

Invitation to Tender

Learning and Evaluation of the Global Citizens' Assembly (GCA) for COP30

This document provides applicants with the context, scope, and deliverables for the evaluation of the Global Citizens' Assembly.

Tender issue date: 12 September 2025

Deadline for submission: 19 October 2025

Return submissions via email to: claire.mellier@iswe.org and inaki.goni@iswe.org

Tender award: up to £70,000 including VAT

Iswe is convening this Invitation to Tender process in collaboration with the GCA partners.

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1. The initiative: The Global Citizens' Assembly for COP30

The [Global Citizens' Assembly](#) for COP30 (referred to as the GCA from this point forward) is a new global governance chamber, whose purpose is to redress power imbalances and inequities at significant scale, in the global governance system. The GCA aims to achieve this through:

- **Equity and Inclusion:** Shifting power to amplify the most marginalised voices (often from the Global Majority) and positioning them to land equitably in powerful spaces (often dominated by the Global North).
- **Institutional Actions:** Empowering countries to shape institutional actions by including global voices in multilateral decision-making.
- **Citizens Actions:** Activating citizens across the globe to take action within their communities.
- **Solidarity:** Creating solidarity between citizens locally and globally, between the Global Majority and Global North.
- **Learning at Scale:** Supporting iterative learning between institutions and citizens on a large scale and generating real-time data sets on global communities' perspectives on pressing issues.

The GCA consists of four key components:

- **Community Assemblies** enabling anyone on earth to participate;
- **Civic Assembly** that is a snapshot of the global population (a Global Mini-Public¹), selected through a global lottery so anyone can be selected;
- **Campaign and culture** to raise the assembly's profile and influence;
- **Coalition** of institutions, organisations, movements and nation states which support it

The GCA will form key infrastructure at COP30 and beyond to support:

- **The Peoples' COP:** Enabling people to participate directly in COP30 (especially those who are traditionally excluded from global decision making)
- **COP30 Impact:** Improve COP30's process through citizen participation. As COP30 looks to its legacy, bridging grassroots foundations with multilateral processes offers the chance to build a people-centered climate regime matching the urgency of the crisis. This is the vision behind Brazil's call for a Global Mutirão², described by COP30 President-Designate André Corrêa do Lago.
- **All future COPs to have a 'citizens' track':** Just as COP21 created a dedicated space for civil society organisations, through the Lima-Paris Action Agenda and the Climate Action Zone, COP30 would create a permanent dedicated space for citizens.
- **Legacy:** Establish a new, permanent global governance institution: the GCA.

¹ Escobar and Elstub (2017). *Forms of Mini-publics: An introduction to deliberative innovations in democratic practice*.

² [Second Letter from the COP30 Presidency](#)

The GCA's integration with COP30 is informed by the discussions from the Institutional Advisory Board, one of the GCA's governance bodies, which includes representatives from the Brazilian Government Climate Team (e.g. Ministerio do Meio Ambiente & COP30 Presidency team), Brazil General Secretariat of the Presidency, COP30 High Level Champions Team, COP30 Youth Champion, UN Executive Office of the Secretary General and UNFCCC Secretariat.

2. The Theory of Change, Impact framework and learning question

Theory of Change

The current draft Theory of Change of the Global Citizens' Assembly is structured around five dimensions of impact and their respective metrics. The role of the evaluator will be in part, to support the iteration and development of this Theory of Change:

- **Institutional actions:** Tracking institutional responses and analysing follow-up through curated text analysis and reporting.
- **Citizens' actions:** Mapping citizen-led actions and self-efficacy gains through topic modelling, surveys, and action updates.
- **Solidarity:** Measuring expressions of empathy and collaboration across geographies using dictionary analysis, surveys, and inter-assembly links.
- **Learning at scale:** Capturing shifts in understanding and idea generation via surveys, qualitative analysis, and platform engagement.
- **Inclusion:** Assessing demographic and experiential diversity through participation mapping and identification of underrepresented groups.

Impact Framework

We acknowledge that institutional change is inherently complex and often non-linear³, and therefore anticipate that objectives, such as prompting institutional actions, will exhibit varying degrees of success and traceability within the GCA. Nonetheless, we broadly expect that the evaluation of this process will generate robust evidence regarding the extent to which these diverse impact areas have been realised. This will be achieved through the deployment of multiple methodological approaches, including survey research, qualitative interviews, document analysis, and other complementary techniques.

