disadvantaged position on the labour market, special measures need to be taken to address gender-based discriminations such as women's concentration in precarious, unprotected, low-paid work, women's lack of access to land and other income-generating resources, and gender pay inequity. Equally important are policies and programmes to address youth unemployment and underemployment.
- Budget support should be provided for the strengthening of active labour market policies and labour legislation, and for more rigorous enforcement of legislation through better resourced labour inspectorates, and full recognition of the role of social partners.

Core labour standards

- Free Trade Unions and free collective bargaining in developing countries have to be considered as essential pillars for fair and sustainable development.
- International Financial Institutions' operations should comply with core labour standards.

Social Dialogue

- Social Dialogue is a pre-condition for the attainment of effective democratic ownership. International organizations, donor agencies and developing country governments should ensure that the social partners (trade unions and employers' organizations) have the necessary democratic policy space. Trade unions must be recognised as legitimate social partners in the formulation of development and labour market policies at national and sectoral levels, and in firm-level collective bargaining.
- The Trade Unions' experience of promoting social dialogue, and their longstanding cooperation within civil society platforms, allows them to convene the many actors-in-democracy, including parliaments, employers and civil society, bringing them to the table, along with governments and international institutions. The objective is to strengthen the participative processes and enlarge the focus from the technical aid related issues to include all dimensions of social and sustainable development, based on recognition and respect of internationally agreed and shared commitments on human rights, gender equality, environmental sustainability and decent work.
- The World Bank, as well as the regional development banks, should make sure that workers and trade unions are consulted in all enterprise or service restructuring projects in which they are engaged.

Social Protection

- The Universal Social Protection Floor Initiative is predicated on the efficient functioning of sustainable, tax-based models of universal social security at national level. These should be gender sensitive, and should aim to provide citizens with key services such as quality health care, unemployment benefits, maternity protection, as well as income support through cash transfers to households or employment guarantee schemes, as measures to combat poverty². The Social Protection initiative should be embraced by partner countries, and should be supported by adequate multilateral and bi-lateral donor funding.

2. Source: ILO Resolution 2009 concerning Gender Equality at the Heart of Decent Work

6. Environmental Sustainability and Development Effectiveness

Environmental sustainability is another crucial dimension of development effectiveness which must be addressed. Public and private investment should be harnessed for the purpose of transforming industrial sectors and creating an enabling environment for green jobs³ and for greening existing economic activities. Green policies must internalize losses of economic activity, employment and income in affected sectors and regions, and should, as a consequence, incorporate “just transition”⁴ measures aimed at protecting the most vulnerable throughout the economy, and at training and redeploying workers into the new low-carbon economy in the developing countries.

Aid and climate finance should be allocated to the creation of vibrant new industries of environmental goods and services (EGS), prioritizing the use of local and indigenous expertise, technology transfer, and human resource development for sustainability (green-skilling of workers). Measures should be taken to combat deforestation, and specific targets adopted with respect to renewable energy, energy efficiency, and recycling. Aid for trade measures should incorporate the opening up of trade for green products and services from developing countries, under conditions of fair trade, and respect for core labour standards.

³ Green jobs can be defined “as work in agricultural, manufacturing, research and development (R&D), administrative, and service activities that contribute substantially to preserving or restoring environmental quality. Specifically, but not exclusively, this includes jobs that help to protect ecosystems and biodiversity; reduce energy, materials, and water consumption through high efficiency strategies; de-carbonize the economy; and minimize or altogether avoid generation of all forms of waste and pollution.” (Green Jobs: Towards decent work in a sustainable, low-carbon world, UNEP/ILO/IOE/ITUC September 2008)

⁴ The concept of Just transition derives from the conclusion that moving to the new green economy will inevitably result in “job losses and jeopardized livelihoods in certain regions, communities, industries, and economic sectors.” It aims to provide a framework structured around the principle which “holds that the costs and benefits of a transition to sustainability should be shared widely across society. The goal is to generalize this principle at the level of policy.” (Green Jobs...op cit September 2008).

