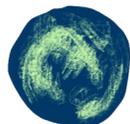


Louder Together: a how-to guide on campaigning for investments in care



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Summary



This guide was commissioned by the International Trade Union Confederation (ITUC) and its contents were developed in collaboration with UNI Global Union, Public Services International (PSI), Education International (EI), the International Domestic Workers Federation (IDWF) and Women in Informal Economy: Globalizing and Organizing (WIEGO)¹.

This guide is aimed at supporting the work of trade unions and civil society allies at national level in campaigning for investments in care, organising care workers, and bargaining around their rights and protections. To this end experiences and examples of campaigns run by trade unions active in the fields of health care, education, early childhood care, and informal care work were gathered.

The ILO has placed care work at the heart of gender equality at work, being also an urgent priority as a result of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), namely SDG 8 on full and productive employment and decent work for all women and men and SDG 5 which aims at recognising and valuing unpaid care work “through the provision of public services, infrastructure and social protection policies” (target 5.4).

Comprehensive frameworks, such as the Triple R Framework of the ILO - based on the recognition, reduction and redistribution of unpaid care work with income; rewards for care work and more and decent jobs; representation of care workers through collective bargaining and social dialogue – are key towards shaping, developing and implementing sustainable care policies.

Both paid and unpaid care work has traditionally been carried out by women; paid care work is often done by low paid or informal women workers. Further, paid care work is often done by people without formal protections, including adequate access to social protection.

As the global population ages and globalises, many organisations have started to sound the alarm that care needs will continue to expand. The COVID-19 pandemic has highlighted the need for investments in care and has flagged the difficulties and risks of mobilising these, including growing privatisation in the care sector.

Creating and delivering a message that is aligned to global priorities is central to the work of care investment advocacy. Efforts must be made to develop messages from the ground up, including engaging workers, social movements and care recipients from the beginning. Advocacy messages can also benefit from alignment with globally established priorities. When aligned in this way, messages can be amplified by partners doing similar work. It also allows smaller campaigns to link to larger campaigns, and benefit from available resources. A multitude of different tactics can be used to deliver the message, and multipronged approaches are most effective.

Participants in this project offered useful insights into care investment advocacy from their perspectives and experiences of working with and within trade unions and other membership-based labour organisations. Issues that were identified included prioritising collective action, engaging front-line members, addressing equity issues, the ethics of withdrawing essential care services through strikes and other forms of industrial action, and building larger coalitions with civil society.

Participants also identified steps to care investment advocacy, which were nearly the same in the different case studies from around the world, though they do not always unfold in a linear fashion. Other pragmatic considerations include being mindful of common pitfalls in this kind of organising and evaluating success.

A Caring World

The idea of care has long been embedded in the trade union movement. Many social advancements towards justice in the care economy have been facilitated by unions acting in solidarity with other civil society actors. For instance, socialised approaches to health care, universal work disability insurance, and maternity leave benefits are hard-fought achievements of the trade union movement in many countries. Participants consulted for this project identified four core values that have informed work towards these achievements.

1

Investing in care for decent job creation

Public investments in the care economy can create millions of new jobs and enable women's effective labour force participation

2

Access to care is a human right

Care should be available to all people in all places, regardless of income, social status, or identity.

3

Care should be delivered collectively

Governments and public bodies have the responsibility to deliver these services and should be held accountable for doing so.

4

Care workers must be treated justly

Care work is often gendered and racialised.

In order to achieve true equity, care workers need support from society. Governments and employers can achieve this by ensuring decent working conditions and fair compensation.

CARE IN A CHANGING LANDSCAPE

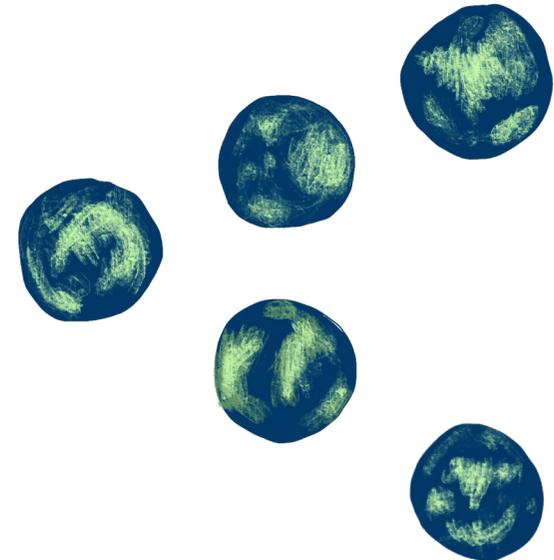
+60%

The demographics of the world are transforming and, consequently, the need for care work is rising. The OECD estimated in 2020 that the population is aging at such a fast rate that we will require 60 percent more jobs in long-term care by 2040 in order to keep up with demand. The World Health Organization predicts a large increase in jobs in higher-income countries but a deficit of workers to fill these jobs. These gaps must be covered to prevent a collapse of worldwide healthcare systems.

While local conditions may differ, austerity cuts and unequal distribution of supplies, services and labour pose challenges to both the formal and informal sectors of care workers around the world. The Covid-19 pandemic has put stress on these systems and workers, with widespread shortages of Personal Protective Equipment (PPE), high staff turnover, burnout, and illness. Wealthier countries continue to hoard essential supplies and vaccines, contributing to increased global inequalities.

