



SOLIDARITY CENTER

WREN EDUCATIONAL PROGRAM
Middle East/North Africa Region

**Women's Regional
Empowerment
Network¹**

Workshop 2

**Building Knowledge, Understanding, and
Skills for Education and Action**

2006

Working Document

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Educator's Notes and Curriculum Guide

The following workshop curriculum contains the information you need to conduct a 4-day workshop entitled “**Building Knowledge, Understanding and Skills for Education and Action.**”

Sessions

The workshop is broken into 7 sessions.

Each Session is divided into the following components:

Goals – What we want to accomplish in the session.

Time – **Approximate amount of time you should allocate for a session. In some sessions, we included time estimates for different activities in the session.**

What You Need – a list of materials you will need to have ready for ready for each session.

Trainer's Tips - Information for the trainer that provide background and information helpful in preparing for and conducting an exercise.

Handouts - Used to reinforce the learning in different sessions. Handouts should only be distributed during or at the end of the session they relate to, rather than distributing them as a packet, as they are intended mostly to reinforce learning that took place in the interactive workshop and serve as a resource for the participants and their future work.

How It's Done – Provides step-by-step instructions for carrying out the exercise or activity.

Reflection/Connection – Important points for: summarizing a session, showing how it connects to other sessions, and/or linking the lessons of the session to the overall theme of the workshop.

Daily Opening and Closing

In addition to the individual sessions, each day you should include the following information when opening and ending the training sessions for that day.

To begin each morning:

- welcome everyone;
- ask a volunteer (chosen the day before) to provide a recap of the previous day. This can be done in a variety of ways. Think creatively about how to involve participants in this task. For example, you can ask two or three people to write a song, using a popular tune, summarizing the days events and present it the next morning;
- ask if anyone has any questions from the last session that they need to have clarified before starting a new topic;
- ask if anyone has any impressions from the last session that they want to share before starting a new topic;
- review (very briefly) the prior day's learning and discussion, drawing the link between the activities and the overall objectives of the workshop.
- and review and post the day's objectives and agenda.

At the end of each afternoon:

- thank students for their participation, especially if particularly complex or sensitive issues have been discussed;
- remind them about any work they need to complete during the evening.
- Conduct an evaluation (see below).

Daily evaluation

At the end of the first day, tell students that daily evaluation is a critical part of the adult learning model. It requires a final analysis of the day's learning activities. The daily evaluation is also critical feedback for the trainers, so that they can assess the group's needs and determine if the training needs to be adjusted.

To conduct the daily evaluation:

- focus the group on the day's learning objectives, and summarize what happened during the day
- ask them if they feel that the objectives were met,

- ask them what was especially helpful,
- ask them what might need to be changed.

Facilitate the debriefing like a brainstorming session and tell the participants that you need them to be honest. In the first day or two of the training, as participants are getting more comfortable with the workshop and educators, it may be helpful to pass out evaluation forms that allow people to write their comments and evaluation.

Parking Lot

While you want to encourage class participation throughout the workshop, you also need to keep discussions focused. One effective technique that allows you to continue discussing the topic at hand, but also honors participants' questions is the "parking lot." Explain to participants that if someone should ask a question, or raise a discussion issue, that cannot be addressed at that moment, you will keep an on going list on the flipchart, called the "parking lot". All questions and topics will be listed there and you will return to the "parking lot" to address their concerns, when there is time.

Saving Participants' Work

At the end of every day, review all the flipchart paper to see what you will want to keep for subsequent days. Leave these posted around the room to remind you and the participants of all you have accomplished, and to serve as a "public recording and reference" for all to use.

Ice Breakers:

When you feel participants' energy lagging or people's focus start to fade, it may be time for an "icebreaker" or "energizer". This can be as simple as having everyone stand up and stretch, to more elaborate exercises such as the following:

"The best thing about you is...": Have everyone stand in a circle, and toss a ball to one of the participants. When they catch the ball, say "The best thing about you is..." and say something you like about that person. Then they throw the ball to another, and do the same thing. Go around the room until everyone has had a turn.

Sing a song - Ask one of the participants to teach the others a very simple song. Try and get everyone singing together.

Mimic – Have everyone stand and choose a partner, preferably someone from across the room. One person in the pair will be the leader, the other the follower.

Tell the follower to mimic the movements of the leader. After 1 minute, switch roles.

Mime – Pick one participant and whisper a proverb in her ear. Ask her to act out the proverb, using no words. Give participants 3 minutes to guess the proverb. Repeat once or twice.

Remember:

Following is a list of things to remember during the training. It is helpful to review this list every day before you begin the training sessions.

Remember to:

- Prepare and understand the material/equipment that you will use prior to the workshop.
- Encourage participants by clapping hands, for example, and praising them for good work, positive interactions, and efforts that they make.
- Prepare ice-breaker and energizing activities beforehand, so that you have them ready when you need them.
- Pay attention to time!
- Adapt to time constraints, in order to adjust activities and sessions according to the remaining time.
- Make the link between the different sessions.
- Make the link between the content of the session and the goals of the project.
- Use non-verbal skills of communication, such as a smile!
- Use eye contact when communicating with participants.
- Indicate the passage from one thing to another or links by changing/using intonation.
- Make sure your questions and instructions are clear.
- Enunciate!
- Respect the feelings of participants and don't allow joking or kidding when participants are talking about their personal experiences.

- Rephrase people's questions and comments, so that they know you are listening, and you can be sure you have understood them.
- Be empathetic and, to the extent possible, be aware of people's psychological state.
- Keep the conversation open and inclusive, rather than limited to one or a few participants.
- Direct questions to the group for answers, rather than answering all questions yourself.
- Prepare and be familiar with all the materials and equipment you will be using ahead of time.
- Master the content of the material and the order of presentation on the agenda.
- Organize discussions, and make the link between ideas expressed during discussions.
- Stop in order to summarize and verify that participants understand.
- Ask targeted, yet open-ended questions.
- Respect different points of view.
- Avoid stereotyping participants.
- Avoid prejudgments.
- Establish a democratic decision-making procedure.
- Maintain a balance between the sessions or program's goal and the comfort of the participants.
- Start with people's lived experience as the basis for discussions and analysis.
- Give examples in the workshop that reflect people's reality.
- Gather as much information as possible prior to and during the workshop about their knowledge, needs, and perspectives.

- Be gentle and democratic when asking participants to abide by rules, procedures.
- Fend off critical comments from participants that are aimed at other participants, and encourage everyone to have a positive approach.
- Write the main points of discussion on the board.
- Use many different ways to break participants into small groups. For example, flowers, animals, or different words can be used.

Also remember that:

- The level of motivation of the group is a reflection of your own motivation/enthusiasm.
- Enjoyment is an essential component of learning. Its absence causes deterioration in the level of learning.
- Nothing is 100% wrong. Look for the positive in every interaction and intervention by participants.
- Nothing is written in stone vis-à-vis the training. Everything can be modified to suit different workshop conditions and participant needs.

WREN Workshop 2: Women and the Global Economy: A Workshop to Build Knowledge, Understanding, and Skills for Education and Action

Session 1: Welcome and Reconnect

Objectives:

- Reconnect with one another and the program.
- Share their experiences in carrying out the recruiting process after workshop 1.
- Define additional skills and Information
- Review overall program and workshop agenda.

Time: 2 Hours

What you Need:

- a. 2 flipchart stands and pads of flipchart paper
- b. 3 different color cards or paper that can be folded in half to make a card (120 cards of each color)
- c. Workshop Agenda on Newsprint
- d. Hat or bowl or box for collecting paper
- e. Plain white paper, cut in half

Handouts:

Copies of the Agenda and Objectives for the Workshop (not attached)

How It's Done:

- After greeting and welcoming participants, hand them each a card and ask them to write on it the answers to the following questions:
 1. What is your favorite fruit?
 2. What movie, play or musical performance have you seen in the last 5 years that you really liked, and why?
 3. If you could pick any profession or job in the world, what would you do?
- Ask them to fold the paper in half, then in half again. Collect the papers into a bowl or hat, and pass them around. Ask that anyone who takes their own paper put it back, and get another. Facilitators and the MEPI Coordinator should join in this exercise.

- Ask all the participants to stand, and by asking around, find the person whose paper they have. Once everyone has found the right person, ask everyone to come back around the table and introduce the person to the group, adding the person's name and union.
- Next, hand out colored cards to the participants. Each participant should have three cards of each color. Ask them to write, in just a few words, the following: (note – as one facilitator is explaining the task and handing out the cards, the other can write a heading for each category on flipcharts or one the wall – Knowledge and Skills Gained, Knowledge and Skills Needed)

Card color 1: **knowledge or skills they gained** from the last workshop

Card color 2: **additional skills you want to develop, or additional information** you need

- When they are done, ask them to post their cards under the appropriate heading at the front of the room, putting their cards near others who answered in a similar way, to begin grouping the responses.
- When everyone is done, the Facilitators can read the postings, regroup as appropriate, and ask the group their thoughts about what people said. The facilitators can prompt discussion by asking the following questions:
 - a. What surprised you about the outreach work you did?
 - b. Do you see any common threads?
 - c. Does anyone have any anxieties or fears about this workshop they would like to share?

Reflection/Connection:

Provide your own summary. You may want to note the following:

- Everyone learned something important, but people learned different things, even when they had the same task. That is the nature of education that is based on people's experience.
- Honest communication with other people is a process of discovery – and it often surprises us – sometimes in a delightful way, sometimes in a negative way.

Agenda Review

- Note that before you talk about the agenda for the workshop, you want to revisit the whole program with the participants. Ask the participants – “What do you understand about the project?”
- Turn to the flipchart paper with the diagram of the WREN Program. Recall that the WREN program is about the empowerment of women workers, and that it is based on a program of education sometimes called popular or transformative education.
- Recall very briefly the characteristics of popular or transformative education.
- Restate the goals of the WREN program. Describe the content and skill-building goals of each workshop, recalling what was done in Workshop 1, then summarizing the content and skill-building that will take place in Workshop 2 and 3.
- Note that by the time the participants leave this workshop, we expect them to be able to go out and do trainings, based on actual exercises that we will practice with them in this workshop. More about that later.
- Hand out the Agenda and List of Objectives for Workshop 2. As you go through the agenda, refer to places where we will address the list of “skills and information needed” just developed by the participants.
- When you have finished reviewing the agenda, ask if there are any questions.
- Establish, together with the participants, a list of “house rules” to be followed for the workshop. For example, everyone will come on time, be respectful to others, turn off their cell phones, etc.

Session 2: Reflection on Recruiting Experience: What Did We Learn?

Objectives:

- To reflect on experiences in talking to and recruiting women.
- To discuss what participants learned about women's problems.
- To identify where participants found support and enthusiasm for the work.
- To provide a compass for the work of the next 3 days.

What You Need

- a. Paper or cards in 4 colors (60 copies each color)
- b. Flipchart paper
- c. Lots of tape
- d. Lots of magic markers

How it's Done:

- Explain that we will use the next 2 hours to discuss in detail the experiences and information gained since the first workshop.
- Split the participants into groups of 4, and encourage people to sit with those whom they do not know well, or are from a different sector.
- Give each group 5-10 minutes to discuss among themselves the following questions:

How many women did you talk to, and how did you choose whom to talk to? How did you open the conversation with them?

- As the groups are talking, write the following questions on flipchart paper, one question per flipchart, so everyone can see:

Card Color 1: Problems you encountered in talking to and recruiting women

Card Color 2: What were the main problems that women identified?

Card Color 3: What economic concerns were most on women's minds?

Card Color 4: Where did you find support and enthusiasm?

- After 10 minutes, pass out a task sheet with the above questions on it, as well as several different colored cards to each small group, and ask them to discuss each of the questions in their group (taking about 10 minutes for each question). As they discuss, ask them to write the answers from their group in short form (1-2 words), putting one answer per card (they will have several per question), color-coded as above.
- After about 30 minutes, bring everyone back into plenary. Ask the first group to come and post one answer for the first question. Ask the next group for a different answer to the same question. Go around the room like this, moving quickly, until all the answers to the first questions have been posted, with no duplicates.
- Ask any clarifying questions. Then ask "What does this tell us about our work together? How can we address these problems in this workshop, and in the program in general?"
- Follow the same process for questions 2 and 3, going around the room in a round robin until all answers are posted, with no duplicates.
- Ask one small group to read out one of their answers to the last question on "support and enthusiasm." Ask another group with a different answer to call it out. Go around the room in a random order, asking only for responses that haven't already been shared. Write them on a flipchart as they are called out. Use the answers here to reflect on the importance and vitality of women's empowerment. Discuss the ways in which the answers to the questions help guide the program, and will be used to guide the next three days of the workshop. Save and post this flipchart in the room, so you can refer to it throughout the workshop, as necessary.

