THE CRUCIAL ROLE OF TRADE UNIONS IN THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE BEIJING PLATFORM FOR ACTION

BEIJING +25
Twenty-five years ago, in September 1995, history was made in Beijing. Building on the legacy of the three previous Women's Conferences (Mexico City, 1975; Copenhagen, 1980; and Nairobi, 1985) and bolstered by the mobilisation of 30,000 activists at a parallel NGO forum in nearby Huairou, the 17,000 participants of the United Nations’ Fourth World Conference on Women produced a landmark commitment to the advancement of equality, development and peace for women the world over. Even today, the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action (BPfA) remains the most far-reaching and visionary document on women’s rights. With its 12 areas for critical concern and detailed recommendations, it offers a clear pathway to true equality.

Progress?

Frustratingly, the road to implementation hasn’t been a smooth one. While important progress has been made in all areas, no country has fully realised the radical vision for feminist social and economic justice laid out in the BPfA. Today, there are new challenges too. With the world’s workers ground down by years of inadequate wages, ever-widening inequality and the triple threat of poorly managed digital, demographic and climate change, the populist right has contaminated politics and public discourse like arsenic in groundwater. The result? A lightning-fast rollback in key areas of women’s and human rights, in tandem with the systematic dismantling of workers’ rights.

Attacks on trade union rights are attacks on women’s rights

All over the world unions are under attack, from the increasing criminalisation of the right to strike to the erosion of collective bargaining to the deregistration of trade unions. Corporations are making the reckless, short-sighted decision to drive up profit margins by driving down workers’ wages and protections. Worse still, many governments are enabling them. In 2019, the ITUC’s annual Global Rights Index recorded violations of the right to collective bargaining in 85 per cent of countries, with serious restrictions imposed in 116 countries. In liberal democracies (so-called or otherwise), laws designed to regulate and restrict union activities have been introduced, resulting in strikes being banned and long-standing worker protections being unravelled. In parts of the world where the rule of law is more precarious, trade unionists are being harassed, intimidated, fired from their jobs, detained, and in the most extreme cases, subjected to physical and sexual violence, torture and murder. But the result of these attacks on trade unions is always the same: a decline in wages; the disintegration of decent work; diminished labour protections; reduced social protection; a backlash against equality laws, policies and measures; and rising inequality – all of which hit women the hardest.

This muffling of women’s voices and activism often masks the fact that women have been at the forefront of trade union agenda-setting. Globally, more than 80 million women are organised in trade unions, driving trade union action to dismantle traditional and persistent structural barriers at the intersections of race, gender, sexual orientation, gender identity and class. Women trade unionists have also been advocating on new and old fronts, including economic and social justice for women, gender based-violence, equitable and sustainable development, and a just transition for climate justice and industrial transformation.
Realising the BPfA

In putting the transformational objectives of the BPfA into practice, trade unions have spent the last 25 years organising workers, running campaigns and developing education, training and retraining policies. We’ve held rallies, we’ve held governments to account at the national level and in multilateral settings such as the COP and G20, and we’ve held a mirror up to our own trade union structures to do better at creating spaces for the equal and equitable participation of women, particularly in decision-making and leadership. We’ve brought gender-responsive occupational safety and health policies to the workplace, recognising that men and women may face different risks at work, including through exposure to chemical hazards and inappropriate personal protective equipment. Trade union women are also pushing the boundaries on what have been historically taboo subjects, negotiating occupational safety and health policies that take account of issues such as menstruation and menopause. We’ve changed the discourse on care as an investment in people, development and sustainable economies. We’ve led the way in the creation of new laws, both at a national level, as exemplified by Iceland’s world-beating equal pay standard, which essentially makes the gender pay gap illegal, and at an international level, as evidenced by last year’s historic ILO Convention on Violence and Harassment. And all over the world, trade unionists are negotiating ground-breaking policies such as the ITF and International Association of Public Transport’s 2019 agreement to strengthen women’s employment in public transport, a sector in which women are massively underrepresented. Whether at a local, national, sectoral or global level, unions are at the forefront of the fight to create a fairer society. And by providing workers with a powerful, collective voice, we have a unique mandate to do so. Without women workers having the right to join and form trade unions, or collectively negotiate better working conditions, and without unions standing up for everything from maternity protection to migrant rights to the urgent need to tackle decent work deficits, the progress that we have made so far in delivering areas of the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action simply wouldn’t have been achieved. Strong unions have a similarly important role to play in achieving the SDGs by 2030 and in ensuring that the future of work does not look like its pre-union past.

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2 Making women visible in occupational health and safety, IUF: http://www.iuf.org/w/sites/default/files/MakingwomenvisibleinOHSENGLISH+web.pdf
3 Supporting working women through the menopause: guidance for union representatives, TUC (UK): https://www.tuc.org.uk/sites/default/files/TUC_menopause_0.pdf
4 http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/pathways/citizenship/struggle_democracy/trade_unionism.htm
A 10-year challenge

At various points in 2020, we will have the vital opportunity to assess the implementation and outcomes of the BPfA: at the 64th session of the Commission on the Status of Women in New York this March and at the Generation Equality Forums convened by UN Women in Mexico this May and in France this July. The recommendations from these meetings will be presented to governments at the UN General Assembly in September. We must seize this opportunity. We have just ten years left to realise the enormous ambition of the SDGs, and by many accounts, only ten years to reduce global carbon emissions to as close to zero as possible if we have any chance of preventing total climate breakdown. An equitable stake in society for 50 per cent of the world’s people is at the heart of the just future that we are trying to build, as exemplified by the ILO Centenary Declaration for the Future of Work and the ITUC’s calls for a New Social Contract. Working together – as trade unions, civil society, citizens and government – we can take the baton handed to us in 1995 and finish the race. If we fail to do so, we may not get another chance.