7. Deepening the Aid Effectiveness Principles

Democratic Ownership

Trade Unions deplore the fact that development policies are still often driven by donor countries' political or trade priorities, rather than by democratic decision-making, taking place at the national level. Trade unions insist that democratic ownership of development strategies by the people, through representative institutions, must be the main instrument to achieve effective governance of development. This should mean full involvement of national parliaments, local authorities, trade unions and civil society, in defining development strategies. The institutionalization of social dialogue involving the social partners (trade unions and employers' organizations) on labour market and decent work policies must be an integral part of democratic ownership of development.

Considering their representative character and the fact that they are often underrepresented in democratic ownership processes, the participation of the social partners should be particularly reinforced. Social partners (along with labour administrations) also play an important role in promoting social cohesion and ensuring that the voices of those traditionally excluded from participation are brought into the policy dialogues: women and vulnerable groups, including disabled persons and indigenous and tribal peoples.

Ultimately, creating an enabling environment to allow representative and experience-based civil society actors to sit at the decision-making table contributes to the promotion of a pluralist and multi-actor participatory democracy. Respect for the fundamental principles of freedom of association and freedom of assembly, as enshrined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and ILO Conventions 87 and 98 are prerequisites for the creation of an enabling environment for the democratic ownership of development processes.

Ending Policy Conditionality

Trade Unions insist that donor countries should not impose economic and political conditionalities on partner countries. These violate the principles of country and democratic ownership. They restrict policy space and undermine the role of governments in providing public services. On the other hand, trade unions assert that both donor and partner countries must adhere to internationally agreed commitments and multilateral/global standards in the fields of human rights, labour rights, women's rights, and environmental provisions, complying with obligations administered by the competent multilateral treaty bodies. Partners must also comply with their fiduciary responsibilities as a normal part of aid modalities.

Donor and partner countries should hold each other mutually accountable for multilateral and aid-specific agreements made. In keeping with the principles of mutual accountability, transparency

and democratic ownership, donors and partners should establish reporting mechanisms that keep stakeholders informed on all relevant aspects of aid modalities, agreements and allocations. The International Aid Transparency Initiative (IATI) which aims at the harmonisation of reporting standards of donors should be broadened to become a comprehensive reporting mechanism, providing for full public disclosure from donor and country systems. This mechanism should include measures such as open, transparent peer reviews, aimed at ensuring mutual observance of the Paris Declaration/AAA principles, and at weeding out all practices of corruption and poor governance.

Mutual Accountability

Trade Unions contend that accountability requirements continue to apply largely to recipients, whereas donors are not accountable to their developing country partners. They also deplore the fact that the OECD-DAC remains a donor-oriented body, too often failing to reflect developing countries' views and priorities. The positions and recommendations outlined in the foregoing section should serve to orient a shift away from this approach, to one which genuinely respects the principles of mutual accountability, country and democratic ownership.

Untying of Aid and Role of the Private Sector

In keeping with the principles of country and democratic ownership and the ending of policy and political conditionalities, aid should be untied, and clear preference given to job-creating local procurement. This will help to promote employment and decent work as part of a broader framework of development effectiveness. Criteria for awarding contracts should include commitment to decent work objectives, respect for core labour standards, prioritization of pro-poor development outcomes, environmental sustainability and gender equality. In keeping with the principles of democratic ownership and mutual accountability, screening processes for contract awards should be participatory, involving participation of trade union representatives and other stakeholders, should be transparent, should provide for follow-up monitoring and evaluation, and should incorporate measures aimed at addressing all corrupt or unethical practices.