Session 3: Social, Economic and Political Timeline²

Objectives:

- Discuss and discover changes in the relative power and autonomy over time of key institutions in society.
- Discuss what these changes have meant for women, and how they relate to the problems working women are facing, as discussed in Session 2.
- Begin to understand how identifying past and current political; economic and social changes help women identify good opportunities for future advocacy.

Time: 1.5 hours

What you need:

- a) 2 pieces of flipchart paper per group, taped together the long way, for drawing the timeline.
- b) 3 different colored markers for each group

Handouts:

Timeline Exercise

How it's done

- Explain that having discussed the problems women working women face in their daily lives, for the next day and a half, we are going to step back and look at some of the larger social, economic and political forces that shape women's lives, the opportunities and constraints they live with, and avenues for bringing about change to benefit women.
- The first exercise we will do will help us trace recent changes in the relationship between key institutions in our society. It is important to trace how these relationships have changed over time, in order to better understand the current moment, and to have a better idea of what is before us. This is a critical as we hope to shape those changes, and ensure that women benefit from them. .

² Adapted from Veneklasen with Miller (2002). *A New Weave of Power, People, and Politics*. Oklahoma: World Neighbors.

- Say that for the purposes of this exercise, we will use 5 main “institutions” – the State, the Economy or Market, Unions, the Family, and one other. Leave the 5th category open, to reflect an institution that is important to the participants. For example, the group may feel that religious institutions are particularly important, or the media.

- **Trainer’s Tip:** It is important to have no more than 5 institutions in order to keep the exercise “doable”. More than that gets complicated to draw and discuss. You can encourage participants to be more detailed in their analysis when they report out on their timelines. For example, many people feel that culture is a key consideration/institution, given its tremendous power in shaping and perpetuating norms and traditions. To accurately represent culture in this exercise would imply an all-encompassing circle that influenced each area. So, rather than representing “culture” with one of the circles, ask the groups to discuss how culture impacts each of the institutions, and the relationship among them.

- To begin the exercise, divide the participants into small groups. Ask each group to draw a timeline on their newsprint, beginning in 1940 and ending in 2006. The group should then identify two to three milestones when internal and external events had a noticeable impact in changing the political, economic and social lives of the people in their country. These include war and other points of conflict, economic crises and political shifts. These milestones should be marked on the timeline. Make sure you emphasize that **THERE ARE NO RIGHT OR WRONG ANSWERS** in this exercise. The purpose is for women to reflect on and analyze these questions based on their own rich life experience and knowledge.

- At each milestone along the timeline, discuss the relative power of the institutions. Did the state control most of the economic activity? Or did economic actors have greater influence over political and social life? Was civil society active, organized, and influential during that time? How influential were trade unions? What was the relative power of trade unions vis-à-vis the government and the market? How important were each of these institutions in shaping the lives of women, and how has that changed over time? What, if anything, has remained constant for women, over time?

- To visually represent the results of the discussions, ask participants to make a circle for each of the four sectors with the size of the circle showing its relative power and influence. Show the relative autonomy or connectedness of each of the sectors through the degree of overlap among the circles.

- When the drawings are completed (about 45 minutes), have each group talk about their drawing, describing why they chose the 3 milestones, how they see the changes in the relative power and authority of institutions over time, and what that means or has meant for women and workers. Hold any questions and comments from other participants (except for clarifying questions) until after all the groups have shared their drawings.
- When all the groups have reported out, ask the participants what thoughts come to mind as they in terms of the trends? What commonalities do they see? Differences? What are some of the lessons you draw from this exercise? Where do they see space for citizen/worker/women's action and influence? Ask the other facilitators to share their thoughts as well, and note any thoughts of your own.

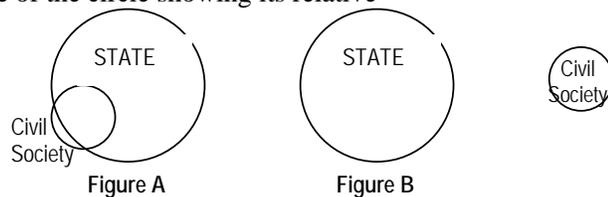
Reflections:

At the end of the session, make the following points, if they haven't already come up in the discussion:

- As we can see from the shifting power of institutions over time, power is a dynamic concept, shaped by many factors, some of which are under our control, some of which are not.
- Power shifts constantly, and we need to understand how and why in order to influence those shifts.
- As activists and educators, one of our jobs is to help other women use their own life experience and knowledge to reflect on how power shifts over time, and how women impact - and are impacted by - shifts in power. We can also help them use their own power to benefit women and shape a more positive future for their families and societies.
- By identifying key institutions in society, we begin to identify who and what has to be influenced to bring about change.

Session 3. Economic and Political Timeline³

1. Review the concepts of the state, the market, civil society, and the family.
2. Using a piece of newsprint, trace the past 5–20 years in your country. Identify two or three milestones when internal and external events had a noticeable impact in changing the political, economic, and social lives of people in the your country. These include points in the conflict, economic crises and political shifts.
3. At each milestone along the timeline, assess the relative power of the state, the market, civil society, and the family. Did the state control most economic activity? Or did economic actors have greater influence over political and social life? Was civil society well organized and deal with conflicts well? How influential are trade unions as one of the most important civil society organizations? And what was its relative power compared to the state and market? Assessing the strength and influence of the family differs in each cultural and social context, but a consistent feature has to do with gender relations and whether girls and boys have a relatively equal opportunity to grow. Make a circle for each of the four sectors with the size of the circle showing its relative power and influence. Show the relative autonomy or connectedness of each of the sectors through the degree of overlap among the circles. The degree of overlap between the sectors tells us something about political opportunities. For example, when civil society is tightly controlled by the state (figure A), independent citizen action is difficult, or even impossible. When civil society and the state are very far apart (figure B), government may be completely unresponsive to civil society and civil society may not engage at all with state structures either to influence decisionmaking (e.g. voting or lobbying) or to use structures to resolve disputes (e.g. court system).



4. Once you have completed drawing the circles at different points on the timeline, analyze all of the diagrams. Discuss how historical changes create opportunities and constraints for trade union organizing and for people to concerned about economic justices, equality and opportunity. Adapt the discussion questions below to suit your situation. If your country has recently undergone a major change, you may have specific issues to probe.

³ From VeneKlasen with Miller (2002). *A New Weave of Power, People & Politics*. Oklahoma: World Neighbors.



Some Definitions: Remember that each of the arenas described below may have both a national and an international component. For example, 'government' may include the national public sector as well as international governance institutions such as the United Nations. The 'market' includes national and local businesses as well as international financial institutions.

The **State** consists of the people, procedures and institutions of government. The state's authority and duties, and people's access to public decisionmaking, resources and opportunities are defined and regulated through laws and policies. Policies and laws are enforced and implemented through government ministries, the police, courts, schools, local government and ministries, and other institutions.

The **Market** refers to the arena where the exchange of goods and services occurs and where business, industry, multinationals, trade, investments and consumption happen. The market is also where profit is generated in cash or in-kind. The distribution of economic resources is a key factor in determining the opportunities and conflicts in the market and society at large.

Civil Society refers to the arena of social interaction between the family, market, and the state where the level of community cooperation, voluntary association, and networks of public communication determine its potential. Within civil society, people organize to advance specific agendas - NGOs, social movements, trade unions, CBOs, religious groups, foundations, scholars, research institutes, and others. Civil society is not homogenous, nor harmonious. As in the other arenas, there are patterns of privilege, exclusion, conflict, and ideological difference.

The **Family** is defined by a set of relationships created by birth, lineage, marriage, common law partnership, or other social commitments. These relationships usually extend beyond a single household to other households and groups. The family can be an important source of individual well-being and stability. It can also be the source of abuse of basic rights and freedoms. The family promotes social attitudes and values that influence the nature of the state, civil society, and the market. It is also a central force in shaping relationships between men and women.

A Note on Culture: Many people note that culture is also an important consideration given the tremendous power of cultural norms and traditions. To accurately represent culture in this exercise would imply an all-encompassing circle that influenced each arena. Instead, we think it is important to be able to recognize the dominant cultural influences and trends shaping power and decisionmaking in each arena. For example, the influence of customary leaders might be considered part of the state sphere, a prevalent belief that any regulation can distort economic efficiencies would increase the power of the market, or the way culture shapes attitudes about women, ethnic minorities and social differences could impact any and all of the arenas.

Discussion

- Does one of the sectors predominate in shaping people's lives, choices, and opportunities? For example, the family may be the predominant influence on the lives of girls and women, while the market may be the most important for peasant farmers.
- If the market is the largest circle, what kinds of challenges and opportunities does that pose for the state, civil society, and the family?
- If the state is the largest circle, what kinds of challenges and opportunities does that pose for the market, civil society, and the family?

- How does the family resist the influence of the other sectors? How does it reinforce the power and influence of the other sectors? How has this changed over time?
- How have historical changes restricted or expanded opportunities to promote people's participation in public life?
- What contradictions among the state, the market, civil society, and the family can open up or reduce opportunities for organizing?

WREN Workshop 2: Women and the Global Economy: A Workshop to Build Knowledge, Understanding, and Skills for Education and Action

Session 4: Starting with Women's Lives to Understand the Global Economy⁴

Goal:

- Share the ways our lives as women have been affected by changes to jobs and public services over the past ten years.
- Explore how the work we do is changing and why.
- Link our reality to forces in the global economy.

Time: 4 hours

Trainer's Tips:

- It is critical that the Trainer review and study the Facilitator's Guide "Starting with Women's Lives: Changing Today's Economy" (cited below) prior to conducting this workshop.
- You will need to do quite a bit of up-front preparation for this workshop. Please refer to p. 55 of the *Facilitator's Guide* for a list of items to prepare for the workshop.
- Post the large, plasticized poster of "the wall" in the front of the room where you will conduct the workshop. Place it at a height where you can post stones, etc. on The Wall.

How It's Done

Step 1: Review the workshop plan (15 minutes)

Handouts: Agenda and Workshop Objectives

- Begin this session by reviewing the objectives, which you have written up and posted on the flipchart.

⁴ This session is adapted from "Starting with Women's Lives: Changing Today's Economy: A Facilitator's Guide to a Visual Workshop Methodology" by Suzanne Doerge and Beverley Burke, Canadian Labour Congress, 2005. www.wallworkshop.com. We recommend that anyone conducting this session obtain a copy of "Starting with Women's Lives" as a reference and idea document – it is excellent and full of good information and advice.

- Pointing to the blank Wall, explain that to accomplish these objectives we will create a Wall together—a visual image of what is happening in our economy beginning with women’s experience.
- We use the image of a stone Wall to represent the economy because our economy is made up of inter-related parts that build upon one another. The stones at the top of the Wall represent the ways that we, as women, are affected in our everyday lives. They are often the only part of the Wall that we see. But to understand why we experience what we do, it is important to also look at the bottom of the Wall. It supports the top of the Wall and represents the beliefs and practices that are affecting our lives and society as a whole. We will look at how the stones in this Wall are changing and how we can contribute to the building of a different Wall.
- We will be doing a gender analysis of the economy. This means that we will start with women’s experience because it has traditionally been undervalued and often invisible in economic analysis. We will identify differences between women and men, and among women. We will look at the power we have as women to create change and determine actions we can take.
- By the end of the workshop, we will have filled in different parts of this Wall, so we can use it to plan and evaluate ideas we have for changing it.
- Point to the agenda, reviewing the proposed timeframes (written on newsprint). Compare with their hopes and point out which expectations you can hope to meet.

AGENDA

- Step 1: Review the Workshop and Agenda (15 minutes)
- Step 2: Naming the Changes (20 minutes)
- Step 3: Impact on Women’s Lives (75 minutes)
- Step 4: The Work Women Do (60 minutes)
- Step 5: Why is this happening? (70 minutes)

HOME
WORKPLACE



COMMUNITY



UNION



STEP TWO: Naming the Changes

Goal:

Name the key that jobs and public services have been changing over the years.

Time: 20 minutes

What you need:

- Two large oblong shaped stones: One headlined PUBLIC SERVICES and the other JOBS.
- 16 bright blue stones
- Glue sticks
- Masking tape
- Black marker
- Optional: A few statistics relevant for your group on cards.

How It's Done

Name the Changes-15 minutes

- Explain that to build this Wall, we will begin with major stones: PUBLIC SERVICES and JOBS. Post the two large stones the top of the Wall. By the PUBLIC SERVICES we mean both services such as water and transport and social programs to ensure that people's needs are met and to promote equality.
- To begin we want to name some of the key changes taking place. Invite participants to talk in pairs for 5 minutes to list some of the key changes to PUBLIC SERVICES that have taken place over the last ten years. (There are some examples of changes in the box that follows). Then ask participants to do the same for changes in JOBS, choosing a different partner.
- Invite participants to call in the changes and headline them on the flip chart under the headings: Changes to jobs; Changes to Public Services.
- The changes named will depend on your group. If the movement of jobs from the public to the private sector is not named, add it. There may be a few other key points from the examples below that you may also want to add.