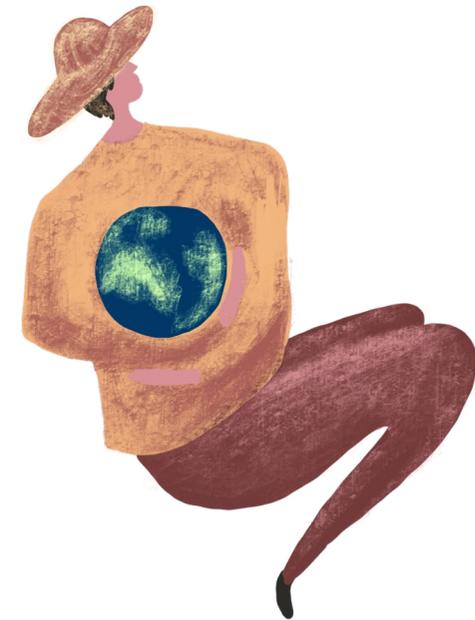
Globally, women do the majority of care work, both paid and unpaid. This work tends to be undervalued with low wages and poor working conditions. Within paid care work, racialised workers, workers of different classes and castes, migrants, and workers with disabilities are more vulnerable, disproportionately employed in lower paying roles, and face more barriers to promotions or pay increases.

Overall, the demand for care work is increasing and there is a shortage of care workers to meet this need. Public investments in health care, child-care, elder care, disability support, and other social care services would help meet this demand, grow local economies, create well-paid stable jobs, close the gender pay gap, and contribute to meeting the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) by 2030.



The aims of care investment advocacy are to increase public investments in the creation of decent jobs in the care sector, improve the lives of workers in these fields and to support robust, public, and universally accessible care services to all.

Unions can help support these investments by advocating for the creation of decent jobs and negotiating for better pay and working conditions for care workers while advocating for systemic change. Although this work can be challenging and organising strategies must be locally informed, it is a worthwhile undertaking.



Methodology

This Guide has been commissioned by the ITUC, and its contents have been developed in collaboration with UNI Global Union, PSI, EI, IDWF and WIEGO. Its goal is to capture the expertise of organisations engaged in care campaigns in order to share this learning with people doing similar work around the world. A writing team with expertise on the intersection of care, labour and trade union issues was selected to complete the work.

Participants were asked to complete a survey outlining a campaign, collective bargaining experience or other organising activity with their members. Participants submitted case studies and the lessons they learned from these experiences. Group and one-to-one Zoom calls were held to delve deeper into their examples and discuss the successes and challenges that come with collective action.

Information from participants is presented by key topic areas that were commonly found from all or most participants. These topics are exemplified through a selection of case studies, and pragmatic steps common to all participants' experiences are presented as a step-by-step process.

The details of some case studies have been omitted to protect the identity and safety of the participants working in regions where certain types of union organising can be risky or illegal.

A SELECTION OF CASE STUDIES FROM AROUND THE WORLD:



KEY LEARNINGS FROM CASE STUDIES

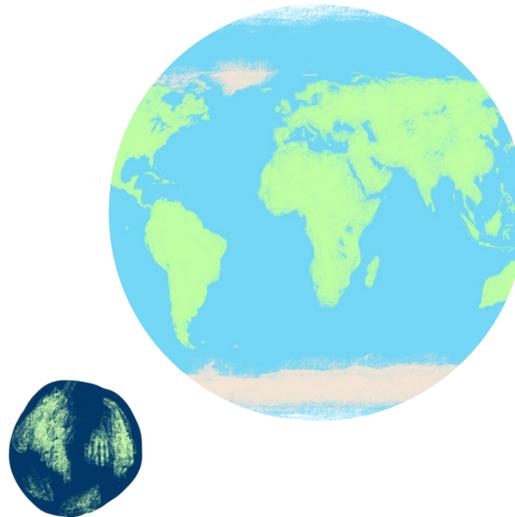
An analysis of the surveys' outcomes and the interviews with participants found significant similarities as shown **below**:

Participants collaborated with different local and global partners, often for the first time, and found this collaboration very motivating.

Most campaigns focused on advocacy targeting national governments and on engagement with employers to effect change within workplaces through collective bargaining.

Participants described a great deal of membership engagement on the ground via letters, petitions, online campaigns and more. Most cases used a multi-pronged approach.

Some challenges included a lack of members' experience in collective organising, bad experiences with industrial actions in the past, fear of reprisals from employers, and an overall lack of availability or engagement among workers.



Most successes were bottom-up actions, not top-down.

Successes resulted from thorough planning and organising as well as consistent messaging to show unity, buy-in from union leadership, and ownership by members.

Participants recommended that there be more opportunities for frontline workers to be heard and drive the agenda in organising.

Despite all of these similarities, all of the cases had unique differences. It is important to remember that a campaign is always dependant on the specificities of context and experience.

Building a Message of Care

A campaign must start with the creation of a clear and unified message. This message will convey the values, stories, and intent of the campaign goals. The message should be based on the real, local experiences of workers and people running the campaign, and it should tie into understandable, universal concepts.



Case Study: Canada

A coalition of public-sector unions joined other national and regional campaigns advocating for universal, affordable and high quality childcare. Members wrote letters to the Federal Government, signed online petitions, and shared online campaign materials, while union leadership met with Ministers and other decision makers, and built coalitions between other non-trade union organisations remotely. It was challenging to organise during the pandemic as no in-person events or meetings were feasible.