*The 12 areas of critical concern of the Beijing Platform for Action are:

- Women and poverty
- Unequal access to education and training
- Women and health
- Violence against women
- Women and armed conflict
- Women and the economy
- Women in power and decision-making
- Institutional mechanisms
- Human rights of women
- Women and the media
- Women and the environment
- The girl child
While the world has become more prosperous since the Beijing Declaration, there has never been such extreme inequality. According to a new report by Oxfam, the world’s 2,153 billionaires have more wealth between them than the 4.6 billion people who make up 60 per cent of the world’s population. It is women who are disproportionately impacted by poverty; the most disadvantaged groups of women – rural, racialised, indigenous, religious minorities, disabled, refugee, migrant, older and LGBTQIA+ – even more so. Trade unions are key actors in the real economy, with a central mission to realise economic and social justice for (women) workers, while organising and bargaining to improve workers’ conditions. As one of the ‘social partners’ – along with employers – trade unions bring democracy to the world of work, engaging in social dialogue with employers and governments, as well as regulating labour markets and terms and conditions of work. Without trade unions, social dialogue and collective bargaining to tackle the persistent economic inequalities that keep women locked out of decent, secure work, women will remain trapped in a cycle of poverty. Since and before Beijing, trade unions have been fighting for full employment and decent work for all, closing the gender pay and pensions gap, dismantling occupational segregation, ensuring women’s access to social protection and quality public services, safeguarding the right to quality public education and training, and shifting the sole responsibility for unpaid care work from the shoulders of women and girls.

The girl child

One of the fundamental causes of inequality between women and men starts with unequal access to education. There are approximately 258 million children and young people out of school, and two-thirds of all children who have never been to school are girls. Although progress towards achieving gender equality in education has been made since the adoption of the BPfA, poverty, pregnancy, early marriage, gender-based violence, the burden of unpaid domestic work on young girls, as well as migration and refugee status, continue to be major obstacles.

Redressing the undervaluing of teaching work, which is a predominantly female profession, is an area of focus for unions. In Denmark, the Union of Pedagogues (BUPL) united with other trade unions to obtain higher salaries for early childhood educators through collective bargaining. Early childhood education is probably the most gender segregated of all the areas of teaching, and subsequently, one of the lowest paid. Early childhood educators without an undergraduate degree were being paid less than those with a degree, but by joining forces with unions in other sectors, the BUPL managed to secure an extra €2 million in pay for its members, as well as enhanced recognition of the early childhood education profession.

The care economy

In 2015, 2.1 billion people were in need of care, and by 2030 this number is expected to reach 2.3 billion. With unpaid care currently comprising an estimated nine per cent of global GDP, and women spending between two to ten times more time on unpaid care work than men, unions and civil society have been lobbying governments to increase investment in care to generate economic growth, tackle the challenge of an ageing population and help redress the exclusion of women from the labour market. In Uruguay, this has resulted in a National Care System that has reduced unpaid care work following the massive expansion of public childcare services and the development of day care centres and long-stay care facilities.
centres for older people, as well as those with severe dependence needs. The professionalisation of paid care work, with a focus on training and certification, has been central to Uruguay’s cutting-edge care system. So has dialogue via the Care Advisory Committee where trade unions, civil society, care providers and academics meet regularly to influence policymaking.

Elsewhere, however, the endless cuts to public services – a result of both structural adjustment programmes and ongoing austerity measures – have a disproportionate effect on women as the end users of public services (particularly with regards to childcare, eldercare and healthcare) and because public services are one of the few, consistent sources of secure, well-paid jobs for women. Care work is at the heart of the future of decent, low-carbon jobs, but without addressing the current deficits, the world faces a major care crisis.

Care workers – the majority of whom are women, and disproportionately from marginalised groups – frequently experience low pay, poor working conditions and violence and harassment at work. In 2019, global unions held a global day of action to support investment in the care economy (on 7 October, the World Day for Decent Work). Since 2017, PSI has integrated a major focus on the gender responsiveness of public services into its work, highlighting the role of public services for realising gender justice and sustainable development. And UNICARE (the global union for the private care sector) and New Zealand’s largest private sector union, E tū, recently secured an end to zero-hour contracts and a 20 per cent equal pay increase for thousands of home care workers.