Trainer's Tips:

- People often name negative experiences. Be sure to leave open the possibility of positive changes if the context has improved.
- Optional: After all stones are posted, review 2 or 3 relevant statistics you have put on cards. Post those cards on the side of the Wall beside the jobs and Public Services Stones.
- Explain that while participants are working in small groups in the next exercise, you will summarize their key points on 6-8 stones for Public Services.

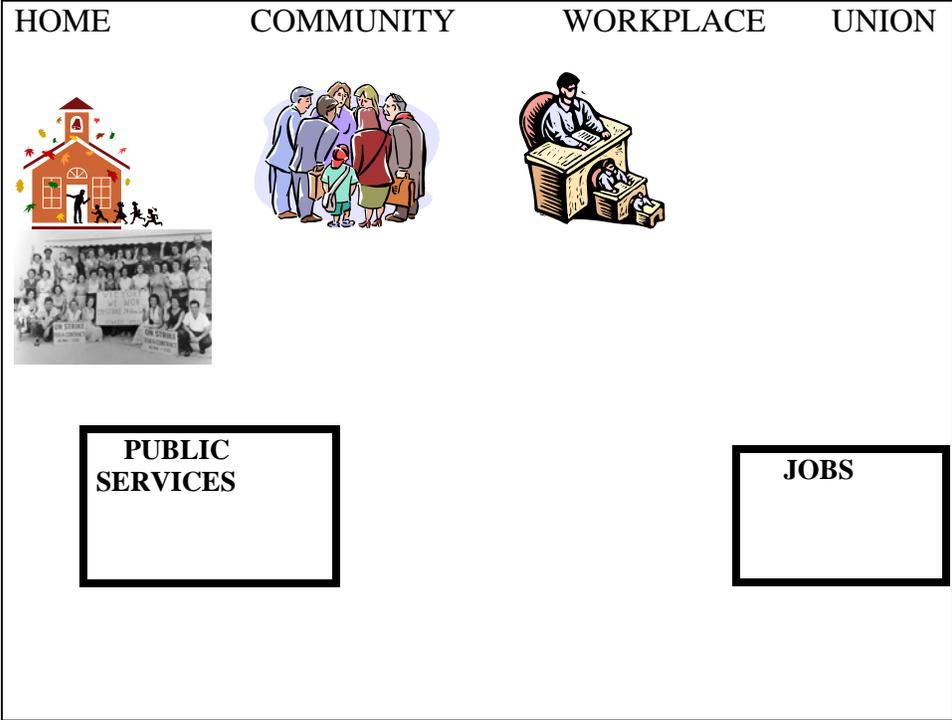
Trainer's Tip: examples of changes**Changes to Public Services**

- Cuts to publicly funded health care
- Employment insurance benefits reduced, few people eligible
- Social assistance cuts – reduced benefits, few people eligible
- housing costs increased
- school fees go up
- education cuts
- higher cost of public transportation
- decreased quality of services

Changes to jobs:

- jobs moving from public to private sector
- increase in self-employment/informal sector employment – no labour standards, no benefits
- loss of good, unionized jobs
- more job insecurity, casual and contract work
- everyone in family must get job to make ends meet
- new jobs are highly skilled or low-paying
- increased workload, employer expectations, multi-tasking
- increase in part-time work
- fewer jobs

This what the Wall looks like at the end of Step two



Step 3: Impact on Women's Lives

Goal:

- Examine how changes in the economy are affecting women's lives in the home, in the community, in the workplace and in our union.
- Name our feelings about the changes.

Time: 1 hour 15 minutes

What you need:

- a) Pink, green, blue and yellow stones (10 of each)
- b) 12 colored markers
- c) Signs for each group posted around the room – Home, Community, etc.
- d) Task Sheet # 1: Impact on Women's Lives
- e) Flip Chart: Summary of Task (Impact of Women's Lives)
- f) Optional: A few key statistics for your group on cards.

How It's Done

Introduce the small group activity

Time: 20 minutes

- Explain that we will look at how these changes to jobs and public services are affecting women and us we know, in our daily lives.
- Pointing to the top of the Wall, explain that we will look more specifically at how these changes are affecting us in the home, in the community, in the workplace and in our organization-for union women, in the union.
- Set up the small groups. In different corners of the room, post large signs headlining the area to be discussed in each group: Home, community, workplace or union. Invite people to vote with their feet by standing next to the area they most want to discuss. Negotiate to get the groups as evenly distributed as possible. You will usually have one group per area. To avoid more than 6 participants in a group, form an extra group in one area.

- Give each group a marker and set of 4 colored stones: pink for the group (s) discussing the home, green for the group (s) discussing the community, blue for the group (s) discussing the workplace and yellow for the group (s) discussing the union. The remaining stones are extras.
- Use the summary of Task (see below) you have posted on flip chart to review the task for the small groups. Refer participants to the task sheet in their materials. They will have 20 minutes to complete the task. Suggest that each group spend about 15 minutes sharing experiences before summarizing in headline form the key ideas on the stones. Each group should select two members to report back.

**Summary of Task:
For Union Groups**

Impact on women's lives

How changes to jobs and public services affect women in:

Pink-home (4)

Green-community (4)

Blue-workplace (4)

Yellow-Union (4)

TASK SHEET#1: Impact on Women's Lives

- Discuss how changes to jobs and public services are affecting you or women you know, in the area of your life you have selected to discuss.
- Choose four of the most important points from your discussion and summarize them in headlines (using very few words) on the stones.
- Assign two people to report back
- You have 20 minutes.

Discuss in Small Groups-20 minutes

- After 15 minutes, do a time check with the groups. Encourage them to wrap up and fill out all of the stones.
- **Trainer's Tip:** While groups are working, do not forget to summarize the changes to jobs and Public Services on the bright blue Stones. Glue these under the two large Stones (Public Services and Jobs).

Groups post the stones-15 minutes

- Ask two people from each group to come forward to post their stones. Begin with 'home', the invisible area. If more than one group is discussing an area, tell them to post similar responses near those of the previous group. One person can stick the stones on the Wall, while the other explains the headline. One facilitator can assist by rubbing the glue on the Wall, to help situate the stones near the related image so as not to take up space in the center of the Wall.

Discussion-15 minutes

- After all the small groups have posted their stones, the following questions will help draw out more feelings and experiences. One facilitator can ask the question while the other facilitator draws additional stones in the appropriate places headlines people's responses on them.
 - a. What do you see when you look across at the different stones?
Do you see any other patterns?
 - b. What about violence against women? What other impacts have you seen?
 - c. What feelings arise from these stones?

Summarize- 5 minutes

- It is important to share what is happening in our daily lives, because we often do not have the chance to discuss our experiences. This means that we may think we are the only one experiencing them.
- These areas at the top of the Wall (home, community and workplace) are the three areas in women's Triple Role. Women active in organizations, like union women, have an additional role.

- **Trainer's Tip:** Following are some examples of the impact of changes to jobs and public services that are commonly cited by women.

HOME

More violence
More hunger
Cannot make ends meet
More homelessness
Hard to find good, affordable childcare
Housing expensive
Changed living conditions
Fear
Hopelessness
Loss of hope for improved lifestyles
balancing work and family life harder
Less money, poverty
More demands
More health problems
Lack of support services
Stress
Worry about school closings
Loss of control
Women blamed
Guilt and anxiety
Care for elderly and ill parents increased
More money for some
paid work replaced by volunteers
downward pressure on wages
multitasking

COMMUNITY

lots of volunteer work to do
overwhelmed can't do job and volunteer
everyone for themselves
loss of dignity and respect for seniors
paranoia
quality services cut
anger
forced to accept lower standards

WORKPLACE

Street and fear
less support for working parents
can't afford job training/education
harder to find work
apathy
more violence
more harassment
more racism
less job satisfaction
layoffs of new employees/immigrants/youth
less accommodation for people with disabilities
less motivation
increased work load
increased stress
insecurity
unable to do job well
poor/no benefits
backlash against different lifestyles
work more boring
high unemployment
fatigue
self-employment or more flexibility but not benefits

UNION

difficulty getting members involved in union
attacks on collective agreements
attacks on free collective bargaining
increased stress, burnout of activists (Esp. women)
union communication fragmented with part-time wo
have to fight harder to get equity issues as priorities
less time to be active in union (esp. women)
marginalization of unions in society

fewer help agencies (swamped or lost) backlash
Kids with no hope lacking resources and direction less money
less access to services-user fees fatalism/defeatism
increased violence every woman for herself mentality
rise of hate groups union organizing much more difficult
poor-bashing unionized jobs lost
increased discrimination
desperation
infrastructures crumbling
unaffordable public transportation
disabled excluded

understaffed community agencies rely on volunteers
rise in racism

Step 4: The Work Women Do

Goal:

- Recognize ways in which women perform multiple tasks.
- Emphasize that women's work had traditionally been undervalued, unpaid or underpaid.
- Identify the groups of women facing most discrimination.
- Name the gains that have been made which have contributed to the work women do being valued.

Time: 45 Minutes

What you need

- Choose four of the scenarios included in the Task Sheet at the end of this Session. Copy and cut up enough scenarios to form four groups (e.g. if there are 24 participants, you will need six slips of paper of each of 4 scenarios).
- An envelop, hat or box to hold the slips of paper
- Open space in the room
- Two large oblong stones: one headlined: women's Work: Unpaid, Underpaid, Undervalued' and the other: 'Equity Seeking'.
- Women's work statistics sheet

How It's Done

Introduce the activity-the Triple Role Exercise-5 minutes

- The purpose of this exercise is to have fun with the different roles women play in our lives. Divide the participants into 4 groups. Each group draws one slip of paper from the container.

Groups present their mime- 20 minutes

- When the groups have formed, have them practice their mime together for 5 minutes.

- Then ask each group to mime their scenario for the others. Count to three out- loud before each presentation, so the members of the group begin at the same moment.
- Ask other participants to guess the activities in the scenario.
- Point out that as women, we often find ourselves performing more than one task at a time. In carrying out triple roles in home, community and workplace, there are many demands on our time. Activist women have an additional role in our organizations.

Facilitator mini-presentation: A look at women’s work-25 minutes

- Invite people to call out the different jobs that women performed in the exercise. Write them on the flip chart.
- Ask which of these jobs women are paid to do. Place a mark beside them. Note that all the other work is unpaid.
- Explain that in spite of some men assuming more domestic and care giving responsibilities, globally women spend many hours a day doing unpaid work than men.
- Handout the “Women’s Work Statistics’ sheet. Ask a participant to read the first statistics. “Women do \$11 trillion of unpaid work globally each year.”
- Post stone reading WOMEN’S WORK: UNDERVALUED, UNPAID, UNDERPAID. Point out that this undervaluing also relates to women’s paid work where women have predominated in lower paying jobs.
- Invite another participant to read the next three points:
 - ❖ Globally women still earn on average 75 cents for every dollar a man earns
 - ❖ Globally, women contribute 66 percent of the hours worked each day, earn only ten percent of the world’s income and own only one percent of the world’s property.
 - ❖ Globally, women hold only 15 percent of seats in national parliaments.’
- Post the other large stone EQUITY SEEKING below the women’s Work stone, leaving space between them.

- Point out that not all women are affected the same way. Ask which groups of women benefit least from the Wall. Write their responses on flipchart (youth, women of color, single mothers etc).

Naming the Gains-10 minutes

- Point out that the news is not all bad! Important gains have been made that have promoted greater equality and given value to the work women do.
- Invite participants to name some of these gains and write them on the large profile of the women participants.

Task Sheet: The Work Women Do

1. It is Ramadan. You are in the kitchen preparing your family's evening meal. You are also in the process of checking over your daughter's homework for the next day. Suddenly, the phone rings and it is the Solidarity Center inviting your participation in a four-day conference to talk about women's empowerment. You find yourself:
 - preparing dinner for your family
 - while checking your daughter's homework
 - and talking on the phone to a Solidarity Center staff person
2. You are a teacher trying to finish writing your lesson plan for the next day on the chalkboard. You need to leave the school in five minutes in order to take your sick mother to the doctor for her appointment. Just then, your co-worker stops by to talk to you about the importance of attending a community meeting on health cuts. You feel you should be there to represent your union local and want to hear about it. You find yourself:
 - writing quickly on the chalkboard behind you
 - while checking your watch
 - and talking to your co-worker
3. You are weaver and are in the process of spinning wool for a new rug you are going to weave. However, you are also taking care of your baby who is sick with a fever. On the radio, there is an interview with a community activist about increasing the role of women in governance, which you really want to hear about. You find yourself:
 - spinning wool with one hand
 - while you hold and soothe your baby
 - and listen carefully to the radio interview
4. You are up at 4:00am to prepare breakfast for your children who go to school. You quickly make a batch of sweet honey cakes to sell, hurrying to attend a breakfast meeting at the village mayor's office. You find yourself:
 - boiling milk for your children's breakfast
 - while putting together your sweet honey cakes
 - and putting together papers for your meeting with the mayor
5. You are working late at the office to type up dictation for your boss who needs it for the next morning. However, you would also like to attend your union's meeting that is set to start in only ten minutes. Meanwhile, you are on the phone talking to your sister about a health problem she is having. You find yourself:
 - typing furiously on the computer
 - while talking with your sister on the phone
 - and checking the time to make sure you make it to your meeting

Step Five: Why Is This Happening

Goal:

- Look at how changes to jobs and public services affect women and why those changes are occurring
- Analyze the role gender and other forms of discrimination play in how and why the changes are occurring

Time: 70 Minutes

What You Need:

- a) 3 questions on flipchart for ‘three paired skirmish’
- b) 15 women’s symbol stones (from the pattern on p. 59). Have 5 of these blank stones posted around the “Women’s Work’ stone and 5 around the “Equity-Seeking” stone, the rest are extras.
- c) Handouts on Women in the Global Economy

How It’s Done:

Get Started-10 Minutes

- With the help of participants, briefly review the work you have done on the wall so far:
 - a. named the changes to jobs and public services;
 - b. we shared how they affect women’s lives at home, in the community, in the workplace and in our organizations;
 - c. we looked at the triple (or quadruple) role that women play in the economy and how some women are affected more than others;
 - d. and we named some gains we have made.