Union leadership recognised a policy window with the current Federal Government when the pandemic exposed how important reliable childcare is to a functioning economy. The Federal Government has announced longer-term funding for childcare across the country.

There is plenty of work to be done before universal childcare is a reality in Canada, but trade unions are certain that the momentum for this topic remains strong.

DEVELOPING YOUR KEY MESSAGE

Step 1: Listen to frontline workers

A well-crafted message needs to advance the concerns of the person or group it is seeking to represent. In the context of membership-based organisations like trade unions, it is more effective and impactful to involve frontline workers to directly develop their own messages rather than doing this work on their behalf. This will also support the organic development of leaders with influence over an existing base of workers. This base can be further expanded by developing the skills of those leaders.

Face-to-face interactions are central to developing this work.

Step 2: Connect, Contrast and Solve the issue at hand

Once those frontline messages have been captured, they should be refined in order to be more broadly understood. One approach to do this is to connect, contrast, and solve the issue at hand. This means finding a way to **connect** with your audience—is it the general public, the government, an employer? Find shared values that you can communicate.

Contrast the state of affairs with various policies or agreements and show how these do not match your shared values. You can then share what you think would solve the problem.

Key Message Example

Message: Government needs to invest in free or low-cost, safe, and public childcare.

Connect: If the campaign's target is the public, the message should connect to the public's interests. Rather than focusing on concepts like the economic productivity generated by enabling mothers to attend work, the message should focus on people and their families, who deserve high quality accessible childcare.

Contrast: Based on the audience identified above this campaign could contrast the message by highlighting the lack of safety in unregulated childcare settings or the hardship of paying for high-cost private childcare.

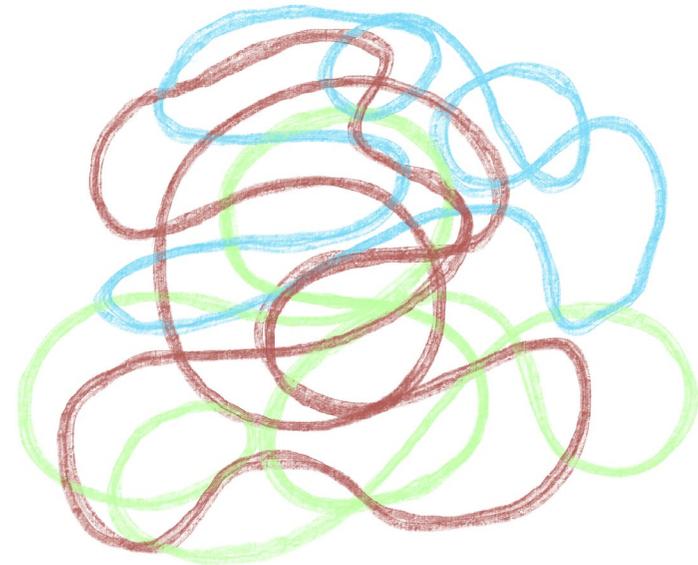
Solve: It is important to deliver a tangible solution and highlight its benefits. In this case, public, accessible and safe childcare centres offer a solution to the proposed problem.

CONNECT | CONTRAST | SOLVE
CONNECT | CONTRAST | SOLVE
CONNECT | CONTRAST | SOLVE

ALIGNING THE GLOBAL MESSAGE

Aligning messages of local/national campaigns to global ideals will help in building a movement towards adequate investments in care.

This also means that local/national campaigns can benefit from the investments of larger global or regional campaigns that may include otherwise inaccessible resources like advertising. This is the very essence of global/regional campaigns supporting and/or boosting local/national campaigns and actions.



EXAMPLES OF KEY GLOBAL MESSAGES

The main objectives of the care investment advocacy movement are creating safe and secure work for care workers, improving working conditions, and expanding care services to all. This includes recognising workers in care, workers' rights, occupational health and safety, wage increases, worker recruitment and retention, investments in services, green jobs, anti-privatisation, universal health care, and health care as a human right. If care workers have better working conditions and have their material and professional needs met, then care recipients receive better care as well.

Overarching policies that work to reduce discrimination based on gender, race, income, migration status, disability, age, and gender identity and sexual orientation go hand in hand with our key objectives. The same applies to policies that address discriminatory pay gaps across the labour market. Removing discriminatory barriers within the workforce and institutions in general allow workers and all of society to flourish. The fight for better conditions for workers includes all of these intersections.

Covid-19 has created many challenges, but also some opportunities for lobbying and advocacy. Governments and employers are looking for opportunities to fix problems and build back economies as we move through this pandemic, creating many policy windows. Canadian Professor Leslie Pal defines policy windows as “unpredictable openings in the policy process that create the possibility for influence over the direction and outcome of that process.”

Governments and large private sector organisations need to see the value of having worker input. If their information is not coming directly from workers on the ground, it's probably incorrect, which could be a costly mistake. Governments may not even know what the workers actually do and can make policy decisions that don't reflect the real experience of workers. Encourage regular check-ins with union members and decision makers to share information.



The main source for public care investments is taxation. Fair and progressive taxation systems that could combat evasion, elusion and tax havens; as well as, ensuring internationally equal taxing rights of nation States.

Public investments of adequate levels of national GDP in the care economy will create millions of new decent jobs for women, enable women's effective participation in the broader economy, and ensure universal access to quality public health, care and education services. Around 269 million new jobs could be created by 2030 if investments in health, education, and social care services were doubled.