When it comes to the provision of family-friendly and flexible working arrangements for working parents, the Nordic countries are world leaders. With their strong unions and well-funded welfare states, women in Sweden, Denmark, Norway, Iceland and Finland enjoy the strongest maternity protections in the OECD, and unsurprisingly, they also have the highest female labour market participation rates. In developing countries, informal economy workers are working with unions to provide their own solutions in the absence of state-funded childcare. In India, for example, SEWA runs 66 cooperative childcare centres for its members across the state of Gujarat, charging Rs. 150 (approximately US$2.20) per month for full-day childcare. Meanwhile, in Ghana, GTUC affiliate the Ghana Association of Traders (GATA) runs a childcare centre inside Accra’s Makola Market where the children of traders and street vendors are looked after and provided a basic education and healthy meals while their mothers are at work. Informal economy workers’ organisations and trade unions have united to call for quality public childcare services, demanding that childcare be recognised as part of the national social protection system, calling for increased municipal and national government spending for quality public childcare services, and for childcare workers to have decent work including a living wage, access to social protection and appropriate skills training.

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Fix the Child Care Crisis

#DoneWaiting

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Pay equity

Probably one of the biggest obstacles to gender equality in the workplace is the ongoing fight for equal pay for work of equal value. Even though 173 countries have ratified the ILO’s Equal Remuneration Convention (C100), on average, women still earn 20 per cent less than their male counterparts. For disabled, indigenous, racialised, trans and other marginalised women, this gap is even larger: in the US, for example, while women in general are paid, on average, 20 per cent less than men, Latinas are paid 41 per cent less, while disabled women earn 28 per cent less; in the UK, while the average pay gap is 18.1 per cent, for Pakistani and Bangladeshi women it is 26 per cent, for black African women it is 20 per cent; and in Canada, Aboriginal women earn 36 per cent less than men, compared with a 13 per cent pay gap for women in general and 34 per cent for all racialised women.

At the current rate of progress, it could take another 66 years to close the wage gap. However, Iceland is leading the way: in 2018, it became the first country in the world to legally enforce equal pay for work of equal value. Under the Equal Pay Law, all companies and institutions with 25 or more employees are legally required to implement the Equal Pay Standard and undergo an audit before receiving their Equal Pay Certification, which must be renewed every three years. Elsewhere in the world, high collective bargaining coverage benefits the pay and conditions of women workers as well as providing them with employment security, shorter working hours and flexible working time options, as evidenced in a 2014 report published by the ETUC, Bargaining for Equality. Trade unions are also bringing legal action, negotiating settlements, collecting data and campaigning for legislative changes as well as building alliances to further the cause of equal pay. The Joint Education

Social protection

More than half of the world’s population has absolutely no social protection. Women have even lower coverage rates and substantially lower benefit levels, not only due to the fact that they are overrepresented in the informal economy and are paid less than men but also because they have a shorter working life due to career breaks to look after children and dependent relatives. This puts women at a much greater risk of falling into poverty in old age where social security systems are based on the principle of continuous remunerated employment. In Morocco, a negotiating team from the Democratic Labour Confederation (CDT), which crucially included women, managed to secure better pay, access to healthcare, maternity leave, time off to look after sick children and other gendered bargaining priorities for over 1,200 female agricultural workers at six large farms. And in the Philippines, trade unions helped achieve a new law significantly increasing paid maternity leave from 60 to 105 days.

18 Gender gaps in social protection, ITUC: https://www.ituc-csi.org/brief-gender-gaps
19 https://www.equaltimes.org/women-farm-workers-achieve-justice#.Xio-pmj7Q2w

International and PSI ‘Pay Equity Now!’ campaign was a first of its kind at a global level. Today, global, regional and national trade union organisations are members of the Equal Pay International Coalition (EPIC). Led by the ILO, UN Women, and the OECD, EPIC aims to accelerate the achievement of Goal 8.5 (“by 2030 achieve full and productive employment and decent work for all women and men, including for young people and persons with disabilities, and equal pay for work of equal value”) of the SDGs.

But advocating for equal pay for equal work isn’t enough. The jobs and professions that are traditionally considered to be ‘for women’ – such as education, care and the service industries – generally have lower status and lower pay. Ensuring that women and girls have full and equal access to education and vocational training is integral to ending the gender segregation that keeps women locked out of the highest paid jobs; the provision of affordable, quality care for working families is another. Ultimately, we need to root out the ingrained societal prejudice that sets the value of the work that women do at less than that of men.
The informal economy has grown exponentially since 1995, thanks to widespread deregulation and flexibilisation, but inadequate childcare access and gender discrimination mean that the proportion of women workers stuck in informal work exceeds that of men in most countries. Unions have undertaken major efforts to organise precarious, atypical and unprotected workers. In 2014, unions, employers and governments negotiated a new international labour standard aimed at bringing the world’s two billion informal workers (more than 60 per cent of the world’s working people) into formalised work and out of dangerous, unsafe work with little or no labour or social protection. Recommendation No. 204 is the first international labour standard to provide a framework that is both normative and developmental, focusing on the informal economy in its entirety and diversity. It provides guidance on how to:

- facilitate the transition of workers and economic units from the informal to the formal economy, while respecting workers’ fundamental rights and ensuring opportunities for income security, secure livelihood and entrepreneurship;
- promote the creation, preservation and sustainability of decent jobs in the formal economy and the coherence of macroeconomic, employment, social protection and other social policies; and
- prevent the informalisation of formal economy jobs.

