













# Organizing women migrant workers: Handout compendium

Collaboration between:

ILO Bureau for Workers' Activities (ACTRAV)

Safe and Fair: Realizing women migrant workers' rights and opportunities in the ASEAN region, a joint programme of the International Labour Organization and UN Women under the EU-UN Spotlight Initiative to eliminate violence against women and girls.

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### Handout 1.1.

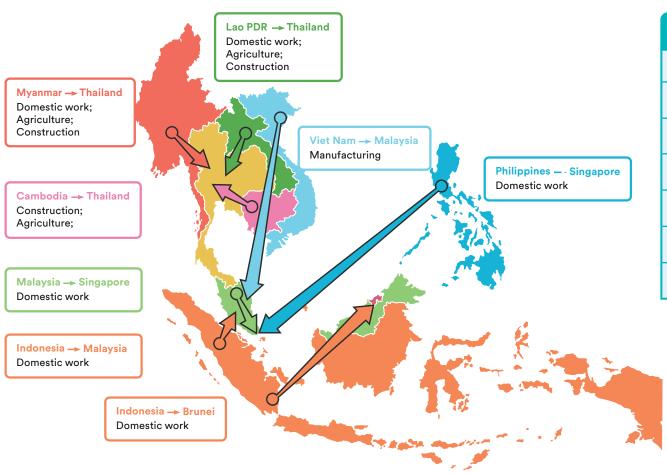
# Trade unions' perspectives on migrant workers

"In some regions of the world, [trade] unions tend to consider migrants primarily as workers ... rather than as migrant workers with particular and overlapping forms of oppression. In other parts of the world, the opposite is true: foreign workers have been seen first and foremost as migrants – whose presence disrupts the local labor market and harms the local labor force – rather than as part of a global collectivity of workers."

Source: Michele Ford, From Migrant to Worker: Global Unions and Temporary Labor Migration in Asia (Ithaca, ILR Press, 2019), 9.

### Handout 1.2.

# Intra-ASEAN women's labour migration map



Country of origin	Women registered as migrant workers
Cambodia	8,800 women (35.6% of total registered in 2014)
Indonesia	243,000 women (56.7% of total registered in 2014)
Lao PDR	4,100 women (49.4% of total registered in 2014)
Myanmar	12,000 women (19.4% of total registered in 2014)
Philippines	398,975 women (54.6% of total registered in 2014)
Thailand	23,000 women (19.2% of total registered in 2014)
Viet Nam	26,800 women (33.4% of total registered in 2014)

Source: International Labour Migration Statistic database; adapted from ILO and UN Women, "Facts and Figures: Women Migrant Workers in ASEAN", Women's Labour Migration in ASEAN Policy Brief, 2015.

## Handout 1.3.

# Actor mapping chart

Situation of the migrant workers	What exploitative practices do migrant workers face?	Who are the different actors that can be involved?	What is necessary to combat exploitation? (Law reform? Increased enforcement of existing law? Organizing?)
Pre-departure or during the recruitment process			
Outside the workplace in the country of destination			
At work in the country of destination			
Upon return to their country of origin			

### Handout 1.4.

# Gender norms - Definitions and statements

### **Definitions**

Gender: The economic, social and cultural attributes and opportunities associated with being men or women in a particular point in time. Also refers to the socially constructed relationship between women and men and the attributes, behaviour and activities to which each is expected to adhere. Gender is often wrongly conflated with "sex", which refers to biological differences.

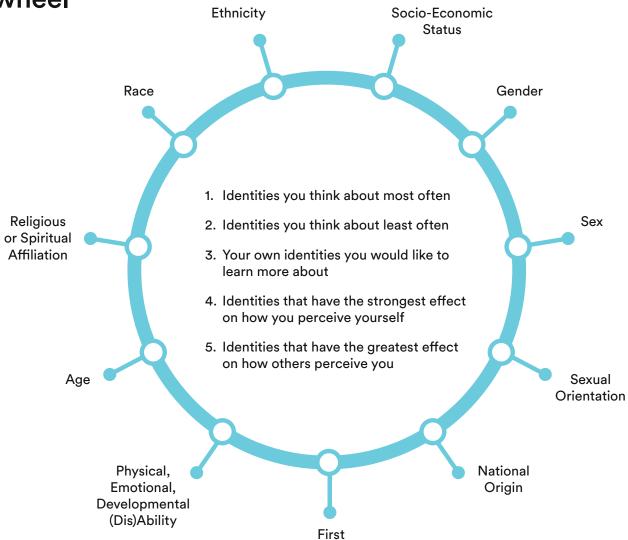
Sex: The physical and biological characteristics that distinguish males and females (as distinct from socially constructed roles, or gender).

### Statements:

- a. The government announces that it wants to increase the population and all families must have at least four children.
- b. Domestic workers are calling for rights as workers (that is, set working times, specified jobs, regular days off, overtime pay).
- c. The government will raise the retirement age to 68 years.
- d. The government will introduce a quota system for women political candidates. All parties will have to field at least 45 per cent women candidates.
- e. A judge gives a seven-year sentence to a man who raped his wife.
- f. A judge gives a one-year parole to a woman who killed her husband after years and years of being physically, sexually and emotionally abused by him.
- g. You have new neighbours. The wife goes out to work every day and the husband stays at home, looks after the children, does the cleaning and washing and cooking.
- h. You have new neighbours. They are two single men living together and appear to be a couple. They take evening walk around neighbourhood holding hands. The government criminalizes same-sex intimacy.
- i. Employer requires all biological females to wear full traditional dress to work and biological males to wear a white T-shirt and pants.
- j. Employer builds a single stall toilet separate from "women" and "men's" toilets for workers who don't feel comfortable in group bathrooms.