Three paired-skirmish - 30 minutes

- Say that we are going to look a little more deeply now at the differences in impact on women and men, as well as among women-and talk about why all of this is happening.
- Ask everyone to stand up and find a partner, someone they haven’t worked with yet.
- When everyone has a partner, explain that you will be asking them to discuss a question until you call stop. Then you will ask a few pairs to

share their answers on the women's symbol stones before changing partners and introducing a new question.

- Unveil one question at a time by taping the flipchart under the question you want the group to discuss.
- Show the first question. After 2 or 3 minutes, ask one pair to share one of their ideas with the whole group and then go up and write their point with a marker in large letters on one of the women's symbol stones posted around the large 'Women's Work stone'. As they write, call on another pair to contribute a point. Ask 3 or 4 pairs to contribute before moving on. Have one group write as the next group talks to keep the process moving.
- Ask participants to change partners, and uncover the second question. After a couple minutes, ask 3 or 4 pairs to share one point each and to write them on the women's symbol stones around the large stone: "Equity-Seeking."
- Ask them to change partners for the third time and uncover the last question (#3). After 2 or 3 minutes, ask participants to sit down with their partners. Do a round, asking each pair for one response to "why is this happening". Ask for clarification as needed and write key words directly on the Wall. Try to group ideas that are similar. When a term is used that may not be known to everyone, ask the person who spoke or others to define it. Keep in mind that the handouts to follow will clarify some concepts. When all pairs have contributed, ask if there are any other points they wish to make.

The Questions:

#1 How Are Women Affected Differently From Men?

#2 How Are Women Who Experience the Most Discrimination Affected?

#3 Why Is This Happening? (What Is Causing All These Changes?)

Step 6: Mini-lecture on the Global Economy

Handout: Global Economy Glossary

Relevant articles and reports

- To help the participants “tie together” all of the issues, trends, impacts, etc that they have discussed during the day, it is useful at this point to give a mini-presentation on the global economy. In the WREN program, we developed a different mini-lecture for each group, depending on the sector, interests, current affairs, etc. This should take no more than 30 minutes. At the end of the mini-lecture, pass out the Global Economy handout, as a reference from the participants.

Handout: Key Terms of the Global Economy

What is globalization?

Globalization is the process by which countries' economies become increasingly interwoven and affected by each other. This happens with the increased flow of goods (trade), foreign direct investment, money (finance), and/or people (migration). Globalization is not new, but the speed, depth, and scope of the changes, aided by technology, is new, as is the enormous power of International Financial Institutions (IFIs) and global trade groups such as the World Trade Organization (WTO) to set the rules of the global economy.

What are the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund?

The World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF) are two agencies of the United Nations, created in 1945 by British and American negotiators. The World Bank and the IMF play major roles in shaping the global economy. They set, implement, and enforce rules governing international trade, investment, aid and loans.

What is the Mission of the IMF and World Bank?

Since the 1960's, the World Bank and the IMF have provided loans to poor countries. Since the 1980's, the World Bank and IMF have attached conditions to their loans that have dramatically changed the structure of developing countries' economies. These conditions, once called Structural Adjustment Policies, knock down trade and investment barriers, privatize public services and state-owned enterprises, weakened labor laws, and cut social programs.

What is "Conditionality"?

Conditionality is what we call the economic policies and criteria that countries must follow in order to obtain loans from IFIs. For Structural Adjustment Loans, conditionality typically consists of requirements that can have serious effects on working people and families, such as privatization, trade and price liberalization, fiscal austerity, the reduction of government spending including the elimination of subsidies for social services, local agricultural products and industry, and labor market flexibilization.

What is the World Trade Organization?

Founded in 1995, the WTO An organization based in Geneva, Switzerland, that monitors international agreements on trade, investment, government procurement, intellectual property and the like. Currently, more than 140 countries are members of the WTO. Technically, it operates by consensus of the members, but

wealthy members such as the United States and European countries (also called the **G-8**) have the majority of political clout in negotiations.

What is Privatization?

Privatization is the process by which publicly or government-owned or managed industries, resources, or services are transferred to companies in the private sector. In theory, privatization encourages competition and free markets. In reality, privatization often results in an increase in the cost of services, without increases in service or coverage. Privatization can leave workers in public-sector unions especially vulnerable, as their union may not be recognized by new private owners. Thus privatization can hurt workers both as employees and as citizens who need services. Privatization is often one of the economic policies that countries must adopt to receive loans from IFIs, and to obtain trade agreements with Western countries.

What is a Trade Agreement?

A Trade Agreement is a legally binding agreement between 2 countries that defines the rules under which people and businesses in the two countries can buy and sell products to each other. Trade agreements control the flow of goods between countries. Trade agreements can also include protections for worker rights, human rights, the environment, and natural resources. For example, in the U.S.-Jordan Free Trade Agreement, the ability for the US and Jordan to trade with one another is conditioned on their adherence to the core labor standards.

What is the GSP (Generalized System of Preferences)?

The GSP is a trade program established by the U.S. government that allows certain countries to export their products to the U.S. at lower tariffs than those established by the World Trade Organization (WTO). The GSP contains a labor rights rule that requires countries to meet some minimum human and labor rights standards in order to qualify for the program.

Session 5: What is the alternative?

Objectives:

- Recognize what actions that are already being done by people in Jordan and around the world with the potential to change the negative aspects of the global economy.
- Identify some actions women can take to create an economy that benefits women and society as a whole.
- Examine a case study on a successful union struggle with privatization.
- Discuss different paths of advocacy and resistance to current economic globalization, the values they reflect, and the link to women's empowerment.

Time: 2 Hours

Handouts: The Spoornet Case Study

What you Need:

- a) Copies of the Spoornet Case Study
- b) Flipcharts for small groups
- c) Facilitator's list of answers to the 7 questions posed on the case study (see below)
- d) Flying women cards

How It's Done

- Begin this session by referring to the Wall they created. Review the things that were mentioned when we talked about the causes of discrimination. Ask them to think of one thing that they will do to fight some type of discrimination in the next month. Pass out the Red Flying Woman cards and ask participants to write their answers on the cards. Walk around the room collecting the cards and asking people what they wrote. Give the cards to your co-facilitator to post around the Wall.
- Again referring to the Wall, ask: What parts of the Wall do we need to change in order to build an economy that really benefits women and society?

- After a few minutes of discussion, point out that there is important work to be done in all parts of the wall:
 - TOP: to assist women in dealing with the impacts of the economy on their lives, beginning with their reality
 - BOTTOM: to work against some of the trends and to build alternatives
 - GAINS – to protect the gains that are being eroded.
- Point to the plants outlined at the bottom of the Wall. Explain that these are young vines that have the potential of climbing up this Wall and slowly changing over time – in the same way that vines growing on the walls of a house slowly eat away at the mortar and stone. These represent actions that are already underway with the potential to change this wall. They may be support networks, union organizing or public advocacy campaigns, social movements, etc. They are signs of hope.
- Invite participants to name these actions, and write the responses (in one or two words) on the plants.
- Add additional current campaigns from other countries that are relevant to your group.
- Note: Its important to acknowledge that groups that are fighting globalization may have very different visions of what the alternative should be. Many groups are fighting for gender equality and social and economic justice. There are also groups that call for further restrictions on the rights of women in their vision of an alternative. To generate discussion on this issue in your group, you can ask some follow-up questions, such as: What are the values that underlie the actions we identified? Are there other responses to globalization that have different values? How do these different visions affect women’s empowerment?
- Next, hand out copies of the Spoornet Case Study to each participant, and tell them that we are now going to look in depth at an example of how trade unionists in South Africa joined together to successfully challenge a large privatization program.
- Divide the participants into 3 groups. Pass out 2 questions to each group, as listed below, and ask them to read the case study, discuss it, and answer their two questions. Give them 20-25 minutes for this task.

Group 1: Who are the actors in the case study (companies, government agencies, etc)? What are the different elements of the strategy employed by the trade unions to fight the privatization?

Group 2: What technical information did the union use in the fight to stop privatization? What did the union gain in negotiations?

Group 3: What sources of power did the union tap into? What did they lose?

- Bring the groups back together, and have each group answer their 2 questions, starting with group 1.
- After each group has reported their answers, ask if anyone has anything to add. Make sure that all points on your Facilitators' list are covered.
- Then ask the whole group: What lessons did you draw from this case study?

Reflections on the exercise

- Note the link between the answers to the questions about power and strategies – the best strategies are always based on an accurate analysis of our own sources of power. We analyze our power to know where we are strong: we use strategy to know how to use our power.

A Trade Union Response to Privatisation in South Africa⁵

Spoornet

In 2000, South Africa's Department (Ministry) of Public Enterprises (DPE) announced that it was planning to divide Spoornet into separate businesses and to concession the different parts to the private sector. This is the story of how the unions organising in Spoornet fought against this plan.

Spoornet is South Africa's public railway service, and it employs 33,000 workers. It consists of five business units:

- the General Freight Business (GFB) is the biggest and carries all types of freight;
- CoalLink carries bulk coal;
- Orex carries bulk iron ore;
- Shosholozha Meyl carries ordinary long-distance travellers; and
- the luxury Blue Train carries rich tourists over specific routes.

Freight transport is Spoornet's main business. But there are important differences between the three freight units. The CoalLink and Orex lines move a single commodity quickly from the inland mines to the ports for export. The profit margins by weight are low, but the volumes are big enough to make large profits.

The GFB carries a wide variety of commodities (agricultural products, cement, containers, etc) in lots of different directions for many different purposes. Costs on this line are high, revenue is low, and service is inefficient. The GFB also faces strong competition from other forms of transport, such as road transport. This competition is especially strong in South Africa because of the good condition of the main roads.

The GFB's difficulties are similar to those of general freight rail in many other countries. Revenues do not cover costs. It continues to operate because the profits from Orex and CoalLink are used to cover the losses of GFB. This is called "cross-subsidization", and is a common practice in both government-owned and private industries. By the mid-1980s, CoalLink and Orex were subsidising GFB by R1.8bn. However, even this large subsidy was not enough to cover needed maintenance and investment in the infrastructure of the rail lines.

In 1994 South Africa's politics changed dramatically when the African National Congress (ANC) gained power in the first democratic elections in the country. The ANC government decided to address Spoornet's problem through privatisation. Before 1994, many people saw the ANC as a left-wing

⁵ Derived from a NALEDI-published report and analysis of the Spoornet privatization (www.naledi.org).

organisation, especially because it had a strong alliance with the trade unions and with the South African Communist Party.

However, very soon it became clear that the ANC government followed traditional economic thinking. This became especially clear in 1996, when government adopted the Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) policy. GEAR had, as one of its main aims, a reduction in the budget deficit. And it saw privatisation – which it sometimes called ‘restructuring’ – as one way of doing this.

Government’s plan for Spoornet

In the late 1990s, Spoornet appointed an international consulting company to develop a ‘turnaround strategy’. The consultants suggested that Spoornet should close all unprofitable lines and business activities and retrench 27,000 of its 33,000 workers. Government rejected this strategy.

Spoornet then asked Rothschild, a British company specializing in privatisation, for advice. Rothschild proposed to end all cross-subsidisation. It recommended that Spoornet be split into six separate companies, and that most of them be concessioned to private companies. The Rothschild plan said that:

- CoalLink, Orex and the Blue Train should be concessioned immediately;
- Shosholozza Meyl should be concessioned with a government subsidy; and
- GFB should be ‘bundled’ into separate bits. Some bits should be concessioned and some bits should be closed. The remaining part of GFB should be given three years to become profitable, and then be concessioned.

Government accepted most of the Rothschild company’s proposals and announced them in the media and in Parliament.