KEY MESSAGES FOR GOVERNMENTS:

Delivering health care, aged care, childcare and education is a public responsibility that allows citizens to exercise their human rights. Public investments in care create millions of new decent jobs, reduces the gender employment gap and other gender gaps in the labour market, and can help build up the economy.



“At times of low growth, high unemployment and pervasive underemployment, public investment in social infrastructure and the right mix of gender equality policies can drive inclusive economic growth and women’s economic autonomy.” (ITUC)

KEY MESSAGES FOR UNION MEMBERS/WORKERS:

Collective organising is the main way to create meaningful change. Collective efforts make many lives better.



“Governments, institutions, and corporations are paying attention to this too, even if just from a purely economic standpoint: evidence grows that responsible business conduct and respect for human rights are beneficial to the bottom line”. (UNI)



KEY MESSAGES FOR THE GENERAL PUBLIC:

Investing in care means better care for you and your family, high quality education for your children, and better childcare options for you to choose your own path in life.

STRATEGIES AND TACTICS IN MESSAGING

Campaign strategies explore the overarching goals and ideas that must be considered on the campaign. Strategies can change over time but are generally less flexible. These should be carefully planned. In addition to strategies outlined above, it is suggested using multiple tactics for multiple audiences, escalating the intensity of tactics over time. Conducting opposition research can help inform the tactics that will be used. Opposing viewpoints about a campaign can be analysed using tools like SWOT analysis².

Tactics, by contrast, are the specific activities used to achieve the overarching ideas in a strategy. Participants identified different tactics used in campaigning. A campaign may choose to employ certain tactics and pivot to others as developments on the ground occur. While detailing these tactics is beyond the scope of this Guide, the following tactics could be explored:

When using these tactics consider the following: Government staff often look for short and clear requests. If multiple people from a campaign are reaching out, the language should be consistent. Requests must be directed to the right decision maker, and requests should be connected with the decision maker's public priorities. Personal stories help to highlight how the issue affects everyday people in the region or country.



BEING READY WITH QUICK FACTS

Beyond preparing a strategy and deploying tactics, it is helpful to be ready with facts on the subject matter. Whether in a formal debate or an informal conversation, knowledge is power. Below are some facts to help prepare trade union campaigners to persuade opponents.

- **Countries that spend more of their GDP on care policies have improved health outcomes such as life expectancy and infant mortality rates. (ITUC 2017)**
- **Investments in care will increase employment. Studies estimate that investments of 2% of GDP into social infrastructure would generate increased employment between 2.4% and 6.1% (ITUC 2016)**
- **Globally, women spend at least twice as much time as men on unpaid care work, including domestic or household tasks as well as care for people at home and in the community. A decrease in women's unpaid care work is therefore related to a ten percentage point increase in women's labour force participation. (ITUC 2019)**
- **Investments in care can lead to reducing the employment gender gap. (ITUC 2017)**
- **Workers in lower-skilled health and social care assistant positions earn considerably less than the national average wage in their country. (EPSU 2018)**
- **Increasing public investment would stimulate employment and economic growth and provide a more effective means of moving out of recession than current austerity policies. (ITUC 2016)**
- **More than half of care workers UNI surveyed said their pay did not provide them with a decent standard of living, meaning they were unable to secure basic needs such as housing, food, and transportation. (UNI 2021: Global care workers survey: One year into pandemic, hard-hit COVID-19 workforce still endures violence, PPE shortages, poverty wages, understaffing and**

lack of mental health support; <https://uniglobalunion.org/UNI-CARE-Global-Survey>)

- **Resources to fund public care services can be raised through fair and progressive taxation. An estimated US \$483 billion is lost globally to tax abuse each year. Often it's hidden out of reach in tax havens, or given away through generous tax incentives to multinational corporations. Our governments can and must fight for a fairer tax system so we can rebuild public care provision. (PSI)**



Case Study: Philippines

Trade unions used a multipronged approach and a wide variety of tactics to encourage the Government to adopt extended maternity policy legislation. The Union held education forums for members and press conferences for the public to learn about the benefits of longer maternity leave. They lobbied the Government in many ways including a Christmas card campaign, building relationships with decision makers, speaking and being present during deliberations, and holding large conferences to which Government representatives were invited.

The legislation was moving through the Government but it looked like the current President would veto it, so workers held press conferences and candlelight protests until the law was passed. Overall this work took two years to complete.

The Union continues to propose changes to the law to protect reproductive freedom and worker's rights and review how the law is implemented in reality.

Centring Equity

Equity issues influence every phase of a campaign in a variety of ways: in organising and planning collective actions and in advocacy and lobbying. Even when most values around gender equality and equity are shared by the people involved in a campaign, everyone should still be mindful of their own biases and privileges in order to be able to effectively support workers in all their diversity and create sustainable union member networks and collectives.

ECONOMIC LENS

Even within formal employment there are inequalities.

Nurses' and midwives' incomes tend to be higher than those of health care assistants, long-term care workers, and community health workers. Typically, as the EPSU outlines, the higher the proportion of women in a given sector, the lower the average relative income is. If you apply an intersectional lens, the lower paid workers are also usually racialised and/or have migrated from a lower-income country to do care work in a higher income country.

One major barrier for care workers is having their skills recognised and re-certified when moving to another country. Skilled workers must often take lower paying jobs until they are able to have their education and training recognised.