### Handout 1.5.

# Identity wheel



### Handout 2.2a.

# Proposed standards chart

What is an acceptable standard in your role as a trade union, as a government or as an employer representative?

	Trade unions	Government	Employers
Normal hours of work			
Stand-by hours (Periods during which domestic workers are not free to dispose of their time as they please and remain at the disposal of the household in order to respond to possible calls. Also known as "on-call" time.)			
Overtime compensation			
Periods of daily and weekly rest			

	Trade unions	Government	Employers
Paid annual leave			
Coverage of workers compensation			
Healthcare			
Social security and maternity			
Trade union rights			

### Handout 2.2b.

# Convention No. 189 principles chart

	Convention No. 189	Your comments: Compare to your proposals, or check off if it is something you learned/ want to remember
Who are domestic workers?	Any person engaged in domestic work within an employment relationship (Article 1):  • part-time, full-time, day labourer;  • live-in, live-out;  • nationals and non-nationals/migrant workers	
What is domestic work?	Work performed in or for a household or households	
Exclusions	<ul> <li>A person who performs domestic work only occasionally or sporadically and not on an occupational basis (Article 1).</li> <li>Determined by consensus of workers' and employers' organizations.</li> </ul>	
Basic rights	Human rights (Article 3)	
	Fundamental principles and rights at work (Article 3):  • freedom of association and right to collective bargaining;  • prohibition of child labour;  • prohibition of forced labour;  • prohibition of discrimination.	

	Convention No. 189	Your comments: Compare to your proposals, or check off if it is something you learned/want to remember
	Effective protection against all forms of abuse, harassment and violence (Article 5)	
	Fair terms of employment as well as decent working conditions and (if live-in) decent living conditions that respect domestic workers' privacy (Article 6).	
Information on terms and conditions of employment	Domestic workers must be informed of their terms and conditions of employment in an easily understandable manner, preferably through a written contract.	
Hours of work	<ul> <li>Equal treatment between domestic workers and workers generally (normal hours of work, overtime, compensation, periods of daily and weekly rest, annual paid leave).</li> <li>Weekly rest period of at least 24 consecutive hours.</li> <li>Regulation of stand-by hours – periods to be regarded as hours of work (Article 10).</li> </ul>	
Remuneration	<ul> <li>Minimum wage protection in countries with minimum wage-setting without sex discrimination (Article 11).</li> <li>Payment of wages must be made in cash, directly to the worker, and at regular intervals of no longer than one month (Article 12).</li> <li>Fees charged by private employment agencies not to be deducted from the remuneration (Article 15).</li> </ul>	

	Convention No. 189	Your comments: Compare to your proposals, or check off if it is something you learned/ want to remember
	In-kind payment is allowed under the following conditions:  - only a limited proportion of total remuneration; - monetary value is fair and reasonable; and - in-kind payment is for personal use and benefit to the workers* (Article 12).  * Uniforms or protective equipment are not payment in kind, but tools to perform duties (Article 12).	
Occupational safety and health	<ul> <li>Right to safe and healthy working environment (Article 13).</li> <li>Measures are put in place to ensure workers' occupational safety and health progressively (Article 13).</li> </ul>	
Social security and maternity	<ul> <li>Social security protection, including maternity benefits (Article 14).</li> <li>Conditions that are not less favourable than those applicable to workers generally (Article 14).</li> </ul>	
Standards concerning live-in domestic workers	<ul> <li>Decent living conditions that respect workers' privacy (Article 6).</li> <li>Freedom to reach agreement with their employers or potential employers on whether or not to reside in the household (Article 9).</li> <li>No obligation to remain in the household or with its members during their periods of rest or leave (Article 9).</li> <li>Right to keep their identity and travel documents in their possession (Article 9).</li> <li>Regulation of stand-by hours (Article 10).</li> </ul>	
Private employment agencies	Regulate the operation of private employment agencies.	

	Convention No. 189	Your comments: Compare to your proposals, or check off if it is something you learned/ want to remember
	<ul> <li>Ensure adequate machinery for the investigation of complaints by domestic workers.</li> <li>Provide adequate protection of domestic workers and prevention of abuses, in collaboration with other Member States where appropriate.</li> <li>Consider concluding bilateral, regional or multilateral agreements to prevent abuses and fraudulent practices.</li> </ul>	
Dispute settlement, complaints and enforcement	<ul> <li>Effective access to the courts, tribunals or other dispute settlement mechanisms, including accessible complaint mechanisms (Article 17).</li> <li>Measures to be put in place to ensure compliance with national laws for the protection of domestic workers, including labour inspection.</li> <li>The Convention recognizes the need to balance domestic workers' right to protection and the right to privacy of the households' members (Article 17).</li> </ul>	

Source: Adapted from ILO, Decent work for domestic workers in Asia and the Pacific: Manual for trainers, 2012, 50-51.