These performance benchmarks which, in essence, define the terms of engagement of the private sector in development cooperation, are all the more important, given the increasing role of this sector in development, both in terms of north/south and south/south cooperation. Well-proven instruments exist already incorporating these benchmarks, such as the ILO Tripartite Declaration on Multinational Enterprises and Social Policy, and the OECD Guidelines for Multinational Enterprises. These should be systematically applied, including the ILO's tripartite consultative framework, involving the social partners, (trade unions and employers' organizations), in policy-formulation and monitoring. Moreover, the involvement of the private sector in development should not, in any way, undermine the role of governments in the provision of public goods and services, and in the implementation of pro-poor growth strategies.

Results-based management

It follows from the definition of development effectiveness outlined earlier, that results-based management must involve, inter alia, the measurement of progress on development effectiveness in terms of reductions in unemployment, income inequality and the decent work deficit, and the creation of decent jobs, as measured by the ILO's decent work indicators, including gender disaggregated markers. In terms of development effectiveness, the ILO toolkit for Mainstreaming Employment and Decent Work⁵ should be systematically used to provide checklists for evaluating progress. ILO Decent work indicators will also facilitate ex-ante benchmarking, and post impact assessments of progress in implementing decent work strategies. More generally, ratification and full implementation of ILO standards remain critical components of rights-based policies aimed at achieving sustainable social development in practice.

Policy Coherence

In the context of development cooperation, policy coherence refers to the coherence and consistency between aid/development policies and other policies and frameworks, in the interests of achieving internationally agreed development goals. This means that aid policies and their implementation should reinforce, and in no way undermine social goals for the well-being of people and communities. In particular, policy coherence cannot mean that aid/development agendas are instrumentalised in view of trade, investment, financial, foreign policy or military interests. Trade Unions advocate for policy convergence with the UN and ILO normative frameworks on:

- International labour rights
- Human rights
- Gender equality
- Environmental sustainability

This also implies coordination between the United Nations Development Cooperation Forum (UN DCF) and the other major development cooperation initiatives, notably the Working Party on Aid Effectiveness, charged with the follow-up of the Paris Declaration and the Accra Agenda for Action. Given the ILO's recognized competence with regard to offering coherent development solutions based on the Decent Work Agenda, the Busan Declaration should make specific commitments to increased cooperation with this body.

⁵ http://www.ilo.org/public/english/bureau/pardev/download/toolkit_en.pdf

8. Actor-Based Frameworks for Development Effectiveness

As long-standing development actors in their own right, trade unions have welcomed the recognition in the AAA of the contribution of CSOs to development, as well as the call to CSOs (to reflect on how they can apply the Paris principles of aid effectiveness from a CSO perspective” [AAA –§20]. The notion of Solidarity has long been a motivating force of the trade union movement. It informs trade union engagement at global, regional and national levels, and is the basis for north/south and south/south cooperation within the trade union movement. The trade union structures that span these levels, defending workers’ rights, operate according to the principles of democracy, accountability, autonomy and sustainability.

In 2009, the Trade Union Development Cooperation Network (TUDCN) initiated a consultation process with its member organizations, resulting in the elaboration of a set of eight principles that “refer to and articulate the values and vision on trade union development partnership, North-North and South-South relations, as well as on cooperation/coordination features” (TUDCN, 2011). Some of these principles address issues similar to those of the Paris Declaration and the AAA, but they are defined from a trade union perspective. They are set-out to inspire and guide trade union development work, and to orient trade union participation in the global aid and development effectiveness debates. The Trade Union Principles on Development Effectiveness were endorsed by the ITUC General Council in February 2011 [see Box next page].

Within the context of this intra-institutional system and set of principles, trade unions envision their own development effectiveness in the following way: “sustainable trade unions improve the working and living conditions of male and female workers and advance respect for human and trade unions rights, thereby contributing to decent work, social justice and democratic processes” (TUDCN, 2011).