Early childhood educators make less and have fewer benefits compared to teachers in other education sectors. Domestic workers experience some of the worst working conditions across the care workforce and are particularly vulnerable to exploitation. Jobs in this sector are unpredictable, unsafe, and typically have little to no benefits.



Case Study: India

Workers across India organised to demand publicly funded, full-day, high quality childcare. This campaign relied on evidence from well-known studies that showed how essential childcare is for women in the workforce, especially lower-income women. The key messaging also included how beneficial childcare is for children's health outcomes. This helped connect the message to the public, not just policy makers. Having these quick facts on hand helped with delivering a unified message.

Union members were invited to share their experiences in facilitated workshops to develop a message and reach a consensus on what "quality" childcare meant. Once they had their key messaging, it was turned into an online campaign and used in direct lobbying to decision makers. Members added their voices to the campaign directly by filming videos, speaking to media, and collaborating with researchers.

The union still considers this campaign a work in progress and is looking for more evidence and support from other countries to add legitimacy and a global lens to the campaign, as childcare is still widely considered a private matter in India.

GENDER LENS:

Women still do the majority of unpaid and informal care work in the home and community. However, increased urbanisation has distanced families and contributed to a greater loss of informal care networks. This has led to a higher demand for childcare and elder care from paid care workers, but there is a lack of high quality and affordable health care especially for low-income people and those living in rural areas. For city dwellers, private health comes at a high price. Wealthier families may choose to employ domestic workers—primarily women—to help with health and care needs and household needs. These jobs are often informal and do not always provide employment protections such as benefits or predictable schedules.

Care work as a formal profession tends to pay less than work in other sectors, and the majority of workers are also women, and often migrant women and from black and minority ethnic communities. The “helping” and “caring” aspects of these jobs tend to be undervalued as they are seen as a natural extension of women’s gender role or their innate female proficiencies.

Participants identified the need to consider childcare to facilitate women’s involvement in trade union work, including in union campaigning and organising. This included offering childcare at meetings, switching to virtual meetings so families could join from home, and offering multiple meeting times so workers could choose their best availability. Investing in childcare, while a vital component to women’s participation in the workforce, should not be done purely to boost employment statistics. Jobs in childcare should also be fairly compensated so it is not just outsourced to other more marginalised people. Policies such as parental leave and flexible work would also support parents of all genders to sustain formal employment.



For further information, see PSI’s Global Study **“The social organisation of care: A Global Snapshot of the Main Challenges and Potential Alternatives for a Feminist Trade Union Agenda.”**



Case Study: Nepal

A healthcare trade union fought for PPE (masks, sanitizer, gloves, etc) throughout the pandemic. This campaign was member-driven and included letter writing campaigns and meetings with the employer to raise awareness of the impacts of not having PPE. One example was that most workers who are young women with children at home felt they could not return home safely. This was especially impactful on mothers with young children who felt they could not breastfeed because of the risk of passing COVID-19 to their babies. Once PPE was provided by the employer, the workers could return home to their families.

Union organisers supported members by focusing on the material conditions of the workers and emphasised how PPE affected their lives outside of work. The workers felt like they had ownership of this campaign because they were involved from the beginning. The union faced many barriers including workers’ lack of awareness of unions and unsuccessful past experiences. By explicitly stating the gendered issues that arose with the employers’ policies, they energised the workforce to push harder.

Participants report being extremely motivated by the way the workers took up their own fight and look forward to engaging this network for future campaigns.

GLOBAL EQUITY



Trade union campaigners when working on global or regional campaigns must be wary of language in order to respect different cultures and perspectives. Extensive consultation with local workers right from the start of planning is crucial to truly grasp community needs.

Trade union advocates must be open to hearing about the lived experiences of members and treat their experience with the same weight as experience from academics or employment experts. Large virtual symposiums where workers from around the world can share their stories have a huge impact, as do video campaigns where workers share their experiences and interact with each other.

Groups involved in care investment advocacy in high-income countries can support and amplify the needs of workers from low-income countries. Well-resourced unions and collectives can also support globally marginalised workers by advocating for care policies that support the development of infrastructure that reduces the burden on care workers, such as clean water, sanitation, and energy.

By supporting the most marginalised workers within our global communities, we build the infrastructure for supporting all workers and promote collective organising as a key tool for change. A rising tide lifts all boats, and we want to make sure that no one is left behind while others prosper.



Case Study: Aotearoa (New Zealand)

Members in private sector trade unions raised awareness about the role of care and support workers, and lobbied the government for more access to PPE. This advocacy effort was directed by members who coordinated and shared experiences through social media at first, and expanded to meeting with employers, and speaking out in the media. Members were “telling the story of workers who were mostly invisible.”

Workers participated in large online calls to share their stories and experiences with workers around the globe. When workers in New Zealand saw that their victories helped inspire workers in other countries, it made them feel that their collective efforts matter on a larger scale. It gave the work meaning and lasting power which kept members engaged. “People want to be part of something bigger than themselves that actually has a chance of making a difference.”

Organisers hope that within global coalitions, better resourced unions can share skills and provide their materials to trade unions with less capacity and funding.

Standing Together

COLLECTIVE ORGANISING

Essential workers doing care work are often forgotten by governments. Using a collective voice to elevate their needs is an established and effective practice. Improvements to wages and working conditions can be achieved through health and safety joint committees and collective bargaining. Unions also have a key role in advocating for increased investment in social infrastructure.