### Handout 2.3.

# National report card chart

International labour standard	Does your government guarantee these rights?	Who, if anybody, in the country is advocating for better protections? Is your union?
Freedom of association and protection of the rights to organise and collective bargain (Convention Nos 87 and 98)		
Freedom from violence and harassment in the world of work (Convention No. 190)		
3. Elimination of forced labour (Convention Nos 29 and 105)		
4. Equal pay for women and men (Convention Nos 100 and 111), and for migrants and nationals (Convention Nos 97 and 143)		
5. Maternity leave and non-discrimination in pregnancy (fired when pregnant, or requirement of pregnancy test except in cases to protect health) (Convention No. 183)		
6. Zero-fee recruitment for migrant workers (Convention No. 181)		
7. Domestic workers' labour rights – at least one day off per week and maximum hours/ overtime (Convention No. 189)		

Tip: Go to this website to find out if your country ratified the ILO Conventions: https://www.ilo.org/dyn/normlex/en/f?p=NORMLEXPUB:11001:0::NO:::

### Handout 2.4.

# The objectives of the Global Compact for Migration

Global Compact for Safe, Orderly and Regular Migration, 2018, excerpt from Paragraph 16:

### Objectives for safe, orderly and regular migration:

- 1. Collect and utilize accurate and disaggregated data as a basis for evidence-based policies
- 2. Minimize the adverse drivers and structural factors that compel people to leave their country of origin
- 3. Provide accurate and timely information at all stages of migration
- 4. Ensure that all migrants have proof of legal identity and adequate documentation
- 5. Enhance availability and flexibility of pathways for regular migration
- 6. Facilitate fair and ethical recruitment and safeguard conditions that ensure decent work
- 7. Address and reduce vulnerabilities in migration
- 8. Save lives and establish coordinated international efforts on missing migrants
- 9. Strengthen the transnational response to smuggling of migrants
- 10. Prevent, combat and eradicate trafficking in persons in the context of international migration
- 11. Manage borders in an integrated, secure and coordinated manner
- 12. Strengthen certainty and predictability in migration procedures for appropriate screening, assessment and referral
- 13. Use migration detention only as a measure of last resort and work towards alternatives
- 14. Enhance consular protection, assistance and cooperation throughout the migration cycle
- 15. Provide access to basic services for migrants
- 16. Empower migrants and societies to realize full inclusion and social cohesion
- 17. Eliminate all forms of discrimination and promote evidence-based public discourse to shape perceptions of migration

- 18. Invest in skills development and facilitate mutual recognition of skills, qualifications and competences
- 19. Create conditions for migrants and diasporas to fully contribute to sustainable development in all countries
- 20. Promote faster, safer and cheaper transfer of remittances and foster financial inclusion of migrants
- 21. Cooperate in facilitating safe and dignified return and readmission, as well as sustainable reintegration
- 22. Establish mechanisms for the portability of social security entitlements and earned benefits
- 23. Strengthen international cooperation and global partnerships for safe, orderly and regular migration

### **Small group questions:**

- What is the most important clear measurable action your government needs to take to achieve this objective?
- Do you think this goal is achievable for your country? How long would it take?
- What role can trade unions play to accomplish the GCM goals?

### Handout 2.5a.

# **Excerpt from chapter 4 of the ASEAN Consensus**

The following is an excerpt from chapter 4 of the ASEAN Consensus on the Protection and Promotion of the Rights of Migrant Workers:

### Chapter 4. Specific rights of migrant workers

Pursuant to the prevailing national laws, regulations and policies of ASEAN Member States:

- 13. Migrant workers have the right to access information on matters pertaining to their employment and employment-related conditions from relevant authorities, bodies and/or recruitment agencies of Sending and Receiving States.
- 14. Migrant workers have the right to be issued an employment contract or proper documentation by relevant authorities/ bodies and/or employers with clear and basic terms of employment subject to national laws, regulations, and policies.
- 15. Subject to national laws, regulations, and policies of the Receiving State, migrant workers have the right to fair treatment in the workplace.
- 16. Migrant workers have the right to adequate or reasonable accommodation subject to national laws, regulations and policies of the Receiving State.
- 17. (a) Migrant workers, regardless of gender, have the right to fair and appropriate remuneration and benefits in accordance with the laws, regulations, and policies of the Receiving State.
  - (b) If migrant workers leave the Receiving State, they should not lose their rights to benefits arising from their employment in accordance with the national laws, regulations, and policies of the Receiving State.
- 18. Migrant workers have the right to transfer their earnings and savings in any modes of transfer in accordance with laws and regulations on currency transmission in the Receiving and Sending States.
- 19. (a) Migrant workers shall have the right to file a complaint or make a representation under the law relating to labour dispute in the Receiving State against termination of employment and/or breach of an employment contract in the Receiving State and, subject to the national laws, regulations, and policies relating to immigration, be allowed to continue staying in the Receiving State pending the disposal of his or her case.
  - (b) If the decision on appeal is favourable to the migrant worker, he or she shall be entitled to any relief for loss of his or her rights arising from the employment contract.
- 20. Migrant workers have the right to join trade unions and associations subject to the national laws, regulations and policies of the Receiving State.

### Handout 2.5b.

# **Excerpt from an ATUC and ACE Joint Statement**

In response to the ASEAN Consensus on the Protection and Promotion of the Rights of Migrant Workers, the ASEAN Trade Union Council (ATUC) and the ASEAN Confederation of Employers (ACE) issued a joint statement <sup>1</sup> in which they stated their "[r]egret that the ASEAN Consensus, and its Action Plan 2018–2025, were developed in the absence of the benefit of social dialogue, as inputs by workers' and employers' organizations are crucial for its successful implementation at regional and country level."

In the statement, the ATUC and ACE also sought to jointly lobby governments on key priority issues, including:

- 1. Implementation of pre-departure and post-arrival orientation;
- 2. Strengthening reintegration of returning migrant workers;
- 3. Reducing recruitment fees and related costs for both migrant workers and employers;
- 4. Speeding up implementation of skills certification and mutual recognition to respond to the needs of the labour market;
- 5. Ensuring migrant workers access to social protection and enable portability of benefits;
- 6. Ensuring migrant workers' access to passports and personal documents;
- 7. Ensuring migrant workers' freedom of movement; and
- 8. Formulating and implementing at national level effective laws and policies on labour migration governance, accompanied with labour inspection and accessible dispute settlement mechanisms.