To give just two examples of unions organising in the informal economy, in India, informal women workers have come together as a 1.9 million-strong bargaining force under the umbrella of the Self-Employed Women’s Association (SEWA), currently the largest women’s union in the world. As well as helping them

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21 Recommendation 204: Ending informality, Equal Times: https://www.equaltimes.org/recommendation-204-ending#.XjMHdGhKiF4

gain recognition as workers, SEWA adopts multiple strategies to improve the conditions of informal women workers, such as pensions, ID cards, maternity benefits, financial services and campaigning for better work environments and wage increases. In Ghana, the Union of Informal Workers Association (UNIWA) and the Ghana Trades Union Congress (GTUC) have been representing the interests of informal workers within the country’s National Tripartite Committee as well as providing training for its 79,000 informal women members on vital entrepreneurial skills such as bookkeeping, and health and safety training such as fire prevention.

Domestic workers and ILO Convention 189

R204 is an important complement to the landmark ILO Convention on Domestic Workers (C189), which trade unions, working in close partnership with other domestic workers’ organisations, employers and governments negotiated and adopted in 2011. A key part of the care economy, domestic workers were nonetheless excluded from almost all labour laws and protections. Their activism, alongside and within trade unions, has ensured their recognition as workers within the body of international labour law, and brought about significant changes to national laws that have enshrined the basic right of domestic workers to a written contract of employment, a minimum wage, daily and weekly rest times, restrictions on in-kind payments, respect for the right to join a union and bargain collectively, and more. The IDWF was formed in 2013, becoming the first global ‘federation’ of domestic workers’ organisations.


Supply chains

Supply chains not only benefit from the wholesale exploitation of low-paid, insecure, female workers, but the current economic model depends on it. To that end, IndustriALL’s recent efforts to secure a living wage for women workers in the garment sector around the world is a significant victory in the fight to achieve Goal 8 of the SDGs – inclusive, sustainable economic growth and decent work. By building the capacity of its garment sector affiliates, IndustriALL has helped raise wages through collective bargaining and influencing the minimum wage fixing process. In 2017, affiliates in the Dominican Republic secured a minimum wage increase of 20.33 per cent for workers in free trade zones – the largest increase in 15 years. And this year, the basic minimum wage in


25 https://www.thedailyvoxx.co.za/domestic-workers-can-now-claim-for-occupational-injuries-shaazia-ebrahim/?fbclid=IwAR2nBilttU2ULe27aIEFGOMPTGP88WLSrHtBzszl6yZ0NvZfHodK2g

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Cambodia increased to US$190 a month, up 4.4 per cent from US$170 in 2019. Additionally, in September 2019, a joint due diligence framework\(^{26}\) was adopted by IndustriALL and a number of leading brands in the garment industry to ensure that purchasing practices facilitate the payment of a living wage to workers in the supply chain. This is the first time that international brands have collectively agreed to be held accountable by a global union federation in relation to changes in their purchasing practices.

**Just transition**

With every year that passes, the number of homes, schools, workplaces and lives destroyed by the climate emergency is increasing. Lacking both decent work or social protection, many women are particularly vulnerable to the dangers posed by extreme climate events such as floods, droughts, cyclones and extreme heat. With just ten years to stabilise global temperature rise to 1.5°C, unions are working with businesses, governments and local communities to ensure a just transition to a low-carbon world with decent, green jobs and social protection for all. Forty-six countries have signed up to the Climate Action for Jobs\(^{27}\) initiative, a roadmap to boost climate action with just transition plans, spearheaded by the ILO. Meanwhile, company-level and sectoral collective agreements are being factored into ambitious climate policies. In 2016, the ITUC set up the Just Transition Centre to support union affiliates with their climate efforts. Since that time, Spanish trade unions have secured a landmark, €250 million ‘carbon bill’\(^{28}\) to support a just transition in coal mining regions where nearly all coal mines will be closed down over the next decade. The divestment of pension funds will have a major role to play in securing a just transition and in 2018, one of the UK’s biggest trade unions, UNISON, unanimously voted to pass a motion to support divestment\(^{29}\) of council pension funds collectively worth over £200 billion from oil, coal and gas.


\(^{29}\) [https://cacctu.org.uk/node/1799](https://cacctu.org.uk/node/1799)
The Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) defines gender-based violence as “violence that is directed against a woman because she is a woman or that affects women disproportionately”. Whether its manifestation is physical, sexual, psychological, economic or femicide, gender-based violence and harassment is one of the most pervasive and damaging violations of human rights. According to the UN one in three women and girls will experience physical and sexual abuse during her lifetime, and in the majority of countries with available data, less than 40 per cent of the victims of gender-based violence seek any form of help. In recent years, the issue of violence against women has become a mainstream topic, thanks to the impact of hard-hitting social media campaigns like #MeToo, #TimesUp and #NiUnaMenos. Trade unions have played a unique and leading role in the fight to eliminate gender-based violence and harassment, be it through collective bargaining, negotiating workplace policies to expose, address and redress sexual harassment and other forms of gender-based violence, lifting the issue into occupational safety and health measures, organising more women into unions, undertaking awareness-raising campaigns or building alliances with feminist organisations and civil society.