“Contrary to wishful thinking among the global elite, unions and collective bargaining are not a phenomenon of the past. Instead, they hold the keys to a solution for many of the failures of our current economic model.” (UNI)

While union organising is one of the most successful forms for creating change, it also presents challenges. Within the care sector, many unions lack funds and other resources to pay dedicated organising staff. Frontline workers who deal directly with patients have busy workdays and full schedules that preclude outside meetings and continuing education. In workplaces with high staff turnover and burnout, key organisers and leaders can lose the relationships they build, and new organisers won't have the same level of trust with workers.

Some workplaces may be hostile to union organising and block organisers or spread misinformation and harmful stereotypes about unions to dissuade workers from discussing wages and working conditions. Neoliberal perspectives that encourage individual priorities over collective ones have also changed the culture of workplaces and collective organising. One participant noted that many members have lost hope that their collective efforts can create change: “to be angry [to fight], you have to have hope.”



Case Study: Australia

Workers in for-profit aged care homes bargained for a new collective agreement for nurses and assistants. They were met with many barriers from the employer such as intimidation, discipline, and union-busting legal challenges. Union members prevailed by being present at the bargaining table and organising several campaigns that included a “Message to the Boss” through letter writing, rallies and press conferences.

This strategy was facilitated by identifying and activating networks of member leaders around Australia who spread the word to vote NO on bad offers. The campaign found key workers who were willing to speak to the media. Organisers felt that “strength on the ground” enabled a much bigger impact on the employer.

Organisers were proud to see their membership grow throughout these campaigns and are hopeful that future bargaining will be even more successful.

ENGAGING MEMBERS

Participants outlined some ideas for engaging a busy and disempowered union membership. Including frontline staff at the beginning of campaign planning is imperative to identify concerns from the bottom-up. Focusing on improving worker's day-to-day experiences allow workers to have tangible means to rally around issues.

Extending courtesy and listening to members can go a long way to building trust and relationships. Getting input and feedback from workers can take more time but makes a significant impact on organising efforts.

Identifying and supporting natural leaders within the union membership is a good strategy. These leaders can connect organisers with members that are willing to share their story and be representatives of an issue.

Participants recommended starting small with union activities that make workers feel like they're a part of a team. Subtle acts of solidarity like wearing a ribbon or button, or changing online profile pictures, show how many members are engaged in the work, and emphasise the power of collective organising.



Case Study: Ghana

To build up support from workers during collective bargaining, members were encouraged by their union to wear Red Bands at work to signify their participation.

This solidarity translated into larger types of industrial action, letter writing campaigns, online petitions, strikes, and press coverage. The employer did not meet all of the workers' demands but did move towards improving wages and working conditions. The union continues to engage and educate members about how bargaining and collective agreements work and focus on the wins, no matter how small, to keep membership engaged.

Participants also found that they had to reassure and educate union members on their rights to engage in industrial action. They planned regularly scheduled education and information sessions for members to learn about their rights and answer questions to help dispel rumours and stereotypes.

Supporting members with ongoing professional development and education helps them build the skills to be leaders and advocates in their own right and have more ownership in the work they are doing. Participants found the gaps in their resources and identified areas that needed more support while still centring the members as leaders. The union is ultimately a collective of workers, and should be able to sustain momentum even without professional organisers' assistance. Media training, social media training, lobbying training, leadership training are extra skills a union can provide to support local organisers.

ETHICS OF WITHDRAWING CARE WORK

Organising care workers can be more challenging than other industries because the general public is the direct recipient of their work. Industrial action may meet public backlash if people are not able to receive the care they need. Workers may be hesitant to inconvenience care recipients as well, especially if they have established close relationships or work in more informal care sectors with fewer professional boundaries. There is an argument that care workers might care “too much” about care recipients, so they will not pursue meaningful industrial action. Some unions hesitate to organise these workers. Participants identified this as an unfair criticism; it seems more likely that workers would be hesitant to organise because they fear losing an already unstable job.

Campaigns that involve both the worker and the care recipient can be extremely effective because the care recipient knows what is happening and supports the worker to improve their conditions. Any improvement in the workers' lives also means improved care for the care recipient: fewer service interruptions, more consistent care, better supplies, more time for each care recipient, staff staying home when they are sick, etc. This joint approach also provides a possible ethical solution for the ethical dilemma raised by traditional industrial actions that may involve withdrawing essential care.



Case Study: Croatia

Trade union organisers in Croatia have been organising Personal Assistants (PAs) for people with disabilities into trade unions. PAs in Croatia are predominantly women from rural areas who work one to one with their clients. Workers are spread across many job sites, have low wages, short term contracts, poor working conditions, and lack of public recognition. They were reluctant to organise and worried about leaving care recipients without care.

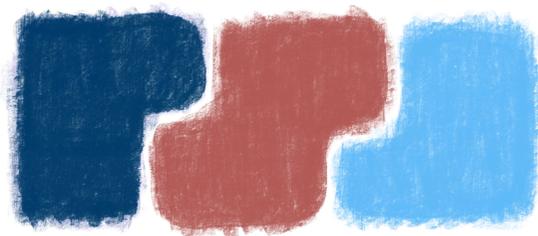
Campaign tactics included workers meeting in person and online, sharing stories on social media, and filming videos sharing their experiences. This showed the value of PAs work and fostered pride and solidarity between colleagues.