### **Small group questions:**

- 1. Do you agree with the key priority issues in the joint statement? Is there anything you would want your union to add on gender equality or freedom from violence?
- 2. Do you think that chapter 4 of the ASEAN Consensus (see Handout 2.5a) is gender-blind? Or gender-responsive?
- 3. From the perspective of women migrant workers, what else needs to be added?

<sup>1</sup> The full statement is available at: http://aseantuc.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/12/ATUC-ACE-Joint\_Statement\_FV\_05-Apr-2019.pdf.

### Handout 3.3.

# Patricia's story

Research by Human Rights Watch about women migrant farmworkers found extensive evidence of sexual harassment in the United States of America in a sector that is heavily dependent on seasonal, migrant and unauthorized workers. Nearly all of the 52 farmworkers interviewed reported that they had experienced sexual harassment or knew of workers who had. A culture of sexual harassment and abuse predominates in the sector. Like in many other parts of the world, including in ASEAN, workers are dependent on housing and transport provided by employers.

The case of Patricia (below) is documented in Human Rights Watch's study on the vulnerability of farmworkers in the United States to sexual violence and sexual harassment. It illustrates the extreme risk of sexual violence faced by migrant farmworkers.

Patricia M. was 21 years old when she first came to the United States from Mexico about six years ago. Like most immigrant farmworkers in the US, Patricia did not have a work visa, but she was able to get work. About four years ago, she got a job harvesting almonds. The foreman would pick workers up and then drop them off at the end of the day at a local gas station. She said he repeatedly offered her food and drink, which "bothered [her] a lot," because she felt he was not offering these things innocently. He insinuated that he could help her, saying, "Listen to me, I'm the foreman, and you'll have a job."

On the third day, he dropped off all the workers at the gas station except her. He told the rest of the workers he was going to pick up the water cooler, but instead, he took Patricia to a remote field. "From there, he didn't say anything, he just stared at me. I was wearing a hat and a bandana [that covered my face], and he said, 'What do you have there? An animal?' And I knew he wanted to do something to me."

Patricia described him as "fat, very big." She reported that he got on top of her and tied her hands with her bandana to the hand grip above the truck door. Then, she said, "He took off my clothes and he raped me. ... He hurt me badly."

Patricia did not tell anyone. She said, "I felt very sad and very alone." She had no family in the US, and she did not want to tell her family in Mexico what had happened.

After the rape, Patricia continued to work at the same farm. She could not leave the job because there was no other work available. The abuse continued. "He kept raping me and I let him because I didn't want him to hit me. I didn't want to feel pain." Eventually, Patricia found out she was pregnant.

She heard that she could apply for disability benefits and went to a social service agency where the employees asked her whether she had a partner. That question prompted her to tell them everything, and the agency helped her file a police report. Patricia credits the agency for providing crucial support. She still has not told her family in Mexico what happened. Although she told her mother she was pregnant, she didn't tell her about the rape, "because I don't want her to be sick." Without the counsellors at the agency, she knows she would never have filed the police report: "I was afraid they would put me in jail; I was afraid [they'd] send me to Mexico because I was illegal."

Patricia stated that the foreman was not prosecuted and sentenced for the crime. Instead, after arresting him, the police seem to have contacted immigration authorities, as he was soon deported. Unfortunately, this does not mean he is completely out of Patricia's life. She has heard reports from his family that he is planning to come back to the US and see the child. The rape continues to affect her in other ways as well. Patricia is now married, and her daughter is "so beautiful", despite the painful memories of how she became pregnant. Yet she reports, "Sometimes, I remember and I can't be intimate with my husband." She also worries because, "I don't know what to tell my daughter when she gets older"

Source: Human Rights Watch, Cultivating Fear: The Vulnerability of Immigrant Farmworkers in the US to Sexual Violence and Sexual Harassment, 2012, 1). Reproduced with permission.

### Handout 3.4a.

# Key provisions in the ILO Maternity Protection Convention, 2000 (No. 183)

### **Article 8**

- 1. It shall be unlawful for an employer to terminate the employment of a woman during her pregnancy or absence on leave referred to in Articles 4 or 5 or during a period following her return to work to be prescribed by national laws or regulations, except on grounds unrelated to the pregnancy or birth of the child and its consequences or nursing. The burden of proving that the reasons for dismissal are unrelated to pregnancy or childbirth and its consequences or nursing shall rest on the employer.
- 2. A woman is guaranteed the right to return to the same position or an equivalent position paid at the same rate at the end of her maternity leave.

### **Article 9**

- 1. Each Member shall adopt appropriate measures to ensure that maternity does not constitute a source of discrimination in employment, including notwithstanding Article 2, paragraph 1 access to employment.
- 2. Measures referred to in the preceding paragraph shall include a prohibition from requiring a test for pregnancy or a certificate of such a test when a woman is applying for employment, except where required by national laws or regulations in respect of work that is:
  - (a) prohibited or restricted for pregnant or nursing women under national laws or regulations; or
  - (b) where there is a recognized or significant risk to the health of the woman and child.

