

Call for tenders: Subcontracting an expert to conduct a survey on far-right influence in workplaces and trade union responses

This is a call for a subcontractor to provide research with a view to support the activities of the ETUC UnionPower project. More specifically, this call for tender will provide a valuable analytical foundation for understanding and countering far-right influence in workplaces, supporting ETUC and its affiliates in developing effective communication, training, and organising strategies.

This call for tenders will be published on the ETUC website on **Thursday 13 November** and will be kept online for 21 calendar days. The deadline for submission of bids is **Thursday 4 December 2025 (EOD)**.

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1. Background information on the project

This call for tender is launched in the framework of the **ETUC “UnionPower” project**, which aims to strengthen **European Trade Union Renewal** by supporting national trade unions to expand membership, reinforce internal democracy, and counter anti-democratic trends.

The growing presence of far-right ideas in European workplaces poses a serious challenge to the trade union movement. Across several countries, far-right parties and groups increasingly target workers through pseudo-social narratives, nationalist or xenophobic rhetoric, and anti-ecological and anti-union messages.

In parallel, new far-right or “yellow” unions are emerging, often supported by political actors, aiming to undermine democratic trade unionism and collective bargaining. These trends have been highlighted in the 2024 ETUC Resolution “*Anti-Far-Right Observatory and Pro-Worker Action Centre*” and in the 2025 mapping of trade union responses across Europe.

The **Bread and Roses Action Centre** (ETUC) was established to coordinate concrete actions against the far right and promote a pro-worker trade union vision. Within this framework, the present project will deliver a European survey aimed at measuring, understanding, and countering far-right influence in workplaces, and identifying effective trade union and policy responses.

The component of the UnionPower project with a focus on countering far-right influence in workplaces has four core objectives:

1. **Measure the extent and forms of far-right influence** among workers and within workplaces (themes, narratives, communication channels).
2. **Map the development of far-right or “yellow” unions**, their presence across sectors, and their strategies of mobilisation.
3. **Identify the social drivers of attraction** – which concerns, frustrations or expectations are being exploited by far-right discourse?
4. **Test alternative trade union and policy responses** capable of regaining workers’ trust and reducing the appeal of divisive narratives.

The project is implemented under the leadership of the **ETUC – Bread and Roses Action Centre**, which is responsible for overall coordination, supervision of the selected subcontractor, and validation of deliverables. ETUC national affiliates will contribute by providing input on national contexts, supporting the dissemination of the survey, and assisting in interpreting country results.

The research will cover **four main countries**—FR **France**, BE **Belgium**, IT **Italy**, and FI **Finland**—representing diverse contexts of far-right penetration and trade union dynamics. Depending on available resources and access to fieldwork, a **fifth country** (ES **Spain** or DE **Germany**) may also be included.

2. Tasks to be performed by the subcontractor

The subcontractor is required to design, coordinate, and implement the research activities forming the core of the UnionPower project component on countering far-right influence in workplaces. The work will combine a quantitative survey and a qualitative module, leading to the production of analytical outputs and practical recommendations for trade union capacity building.

A. Core Component – Quantitative Survey

The subcontractor will design and conduct a multi-country online survey to assess workers' attitudes, exposure, and resilience to far-right narratives.

Key specifications:

- Sample size: approximately 800 respondents per country (total 3,200–4,000 respondents).
- Target group: employees across both public and private sectors, including union and non-union members.
- Data collection method: online survey combining a professional panel provider and dissemination via trade union networks.
- Questionnaire length: approximately 10 minutes per respondent.

Main thematic modules:

1. Working conditions and priorities – wages, job security, housing, public services, green transition.
2. Exposure and adherence to far-right narratives – national preference, anti-EU, anti-green, anti-union, “law and order.”
3. Channels of influence – social media, colleagues, employers, partisan media.
4. Knowledge and perception of far-right or “yellow” unions – visibility, credibility, personal involvement.
5. Trust and engagement with trade unions – perceived representation, willingness to participate.
6. Message testing (vignettes) – experimental comparison of far-right vs. pro-worker trade union messages on shared issues (cost of living, housing, ecology, security).

The subcontractor will be responsible for:

- Developing and testing the survey questionnaire in consultation with the ETUC project team.
- Coordinating data collection and ensuring balanced national samples.
- Cleaning, processing, and analysing the data.
- Delivering comparative and country-level summary reports.

B. Complementary Qualitative Module

To deepen the interpretation of survey findings, the subcontractor will implement a qualitative research module including targeted interviews and material collection.

Tasks include:

- Conducting 6–8 semi-structured interviews per country with trade union educators, organisers, and communicators.
- Collecting and analysing examples of far-right or “yellow” union materials circulated in workplaces (e.g. leaflets, online posts, or visuals).
- Identifying and documenting promising counter-narratives and trade union training or communication practices that have proven effective in addressing far-right influence.

The subcontractor will work closely with the ETUC project team and national trade union partners to ensure that the results are relevant, representative, and usable for subsequent capacity-building and communication actions.

The work carried out by the subcontractor is expected to deliver a first-of-its-kind quantitative mapping of far-right influence within European workplaces, complemented by a cross-country overview of the presence and tactics of far-right or “yellow” unions. The research will provide evidence-based insights on how to rebuild workers’ trust through trade union and policy action, and produce practical tools to guide ETUC affiliates in developing campaigns, training programmes, and collective bargaining strategies that strengthen democratic trade unionism and social dialogue.

3. Expertise, experience and skills required

The selection procedure will take into account the subcontractor’s knowledge of trade union structures and dynamics, as well as proven experience with survey research, political communication, and social dialogue analysis.