Organisers are looking ahead to upcoming legislation that will protect care recipients that need personal care. They hope to advocate for the inclusion of provisions that protect workers as well.

COALITION BUILDING

Participants also used the building of coalitions as another method to amplify their message. A coalition forms when distinct organisations like unions, non-governmental organisations, community groups, activist groups, and other vested stakeholders agree to work together to advance one key message. Each part of the coalition runs campaigns in their own unique way. This means that the target audience gets the same message via multiple sources and techniques. Working within a coalition can also reduce the duplication of campaigns that compete for attention and resources, fostering cooperation instead. This builds momentum and can lead to stronger uptake of the key message. Coalitions are typically able to deliver change that the individual members cannot.

Some members of a coalition may have access to decision makers that other members do not. This allows less connected members of the coalition to have their voices heard in new ways. Resources like mailing lists, social media channels, networks, and volunteers can be shared between coalition members to spread the campaign further and build capacity in organisations with fewer resources. The more diverse the coalition, the stronger and more effective it is.



Case Study: Brazil

A complaint was filed against the Brazilian President Bolsonaro for his actions during the pandemic. The actions were framed as genocidal and criminal against humanity. A division of an international union led the charge and recruited over 60 other signatories including other unions, representatives of Indigenous and Quilombola communities, and many other social organisations. This large coalition of seemingly unlikely allies received a significant amount of media attention.

The disparate group had a single unified message about managing the pandemic and were able to file this complaint within the International Criminal Court. Before filing this complaint, unions attempted to engage with the Federal Government through other tactics such as letter writing campaigns. This ultimately failed; they needed something that would break through to a government and employer that were unwilling to negotiate.

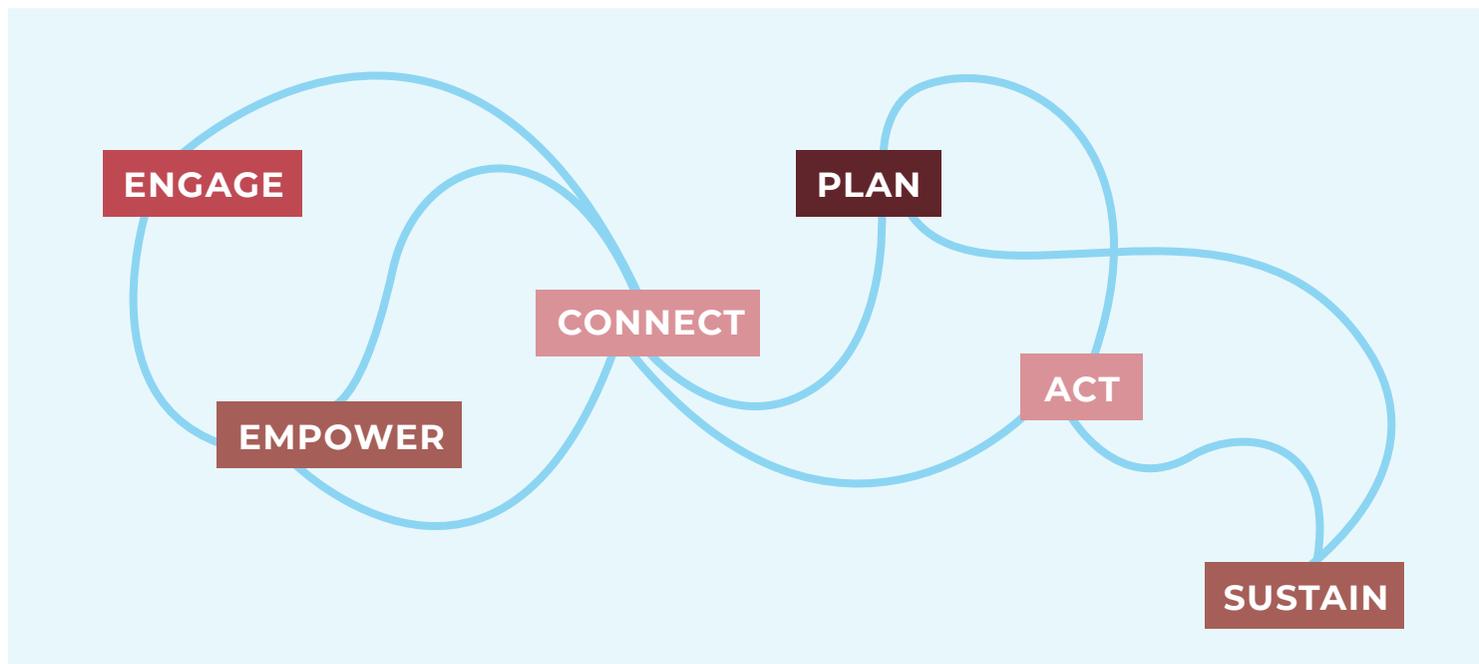
This coalition looks forward to using their new relationships to collaborate on future initiatives as well.

Taking Action

Care investments advocacy should be focusing on the key workers' demands for a New Social Contract based on jobs creation, decent jobs with rights, safety, adequate wages and social protection.

From the case studies included in this guide it is clear that social dialogue, collective bargaining and organising are key to achieve all this. Each case study included in this guide showcased different approaches, however, they all shared key universal steps. While these steps have been organised sequentially, the campaign process is often non-linear. Many campaigns use these steps in a variety of orders.

The process map **below** summarises the steps identified in the submitted case studies.