**Education**

Gender-based violence is one of the most persistent barriers to the right to education, and is symptomatic of the structural, norms-based gender inequalities that continue to prevent millions of girls from accessing quality public education. Education International has been taking action to protect students as well as educators from the scourge of school-related gender-based violence (SRGBV). In the first initiative of its kind, a joint, 4-year Education International/UN Girls’ Education Initiative programme held between 2016 and 2019 saw representatives of Education International member organisations from seven African countries developing and sharing new skills as well as establishing context-specific, union-led initiatives to address SRGBV within schools and within participating unions.

**Domestic violence**

Unions have long recognised the fact that domestic violence is a workplace issue and have engaged in pioneering work to ensure that women are safe at work and in their work, even when experiencing violence at home. Examples range from measures to provide women with effective support and assistance, from working with employers to develop safe reporting procedures for the victims of violent incidents, to providing training so that members of staff handling such cases are able to do so with the appropriate sensitivity and knowledge. Unions also seek to ensure that survivors do not lose their jobs due to absenteeism, poor performance or any other reason related to domestic violence.

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31 Although now firmly associated with revelations of sexual harassment and abuse in the entertainment industry, the MeToo movement was created in 2006 by the African-American civil rights activist Tarana Burke to work with the survivors of sexual violence, mainly young women of colour.

Domestic violence clauses were pioneered in Australia, where the first such clause was successfully negotiated between the Australian Services Union’s Victorian and Tasmanian Authorities and Services Branch and the Surf Coast Shire Council in 2010. Among other things, the clause provided for up to 20 days paid domestic leave. By 2015, 944 collective agreements in Australia contained a domestic violence clause. These clauses covered 804,649 employees, predominantly in the private sector, across a broad range of industries (retail, public transport, banking, education, manufacturing, airline and maritime), and included some of the country’s largest employers.

March 2014 saw the birth of DV@WorkNet, a Canadian-led international network of researchers, domestic violence experts, social and labour organisations and employers working together to research and disseminate knowledge about the impacts of domestic violence in the workplace. As well as conducting national surveys in countries as diverse as Mongolia, New Zealand and Belgium, the network also highlights training and resources for trade unions, employers and policymakers.

In 2016, the province of Manitoba became the first in Canada to introduce paid domestic violence leave, a bold step that eventually led the federal government to amend the country’s labour code to include five days of paid domestic violence leave for federal workers. In 2017, the Australian Council of Trade Unions ran a campaign to demand the inclusion of ten days’ paid family and domestic violence leave in the National Employment Standard; this also resulted in a new law to provide five days’ paid family and violence leave in 2018. And in India, women transport workers are working, with support from the ITF, to lead the first national study investigating the link between domestic violence and its impact in the workplace.

At a regional level, the ETUC and its affiliates have been at the forefront of combating gender-based violence. As early as 2007, the ETUC worked with European employers to successfully negotiate a European Social Partners’ Framework Agreement to tackle violence and harassment at work. A groundbreaking 2016 study conducted by the ETUC in 11 EU countries also identified over 55 collective agreements at a national, sectoral and workplace level that addressed violence at work.

**International regulation**

Since the Beijing Declaration in 1995, unions have stepped up their efforts to press for the ratification and application of existing UN and ILO Conventions, as well as the adoption of new ones. Of the 13 ILO Conventions adopted or revised since 1995, six have a significant link to protecting the rights of female workers: the 1996 Home Work Convention (C177); the 1999 Worst Forms of Child Labour Convention (C182); the 2000 Maternity Protection Convention, revised (C183); the 2000 Safety and Health in Agriculture Convention (C184); the 2011 Domestic Workers Convention (C189); and the 2019 Violence and Harassment Convention (C190).

Furthermore, although the 1989 Indigenous and Tribal Peoples Convention (C169) was the first ILO instrument to explicitly refer to sexual harassment, since 1995, ILO standards have increasingly addressed the issue of gender-based violence and harassment: C182 and the accompanying Worst Forms of Child Labour Recommendation (R190); the 2006 Maritime Labour Convention (MLC, 2006), the text of which was amended to refer specifically to “harassment and bullying”; the 2010 HIV and AIDS Recommendation (R200); C189 and the accompanying Domestic Workers Recommendation (R201); and the 2015 Recommendation on the Transition from the Informal to the Formal Economy (R204).

Additionally, there are several ILO occupational safety and health instruments that, while not mentioning violence explicitly, contain some elements that can be used to address violence in the world of work. Under the 2006 Promotional Framework for Occupational Safety and Health Recommendation (R197), which accompanies the Promotional Framework for Occupational Safety and Health Convention (C187), a number of provisions pertain to promoting health and safety generally. Important as they are, none of these instruments address violence and harassment as the primary aim, none define such conduct, and none provide clear guidance on how to address the problem. Similarly, only certain forms of violence and harassment are mentioned, and only in relation to certain groups of workers or certain sectors or

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33 Safe at home, safe at work: project findings from eleven member states, ETUC: [https://www.etuc.org/sites/default/files/publication/files/main_findings_safe_at_work_safe_at_home_etuc_by_jane_pillinger_.pdf](https://www.etuc.org/sites/default/files/publication/files/main_findings_safe_at_work_safe_at_home_etuc_by_jane_pillinger_.pdf)
occupations, such as domestic workers, workers living with HIV and indigenous persons. The targeted nature of the protections left a gap for those not covered under these instruments – a gap that includes the vast majority of workers around the world. Hence the need for an inclusive, comprehensive integrated standard.