The unions respond

The SA Transport and Allied Workers Union (SATAWU) is the majority union at Spoornet. It represents most of the black workers. Two smaller unions - UTATU and SALSTAFF – organise mostly among the more skilled, supervisory and administrative white employees.

SATAWU is an affiliate of the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU). COSATU is the largest and strongest union federation in the country, and it is the ANC’s alliance partner. But COSATU does not like privatisation. It argues that privatisation reduces government’s control and makes social and economic development hostage to market forces.

In 1995, railway and airport workers had a national strike against government’s sale of South African Airways. South African Airways is part of Transnet, which is also the parent company of Spoornet. As a result of the strike, government and

COSATU negotiated the National Framework Agreement (NFA) on state asset restructuring. The NFA says that government must consult with labour each time it wants to 'restructure' a state asset.

When SATAWU heard government's plans for Spoornet, it asked the National Labour and Economic Development Institute (NALEDI) to help develop a response. NALEDI is a non-governmental research organisation with strong links with the union movement. NALEDI worked together with all the unions to analyse the operational problems of Spoornet. After their analysis, they proposed that:

- Spoornet should be made more efficient in the public sector without privatising it; and
- The unions would co-operate with efficiency improvements as long as there were no retrenchments.

The unions argued that keeping rail transport under state ownership was the only way of making sure it contributed to socio-economic development. Otherwise, they said that private sector operators would concentrate on profitable business, and close unprofitable lines – precisely the lines that helped create jobs and move goods and services in poor and underserved areas of South Africa. NALEDI presented research showing that closing eight lines in one of the provinces would save Spoornet about R30 million a year, but would create additional road maintenance costs of R130 million a year. It would also cause more traffic congestion and more pollution, both of which carry significant costs. The unions had facts and figures to back up their arguments.

At the same time as announcing its proposals, COSATU started organising a two-day anti-privatisation strike. This made government sit up quickly. In early March, the ministers of Transport and Public Enterprises met with the leaders of the three trade unions. The ministers proposed the formation of a joint labour-government task team to investigate Spoornet's restructuring options.

Different interest groups

The privatisation struggle at Spoornet was not a simple government vs labour battle. There were several different groups inside government with different agendas.

- Spoornet management opposed government's restructuring model. They agreed there should be some concessioning, but said that GFB, Orex and CoalLink should remain together.
- The transport ministry was not happy with the Spoornet proposals. But its power was limited because it controlled only national passenger rail transport and national road transport. Rail freight transport and Spoornet were the responsibility of DPE.

On the union side, the three unions did not have a history of working together because of their different race and skill backgrounds. But the fight against Spoornet helped to create unity between SATAWU and the two other unions.

The unions needed each other. SALSTAFF and UTATU contributed their special technical and operational insights. SATAWU contributed its size and militancy.

The government-labour task team

The task team focused on two issues:

- the socio-economic role of rail transport, and
- the business sustainability of Spoornet, and especially of GFB.

After a lot of discussion, labour and government agreed that:

- the Blue Train would be concessioned, and
- GFB and Shosholozza Meyl would remain as government-owned.

But government and labour still could not agree about CoalLink and Orex. Government admitted that CoalLink and Orex were already efficient operations. So the main motivation to privatise them was financial, not efficiency. Labour had collected lots of detailed financial and other information. Labour argued that the government proposal made no business sense – to hand over world-class assets to foreign companies, leaving South African management with the unprofitable and unsustainable GFB.

DPE tried to break the deadlock between labour and government. It suggested ways to prevent retrenchments and provide training for redundant workers if labour agreed to concessioning. The unions rejected these proposals. They said the main issue was the sustainability of Spoornet and GFB, not simply job loss.

Eventually the task team drafted a report for the ministers. The report recommended the establishment of a technical working group to look at the financial sustainability of the two models. The Ministers agreed to this proposal.

The technical working group

The working group developed 20-year projections of cash flows and investment requirements for four scenarios with different freight volumes and network sizes. Management did most of the work developing the projections as they had the information and expertise. But the other members of the group asked questions all along the way.

The final results of the projections were clear: a stand-alone GFB was unsustainable, while the integrated Spoornet was fully sustainable. But even with an integrated Spoornet, up to 8 000 jobs would be lost over the five-year turnaround period.

Government was not happy when the technical group's report was presented to them. They asked for time to study the calculations. Six weeks later, they were still unwilling to admit that their own plans were wrong. They told labour informally that they might compromise if labour agreed to concessioning of Orex in exchange for integration of CoalLink and GFB. Labour replied there was no technical evidence to support such a compromise.

One of the reasons government was unwilling to back down was that it had publicly announced its decision to privatise Spoornet. Government knew that private and foreign capital saw its position on privatisation as a sign of its commitment to pro-market economic policies.

However eventually, after some ministers intervened, government officials said that they accepted the results of the technical working group process. In February 2002, cabinet announced its new restructuring plan for Spoornet, based on the technical working group report. Government announced the agreement as a victory for engagement with labour. It said that the unions had been successfully 'brought on board'. However, the truth is that labour only backed down on one thing – the concessioning of the Blue Train.

The struggle continues

Cabinet's announcement was not the end of the struggle. The next struggle is implementation of the plan.

Already by August 2002, implementation had stopped because of disagreements. Management wanted to follow a policy of full cost recovery. Labour argued that this was against a key principle of the plan, i.e. cross-subsidisation for socio-economic and other goals. Things only got moving again in November after a meeting between the Spoornet executive and the trade unions. Progress was helped by the resignation of two DPE officials who were strongly in favour of privatisation.

But the unions are still worried about the lack of consultation around the turnaround strategy, and what this will mean for job losses.

Closing thoughts

The process of engagement of the unions with Spoornet was very technical. It happened in meeting rooms far from worker organisation. But there were several things that increased the unions' power in the meeting rooms:

- SATAWU was well-organised and assertive;
- the three unions were united, despite their racial and occupational differences;
- the unions used the media to keep the issue in the public eye; and
- the divisions in government – between DPE and the department of transport, between DPE and Spoornet management, and within DPE itself – strengthened the unions' hand.

Despite its strength, the union had to make some trade offs. It had to accept that some jobs would be lost. But 8,000 jobs lost over five years is much less than the 17,000 that would have been lost very quickly under the government's plan.

Questions for Spornet Case Study

1. Who are the actors in the case study (companies, government agencies, etc)?
2. What are the different elements of the strategy employed by the trade unions to fight the privatization?
3. What technical information did the union use in the fight to stop privatization?
4. What sources of power did the union tap into?
5. What did the union gain in negotiations?
6. What did they lose?
7. What lessons do you draw from this case study?

Session 6: Practice Sessions and Feedback: A Review of Participatory Education Techniques

Objectives:

- To review principles of participatory education experienced and learned in the WREN program.
- To practice and receive feedback on participatory education skills.
- To test different participatory education sessions on a variety of topics important to women workers that participants can share with the women in their study groups.

Handouts: Features of Participatory Learning

Task Sheet 1: What is organizing?
Task Sheet 2: Problem Identification & Prioritization
Task Sheet 3: Tapping Our Strength
Task Sheet 4: What Should Be Private/Public?
Task Sheet 5: Practice Listening & Resolving Conflict
Task Sheet 6: Learn & Teach about IFIs Through Songs and Skits.

How it's done:

- Begin this session by reviewing our progress to date in the WREN program, briefly noting all of the various topics and exercises we have undertaken. Remind participants that the goal of the program is for them to share the experience, techniques and information they have gained with other women.
- Verbally review with the participants in particular the information on adult learners and participatory education. Ask the group: what do we mean by participatory education? Prompt discussion in the group to cover all pertinent points. Then pass out copies of the handout, "Features of Participatory Education."
- Explain the objectives of this session, and tell participants that we will actually be testing and adapting different exercises that they can use in their small groups, while at the same time providing them with specific feedback on the skills they have developed.

- Split the participants into 3 groups, encouraging people to join with people they haven't worked with yet.
- Each group will be given one exercise or group of exercises (see attached) to review, adapt, and present, in a shortened form, to the whole group. Groups will have 45 minutes to complete the task.
- Have the groups present their work to the plenary, leaving time for questions and feedback after each presentation. When everyone has presented, add your own comments and thoughts, providing positive feedback where possible, and ideas for improvement where necessary.
- Repeat the cycle again, using 3 different exercises.

Reflection/Connection

- Ask the participants to discuss how and why they might use the exercises highlighted in this session to recruit and share information with women in their study groups.

Handout: Features of Participatory Learning

There are different empowering learning approaches that help people to ask questions, discover new truths, and practice solving real life problems. Freire spoke about popular education as a participatory process of action-reflection-action. While popular education has spawned a myriad of participatory learning methods, the basic process always involves problem identification, analysis, and the pursuit of solutions through dialogue, self-awareness, and organizing.

Some of the features and assumptions of participatory learning methodologies are described below.

The Political Nature of Education

No education is neutral. *How* one learns is linked to *what* is learned. Education can teach people how to conform or it can encourage independent thinking and creative change. A learning process that validates what learners know and challenges them to examine their ideas more deeply, can empower them to think independently, seek information, and act on their knowledge.

Relevance

People absorb and act on information that is directly related to their daily lives. Relevance is vital to motivation.

Linked to Problem-Solving

Adults often learn faster when the information they gain addresses the problems they face directly.

Dialogue and Mutual Learning

Dialogue can ensure that the learner's concerns are the focus of the educational process. By promoting a more equal educator/learner relationship, dialogue involves joint discovery and helps learners to gain confidence in their own ability.

Recognizes Differences among People While Seeking Common Ground

The same power imbalances that generate conflict in society are present in groups brought together to learn, plan, and act. Naming these differences and adjusting for power dynamics is a vital starting point for empowerment. The approach contrasts with the tendency to see marginalized groups as homogenous, and to ignore the power differences between educators/organizers and "people from the community."

Problem-posing and Open-ended Learning

One of the facilitator's roles is to ask questions that assist learners to examine their own situation and deepen their understanding of the problems they face. The facilitator also introduces new ideas and information to supplement and broaden the analysis.

An Iterative Process without Predictable Steps and Outcomes

Although participatory learning methods use a certain set of techniques, the process is not linear. Because the facilitator cannot anticipate how learners will think and interact, he or she must listen and engage in the process. There are no mechanical formulas for developing an empowering learning process.

Moves from the Concrete to the Abstract and Back

Traditional education, especially at higher levels, usually begins with theory and then tests the theory against reality. This is why some highly educated NGO leaders may be uncomfortable beginning analysis with a concrete description of a problem (e.g., women's health is poor due to too many children and inadequate nutrition) rather than an abstract explanation (e.g., reproductive health needs). When trainers start with a theoretical explanation, they can derail the empowering effect of analyzing and discovering things for oneself.

The Dialogue Process

Some educators refer to problem-posing in participatory learning as the “but why?” method. The facilitator's questions encourage learners to ask why problems exist and so probe their social, economic, cultural, and political roots.

Stimulating discussion with adults who are not used to speaking up in public can be difficult. Even people who are more comfortable speaking publicly may not have much experience with critical questioning. The problems people face may be so threatening that they find it impossible to talk about them. For this reason, it may be helpful to begin discussion with relevant examples rather than asking directly about problems. Some distance allows people to get comfortable with a topic, and after discussion, they may be able to relate the analysis to their own lives more readily. For this purpose, participatory learning approaches often use “codes” to start the reflection process.

Tips for Outside Facilitators

- Know the group you are working with. Prior research and observation will give you a sense of the problems facing this particular group. Use examples familiar to them to stimulate discussion.
- Remember that political analysis involves making connections between the past and the present as well as examining how privilege, power, and disadvantage mold real-life problems.
- Give people ample time to discuss a thorny topic with each other. A participant, rather than the facilitator, can sometimes more easily challenge misinformation or stereotypes.

Codes: Opening Discussion on Difficult Problems

A code can be a drawing, role play, game, skit, song, or story that presents a familiar problem in a concrete way. Usually, it does not provide answers, solutions, or morals. It simply depicts a situation that then becomes the focus of dialogue. The development of a suitable code requires observation and consultation. A code is especially helpful for dealing with personally sensitive problems such as rape, domestic violence, and AIDS.

Discussing Codes

The steps listed on the next page can help facilitators to guide dialogue around codes. They do not always follow a predictable sequence. Rather, the facilitator is responsible for guiding the spiraling process that takes people from the personal to the concrete to the abstract and back again.

Steps in the Dialogue Process

Introductory Step: Self-Analysis and Affirmation

Dialogue requires confidence and trust-building. If participants have not developed a sense of group solidarity, encourage them to introduce themselves and get to know others. Questions like “What inspires me?” or “What are my hopes and fears for myself, my family, my community?” can help build trust and affirm the importance of everyone’s contribution. The idea of beginning the dialogue process with personal analysis and affirmation was added to Freire’s original process by activists working with women. This is an important step because values and self-esteem are central to the way we learn and interact with the world.

Step 1: Description of what you see happening in this picture (skit, code, etc.)