### Handout 3.4b.

# Pregnancy discrimination in practice

Employers and migrants alike have invested time, money, and other resources to take part in the government's labor migration system, and they have every incentive to abide by the system and not lose access to the labor market

### 1. High stakes

The stakes are high for the companies, which must invest time and money to meet the levy and other government requirements to hire and keep migrant workers on their payrolls. An in-depth interview with an employer in Penang suggests that companies in Malaysia spend between 12 and 18 months preparing to recruit from overseas, including collecting and providing the documentation required not just in Malaysia, but also in the countries of origin, which also have their own sets of rules and regulations employers must meet. Every migrant worker who is unable to finish a contract, such as due to pregnancy, represents a clear loss to a company and the cost goes beyond just losing the levy but also the time and resources already allocated to recruiting the worker.

The stakes are even higher for the migrants themselves who have also invested tremendous resources in financing their migration to Malaysia. Focus group discussions with Nepalese, Indonesian, Burmese, and Filipino migrants working in factories in Penang conducted to inform this report suggest that migrants pay recruitment feesranging between two and six months' worth of expected salary. Many migrants pay these fees in installments once in Malaysia. As Hermie Camba, a former migrant turned human rights activist, laments, many migrant workers are left with "almost nothing" during the first year of their employment in Malaysia as they struggle to pay recruitment fees through salary deduction. Upon arrival in Malaysia, there is also an initial training phase when migrants earn a fraction of their expected salary thus further exacerbating the burden of paying the recruitment fees.

It is important to note that the migrant makes the financial investment typically with the support of her entire family. Recruitment agencies at a workers' origin would typically meet with family members to get assurance that they would bear the repatriation costs if the migrant fails to finish

a contract. Migration for work is rarely an individual decision but is almost always a family affair. There is tremendous pressure on migrant workers to finish their contracts and not get deported. The contract represents not just the migrant's obligation to the employer and to the agency, but even more importantly, to family members who helped financed the move.

Deportation also entails the opportunity cost from lost remittances. Migrants work abroad to support families at home that depend on them for daily subsistence. Interviews with Burmese, Nepalese, and Indonesian migrants suggest that many migrants send nearly all their salary home, an average of 700 Malaysian Ringgit (US\$165) per month, or nearly 80 percent of their income. The deportation of the migrant worker essentially means that families in the countries of origin lose access to an important source of financial support.



### 2. Dire options

In such a constricted legal environment, the only practical option for employers when a migrant worker gets pregnant is to abide by Malaysian regulations. As an employer interviewed for this report puts it simply: "We cannot go against government law." Some employers have provided preference in recruiting return migrants who have been deported due to pregnancy. Before the medical screening process was made fully automatic, employers had an option to look the other way and not report a pregnant migrant to the authorities. But now, that option is not possible since, as already noted, pregnancy test results are transmitted directly from the clinic to Malaysian immigration authorities. Like their employers, migrants caught in a system that legitimizes pregnancy discrimination have one practical option: don't get pregnant. As an employer notes: "Migrants need to plan. If they want to support their family, they need to plan how many years they want to work in Malaysia and when they want to go back to get married. The majority of the ladies in our factory plan."

Focus group discussions with migrants suggest that many have plans not to get pregnant. One Burmese migrant explains her situation through a translator: "I know I have to marry because I



have no brother and sister. But I don't have a boyfriend yet. My father and mother are finding a husband for me right now and if they cannot find one for me, I have no choice but to wait until I finish my contract and get home. Once home, I can get married and then get pregnant." And indeed, many migrants choose to wait, putting their plans for pregnancy on hold to keep their job. In this environment, where the pressure to not be deported is strong, even pregnancy testing may be viewed positively by migrant workers. Some migrants interviewed for this report have no objection to pregnancy testing. One migrant from Indonesia explains:

"I came here to Malaysia to work and getting pregnant would only create problems for me. So, it is better. The rule in a way helps me. It is ok to get checked." Another migrant from the Philippines asks: "Aren't we all looking for money? If you are looking for money, you need to learn how to follow the rules. Rules are rules. You need to finish the contract."

Migrants from more conservative backgrounds also question why pregnancy testing is a problem in the first place. For instance, some of the Nepalese and Burmese migrants interviewed for this report came from remote villages far from city centers. In these villages, premarital and extramarital sex is socially unacceptable. From their perspective, pregnancy testing is a non-issue because they are not supposed to have sex in the first place.

As one Burmese migrant explains: In my hometown, I have a boyfriend but we cannot have sex because Myanmar is a very strict country. I live in a very strict village. Our hands cannot even touch. Even in the same house, brothers and sisters cannot stay in one room. You need to get married first and only then you can have a baby." A migrant from Nepal reflects the same views: "In Nepal, if you get pregnant before getting married, the police will put you in jail...You cannot have sex before getting married. It is illegal."

The enormous shame associated with premarital and extra-marital sex is perhaps one of the reasons why pregnancy discrimination rarely surfaces as an issue in company audits of factories. The reality, however, is that not all migrants in Malaysia abstain from sex, and with contraception not covered in their medical insurance, some do get pregnant.

For these migrants, the available options are limited: either keep the baby and go home, or abort the baby and stay; if neither is an option, migrants have no other option but to leave their legally permitted employment and work in the informal sector.

### Deportation costs for migrants, in Malaysian Ringgit

Fee	Rate per month	Number o	Number of months remaining in the contract		
		8	5	3	
Contract fee	118	944	550	354	
Levy fee	154	1,232	770	462	
Airfare	400	400	400	400	
TOTAL COST		2,576	1,720	1,216	

Source: Focus group discussions with migrant workers convened by author in Penang, Malaysia, July 6, 2017

### Another option: Keep the baby and go home

Employers interviewed for this study stated that when faced with a pregnant migrant worker, their first task is to find out who the father is. As one employer explains: "If the father is Malaysian, then the outcome could be different. There is a possibility of staying. But if the father is not Malaysian, then she will be deported immediately."