Towards a world of work free from violence and harassment

Following ten years of mobilisation, in June 2019 the global labour movement helped to secure the world’s first international legal instruments, C190 and the accompanying Recommendation 206, designed to hold governments, employers and trade unions themselves to account for ridding the world of work of violence and harassment. This historic new international labour standard recognises, for the first time in international law, the right of everyone to a world of work free from violence and harassment and paves the way for workplace cultures based on equality, dignity and respect. It applies to every sector, in the formal and informal economy and in rural and urban areas. It covers all workers irrespective of their contractual status, including job applicants, job seekers, volunteers, trainees, interns, apprentices and workers whose employment has been terminated. And it recognises that people whose experience of violence and harassment is exacerbated by discrimination and inequality must have the strongest and most robust protection. C190 expands the concept of the world of work beyond the immediate physical workplace, covering situations linked to or arising out of work, such as commuting to and from work, work-related trips, or social activities and ‘cyber-bullying’, and it demands that violence and harassment involving third parties – whether they are clients, customers, patients, or members of the public – be considered and addressed. As well as recognising and defining the specificities of gender in workplace violence and harassment, it also requires employers to address the impact of domestic violence in the world of work. Recommendation 206 provides more detailed and practical guidance on how to translate the principles embedded in C190 into action. It gives guidance, for example, on the measures that governments can take to address gender stereotypes in education and training. The focus now is on ratification: in December 2019 Uruguay (once again) became the first country to ratify the Convention, with both legislative chambers approving the measure. Trade unions, women’s rights groups and other allies are working hard to ensure that other national governments follow suit.

34 https://www.ituc-csi.org/GBV
With the alarming rise in attacks on women’s, human, trade union and environmental rights, in many ways the roadmap to equality and social justice drawn up in Beijing has become the global front line. At a time when governments should be investing heavily in the care economy, social protection and in creating millions of new green jobs, the money that could shore up quality public services is instead being diverted to increased military spending and the undergirding of multinational tax breaks. As we said in our 2018 report on women in leadership, trade union women have a vital role to play in upholding peace and democracy: “On one hand, dialogue, negotiation and compromise are all central to the success of effective industrial relations and conflict resolution; on the other hand, accountability, inclusivity, transparency and compassion are all hallmarks of transformative, feminist leadership.” There are many examples of this.

**Armed conflict and societies in transition**

In the Philippines, the Alliance of Concerned Teachers (ACT) has been supporting indigenous peoples in the southern island of Mindanao to set up schools and curricula. Following decades of insurgency from several armed groups, the government is failing in its obligation to provide the children of this area with public education. ACT has been working to train teachers and supply the schools with materials – actions that have put the union in the crosshairs of the Duterte government. Trade unionists working in this territory have been accused of ‘assisting terrorism’, which puts them in danger of harassment and violence from government forces, but they continue to support the right of the most disadvantaged and marginalised to access education.

In Colombia, where in November 2016 the government and Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC) rebels signed an agreement ending five decades of conflict, Sintracarbón, a national coal mining union, has been working with IndustriALL to develop several actions to increase women’s participation and representation, particularly at a decision-making level. As a result of a gender school for women trade unionists, two female mechanics were elected to lead their respective branch unions, which was a first for the union. And in Ukraine, the Independent Trade Union of Miners of Ukraine (an affiliate of the Confederation of Free Trade Unions of Ukraine) has been assisting workers displaced by the armed conflict in the Donbass region. The union recognises that displaced women face double discrimination on the labour market – triple if they are older. To this end, the union has been offering displaced workers financial and legal assistance as well as help to find new work.
Almost half of all women journalists have experienced online abuse. Violence against female media workers and portrayals of women in the media that reinforce negative, limiting and degrading stereotypes are both major hurdles in the realisation of the BPfA. In addition, public interest journalism is on the decline, with unions and the rights of workers often portrayed in a negative light in the mainstream media, which is unsurprising given the profile of the people who own mainstream TV channels and newspapers, and what they stand to gain by demonising trade unions.

In March 2019, the IFJ launched its ‘Women in Front’ campaign to make women media workers more visible in their unions and workplaces, particularly in positions of leadership and decision-making. The IFJ has also developed guidelines to show journalists how to tackle trolling on social media, which is often gendered, sexualised and racialised. In December 2019, the European Broadcasters’ Union also issued a set of guidelines on how its members could achieve gender-balanced workplaces, protection from violence and harassment, and equal pay. The report was released just one month before courts in the UK issued a landmark pay discrimination ruling against the BBC in a case brought forward by the broadcaster Samira Ahmed and her union, the National Union of Journalists. Judges ruled that Ahmed was paid six times less than her male colleague, the broadcaster Jeremy Vine, for doing exactly the same work. The decision could leave the broadcaster open to similar claims from other women workers.