Using the code, encourage participants to carefully describe what is happening—something that may be a daily occurrence for them. Often more schooled people use shorthand terminology to describe situations, such as “gender violence” or “conflict.” This step tries to avoid such abstraction by talking about concrete details.

Step 2: First Analysis—Why is this happening?

Begin to ask why people are doing what they are doing in the picture or skit. Keep asking why so that participants question as well as describe. Take advantage of the comfort people may feel in probing a situation that is not directly related to their own lives. It is useful for the facilitator to know enough about the issue to be able to formulate questions that help people analyze and that challenge myths, stereotypes, or misinformation.

Step 3: Real Life Comparison—Does this happen in your community? In your life?

Encourage people to give examples of how the situation in the code happens in their lives.

Step 4: Related Problems—What problems does this lead to?

This step looks at the consequences of the problem. Again in this step, the facilitator can provide additional information to supplement what participants contribute.

Step 5: Deeper Analysis—What are the root causes of these problems?

This step encourages learners to probe deeper into problems. Why does this happen? Once learners have had sufficient time, the facilitator can expand with additional information. The facilitator should also challenge simplistic explanations.

Step 6: Alternatives and Action—What can we do about it?

Linking education to action is essential for empowerment and effective advocacy. How will people use their new knowledge to change their situation? In this step, information about policies, law reform, budgets, and basic rights can assist people in defining what they can do. Step 6 can start by asking “What can we do to address this problem here in our community?” and “How can we bring about policy change to obtain more resources or better protection?”. Local solutions, such as setting up community committees to monitor water use, are as important as solutions at the national or international levels. This step can serve as an initial brainstorming for a group that then can lead to further analysis and organizing.

From “A New Weave of Power, People and Politics: The Action Guide for Advocacy and Citizen Participation” by Lisa Veneklasen with Valerie Miller, World Neighbors, 2002.

Task Sheet 1

Session 6

WHAT IS ORGANIZING?⁶

Time: 60 Minutes

In this exercise, participants will discuss a workers' story to together define organizing and to identify some actions and beliefs that can make joint action successful.

Trainer: In this section, you can ask someone in the group to read the story out loud or you can read it out loud yourself. Then discuss the story using the questions on the next page.

Shedareck Masuku and Mike Tsabedze's story, Zheng Yong factory, Swaziland, Africa:

“The workers at Zheng Yong wanted to join the union for many reasons. Many workers were being forced to work overtime but were not paid for it. Sometimes the factory was not paying workers the legal minimum wage, which is already very low. It was also very expensive for workers to travel from their homes to work. Pregnant women were treated very badly at Zheng Yong, and one woman gave birth on the factory floor because she was too afraid to ask for time off. Sometimes people were fired for small reasons, like talking on the shop floor or using the bathroom too much. During a worker protest at the factory, police came and shot a worker.

“One thing that helped us a lot, after we started to understand what was going on in the factory, was to start making pamphlets about the problems the workers were suffering at the factory. We would make a pamphlet about one specific problem and work hard with our group of activists in the factory to solve that problem. This helped us to build confidence and gain each other's trust.

“As we were trying to recruit members, we would look at what the worst problem was, and try to focus on that problem. The people suffering from that problem would meet together and we would talk about how their problem could be dealt with. Then we would start to try to solve that problem.”

⁶ Adapted from Module 1 of the Solidarity Center's "Tools for Organizers in Export Processing Zones and Industries", 2006

- Ask participants to sit in three groups. Ask each group to pick one person to report back after their discussion. Ask each group to discuss just one of the following questions:

Discussion Questions:

1. What motivated the workers at Zheng Yong to take action?
 2. What were the different activities they did to achieve their goals?
 3. What were some of their challenges?
- Ask the three groups to come back together in one circle. Ask each of the three small groups to report back their answers to just one of the three questions. Ask the other groups to add their comments after each report.
 - In the large group, ask the following questions:
 1. Based on the story from Zheng Yong and your own experience, how would you define or describe the idea of “organizing”?
 2. What were some of the values and beliefs that guided the workers at Zheng Yong when they took action?
 3. What are some of your values and beliefs that would help you in organizing?

Reflection on the Exercise:

At the end of the exercise, summarize in your own words what the group has learned. Be sure to include the following points, even if they did not come up:

- ❖ *Organizing is the process of bringing people together in a way that builds their power to achieve a common goal. Organizing helps workers win important benefits, and that is why the participants are here at this workshop to learn about organizing.*
- ❖ *In any organizing campaign, like the one at Zheng Yong, building unity among the workers is important to the workers’ success.*
- ❖ *Sharing information among workers by making pamphlets and holding meetings helps the workers to define a common goal.*
- ❖ *Like the workers at Zheng Yong, we and other workers we know hold certain beliefs and values that support us in our organizing work and give us strength.*

Choosing a “Good” Organizing Issue

Trainer: In this exercise, participants will discuss the factors that can divide and unite workers. They will also read a fact sheet about “What Makes a Compelling Union Issue” and discuss it in small groups in relationship to the priority issues they identified in Exercise 2.

Time: 45 minutes

What to do:

1. Hand out copies of the Fact Sheet: What Makes a Compelling Union Issue. Ask for volunteers to read it out loud, or you can read it to the participants.
2. Ask the participants to comment on what they agree with or disagree with about the items on the Fact Sheet. Ask the participants if they would like to make additions to this Fact Sheet to include their own ideas about what helps workers to build unity or overcome differences. Write those additions on the large paper or blackboard so that everyone can see them.
3. Write on the large paper or the blackboard the most important issues that were identified in Exercise 2. (You can use the same large paper you used for voting in that exercise if you still have it.) Ask the participants to discuss the following questions for only the few most important issues that were identified:

Discussion questions:

1. In what ways does this important issue fit the criteria (or qualities) listed on the Fact Sheet?
2. In what ways does it not fit the criteria (or qualities) listed on the Fact Sheet?
3. Do you think this issue is a good issue for your union or community to organize around? Why or why not? Which issue should be the number one priority for organizing?

Reflection on the Exercise:

At the end of the exercise, summarize in your own words what the group has learned. Be sure to include the following points, even if they did not come up:

- ❖ *Organizing is successful when it addresses deeply felt needs of the workers.*

- ❖ *Building unity among workers often involves recognizing differences, listening to everyone's concerns, and understanding the issues from diverse points of view.*
- ❖ *A good or compelling union issue is one that appeals deeply to a large number of workers and provides a clear, winnable focus to a campaign.*

Fact Sheet: What Makes a Compelling Union Issue

A compelling union issue or problem in the workplace is one that workers feel strongly about. It is likely to mobilize workers to action. A compelling issue strengthens an organizing campaign or a campaign for a union contract.

The following questions will help you to decide whether the issues you have identified are compelling ones for your workplace.

- Does the issue affect a lot of workers?
- Do workers care about deeply about the issue?
- Would workers be willing to take risks in order to win a solution to this issue?
- Is the issue winnable? Does the group of organizing workers have enough power to force a change in the situation?
- Is it clear who has the power to do what you want?
- Will other workers in other factories care about the issue?
- Will individuals and organizations outside the workplace (such as NGOs) care about the issue?
- Is the importance of the issue easy to communicate to other workers or allies?
- Will the issue involve new leaders among the workers?

Task Sheet 2

Session 6

Problem Identification and Prioritization⁷

Trainer: In this exercise, participants will use experiences from their own lives to discuss the problems women workers face. They will brainstorm a list of issues and set priorities of which issues are most likely to mobilize workers at their worksite or in their community.

Time: 90 minutes

What to Do:

1. Ask the participants to sit together in one large group. If you want, you can ask for a volunteer to write down what people say on a big piece of paper or a chalkboard, especially the part of the discussion about **problems**. Leave a little space around each problem listed, so that you can write more about it as the discussion continues. Ask the participants to answer these questions to identify 5 to 15 important problems women workers face in their workplace.

Trainer's Tip: When talking about the problems in your worksite, some of the workers may start to share a longer story. To keep the focus on brainstorming, it may be helpful to ask workers who have been talking for more than three minutes to identify in that story what was the main problem or main thing they want to see changed.

Discussion Questions:

1. What things happen in your workplace now that are problems for you and other women workers?
2. Are there things that happen that are unfair or unjust?

⁷ Adapted from Module 1 of the Solidarity Center's "Tools for Organizers in Export Processing Zones and Industries", 2006

3. Are there things that happen that are dangerous for workers?
 4. What is particularly important to you about each of these items?
2. Now you are ready to set priority issues with the group. Ask for a volunteer to read the list of issues. Then, ask the participants to set priorities among these issues by raising their hand (voting) for the issues they believe would be the most likely to mobilize other workers to action. Each participant gets to vote 3 to 5 times (you can decide how many). Record the number of votes for each issue as in the picture below.

After everyone has voted, you can circle or underline the issues that got many votes.

3. Discuss in the large group the following questions:

- Do we agree that these are the most important issues?
- In what ways do differences among workers sometimes lead to different priorities for organizing?
- What helps workers build unity despite their differences?

Mention any important differences or ways to build unity among workers that may not have been mentioned, such as those in the Trainer’s Tip on this page.

First Steps Picture 3:

Simple sketch of a flipchart with words on it, and by the words are hatch marks to indicate voting. At the top of the flipchart is “Issues” and under it we see in list form,

- Forced overtime /////
- Pregnant workers fired /////
- No clinic //
- Hitting, yelling ///
- Dirty /
- Low wages ///

The two top items on the list are underlined and someone has written PRIORITIES next to them.

Trainer’s Tip (Headshot here: CaucasianM)

Differences among workers that can lead to different priorities include worksite differences (like different shifts, jobs, or hazards) as well as different social conditions (like different genders, ethnicities, or languages). All these can lead to workers having different needs.

Things that help build unity despite differences among workers include having a common employer, belonging to the same union, and sharing some of the same risks and challenges. Listening to one another and showing mutual respect and support also helps to increase unity among workers.

Reflection on the Exercise:

At the end of the exercise, summarize in your own words what the group has learned.. Be sure to include the following points, even if they did not come up:

- ❖ *People may have different ideas about what is important at the workplace*
- ❖ *Prioritizing issues helps to identify what concerns are shared by a large number of workers. This can help to shape the “collective will” or the direction shared among all workers*

Before moving on to the next exercise, ask the group to name 1 or 2 actions they could take to build their union using the lessons learned in this exercise. Ask a volunteer to remember or write down these Action Ideas for the group. You will use the Action Ideas to make an Action Plan later.

Trainer’s Tip: Here is an example of how workers in one factory identified the issues that mattered most to them:

“We conduct a dialogue with the membership. Leaders meet with workers in small groups to ask what they want in the collective bargaining agreement. ... Then we run a big meeting to prioritize those issues. The task is to prioritize all the issues collected, put it all on one big flip chart. We say, ‘These are the issues our leaders got from you, so we want you to prioritize.’ We give each worker the right to raise their hand 5 times or 10 times, but we’ll have 20 issues. ... So each worker has to prioritize their top 5. We don’t actually count hands raised, but we count if it’s a lot of people who raised hands, just a few, or almost no one.”

-- Meas Morokot, Top One, Cambodia.

Task Sheet 3 Session 6

Tapping Our Strength

Introduction

Organizing is about bringing workers together in a way that builds power to achieve a common goal. Organizing is the key to workers' economic power and defense against the worst assaults on their health, safety, and livelihood. However, there are many obstacles to building power.

The most common barrier to organizing any group of workers is fear. Whether in developed countries or in export processing zones, workers may fear being fired, blacklisted, brutalized, or jailed by the police or military, criticized by family members, and so forth. This fear stems from the very real risks that many workers face, and is often accompanied and intensified by feelings of powerlessness.

This exercise will take us to Lesotho in Africa, where workers were initially afraid to stand up for their rights, but gathered courage and strength while organizing their union.

Teaching Goals

1. To identify fears that can stand in the way of organizing for our rights
2. To understand that fear stems from real risks, and must be addressed with both strategy and courage.
3. To identify different types of power that can be tapped in organizing.
4. To show how organizing unions can help workers act despite their fears.
5. To show how creative cultural traditions can help union organizing.

Skills Goals

1. To analyze fear and power in a way that helps workers gather strength and take action.
2. To apply cultural traditions to gathering and sharing courage and strength.
3. To plan initial actions to build collective power and lessen personal risk.