The deportation process is quick as employers work to ensure that migrants leave Malaysia before the work permit expires to avoid additional problems with the government. Interviews with migrants confirm that this happens: "Once you get pregnant, and your employer finds out, you will get deported immediately."

The pregnant employee who chooses to continue her pregnancy would also have to break her contract with her employer and buy out the remaining months at the rate of around 110 ringgit (US\$26) per month. Migrants are also expected to pay for their plane ticket and the fine at a prorated charge

of US\$154 per month. The total cost of going home would depend on how many more months are left in the migrant's contract. As Table 2 below shows, the cost is prohibitively expensive, ranging from 1200 (US\$283) to 2500 (US\$591) ringgit, or between one and three months' worth of salary.

### Another option: Abort the baby and stay

For those for whom going home is not an option, for financial and other reasons, another alternative is to abort the pregnancy. Although abortion is illegal in Malaysia, migrants interviewed for this report confirm that abortion facilities exist in the black market, and at a lesser cost than breaking a contract: between 200 (US\$47) to 500 (US\$118) ringgit. The pressure not to return home is particularly high among nationalities that have lost access to the Malaysian labor market. For instance, up until 2007, employers could recruit female migrants from the Philippines, but the rules have since changed (as noted earlier). Migrants interviewed for this report told stories of friends and relatives who couldn't return to Malaysia after breaking their contracts. "They wanted to return but couldn't. Now they are 'homesick' for Malaysia, not the Philippines." Thus, for those who managed to stay, going back is the least attractive option.

Source: Fair Labor Association, *Triple Discrimination: Woman, Pregnant, and Migrant – Preventing Pregnancy Discrimination among Temporary Migrant Workers: Lessons from Malaysia, Taiwan, and Thailand*, 2018. Reproduced with permission.

### Handout 3.5.

# Priority checklist - Women migrant workers' rights

Drawing from international human rights law and evolving international labour standards, the following is a checklist of some of the most an important rights women migrant workers have, as well as those rights that advocates are fighting for. Looking at this checklist, what are your top priorities? What do you think the top priorities of women migrant workers are?

Important rights of women migrant workers	What are your top priorities?  Label four:  Top priorities  Lowest priorities  Most challenging  Most likely/easy to achieve	What are women migrant workers' top priorities?  Label four:  Top priorities  Lowest priorities  Most challenging  Most likely/easy to achieve
Protection against violence and harassment		
<ul> <li>Elimination of gender-based violence at work, with attention to employer provided housing as an extension of the workplace.</li> </ul>		
<ul> <li>Effective protection from violence, threats and intimidation, xenophobia and discrimination.</li> </ul>		
Right to decent work and equality		
<ul> <li>Decent conditions of work, including regulations on maximum hours of work, overtime pay, rest periods, annual holidays with pay.</li> </ul>		

Important rights of women migrant workers	What are your top priorities?  Label four:  Top priorities  Lowest priorities  Most challenging  Most likely/easy to achieve	What are women migrant workers' top priorities?  Label four:
☐ Prohibition of unlawful deductions from workers' salaries.		
☐ Effective occupational safety and health measures and enforcement of standards, including provision of personal protective equipment and training with costs borne by employers.		
☐ Labour rights protection should apply to informal and womendominant sectors, particularly sex work and domestic work, both in the coverage of laws and in meaningful labour inspection and enforcement and compliance.		
Generally, labour protections should apply to those employment sectors that contain a large or disproportionate number of women migrant workers.		
Equality of treatment and non-discrimination in work.		
☐ Equal pay for equal work – between men and women migrant workers, as well as between nationals and migrant workers.		

Important rights of women migrant workers	What are your top priorities?  Label four:  Top priorities  Lowest priorities  Most challenging  Most likely/easy to achieve	What are women migrant workers' top priorities?  Label four:  • Top priorities  • Lowest priorities  • Most challenging  • Most likely/easy to achieve
A migrant worker in an irregular situation and whose position cannot be regularized must enjoy equality of treatment with respect to rights arising out of past employment, as regards remuneration, social security and other benefits.		
Labour mobility and right to work		
☐ Improved access to decent work and to work options.		
Zero-fee recruitment of women migrant workers and oversight of recruitment agencies through licensing, regulation and accessible complaint mechanisms with meaningful relief.		
Flexibility in process of changing employers or sponsors without deportation, particularly in cases of abuse or when legal claims are being pursued.		
Employers, recruitment agents or any other persons (other than public officials authorized by law) are prohibited from confiscating, destroying or attempting to destroy identity documents, including immigration-related documents such as those authorizing entry to or stay, residence or establishment in the national territory or work permits.		

Important rights of women migrant workers	What are your top priorities?  Label four:  Top priorities  Lowest priorities  Most challenging  Most likely/easy to achieve	What are women migrant workers' top priorities?  Label four:
☐ Eliminate discriminatory bans on labour migration, including but not limited to: sex-specific bans and discriminatory restrictions on women's migration on the basis of age, marital status, pregnancy or maternity status.		
☐ Visa schemes should not indirectly discriminate against women by restricting permission to women migrant workers to be employed in certain job categories where men predominate, or by excluding certain female-dominated occupations from visa schemes.		
Vocational training should also be available to migrant workers. While challenging to implement for temporary workers, opportunities for the development of skills are vital for several reasons, including integration into the labour market and prevention of social exclusion in the destination country. Furthermore, in cases where migrant workers return to their countries of origin, development of skills helps them contribute to those countries' economies.		