Unions have been at the forefront of the fight to end the most extreme forms of labour exploitation, which affect 40.3 million people, according to the most recent figures, including 24.9 million people in forced labour and 15.4 million in forced marriage. Unemployment, poverty and a lack of opportunity are the main causes; extreme exploitation and profound human right abuses are the result. Women and girls are disproportionately affected by forced labour, accounting for 99 per cent of victims in the commercial sex industry, and 59 per cent in other sectors.

Trade unions have lent their weight to the ILO’s ‘50 for Freedom’ campaign for the ratification of the 2014 Protocol on Forced Labour, and our efforts to secure the adoption of C189 in 2011 brought tens of millions of women under the protection of international law for the first time. An estimated 100 million people around the world work in someone else’s home, and an ageing population, particularly in the world’s most developed economies, is fuelling poorly regulated migrant labour in a sector where trafficking, forced labour, physical abuse and sexual violence are rampant. Scores of women have died at the hands of abusive employees, while thousands more have received life-alternating injuries and indelible mental scars.

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37 Guidelines for media and unions to combat online harassment of women journalists, IFJ: [https://www.ifj.org/fileadmin/user_upload/guidelines_EN_final.pdf](https://www.ifj.org/fileadmin/user_upload/guidelines_EN_final.pdf)
38 All things being equal: gender equality guidelines from public service media, EBU: [https://www.ebu.ch/publications/gender-equality-guidelines](https://www.ebu.ch/publications/gender-equality-guidelines)
39 [https://www.alliance87.org/2017ge/modernslavery#section=](https://www.alliance87.org/2017ge/modernslavery#section=)
Health

The Beijing Declaration sought to guarantee the highest standard of mental and physical health for women and girls, but the fight for basic primary, maternity and mental health services has not yet been won. Nor has the battle for social protection that should ensure women’s access to health services throughout all stages of their lives. Women workers are disproportionately affected by issues such as mental health problems related to the double burden of paid and unpaid work responsibilities, HIV and AIDS, occupational cancers related to exposure to harmful chemicals, and specific occupational safety hazards such as back pain for care and domestic workers, and fatal accidents in sectors such as agriculture. There are also numerous health and safety concerns related specifically to women, such as pregnancy, menstruation, menopause, gender-based violence, and access to clean, safe and separate toilet facilities, and these issues are still not being adequately addressed. The IUF recently published a resource guide\textsuperscript{41} to enable employers to take a gendered approach to occupational health and safety.

In response to the global attacks on reproductive rights and bodily autonomy, trade unions in countries like Argentina and Ireland have joined forces with civil society to galvanise mass mobilisations in support of the repeal of anti-abortion laws. Although women in Argentina are still waiting for the decriminalisation of abortion, it was finally achieved with the repeal of the 8th Amendment in Ireland in May 2018.

\textsuperscript{41} Making women visible in occupational health and safety, IUF: \url{http://www.iuf.org/w/sites/default/files/MakingwomenvisibleinOHSENGLISHweb.pdf}
What do the current president of Singapore (Halimah binti Yacob) and the former prime minister of Iceland (Jóhanna Sigurðardóttir) have in common? They are both former trade unionists who rose to the highest office of their respective countries. Trade unions may have an image of being patriarchal relics, but more and more unions are investing heavily to ensure that women are equitably represented within both the decision-making bodies of trade unions and the leadership. We know why this is important: having more women leaders not only ensures a more accurate reflection of society in the corridors of power, but it also means that the very specific issues and interests of women are more likely to be taken into account during policymaking.

For trade unions specifically, with women’s trade union membership rates averaging 42.2 per cent, representative democracy is fundamental to the success and survival of the movement. All over the world democracy is in crisis; only the full participation of all segments of society can save it.

Women leading unions

We are seeing more and more examples of the transformative power of female political participation, from women making up 60 per cent of lawmakers, 50 per cent of the cabinet and half of the supreme court judges in Rwanda to Sanna Marin becoming the world’s youngest serving prime minister at 34 while leading a coalition government formed with women heading all five parties. While women comprise just 28 per cent of members in the highest decision-making bodies of trade unions, women lead at the highest levels of the movement: Sharan Burrow is secretary-general of the ITUC, the world’s largest trade union confederation representing 207 million workers; while three global union federations are headed by women – Christy Hoffman at UNI Global Union, Sue Longley at the IUF and Rosa Pavanelli at PSI. From Chile (Bárbara Figueroa) to the United Kingdom (Frances O’Grady) to Barbados (Toni Moore), more and more national centres are also being led by women. In fact, in 2019 three national centres – the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU), the Confederation of Indonesia Prosperity Trade Unions (KSBSI) and the Egyptian Democratic Labour Congress – all elected their first female presidents. Unions are also taking significant steps to increase the number of women in their highest decision-making bodies: in 2015 Unified Workers’ Central (CUT) of Brazil became the first national trade union federation to introduce gender parity in its decision-making bodies at both the national and state level. And in 2019, the Fiji Trades Union Congress achieved 55 per cent representation of women on its executive board.