It will be important to ensure that we can respond to the challenge of realising the GCA's different goals, and also important to ensure that we have a mixed methods process in place to evaluate self-efficacy and collective efficacy; social capital and solidarity created; as well as understanding the extent to which (if at all) the inclusion of minoritised and Global Majority perspectives in global governance are fostered and enabled.

³ Wendy Conway-Lamb et. al (2025) [Analysing the Global Assembly's influence: the challenges of linking to the deliberative system of global climate governance](#) Environ. Sci. Pol., 171

We welcome your suggestions for the appropriate frameworks that will support the development of metrics - as well as suggestions as to how these metrics will be developed, and evaluation of the metrics we are already developing around the inclusion, solidarity, learning and action objectives described above.

Generic evaluation frameworks that currently exist, by way of example, are Objectives and Key Results (OKRs) and Key Performance Indicators (KPIs), as well as specific frameworks for deliberative processes such as OECD Evaluation Guidelines for Representative Deliberative Processes or KNOCA Impact Evaluation Framework for climate citizens' assemblies. However, we acknowledge the limitations of these frameworks from a decolonial perspective⁴ and we invite proposals that will help address the limitations of these frameworks.

Learning question

The evaluation seeks to assess to what extent the Global Citizens' Assembly contributes to building new climate governance arrangements that accelerate the just transition, while encouraging more ambitious citizen and institutional actions, fostering local and global solidarity (as an antidote to polarisation), promoting large-scale learning (as an antidote to misinformation), and enhancing inclusion in decision-making.

The evaluation approach for the GCA should build on previous assessments⁵ and ongoing research⁶, apply insights from years of climate citizens' assemblies^{7, 8, 9} both in the Global North and Global South¹⁰, embracing action learning models of evaluation¹¹, an iterative approach that adjusts and refines processes in real time, ensuring the methodology remains responsive to organisers and participant feedback and dynamic global discussions.

The evaluation framework should be developed in partnership with local researchers and community members in areas where community assemblies are taking place, and where members of the civic assembly are located.

Our ultimate aim is to move towards a more bottom-up revision of the impact framework, one that more effectively reflects what non-academic actors and those outside current centres of power define as success.

⁴ Mendonça, R. F., & Asenbaum, H. (2025). *Decolonizing deliberative democracy. European Journal of Social Theory*.

⁵ Curato et al. (2023). *Global Assembly on the Climate and Ecological Crisis: Evaluation Report*.

⁶ [GloCAN](#)

⁷ Demski et al. (2024). KNOCA *Impact Evaluation Framework for Climate Assemblies*.

⁸ Machani (2024). *Designing Global Citizens' Assemblies for Impact*.

⁹ Integrating Deliberation for Impact (2024). *Learning from the European Wave of Citizens' Assemblies*.

¹⁰ Curato e. al. (2024) [Deliberative Democracy and Climate Change: Exploring the Potential of Climate Assemblies in the Global South](#). Agence Française de Développement and International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance

¹¹ Research Institute for Sustainability Helmholtz Centre Potsdam (2022). *Deliberative Mini-Publics*

In this endeavour, we are inspired by the work of Participatory Action Researchers¹², Popular Educators, and others who have pioneered methods for fostering *diálogos de saberes*¹³; wisdom dialogues between academic and popular forms of knowledge. Drawing on this tradition, we place high value on responses that engage with the following guiding question:

How can definitions of success, and thus, this evaluation be shaped by people from diverse communities across the world?

3. The purpose of the evaluation

The purpose of the evaluation is to let the organisers of the Global Citizens' Assembly know how they are doing against the five metrics described in the Theory of Change in section 2, above, as well as other indicators developed in relation to the question posed immediately above.

As highlighted in a recent research paper about the 2021 Global Assembly¹⁴, conceptualising influence at the global scale needs to be an iterative and systemic process.

In order to effectively design for, and meaningfully evaluate the extent to which the Global Citizens' Assembly is able to influence global climate governance, a nuanced understanding of this concept is required.