Important rights of women migrant workers	What are your top priorities?  Label four:  Top priorities  Lowest priorities  Most challenging  Most likely/easy to achieve	What are women migrant workers' top priorities?  Label four:  • Top priorities  • Lowest priorities  • Most challenging  • Most likely/easy to achieve
Adequate access to services and social protection		
Social security, particularly regarding employment injury, maternity, sickness, invalidity, old age, death, family responsibilities and unemployment.		
☐ Equal access to redress, social services, social protection (including maternity protection for women) with translation and interpretation available, and that all services are linguistically and culturally appropriate and gender-sensitive.		
☐ Adequate access to medical care.		
Diplomatic and consular protection should include quality support services available to women migrants, including timely provision of interpreters, medical care, counselling, legal aid and shelter when needed.		
Temporary shelters should be provided for women migrant workers who wish to leave abusive employers, husbands or other relatives, as should facilities for safe accommodation during periods of legal recourse.		

Important rights of women migrant workers	What are your top priorities?  Label four:  Top priorities  Lowest priorities  Most challenging  Most likely/easy to achieve	What are women migrant workers' top priorities?  Label four:
<ul> <li>Access to adequate housing – sufficient hygiene, privacy, access to clean drinking water and safety measures.</li> </ul>		
Access to justice		
☐ Migrants should be given the same right of legal recourse as nationals, including access to the courts and the right to legal assistance.		
Migrant workers who are in an irregular situation and are in a dispute about wages owed, should be allowed to remain in the country of employment until the case is resolved.		
Non-discrimination under the law and freedom from arbitrary arrest and detention.		
Ensuring women migrant workers who are in detention do not suffer discrimination or gender-based violence, and that pregnant and breastfeeding mothers as well as women in ill health have access to appropriate services.		

Important rights of women migrant workers	What are your top priorities?  Label four:  Top priorities  Lowest priorities  Most challenging  Most likely/easy to achieve	What are women migrant workers' top priorities?  Label four:  Top priorities  Lowest priorities  Most challenging  Most likely/easy to achieve
Miscellaneous		
Free or affordable gender- and rights-based pre-departure information and training programmes that raise prospective women migrant workers' awareness of potential exploitation, including:		
<ul> <li>recommended contents of labour contracts;</li> <li>legal rights and entitlements in countries of employment;</li> <li>procedures for invoking formal and informal redress mechanisms;</li> <li>processes by which to obtain information about employers;</li> <li>cultural conditions in countries of destination;</li> <li>stress management;</li> <li>first aid and emergency measures, including emergency telephone numbers of home embassy and services;</li> <li>information about safety in transit, including airport and airline orientations; and</li> <li>information on general and reproductive health.</li> </ul>		
☐ The right of the children of all migrants (including irregular migrants) to access education on the basis of equality of treatment with nationals.		

Important rights of women migrant workers	What are your top priorities?  Label four:  Top priorities  Lowest priorities  Most challenging  Most likely/easy to achieve	What are women migrant workers' top priorities?  Label four:
Social inclusion and family reunification should be facilitated.		
States parties should establish measures to safeguard the remittances of women migrant workers and provide information and assistance to women to access formal financial institutions to send money home and to encourage them to participate in savings schemes.		

# Handout 4.1.

# Breaking down the barriers

# Financial barriers and affordability

- Migrant workers pay out-of-pocket for outpatient clinic visits
- Health insurance is inadequate to cover the increase in medical fees at public hospitals
- Migrant workers and employers are unaware of health insurance
- Migrant workers' financial constraints are a major barrier for healthcare access
- Fear of high medical fees at public hospitals result in healthcare avoidance
- Migrant workers' ability to pay affects doctors' management

#### Undocumented migrants, legal status and health

- Administrative requirements to check documents at public facilities limits healthcare access
- Migrant workers prefer private clinics, as care is given without scrutinising documents
- Undocumented workers may forge or falsify documents to seek care
- Undocumented workers avoid necessary hospital care with unfortunate consequences

# Language barriers

- Communication is a major problem faced by migrants and healthcare providers
- The inability to communicate frustrates doctors sometimes resulting in brusque treatment
- Language barriers may result in compromised patient safety from medication errors and poorly obtained consent for procedures
- Owing to the lack of formal interpreters, doctors employ various strategies to overcome language barriers

### Discrimination and xenophobia

- Xenophobia experienced by non-citizens are not specific to the healthcare setting
- Perception of discrimination at public facilities due to the checking of documents at registration counters
- Perception that medical doctors are negligent towards migrant workers may be due to poor communication
- Migrant workers fear of harassment by enforcement agents thus are unwilling to travel for treatment
- Physical distance to healthcare facilities is a hindrance to rural plantation workers, while the lack of freedom of movement is a barrier for domestic helpers

#### Physical distance, freedom of movement and transport

- Migrant workers fear of harassment by enforcement agents thus are unwilling to travel for treatment
- Physical distance to healthcare facilities is a hindrance to rural plantation workers, while the lack of freedom of movement is a barrier for domestic helpers

# **Employer-related barriers**

- Migrant workers are not provided paid sick leave
- Migrant workers need permission to seek treatment
- Employers withhold migrant workers' passports

Source: Tharani Loganathan et al., "Breaking down the Barriers: Understanding Migrant Workers' Access to Healthcare in Malaysia." PLoS ONE 14, No. 7 (2019), 7. Used with permission under Creative Commons Attribution (CC BY).

# Small group questions:

- How could this problem affect migrant women differently or uniquely than migrant men?
- How could this problem affect migrants differently or uniquely compared to nationals?
- What are possible roles a trade union could play to directly assist and/or lobby for migrants with this problem?