Comment [JES1]: copyedit reminder
– fix all the titles and order of exercises
once the edits are done

Deleted: Cover page:¶
¶
Title: Tools for Organizers in Export Zones and Industries¶
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Tapping Our Strength¶
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Image: Photo of women rallying in Lesotho¶
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Back cover:¶
Logo of Solidarity Center (see logo at: <http://www.solidaritycenter.org/>)¶
and logo of Labor Center¶
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Back Cover Blurb:¶
This book, Tapping Our Strength, is Module 2 of 10 in a series of training modules for working people organizing in Export Processing Zones or other export-oriented industries. It was prepared by the UC Berkeley Center for Labor Research and Education for the American Center for International Labor Solidarity, AFL-CIO.¶
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Training Modules in this series:¶
¶
Section I: Organizing Strong Unions¶
<#>Building Unity¶
<#>Tapping Our Strength¶
<#>Developing Democratic Leadership¶
<#>Building Unions That Last¶
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Section II: Building Alliances¶
<#>Allying With Other Unions¶
<#>Linking With Non-Governmental Organizations¶
<#>Mounting International Campaigns¶
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Section III: Fighting for Labor Rights¶
<#>Negotiating Labor Rights in Export Processing Zones¶
<#>Using Trade Provisions to Organize¶
<#>Stopping Anti-Worker International Monetary Fund Policies¶
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For the trainer:¶
<#>Trainer's Manual¶
<#>Background Paper on Export Processing Zones¶
-----Page Break-----
¶
Definitions¶
¶
¶
Cultural traditions: Cultural traditions are the customs or way of life of a group of people. They can include religious, spiritual, social, or political customs.¶
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Discrimination: Discrimination is a situation where one group of pe(... [1]

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Time To Do The Exercise

2 hours.

Materials Needed For This Workshop:

- Something to write on that everyone can see: large paper and marking pens or chalk and chalkboard.

Welcome and Get Started

- In this section, you will tell the group what the workshop is about.
- Ask the participants to take turns answering the introduction question below. Answering the introduction question can help people to start thinking about the topic of the workshop, or just to begin to get to know one another better.

Introductory Question: What is one fear you had as a child that you don't have anymore?

Trainer: ***In this section, you can ask someone in the group to read the story out loud or you can read it out loud yourself. Then discuss the story.***

Time: 15 minutes

- Marashalane Ramaliehe, Shop Steward, Nien Hsing garment factory, Lesotho, Africa

“Our situation at our garment factory (Nien Hsing) before we started organizing ourselves was very bad. You would say: ‘I’ve got a problem,’ but there was nothing you could do. You just had to suffer it. I noticed this even before I knew about the union. I was doing inspections on the line, checking people one at a time. I didn’t like the way people were working. They were working too fast.

I started talking with one lady about these problems. She told me: ‘Even though we are working so hard, we have a union.’ I wanted to know: ‘Why do you hide it? Why don’t you show that there is a union and tell all the people in here about it?’ But she was afraid.”

Discussion Questions:

- What happened in Marashalane’s story? Why?
- In your workplace, are people afraid to speak as they were in Marashalane’s workplace? Why or why not?
- In your workplace, what do managers do to control the workers?

Exercise: Identify and overcome fears

Trainer: In this exercise, the participants will brainstorm a list of common fears that stand in the way of workers organizing a union. Then they will develop and practice ways to talk to their co-workers to help them overcome these fears.

Time: 75 minutes

What to Do:

1. As a large group, ask the participants to answer the discussion questions below. You or a volunteer can write down what people say on a big piece of paper or a chalk board.

Discussion Questions:

1. In your experience, what fears do workers have that stop them from forming a union?
 2. If they have a union, what stops them from being vocal about their rights?
 3. How likely is it that the things workers fear will actually happen?
 4. What can workers and the union do together to address those fears?
- After making the list of fears, read the list you have made back to the group. Then ask the participants to choose the 3 fears that they think are most common among their co-workers. Each participant may vote for 3 fears. Keep track of how many people vote for each fear by putting a mark by it on the paper or chalkboard.
 - Count to see which 3 fears got the most votes. Read these back to the group.
 - Ask the participants to sit in 3 groups. Assign one of the 3 top fears to each group. Ask each group to work together to plan how they would talk to a co-worker who had that particular fear to help that co-worker become strong enough to help organize the union.
 - After about 15 minutes, ask each small group to present to the large group what they would say. If they choose to, they can do this as a role play in which one of the participants acts the part of the frightened worker and the others talk to her to give her courage.
 - After the presentations, ask the group “what did you learn from these role-plays?”

Reflection on the Exercise:

At the end of the exercise, summarize in your own words what the group has learned. Be sure to include the following points, even if they did not come up:

- The goal of this exercise was to identify some of the fears that keep people from organizing, and bring those fears out into the open where the workers and the union can deal with them.
- When the fears about organizing are openly discussed, then organizers and workers together can find ways to address those fears in a supportive way. Talking about the issues and vision of change, as well as strategies for reducing risks and increasing solidarity, helps to address fears.
- Many courageous organizers and workers still experience fear. Courage helps workers take deliberate actions despite their fears, because they are motivated by something bigger than fear.

Note to Trainers: Some common fears that prevent workers from forming unions include:

- Job loss
- Family will suffer (poverty, violence)
- Plant closure
- Blacklisting
- Harassment/being made miserable at work
- Violence
- Political repression
- Family will disapprove
- Community will disapprove
- Feeling isolated or alone
- It won't work – not enough power to make a difference
- Don't know how to organize.

If the participants in your group don't name all of these common fears, you can prompt them with some of the fears on this list.

Task Sheet 4

Session 6

What Should Be Public? What Should Be Private?⁸

Background:

As we have seen in the Middle East recently, the privatization of public enterprises and services has been a key economic policy. The distribution of goods and services that are provided by the government are by definition public goods and services. Goods that are provided by privately owned companies and corporations are private goods and services. There are also unpaid goods and services produced in the home or community that are outside the bounds of a market economy. The “caring work” provided by women in their homes is an example of unpaid services.

Ideally, every society has the opportunity to determine which goods and services should be provided by the government, and those that are better left to the market or to communities and families to provide for one another. It is important to realize and help participants realize that this is a political decision. It is part of people’s right to determine how their taxes are spent, to protect and further the common good, and to ensure that all people have access to certain basic resources, such as water.

IFIs push privatization for many reasons. In general, the position of the IFIs is that governments should not devote scarce government revenues to commercial enterprises of any kind. This is seen as both an inappropriate intervention by the state into the market and an inappropriate use of tax dollars. There is also the assumption that many governments are too corrupt, too inept, or too inefficient to run an enterprise or even to provide social services efficiently and effectively. IFIs also support privatization as a means of increasing government revenues – by selling off state-owned enterprises, especially those that are losing money, government will gain revenue and reduce the amount of public funds it spends in the future on the enterprises. It is not only the IFIs that support privatization, however. Workers sometimes support privatization because they think they can obtain better working conditions with a private employer rather than the state.

Just as the IFIs generally support far-reaching privatization, there are many people who oppose the wholesale privatization of state assets, arguing for a more nuanced approach to the issue, especially when it comes to the provision of social services. These people would argue that everyone has a right to basic services such as health care, education, and clean water, and that privatization means that

⁸ Adapted from “Economics in Indonesia: What Every Worker Needs to Know”, a Training Manual produced by the Solidarity Center in 2001. www.solidaritycenter.org

only people with money to purchase these services will have access to them. For the poor, that may mean they never have adequate water, health, or education. Moreover, the quality, quantity, and availability of certain goods and services that are part of the common good (education, water, health, etc.) should be a matter of responsible public policy, not profit for corporations. Some goods and services should be kept public because they are part of the national heritage/patrimony or may be a national security interest (like communications, defense, key energy deposits, special areas of natural beauty, etc.). Finally, the public provision of some services, like telephones, can be a source of income for the government and a way to finance other development projects.

It is clear that, in some cases, privatization of certain government assets, such as hotels, may indeed constitute good public policy. Therefore the issue is not whether or not privatization is good or bad, but rather when it should and should not be employed. Informed, regular, and open public debate about privatization of goods and services currently provided by the government must precede, and guide, any decision to privatize. Part of this debate must be the special nature of basic and essential services, the rights of people to have access to them, and the responsibility of the government of Indonesia to promote the welfare of its people.

NOTE: Privatization can take several forms. If there is a state-owned business, it means selling that business to private investors. If it is a service, then the government might contract out the service to private providers through some sort of bidding process.

Trainer's Objectives:

1. To analyze in small groups how the distribution of goods and services should be determined in an ideal society.
2. To show that privatization is occurring in the Middle East at a rapid rate without the consent of workers and sometimes to their detriment.

Time Required:

1½ hours

Materials Needed:

- Flip chart paper.
- Chart 25.
- Markers.
- Tape.

Instructions:

1. The trainer should divide up the participants into small groups (approximately five people per group) and then ask the small groups to answer the following four questions:

- a. What goods and services do people need for a basic decent life (for example, electricity, education, child care, etc.)?
- b. Which of these goods and services that you believe to be basic are provided by the public sector (the government) in Jordan/Algeria/Bahrain?
- c. Which of these goods and services that you believe to be basic should be provided for in the home or community through unpaid work in Jordan/Algeria/Bahrain?
- d. Which of these goods and services would you like to see provided by the public sector?

Give each group about fifteen minutes to respond. Each group should write their responses on a flip chart. The trainer should work with each group to assist and clarify questions and responses. The list of responses for the first question usually looks like this: food, shelter, electricity, heat, clothing, education, health care, medicine, water, transportation, etc. After the groups have finished, post the flip charts in the front of the room. The trainer should read each chart out-loud to the participants.

2. Next, in the same small groups as before, have the groups discuss for fifteen minutes the beliefs and values behind the way the Indonesian government decides to organize how goods and services are produced and distributed. The trainer should work with each small group to assist and clarify questions and responses.

3. Once the groups have come to some agreement as to the value and benefit of the public sector, Ask for examples of goods and services being privatized in their country, and then pose some of these questions to them.

- Why are these public industries being privatized? Who is advocating for the privatization?
- What happens to consumers, especially those who are living in poverty and/or who are female when a public utility (for example, hospital, water, or bank) is privatized and government programs are cut?
- What happens to the wages, working conditions, and job security of workers when a public institution is sold to private companies or contractors that undercut each other to win bids? What is the gender composition of jobs?

- Do you know of examples of trade unions that organized in response to these kinds of policies? What opposition did they face? What did they do? How would you and your union organize around this policy?

NOTE: The trainer should search ahead of time for some examples of trade union action in response to these kinds of policies. Write the responses to the individual questions on a flip chart. Discussion of each question should last 5-10 minutes.

4. To close this activity, ask all of the participants a final question: “What have we learned about privatization?” The responses to this question will help the trainer to see if the participants have truly come to see the problems associated with privatizing public goods.

Task Sheet 5

SESSION 6

Practice Listening and Resolving Conflicts

Trainer: In this exercise, participants will practice listening skills by listening carefully to each other's strategies for resolving conflicts between union members.

Time: 90 minutes

What to Do:

1. Introduce this exercise by noting that listening and resolving conflicts is an important factor in building unity among workers and increasing loyalty to the union. It is also helpful for finding solutions to a wide range of issues that workers may care about.
2. Ask participants to sit in pairs. Ask one person in each pair to raise his or her hand. Tell them that they are Group 1. Ask the other person in each pair to raise his or her hand. Tell them that they are Group 2.
3. The participants will need to understand the steps of this exercise before they begin. Describe the exercise to the participants like this:
 - “I (the trainer) will read a story out loud about conflict in a union.
 - Group 1, each of you will have three minutes to tell your partner in Group 2 how you would resolve the conflict.
 - Group 2, while your partner is talking, you must listen quietly, without interrupting or asking questions. When your partner finishes talking, you may ask questions to make sure you understood what he or she said.
 - Then I will ask anyone from Group 2 to tell all of us your **partner's** solution to the whole group.
 - Next, we'll repeat the process with a new story, but this time Group 2 will give their solutions, and Group 1 will listen first, then ask questions, and finally have a chance to tell the whole group about their partner's solution.”
3. Begin the steps you just described by reading Conflict #1 out loud (see conflict stories in the Trainer's Tip below). Ask Group 1 to tell their solutions to the problem to their partners for 3 minutes. Give Group 2 about 2 minutes to ask questions.
4. Ask for 2 or 3 volunteers from Group #2 to tell their **partner's** solution to the whole group

5. Repeat the process with the second story, reversing the groups.
6. Ask participants to answer the following discussion question as a large group.

Discussion Questions:

1. What one new thing did you learn about listening?
2. How did it feel to be listened to or not listened to by your partner?
3. What one new thing did you learn about solving conflicts within a union?
4. What is one way you could use something you learned in this exercise to improve communication and conflict resolution in your own union?

Reflection on the Exercise:

At the end of the exercise, summarize for the group what you have learned together in your own words. Be sure to include the following points, even if they did not come up:

- *Listening is hard, and needs to be practiced*
- *Communicating what we have heard is hard, and needs to be practiced*
- *Good listening and communicating is important for the internal life of the union*
- *Good communication can help to prevent conflicts before they start, as well as resolve conflicts once they appear.*

Conflict #1:

About 20 members of your union were fired and blacklisted two months ago for organizing others to join the union. Many families are running out of money and food. Single mothers and their families are especially suffering. A local church donates 10 sacks of beans to help the union members keep struggling. Some union members say that the beans should be divided equally among all the blacklisted workers. Others say that the beans should be divided among the single mothers only. At a union meeting, several union members begin to argue angrily about this. You are a leader among the blacklisted workers and you yourself are also out of work. What will you do to resolve this conflict?