Trade unions also affirm that an important factor in the governance of development cooperation is the existence of a vibrant civil society that can act as a countervailing force to enhance accountability, based on representative, member-based, democratic, autonomous and self-governing arrangements. Trade unions have therefore participated actively in the global Open Forum for CSO development effectiveness which has now adopted a set of principles, the “Istanbul CSO Development Effectiveness Principles” (November, 2010). These aim to “guide the work and practices of civil society organizations in both peaceful and conflict situations, in different areas of work from grassroots to policy advocacy, and in a continuum from humanitarian emergencies to long-term development” (Preamble of the Istanbul CSO Development Effectiveness Principles)⁶. In line with the principles articulated in the AAA –§20 on recognizing the contribution of CSOs to development, the *Busan Declaration on Development Effectiveness*

⁶ http://www.cso-effectiveness.org/IMG/pdf/final_istanbul_cso_development_effectiveness_principles_footnote.pdf.

Trade Union Principles on Development Effectiveness

1. *Democratic ownership* is defined by trade unions as respect for and responsiveness to the objectives and priorities of trade union partners, with a view to building their self-reliance within the context of the mission of the international trade union movement.

2. *Autonomy*. Trade union partner organisations make their own decisions and priorities and respect each other's strategic choices, without political interference.

3. *Partnership*. A partnership aspires to be a relationship of equals, based on mutual respect, trust and understanding, where diversity and differences are recognized and respected.

4. *Transparency* [is operationalised as] high standards of openness and access to information necessary for equitable relations between trade union partners.

5. *Accountability*. Trade union partner organisations are liable to a system of mutual accountability at political, operational and financial levels, which should be supported by appropriate common assessment tools and learning processes to gain increased effectiveness in future initiatives.

6. *Coherence* is for trade union organisations the achievement of maximum degree of consistency in approach at all levels among the variety of development cooperation initiatives and where everything contributes to, rather than conflicts with, everything else.

7. *Inclusiveness and Equality*. The trade union movement believes that inclusiveness and equality means that all workers have the right to equal opportunity of treatment in employment and occupation.

8. *Sustainability*. Trade unions understand sustainability as the long-term viability of development project outcomes, as well as the strengthening of cooperating trade union organisations.

should give full consideration to these two sets of principles, namely, *The Trade Union Principles on Development Effectiveness*, and *The Istanbul CSO Development Effectiveness Principles*. These should guide partnership arrangements with trade unions and CSOs respectively, in the context of PD/AAA processes. The objective must be to ensure an enabling environment for trade unions and CSOs to reach their full potential as development actors in their own right, based on the autonomy of these organizations, as guaranteed by internationally agreed standards on freedom of association.

9. Conclusions

The period since the onset of the multiple crises in 2008 has witnessed tremendous set-backs in the achievement of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and the Internationally Agreed Development Goals (IADGs), particularly with respect to poverty eradication, job-creation and decent work, addressing the increasing informality of work and feminization of poverty, the lack of social protection, and youth unemployment. The HLF4 presents a real opportunity to strengthen, deepen and transform the PD and AAA frameworks so that they contribute, within a broad development architecture to making significant progress in achieving results, with respect to aid and development effectiveness. This opportunity must not be missed.

The global trade union movement therefore calls upon the Working Party on Aid Effectiveness to take the proposals contained in this Trade Union Position Paper fully on board in the preparation of a *Busan Declaration on Development Effectiveness* which:

- Fully supports multi-stakeholder approaches to policy formulation and implementation with respect to development cooperation, including endorsement of and policy alignment with *The Trade Union Principles on Development Effectiveness*, and *The Istanbul CSO Development Effectiveness Principles*;
- Shifts to a comprehensive paradigm on development effectiveness, one which incorporates a rights-based policy approach, with full implementation of internationally agreed standards on poverty eradication, decent work, human rights, gender equality, and environmental sustainability;
- Deepens and fully implements existing commitments with respect to the principles of democratic ownership, mutual accountability, ending policy conditionality, untying aid, results-based management, and policy coherence.

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