By adopting a deliberative systems analytical approach, we believe the GCA's evaluation will gain a better understanding of the nature of the external relationships between the GCA and other global climate governance actors, and the degree to which these links helped to achieve systemic influence by promoting deliberation-making, legitimacy-seeking, and deliberative capacity-building.

Whilst recognising that institutional action is very complex and difficult to achieve at the global level, the ambition of the GCA is to become a permanent institution. Therefore, we expect live data from the evaluation to inform the process of institution building.

The Global Citizens' Assembly is not a project, it is instead situated in a long-term vision for institution building. Therefore, the evaluation should not be a commentary on the challenge of global governance reform; instead it should aim to provide data against the five metrics mentioned above in the Theory of Change, and ongoing practical advice on how to achieve those goals and modify them as necessary, in a way that is iterative and embedded in the GCA delivery system to inform the institution building process.

¹² Goñi, (2025). Communicating Knowledge Otherwise: Reclaiming Latin American Participatory Action Research to a Global Citizen Assembly (forthcoming)

¹³ For an English presentation of the concept, refer to Adriana Moreno-Cely et al. (2021). [Breaking monologues in collaborative research: bridging knowledge systems through a listening-based dialogue of wisdom approach](#)

¹⁴ Conway-Lamb, Wendy, Pierrick Chalaye, Kari De Pryck, Stephen Elstub, Emerson M. Sanchez, and Novieta H. Sari. 2025. "Analysing the Global Assembly's Influence: The Challenges of Linking to the Deliberative System of Global Climate Governance." [Environmental Science and Policy 171](#).

4. The context of this work

The fundamentals of today's multilateralism were laid down in the postwar period, when an emptier world and lower consumption meant that humanity's natural life-support systems were under less pressure. Capacity for mass participation beyond elections was also limited by technological constraints, and the global literacy rate was well below 40%, compared with today's 87%.

Now, globalisation and technological advances have accelerated the climate and nature crisis to a scale so vast that no institution, no matter how well resourced, can respond without mobilising millions of people to act. These same forces have also dramatically boosted the world's capacity to engage these millions. The demand is there, too. Research from Ipsos, Pew, and Earth4All¹⁵ shows that people are now way ahead of politicians on the need for action on many of today's most pressing issues, not least climate change.

However, at present, this capacity and motivation remain largely untapped. The result is worsening crises and widespread frustration and anger at geopolitical barriers to progress.

The election of Trump, and a third consecutive COP in which the fossil fuel lobby's participation has grown significantly, has sharpened senses on the need for COP reform. In particular, this raises the need for multilateral action that does not depend on every state's participation to be effective. At COP29, former and current UN chiefs urged for "fundamental overhaul" of both COP¹⁶ and the entire global governance system¹⁷; these calls echoed far further than ever before.

For COP30, Ambassador André Corrêa do Lago, introduced the Global Mutirão initiative in his first letter to the world¹⁸, which was highlighted as a strategy to strengthen the commitment of people working across different sectors of society, moving from negotiations to action. The Global Citizens' Assembly contributes to delivering the Global Mutirão, by offering citizens from across the world a collective platform, through [Assemblis](#), to shape global negotiations. But crucially, it also supports them to take action themselves – and at scale.

¹⁵ Earth for all Survey 2024, [G20 Global Report: Attitudes to political and economic transformation](#)

¹⁶ Dixon-Declève et al. (2024). [Open Letter on COP reform to All States that are Parties to the Convention](#).

¹⁷ United Nations Office at Geneva (2024). ['Breaking point' reached on climate, while 'outdated' global system needs urgent reform: Guterres](#).