Conflict #2:

In the middle of the campaign to organize a union at your factory, the managers announce that they are going to close the factory and fire all the workers. Your union is working with a sister-union in the United States to get support from consumers there for a boycott to put pressure on the factory to stay open. The sister-union in the U.S. has offered to pay for one member of your union to travel to the U.S. to talk to consumers there. Many members of your union want to go, including several members of the Executive Committee. At the last union meeting, you overheard several members saying that probably someone from the Executive Committee go because “they make all the decisions in this union anyway.” You are a member of the Executive Committee. What will you do to resolve this conflict?

Task Sheet 6

SESSION 6

Learn and Teach about IFIs through Songs or Skits

Goal:

In this exercise, participants will read information about IFIs and how they affect workers. They will use this information in small groups to make a song or skit for the rest of the participants.

Time: 80 Minutes

What to Do:

1. Before the training, make one copy of the cards below. If you have access to a photocopier, make copies for all participants to read later.
2. Ask the participants to sit together in 4 groups. Give one card to each of the groups and ask for a volunteer to read the card out loud. In the small group, ask the participants to discuss the questions below. Give the small groups about 25 minutes for discussion.

Discussion Questions:

- a) What institutions or groups are involved in the situation described on the card?
 - b) How are workers in export processing zones affected by this situation?
 - c) In our own experience, what examples can we think of that help explain or describe this situation?
3. Ask participants to make a song or a skit to teach the information on the card to present to the other participants. Ask them to imagine that they are not only teaching the information, but that they are also motivating other workers with their song or skit to join a rally against the policies of the IFIs that hurt workers.
 4. After about 10 minutes to allow for planning the songs or skits, ask the participants to return to the large group. Ask each small group to show their song or skit to the large group.
 5. Ask participants to answer the following discussion questions as a large group.

Discussions Questions:

- a) What did we learn in these skits and songs
- b) What information on the cards surprised us? In what ways?
- c) How could this information help workers in our union to change economic policies in our countries?

Reflection on the Exercise

At the end of exercise summarize in your own words what the group has learned. Be sure to include the following points, even if they did not come up:

- The IFIs directly affect workers through legislation and policies that their countries must adopt in order to get loans.
- IFI programs do not generally support worker empowerment.
- Workers can affect or change IFI policies through organized campaigns.

Before moving on the next exercise, ask the group to name 1 or 2 actions they could take to build their union using the lessons learned in this exercise. Ask a volunteer to remember or write down these Action Ideas for the group. You will use the Action Ideas to make an Action Plan at the end of the workshop.

What Is the IMF?

The International Monetary Fund (IMF) was set up by wealthy countries after World War II. The original purpose of the IMF was to make trade relations smoother and keep national currencies (the money printed in each country) more stable in value. The IMF claims that its policies allow developing countries to prevent inflation and generate more wealth.

In addition to promoting trade and stabilizing the value of money, the IMF provides short-term loans to countries with “strings attached.” The “strings attached” are a kind of plan called a Structural Adjustment Program or SAP plan, where the country receiving the loan must promise to make changes to its economy in ways that benefit large companies.

Developing countries often need these short-term loans because their imports and exports are out of balance. One of the main reasons developing countries seek IMF loans is because they need to make payments on large debts they owe to international lenders. In other words, developing countries borrow money to pay interest on money they already borrowed. You can see how this process does not help poor countries get out of debt! Without debt relief, canceling the debts of poor countries that can never be repaid, some countries may never escape the burden of international debt.

The IMF is mainly controlled by the seven richest countries in the world, called the Group of Seven: the United States (USA), the United Kingdom (UK), Japan, Germany, France, Canada and Italy.

What is the IFI’s Role in the History of EPZs?

The first EPZ was set up in 1959 in Ireland at the Shannon Airport. In many ways, this EPZ was a success for workers and employers both. Good jobs were created quickly, and after ten years the Shannon Zone employed more than 4,700 people.

Since the 1970’s, the United Nations, the IFIs, companies and wealthy governments have promoted EPZs to create jobs and increase trade. They claim that EPZs help poor countries move out of poverty by increasing exports. They argue that in exchange for providing international companies with subsidies, tax breaks, and low wage labor, poor countries receive benefits, such as jobs, profits, new skills and technology, taxes and even the empowerment of women workers.

It hasn’t turned out that way. With the spread of EPZs around the world, competition has led to a “race to the bottom” as countries promise lower and lower wages and taxes. For example, if it costs a company \$40 to make a chair in the USA, and only \$12 to make the same chair in an EPZ in Brazil, the factory is likely to move to Brazil. Later, a factory in China may promise to make the same chair for only \$4, and the factory will move again to China. The only one who wins in this competition is the company selling the chair.

As a result, labor rights are not respected in most EPZs. Wages are low and the health and safety conditions are terrible. Women workers are especially hurt by the bad conditions, as they often receive even lower wages and no accommodation for pregnancy or raising children. EPZs don’t help poor workers get out of poverty, and they don’t help poor countries get richer either. For example, EPZs do not generally help poor countries move beyond low-end assembly production toward more profitable kinds of manufacturing.

How Do the IMF Policies Affect Workers in EPZs?

Workers in EPZs are affected by the IMF policies in at least two ways. They are affected at their jobs and they are affected in their communities.

The IMF policies affect EPZ workers at work by demanding changes in labor laws and affecting the kinds of jobs that are available. Often the IMF pressures governments to make changes in labor law that make union organizing more difficult. In the case of Sri Lanka, the IMF demanded increased overtime and less protection for workers who are unfairly fired from their jobs. Also, if the IMF forces the government to lay off public sector workers, there may be more competition for jobs in the EPZs and wages may go down.

The IMF policies also affect EPZ workers at home in their communities. The IMF requires governments to reduce the number of public employees, including teachers, health care workers, and postal workers. For an EPZ worker, this means that her children might have no teacher at school, or not enough nurses at the hospital. The IMF often demands privatization of services like water and electricity. That raises the cost of services, and EPZ workers have to pay more for water and electricity. The IMF often demands that a government reduce subsidies on basic goods, like rice, corn or wheat, making those foods cost more.

WREN Workshop 2: Women and the Global Economy: A Workshop to Build Knowledge, Understanding, and Skills for Education and Action

Session 7: Next Steps

Objective:

- To plan for the next steps in the WREN program.
- To connect with WREN women in other countries.
- To review learning from the WREN program to date.

Timing: 1 hour 15 minutes

Trainer's Tips:

- Highlight the importance of participant's efforts to the success of the program.
- Do not end the session without ensuring that participants completely understand what they are expected to do in the next Phase.
- Show your enthusiasm for the project during the session, as it communicates to participants.

How It's Done:

- First, discuss the important role they can play as educator/activists in the movement toward women workers' empowerment.
- Ask each individual to consider what they have learned in this workshop. Review the flipcharts from earlier sessions that identified skills and knowledge that participants were hoping to gain, and see what progress has been made, and what still remains to be done.
- Discuss with participants the next steps in the program, and their expectations.
- Ask each participant to take 15 minutes write a letter to a woman in another WREN program country, expressing her hopes and plans for the future of the WREN work. When everyone is done, collect all the letters, and read a few of them out-loud. Let the participants know that they will be used in the next WREN workshop held in another country.

- Now divide the participants into groups by sectors of employment, and ask each group to answer the following questions:
 - a. What is the first thing you will do following the workshop?
 - b. Do you plan to bring additional women into your study group?
Do you know which women you will seek to recruit/bring along in the next phase?
 - c. What is the plan you intend to follow to reach out to women in your workplace and community? Please tell us where and when?
- Give the groups 30 minutes to discuss, then ask them to present their results. Leave time for questions and clarifications, as needed.
- Thank participants for all their good work, and remind them to complete an evaluation before they go.

Cover page:

Title: Tools for Organizers in Export Zones and Industries

Tapping Our Strength

Image: Photo of women rallying in Lesotho

Back cover:

**Logo of Solidarity Center (see logo at:
<http://www.solidaritycenter.org/>)
and logo of Labor Center**

Back Cover Blurb:

This book, Tapping Our Strength, is Module 2 of 10 in a series of training modules for working people organizing in Export Processing Zones or other export-oriented industries. It was prepared by the UC Berkeley Center for Labor Research and Education for the American Center for International Labor Solidarity, AFL-CIO.

Training Modules in this series:

**Section I: Organizing Strong Unions
Building Unity
Tapping Our Strength
Developing Democratic Leadership
Building Unions That Last**

Section II: Building Alliances
Allying With Other Unions
Linking With Non-Governmental Organizations
Mounting International Campaigns

Section III: Fighting for Labor Rights
Negotiating Labor Rights in Export Processing Zones
Using Trade Provisions to Organize
Stopping Anti-Worker International Monetary Fund
Policies

For the trainer:
Trainer's Manual
Background Paper on Export Processing Zones

Page Break

Definitions

Cultural traditions: Cultural traditions are the customs or way of life of a group of people. They can include religious, spiritual, social, or political customs.

Discrimination: Discrimination is a situation where one group of people receives less favorable treatment than another group of people, often on the basis of language, religion, region, race, ethnicity, gender, caste, or class.

Gender: Gender refers to the social identity of men and women – what it means to be masculine or feminine in

the society in which we live. It can also refer to the expected behaviors and beliefs of men and women.

ITGLWF Africa: The Africa regional organization of the International Textile, Garment and Leather Workers Federation (ITGLWF), an international federation of textile unions with over 10 million members worldwide.

LECAWU: LECAWU is a union that supported workers who organized at the Nien Hsing garment factory in Lesotho.

Management: Management is the group of people that own a company or or represent the owners of the company. Management makes rules about how the business is run and directs the workforce. In the absence of a union, management makes all decisions about who is hired, how much workers are paid, and what working conditions shall be.

Nien Hsing: Nien Hsing is a garment factory in Lesotho.

Personal violence: Personal violence is violence that harms one individual person as opposed to a group of people.

Physical violence: Physical violence is violence that causes a person's body to be harmed or hurt.

Power imbalance: Power imbalance is the privilege and authority that one group of people has over another.

Some power imbalances, such as gender, religion, or racial imbalances, may occur in society and be reflected in the workplace.

Psychological violence: Psychological violence is non-physical violence that harms a person's psyche, spirit, or self-esteem. It can include bullying or mobbing.

Rights: Rights are rules that have been developed to protect people from bad treatment. There are rules that protect people from bad treatment at work. Rights may come from laws, through agreements between national governments and organizations like the United Nations or International Labor Federation, or through agreements between employers and unions. Each country has laws that define workers' rights, such as the right to form a union or the right to strike.

Shop stewards: Shop stewards are shopfloor workers elected by their fellow workers to represent their interests in the union and in the workplace. (The shopfloor refers to a particular work location, such as a factory, a part of a factory, or a group of piecework locations.) Shop stewards take responsibility for continuously organizing in a particular workplace. Shop stewards also educate their co-workers about their rights at work and lead actions to defend those rights.

Strike: A strike is when workers decide together to stop work in order to protest and improve their working conditions. When used strategically, a strike can be a

very important and powerful organizing tactic for workers . In some places, workers' right to strike is protected by law.

Tactic: A tactic is a method used to achieve a strategic goal. For example, a tactic to improve working conditions in a factory could be to organize a union.

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Tapping Our Strength

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Introduction to this Section

Building worker power is fundamental to achieving worker rights, and organizing strong unions is fundamental to achieving worker power. The best unions are rooted in worker activism and analysis, led

by capable leaders, and structured to last through many challenges over time. Without strong unions, workers have no voice at the workplace and no way of negotiating current victories into permanent gains.

In this section, we'll examine how some workers have succeeded in organizing strong unions. In the first module "Building Unity," we'll address the importance of developing a deep understanding of the issues workers care most about. and We'll discuss how to build unity among workers through collective action despite differing priorities, issues, and diverse worker backgrounds. In the second module "Tapping our Strength," we'll go to Lesotho to study how to confront fear and feelings of powerlessness through union organizing, and we'll see how culturally-appropriate methods can be a powerful tool to do this. In the third module "Developing Democratic Leadership," we'll go to Cambodia to study how a group of workers built their union through a leadership committee that is democratic and accountable to the membership. Finally in the fourth module "Building Unions that Last," we'll go to El Salvador to find out how a group of workers maintained a strong union through immense challenges such as plant closures, monetary payoffs, and lack of income.

With a strong union, workers can build alliances with other unions and organizations. We will look at how to build alliances in Modules 5 to 7. Strong unions are also the base from which workers can impact relevant

local, national, and international economic and social policies. In Modules 8 to 10, we will explore a number of strategies workers have used to change the rules of the game. Throughout the 10 modules, diverse skills and stories from real experiences of organizing in export processing zones illustrate the power unions can develop to defend the rights of workers.

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Module 2: T