Campaigns and networks

Women’s rights, gender equality, gender parity in all leadership bodies and the full participation of women trade unionists at all levels is mandated by the ITUC constitution. Women’s structures and networks have been a major tool in the promotion of women’s participation at the national, regional and international levels of the union movement.
The ITUC has run a number of campaigns: ‘Count Us In!’, which in 2014 set the ambitious target for at least 80 per cent of affiliates to achieve 30 per cent representation of women in their decision-making bodies by 2018, as well as a five per cent increase of women’s membership; ‘Decisions for Life’ set out to empower a new generation of young women leaders from 14 countries; and the ‘Labour Rights for Women’ project organised women in vulnerable employment and bolstered the participation of women in collective bargaining and social dialogue. Many global unions have similar schemes: UNI Global Union, for example, runs a mentoring programme to prepare young women trade unionists for future leadership, which is bolstered by ‘40 for 40’, a campaign to ensure 40 per cent female representation in all UNI decision-making bodies.

What next?
Unions recognise that the BPfA still has the unique potential to radically improve the lives of women with concrete action on the following:

- guarantee the fundamental human rights of freedom of association and collective bargaining of all women workers;
- invest in care for gender equality and development, to redistribute the burden of unpaid care work, to ensure access to quality public services and to create millions of quality green jobs;
- end gender-based violence and harassment in the world of work; and
- promote women in positions of power and decision-making through a feminist approach to leadership.

But we need more than nice words to make this a reality: we need real action. Governments can no longer afford to agree to advance the cause of gender equality at international forums like the Commission on the Status of Women and then go home to dismantle the very labour rights that guarantee that equality. The implementation and monitoring of the BPfA are the key to its success. Now is the time for the world’s leaders to demonstrate the political will to make it a reality.

Training and lifelong education

Trade unions have been working on institutional mechanisms for women’s advancement, training women to take a stronger role in decision-making, and combating violence. Unions offer crucial, non-formal educational opportunities for workers of all ages, and this can provide a training ground for women leaders to enter local, regional, national and international politics. Angela Rayner, a British member of parliament and shadow secretary of state for education, got pregnant at 16 and left school with no qualifications. After becoming a shop steward for UNISON, she said: “[Being in a trade union] took me from the girl on a council estate [social housing] who thought that she wasn’t worth anything, who thought she’d let the world down by getting pregnant at 16 and failing at school. They took me from that to a woman who feels like she can conquer the world, be something, and continue to help people and be proud of who I am. That’s what the trade union movement did for me.”

https://tuc150.tuc.org.uk/stories/angela-rayner-mp/
Glossary

Collective bargaining - Collective bargaining is the negotiating process leading to the conclusion of a collective agreement regulating working terms and conditions of employment. Collective bargaining is a way of attaining beneficial and productive solutions to potentially conflictual relations between workers and employers. It can take place at national, sectoral or enterprise level. It is a fundamental right.

Freedom of association - Freedom of association refers to the fundamental human right of workers and employers to form and join organisations of their own choosing. Freedom of association enables workers to join together to better protect their social and economic interests, rights and freedoms. It includes the right to strike.

Abbreviations

BPfA – Beijing Platform for Action
COP – Conference of Parties (COP) of the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (also known as the United Nations Climate Change Conference)
ETUC – European Trade Union Confederation
G20 – Group of 20 (an annual meeting for the heads of government and central bank governors of the world’s largest economies)
GDP – Gross domestic product
IDWF - International Federation of Domestic Workers
IFJ – International Federation of Journalists
ILO – International Labour Organization
ITF - International Transport Workers’ Federation
ITUC – International Trade Union Confederation
IUF - International Union of Food, Agricultural, Hotel, Restaurant, Catering, Tobacco and Allied Workers’ Associations
LGBTQIA+ – Lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer, intersex and asexual
OECD – Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
PSI – Public Services International
SDGs – Sustainable Development Goals
TUAC - Trade Union Advisory Committee (TUAC) to the OECD
UN – United Nations
WIEGO – Women in Informal Employment: Globalizing and Organizing

Trade union resources

BWI
EN - https://www.bwint.org/cms/priorities-10/rights-34/gender-equality-44
FR - https://www.bwint.org/fr_FR/cms/priorities-10/rights-34/egalite-de-genre-44
ES - https://www.bwint.org/es_ES/cms/priorities-10/rights-34/equidad-de-genero-44

Education International
FR – https://www.ei-ie.org/fr/detail_page/4647/egalite-des-genres
ES - https://www.ei-ie.org/spa/detail_page/4647/igualdad-de-g%C3%A9nero

IFJ
ES – https://www.ifj.org/es/que/igualdad-de-genero.html

IndustriALL
EN - http://www.industriall-union.org/women
FR – http://www.industriall-union.org/fr/women-0
ES – http://www.industriall-union.org/es/women-0

ITF
EN - https://www.itfglobal.org/en/focus/women
FR – https://www.itfglobal.org/fr/focus/femmes
ES – https://www.itfglobal.org/es/focus/mujeres
The ITUC would like to thank the Global Union Federations (GUFs) for their contributions to this report.
The ITUC HTUR Department and Legal Unit thank Union to Union Sweden, LO Norway, ILO Actrav, Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, LO-Denmark and CNV Netherlands for their significant financial support for the Human and Trade Union Rights programme.