¹⁸ Global Mutirão (May 2025) [COP30](#)

5. Global Citizens' Assembly's timeline

	2025							2026					
	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun
Climate governance moments	Bonn			Climate Weeks	Pre-COP	COP 30							Bonn
						Brazil COP 30 Presidency (until November 2026)							
Civic Assembly		STAGE 1 Implementation design & team building.	STAGE 2.1 Location lottery, recruit Community Hosts. Develop & test deliberation medium. Develop broad process plan and content framing.		STAGE 2.2 Recruit pool, demographic lottery, AMs selected. Develop process plan. Develop information content.		STAGE 3 Deliberation (Between 36-42 hours over 4-5 weeks - TBC)	STAGE 4 Aftercare, synthesis & reporting.					
Community assemblies	R&D with global partners	Mutirao phase (private beta): Launch global 'story' map to support the Mutirão Scale to 500 assembly pilots globally and develop impact case studies Improve materials & user experience Build skills infrastructure Preliminary report based on analysis of assembly data					Global enrichment & public launch phase (from June 2026): Build proliferation campaigns and test with global partners Scale to 5,000+ assemblies Iterative improvement of all aspects Explore transnational opportunities Data 'dashboard' live Public launch at Bonn, supporting the COP30 presidency legacy						

6. Scope of services

We are seeking a group of organisations or individuals who can create and deliver an iterative learning and evaluation framework for the GCA. We are open to a wide range of methodologies for evaluation. However, we feel that the methodology of **Contribution Analysis**¹⁹ provides a natural six-step methodology for rigorously evaluating the *contribution* the GCA has made to its objectives.

The GCA has emerged in response to longstanding asymmetries of power between people, policymakers and research, and operates within a complex ecosystem of policy development, newly emerging and rapidly evolving societal norms and expectations around climate policymaking, where multiple factors often contribute to observed changes. Contribution analysis has the potential to directly address this complexity by focusing on whether and how the GCA's activities have *contributed* to observed outcomes, rather than attempting to *attribute* these changes solely to the GCA. If you feel a different methodology would be more appropriate, with the time and resources required, we are open to your suggestions if fully justified.

¹⁹ [Contribution Analysis Source UNDP](#)

Working with the project team and partners, you will be responsible for:

- creating the Learning and Evaluation framework, to include at least three key components:
 - an iterative / in real time **formative** assessment of the GCA process
 - a **summative** evaluation of the impact of the GCA regarding the expected outcomes
 - a **bottom-up listening strategy** of how impact unfolded beyond expectations, immediately after the Civic Assembly period, and as Community Assemblies take place.
- bringing together the information collected as part of the Learning and Evaluation framework
- sharing in real time the learning from the iterative evaluation with the GCA implementation team and providing a summary of actionable research findings
- carrying out deep dive evaluation of impact as a summative output
- providing lessons learnt from the deep dives to be applied to future iteration of the GCA
- Sharing any analytical and data curation methodologies developed during the evaluation that might be useful to incorporate into [Assemblis'](#) data portal going forward
- The evaluator's role is to provide expert analytical skills, knowledge, advice and the listed outputs to ensure that the evaluation of the GCA is completed successfully, meets the GCA's governance bodies requirements and outcomes, and leaves a sustainable legacy.

As one of the key purposes of the GCA is to reach people who do not traditionally have a route into decision making structures, it is very important that the monitoring and evaluation aspect of the initiative is delivered through a power and privilege sensitive lens.

By the end of September 2025, the governance bodies of the GCA will be in place, which will provide the delivery, advisory and oversight roles in order to implement, guide and ensure accountability for the initiative.

The Learning and Evaluation consultant will work with the GCA delivery body to identify and implement key learnings from the evaluation.

The total budget for this piece of work is up to £70,000 including VAT.

6.1. Expected outputs

6.1.1. Learning and Evaluation framework

Objective: As part of the GCA development phase and based on the Theory of Change (ToC) of the GCA, develop a learning and evaluation framework to assess the impact of the GCA.

Outputs:

- An initial scoping document which will set out how outputs and outcomes of both the development and delivery phase of the GCA will be monitored, with explicit reference to a power lens
- Measures identified for different types of evidence including stories and qualitative data

- Key indicators and measurements related to the five metrics of the Theory of Change of the GCA, and iteration of the Theory of Change into key indicators and measurements
- Develop an evaluation toolkit to support the evaluation, including a:
 - Set of documents and templates that the GCA team are able to use confidently to gather data for evaluation from a range of activities
 - Variety of data collection techniques that are suitable for the activities and approach of the GCA
 - Engage with partners to co-design research questions

The evaluator will need to agree procedures with the GCA team for data collection and reporting, taking a person centred approach that respects and protects the time of participants in the evaluation.