⁴https://www.ituc-csi.org/IMG/pdf/a_new_social_contract_-_crisis_-_recovery_-_resilience_en.pdf

ENGAGE

Get to know frontline workers and their issues, concerns, and needs. This work is best done face to face and can take a long time. This process starts with relationships; workers need to be able to trust the organisers they are working with. Establish common values held by the group. This will create the foundation for your work together.

EMPOWER

Identify local leaders or prospective leaders and provide them with information and support. Show how similar workplaces that have unions or union-like organising have found solutions to their concerns. Help dispel rumours and stereotypes about unions and show that your organisation's support is collaborative and takes their members' ideas and needs into account.

CONNECT

Membership-based organising depends on geographical or issue-based solidarity. Organisers can collaborate on coordinating campaign tactics, learning about issues, and maintaining engagement and enthusiasm over time. Through this connection, begin to establish a common, unified message. Consider establishing goals with benchmarks that you can evaluate later.

PLAN

As you continue to refine your common message, begin to consider how you can achieve your solution. Map out what needs to change in order for your solution to become a reality. Context will be important—consider key decision makers, applicable legislation, policy windows, and related public sentiments.

ACT

Once momentum builds, it is important to capture the energy by engaging in concrete, pragmatic actions. Without such actions, there is a risk of losing passion from participants. The actions taken should consider the shared values of the workers. Each action should have a clear connection between the identified issues and the mapped solution.

SUSTAIN

It is rare that all the goals and hopes of workers are completely satisfied by one campaign. Even if they are, there is always more work to do. A group may identify new related issues to explore or groups to connect with. The process may go back to one of the earlier steps identified here. Given how much work is needed to engage in successful advocacy, it is important to build a continuum to other campaigns where this engagement will still be useful and valuable.

AVOIDING PITFALLS

Participants were asked to give advice to brand new trade union activists. **Below** are some of the pitfalls they identified:

- **Don't go in without a plan to support members**
- **Don't talk more than you listen**
- **Don't impose your own agenda**
- **Don't organise big actions before you have actual strength on the ground**
- **Don't be afraid to pivot and change your plans**
- **Don't give up if the first effort doesn't succeed - building momentum takes time!**
- **Don't stop once you've achieved your main objective - trade union organising for justice and care is an ongoing process**

EVALUATING SUCCESS

Success in advocacy can look different depending on the campaign. What's more, participants and advocacy experts agreed that success from this kind of campaigning may only become evident after years or even decades of work. For these reasons, success can be difficult to measure. Generally, success is evaluated either by analysing outcomes, or by analysing the process of advocacy.

In order to evaluate the success of a campaign based on outcomes, clear goals should be developed early in the process. These should be paired with clear benchmarks or indicators that confirm that the goal has been reached. Determining whether a goal has been met can be done through qualitative or quantitative means. Evaluators should always check with the people who established the goals to ensure validity.

Most participants preferred process measures for evaluating their care investment advocacy. In particular, they considered their actions successful if their membership continued to be engaged. Other process measures that were identified were media activity, knowledge amongst key stakeholders including decision makers, and obtaining new funding for programmes.

*It all starts with a deliberate and credible plan. Jane McAlevey, a distinguished American union organiser, highlights that “we have to spend most of our **time talking with** the people that aren't talking to us” as opposed to talking **to them** or **at them**. This small but precise difference illuminates the importance of building relationships and trust in campaign work.*

Conclusion

This Guide represents a snapshot in time, almost two years into a global pandemic, with unforeseen changes on the horizon. However, the trade union movement has been the driving force for investments in care since its inception. In order to rise to the challenges of the future, workers must be louder together. We can achieve this by instilling hope, focusing on a unified global message, and supporting sustainable action.

GLOSSARY

Advocacy: Umbrella term for building support for a particular cause or policy. May be aimed at decision makers, stakeholders, or the public. Can include proximal efforts such as convincing a government official to implement a policy, or distal efforts such as growing union membership to strengthen the voice of all workers.

Bottom-up organizing: When agendas, goals, strategies and tactics are developed with extensive feedback from front-line workers.

Care Investment Advocacy: Care investment advocacy is a specific area of advocacy that aims to improve the lives of workers in care work and to support robust, public, and universally accessible care services to all.

Care Policies: Public policies that allocate resources to recognise, reduce and redistribute unpaid care in the form of money, services and time.

Care Workers: Includes nurses, midwives, health assistants, community health workers, domestic workers, cleaners, teachers, daycare/early childhood educators, and unpaid labour.

Members: For the purposes of this document, Members (capital M) refers to persons participating in member-driven trade union organisations.

Multipronged tactics: Using many different types of collective action in a campaign to deliver key messages to decision makers in a variety of ways.

Social infrastructure: This includes education, care and health services, and care services for the elderly, young children and disabled. It also includes the physical spaces that contain these services: hospitals, long term care homes, schools and daycares among many others.

SWOT Analysis: Strength, Weakness, Opportunity, Threat analysis is a tool that is highly useful to evaluate advocacy efforts as well as other policy or public framework considerations. The tool uses extrinsic and intrinsic factors to complete the analysis.

Union Busting: Unethical tactics taken to disrupt union organizing efforts or solidarity among workers.

Common Abbreviations

- LTC: Long Term Care facilities
- NGO: Non-Governmental Organization
- OECD: Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
- PA: Personal Assistants
- PPE: Personal Protective Equipment
- WHO: World Health Organization

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