The subcontractor will work under the supervision of the ETUC project team, ensuring that all activities are implemented coherently and in line with the project’s objectives.

The drafting of survey instruments, interviews, and analytical reports requires sound and proven expertise in the following areas:

- Quantitative and qualitative research methods, including survey design, sampling, and data analysis across multiple countries;
- Experience in political sociology, industrial relations, or labour market research, ideally related to democracy, participation, or social dialogue;
- Understanding of far-right and anti-democratic movements and their influence on workers and workplaces;
- Familiarity with trade union communication and organising strategies, including the use of digital tools and narrative framing;
- Experience working with trade unions or social partners, at national or European level, is a strong asset.

Skills required:

- Ability to design and manage cross-country research projects and coordinate with multiple partners;
- Strong analytical and drafting skills, including the capacity to present findings clearly and concisely;
- Proven ability to translate data into actionable insights for trade union capacity-building;
- Excellent communication and presentation skills in English;
- Capacity to work independently, respect deadlines, and adapt to feedback from the ETUC project team.

4. Time schedule and reporting

Timeline (Project completed by April 2026)

Phase	Period
Call for tenders published	Mid-Nov 2025
Contractor selection	Early Dec 2025
Questionnaire finalisation & pilot	Dec 2025
Fieldwork (4 countries)	Jan – Feb 2026
Analysis & reporting	March 2026
Final deliverables due	30 April 2026

The timeline above is indicative and can be negotiated with the subcontractor. The subcontractor will be asked to perform all the above-mentioned tasks **by April 2026**.

5. Payment

The total maximum budget available for the fees of the subcontractor is as follows:

Contract with ETUC
Main activities
• Design and implement a mixed-methods study on far-right influence in European workplaces. • Conduct a quantitative survey (≈800 respondents per country) across 4–5 countries.

• Carry out qualitative interviews with trade union organisers, educators, and communicators. • Analyse data and produce country reports and a comparative synthesis. • Identify effective counter-narratives and training practices to strengthen democratic trade unionism. • Liaise with ETUC and national affiliates throughout implementation.	
Total budget for the Expertise	30.000 € (VAT and all taxes included)

The subcontractor will be remunerated in various instalments (advance and final payment). This amount covers all fees but does not include the travel and subsistence costs for possible physical meetings.

The reports will be duly and clearly accredited to the authors. Ownership of the results and of the written outputs shall be vested in the ETUC, which shall have the right of first publication. The subcontractor may use the results and the written outputs after their publication by the ETUC, quoting the ETUC as contractor and the UnionPower project.

6. Selection criteria

Bids will be evaluated against the following criteria:

- Quality of the methodology proposed in the offer
- Verifiable expertise, experience and skills, as required and described in part 3 of this call;
- Proven track record of ensuring the quality of written materials produced, both in terms of content and format (i.e. previous publications), in the relevant subjects specified in this call for tenders;
- Financial proposal within the prescribed budget.

7. Form, structure and content of the tender

Tenders must be written in English. They must be signed by the tenderer or his/her duly authorised representative and be perfectly legible so that there can be no doubt as to words and figures. Tenders must be clear and concise and assembled in a coherent fashion.

Since tenderers will be judged on the content of their written bids, they must make it clear that they are able to meet the requirements of the specifications.

All tenders must include at least two sections:

i) **Technical proposal**

The technical proposal must provide all the information needed for the purpose of awarding the contract, including:

- Specific information covering the technical and professional capacity, as required, in particular:
 - Description of relevant professional experience with emphasis on the specific fields covered by the invitation to tender;
 - Detailed curriculum vitae of tenderer and of the other team members if applicable;
 - A selection of the main works and/or articles published by all the experts involved, in relation to the relevant subjects specified in this tender.
- Specific information concerning the proposed methodology for delivering the tasks listed in part 2 of this call.

ii) Financial proposals

Prices of the financial proposal must be quoted in euros, including if the sub-contractor is based in a country which is not in the euro-area. As far as the tenderers of those countries are concerned, they cannot change the amount of the bid because of the evolution of the exchange rate. The tenderers choose the exchange rate and assume all risks or opportunities relating to the rate fluctuation.

The maximum amount available for these contracts is up to **30.000€** (VAT and all taxes included). The offer should include a breakdown of the NET amount and the corresponding VAT amount.

Prices must be fixed amounts and shall not include travel expenses and daily allowances for the attendance to the seminars and other project events which will be covered by ETUC on the basis of EU rules & thresholds.

Prices shall be fixed and not subject to revision during the performance of the contract.

8. Award Criteria

The contract will be awarded to the tender offering the best value for money, taking into account the specific objectives, requirements and selection criteria of the tender. The principles of transparency and equal treatment will be respected with a view to avoiding any conflicts of interest.

9. Content and selection of the bids

This call for tenders will be published on the ETUC website on 13 November 2025. Offers must be sent at the latest on 4 December 2025. Offers must be sent to ETUC, in electronic format (by e-mail to amartin@etuc.org), and refer to our “Call for Tenders – expert to conduct a survey on far-right influence in workplaces and trade union responses”.

As Steering Committee, the ETUC project team will assess and draw-up a report on the bids received, which will list the admissible bids and provide reasons for rejecting bids owing to their failure to comply with the stipulations of the tendering process.

The committee will evaluate the tenders that have been deemed admissible. An evaluation report and classification of participation requests will be drawn up and kept for future reference.

This report will include:

1. The name and address of the contracting authority, the purpose and value of the contract;
2. The names of any excluded candidates and the reasons for their rejection;
3. The names of candidates selected for consideration and the justification for their selection;
4. The names of candidates put forward and justification of their choice in terms of the selection or award criteria.