6.1.2. Iterative and real time evaluation

Objective: As part of the GCA delivery phase, develop and implement a strategy for iterative feedback relevant to different actors within the GCA structure.

Outputs:

- Identify emerging areas of risk and strengths in the process through the lens of the Theory of Change, your professional expertise, and active listening.
- Design a strategy for communicating relevant insights, whether through verbal presentations, meetings, memos, or other appropriate formats, to key actors within the GCA structure. This should be agreed upon in consultation with the GCA evaluation liaison contact person.
- Prepare a plan to support and nurture a culture of continuous improvement, openness, and kindness in the GCA's ways of working.
- Collate and report on how GCA actors adapted and learned throughout the process.

6.1.3. Bottom-up impact listening

Objective: Create a strategy for attending to the unexpected ways in which impact unfolds in the participating communities.

Outputs:

- Create a plan for distributed fieldwork, or other appropriate methods, to actively listen to and observe how impact is experienced beyond what is anticipated by the Theory of Change.
- Establish a prioritisation framework or other criteria to guide the selection of communities for more in-depth engagement.
- Leverage the GCA's follow-up mechanisms to capture and systematise unexpected, creative, or otherwise noteworthy instances of impact.
- Develop a plan to document and systematise the tactics and artefacts created or used by communities themselves to generate impact or communicate outcomes, broadly understood.

6.1.4. GCA interim impact evaluation report

Objective: As part of the GCA post delivery phase, produce an interim impact evaluation report

Outputs:

- An interim summary report that surfaces the key findings and data, for input and engagement. This should help shape discussions about what has been learned and good practice next time around.
- Assess to what extent the project has achieved its aims and objectives – where targets have been met, exceeded, or where they have not been realised
- What has been learnt and how could things be done differently
- Attend up to two events sharing, alongside the GCA team, what was learnt from the initiative
- Co-design a learning event with the GCA team which will be for an external audience

6.1.5. One-Year-On GCA Impact evaluation report

Objective: By the end of 2027, the evaluation team will deliver a One-Year-On impact report as a follow-up to the main evaluation. This report will revisit key expected and unexpected outcomes of the GCA, focusing on how impact has evolved or deepened over time, particularly through the Community Assemblies and follow-up mechanisms.

Outputs:

The report should:

- Provide an update on how selected participants and communities have built on their GCA experience over the period post Assembly.
- Reflect on any continued influence of the GCA on wider public discourse, community action, or institutional engagement.
- Identify any new or sustained forms of impact that have emerged since the initial evaluation, including through stories or examples gathered via bottom-up listening activities.
- Note any relevant lessons or shifts in conditions that may affect the GCA's future iterations or scaling ambitions.
- Be concise and accessible, ideally delivered as a short written report and an accompanying presentation or memo for the relevant GCA bodies.

This output is intended to help maintain a learning loop, offer insight into longer-term effects, and support planning for the next phases of the GCA.

6.2. Summary of key deliverables

A summary of the key deliverables is provided in the table below.

Output / Responsibility	Project Phase	Estimated Timeline
Develop Learning & Evaluation Framework (based on ToC and power lens)	Development	Nov 2025
Procedures for inclusive data collection (including stories and narratives)	Development	Nov 2025
Identify measures for evidence	Development	Nov 2025
Define key indicators and success factors (with GCA implementation team)	Development	Nov 2025
Co-design evaluation toolkit (templates, techniques, guidance)	Development	Nov–Dec 2025
Engage with partners to co-design research questions	Development	Dec 2025 (ongoing)
Strategy for iterative, real-time feedback to GCA actors	Iterative / Real-Time	Dec 2025
Process for identifying risks, strengths and insights in real time	Iterative / Real-Time	Dec 2025–May 2026 (ongoing)
Support a culture of learning and improvement through formative evaluation practices	Iterative / Real-Time	Dec 2025–May 2026 (ongoing)
Collate evidence of GCA learning and adaptations	Iterative / Real-Time	Jan–May 2026 (ongoing)
Design and deliver bottom-up impact listening strategy	Bottom-Up Listening	Jan–Feb 2026
Fieldwork or remote methods to listen for unexpected impact in communities	Bottom-Up Listening	Jan–May 2026
Prioritisation framework for selecting communities for deeper engagement	Bottom-Up Listening	Feb 2026
Document community-led impact tools, tactics, or artefacts	Bottom-Up Listening	Jan–May 2026
Deliver interim GCA evaluation report (summary of achievements, learning, contribution to ToC)	Interim Evaluation	End of May 2026

Present findings at up to two learning events and co-design a public learning session	Interim Evaluation	June–July 2026
One-Year-On Impact Report (follow-up review of GCA's outcomes)	Final Evaluation	June–July 2027

7. Tender timeline

Activity	Timeline
Invitation to Tender	12 September 2025
Deadline for tenders' submission	19 October 2025
Interviews	23 & 24 October 2025
Decision announced	28 October 2025

8. Response Structure

When writing your response, please follow these formatting guidelines:

Section	Content	Length
1. Summary	Overview of the proposal, key team members, and why you're a good fit for the work	Max 1 page
2. Context of the evaluation	Your understanding of the GCA and the role of learning and evaluation within it	Max 1 page
3. Methodological approach	Outline of your proposed methodology for formative, summative, and bottom-up impact evaluation	Max 2–3 pages
4. Evaluation team	Summary of relevant experience and roles of team members (CVs may be added in annexe)	Max 1–2 pages
5. Delivery plan	Key phases, timeline, responsible team member for each activity, and how you'll work with the GCA team	Max 1 page
6. Budget	Headline budget (inclusive of VAT and all costs)	Max 1 page
7. Annex (optional)	CVs, references, or examples of previous work. You may also add multimedia or a video summary of your proposal.	As needed

9. Assessment criteria and process

The evaluation proposals will be reviewed by a panel made up of three members from the Global Citizens' Assembly team and one external expert with proven experience in evaluating deliberative processes, especially from Global South contexts.

The tender will be assessed for suitability via the following criteria:

Criterion	Description	Weighting
1. Understanding of the brief and context	Demonstrates a clear and nuanced understanding of the aims and structure of the GCA; awareness of the broader political and environmental context; and the role of participatory methods in global governance.	20%
2. Methodological approach	Presents a robust and flexible approach to formative and summative evaluation; clear and appropriate methodology for evaluation proposed; includes use of ToC, appropriate methods, and strategies for listening to unexpected impact; explicitly addresses power, privilege, and accessibility in evaluation. We would also value the use of culturally-sensitive evaluation methods.	30%
3. Team experience and expertise	Relevant experience in evaluation, participatory research, and citizen engagement; evidence of delivering complex and multi-stakeholder projects; experience working in global and cross-cultural contexts; ethical and inclusive track record. We will value Global Majority/Global North collaborations. Team cohesion and past experience collaborating is also relevant.	20%
4. Delivery plan and feasibility	Realistic and detailed timeline; appropriate project management structure; plan for working collaboratively with GCA partners; risk identification and mitigation; adaptability in delivery.	10%
5. Value for Money	Budget clearly justified and aligned with proposed activities; demonstrates cost-effectiveness in relation to scope and quality of outputs.	10%
6. Ethical and inclusive practice	Commitment to equity, diversity and inclusion; appropriate data collection and consent practices; sensitivity to cultural and community dynamics; plan to minimise participant burden; plans to avoid academic extractivism and include relevant GCA	10%

	actors in the publishing of knowledge out of this evaluation as suitable.	
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10. Contract management

10.1 Fees

Tender submissions should contain a financial quote provided in British Pounds. This must be a fixed price (unless otherwise stated) and include all charges including VAT which should be shown as a separate element. Charges for any agreed additional work beyond the original scope of the brief and which could not reasonably have been foreseen at the outset of the project are to be negotiated with the appointed consultant.

10.2 Data Protection and Compliance

The evaluation will involve the collection and sharing of data from participants and partners across multiple countries. The appointed team must ensure that all activities comply with all applicable data protection and privacy laws, including the UK GDPR where relevant.

Robust data-sharing and privacy protocols will be established collaboratively between Iswe Foundation and the evaluator before any data collection begins. Final contracting arrangements will include provisions relating to data protection, confidentiality, safeguarding, and intellectual property.

10.3 Liaison

For any questions related to this invitation to tender, please email Claire Mellier and Iñaki Goñi:

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