# Handout 4.2a.

# Quote from MMN Self-Care & Health Care report

"For migrant women, considerations of health are always secondary to earning a livelihood and survival, and usually only arise when there is a problem. Migrant women self-treat with home remedies and pharmacy available medicine to save time and money. Gender puts women at a disadvantage in this region as women are paid less than men, have access to less education, and often have less negotiating power than men at work, at home and in health care systems."

Source: MMN (Mekong Migration Network), Self-care & health care: How migrant women in the Greater Mekong subregion take care of their health, 2015, 74. Reproduced with permission.

# Handout 4.2b.

# Case study: "Leaving problems untreated or returning home for treatment"

Some interviewees clearly stated that their health was not important. For some this was because the health of others needed to be prioritised. For others, it was because they did not have the resources to self-treat (See Underlying Factors that Affect Women's SelfCare section) or access to health care. Some women (as in the quotes) need to prioritise sending remittances home. A report on migrant women's self-care in another region notes health concerns are often trumped by "more immediate survival needs (income, housing, support of other family members, etc.)".

Some health care providers we interviewed were frustrated that women had not done more to prevent disease before they came to their offices. While this is understandable from a practitioner's perspective, as this report details later on, many women cannot aff ord the luxuries of basic self-care that disease prevention requires, whether because their living conditions promote ill-health (See Living and Working Conditions section) or because immediate survival needs come first. As a migrant woman in a study on free breast cancer screening services in another region notes "I have no time for potential troubles," i.e. even when specialised preventive services are available to women, they would not be able to treat the condition if it was identified, so they feel like there is no need to avail themselves of early detection schemes.



"I do not think about my sickness because I cannot afford care and do not have enough time to take care of myself." Vietnamese returnee in her 40s who worked as a food vendor in Cambodia

"If it was a normal sickness, there was no need to treat it. I skipped treatment because my family was poor; I saved money instead to take care of my children. When I got badly sick, I bought medicines in pharmacies." Vietnamese returnee in her 50s who worked as a beverage vendor in Cambodia

"I didn't care about my health, as most of my time was for my children. I ignored my health problems." Vietnamese returnee in her 40s who worked as a food vendor in Cambodia Several women mentioned in interviews that they waited until they returned home to treat illness, because they felt health care was better in their home country or because the barriers to access it in the destination area were too high. For some conditions, like mental health problems, there was simply no treatment available even if women did have health insurance in destination countries (See Mental Health Services Unavailable section). Some returnees interviewed in Cambodia said they had come home specifically to recover from an illness before re-migrating.

In one case, an interviewee told MMN researchers about a friend who had died in childbirth. Though she and an untrained midwife knew there were complications during the birth, the hospital was far, and the pregnant mother and her relatives faced language barriers. Because they could not speak Khmer, they were afraid and worried about misunderstandings between them and hospital doctors and nurses. Therefore they decided to wait and not go to the hospital. While most of the respondents who did not treat or who delayed treatment did not suff er major consequences from doing so, non-treatment is a risk. Barriers to treatment urgently need to be reduced throughout the GMS.



"I got an infection in Thailand but didn't treat it until I returned home." Cambodian returnee in her 30s who was a construction worker in Thailand

"I usually came back to treat illness in hospitals in Vietnam." Vietnamese returnee from border area of Cambodia in her 50s who worked as an ice retailer in Cambodia

Source: MMN (Mekong Migration Network), Self-Care & Health Care: How Migrant Women in the Greater Mekong Subregion Take Care of their Health, 2015, p. 25. Reproduced with permission.

# **Reflection questions:**

- How well do the social protection schemes operate in your country for your union members?
- What obstacles are there?
- What, if any, tactics are you using to address them?
- What do you think is the most critical first step to expanding social protection for your members?
- What about for the inclusion of women migrant workers?

# Handout 5.1.

# Costs and benefits analysis

"Migration for work is controversial. Proponents extol its virtues of relieving unemployment pressures at home and filling labour market shortages in the host country; providing migrant workers with opportunities for skills development abroad; and generating remittances that boost home economies. Opponents lament the failure to create decent work and the accompanying 'brain drain' in the sending countries; the downward pressure on working conditions caused by large inflows of migrant workers, fewer employment opportunities for unskilled nationals, and lower productivity gains; or threats to national security or sovereignty in the host economies."

Source: ILO, International Labour Standards on Migrant Workers' Rights: Guide for Policymakers and Practitioners in Asia and the Pacific, 2007, vii.

# Perspectives on labour migration: Costs versus benefits

Trade unions in	Costs to development	Benefits to development
Country of destination	1.	1.
	2.	2.
	3.	3.
Country of origin	1.	1.
	2.	2.
	3.	3.

# Handout 6.1a.

# Women's triple burden makes participation challenging

"Important gender equality work remains for the development agendas in ASEAN nations, particularly in terms of altering norms that place household work burdens primarily on women. Women's 'double burdens' to handle all household work, including caregiving, cooking, and cleaning, as well as to earn income outside the home are untenable and not sustainable. Globally women carry out 2.5 times the amount of unpaid care work than men. Civil society notes this 'heavy and disproportionate responsibility for unpaid care work reduces their choices and decision making power, and means that women are subsidizing the economy for free." Sustainable development outcomes for women include service provision for child and elder care, as well as shifts to men taking up an equal share of household and care work. Further, if women are to participate actively in political life, labour organizations, and development planning, they report that they face triple burdens: Women in trade unions in Malaysia report that their roles as trade union representatives are like a 'third job."

Source: ILO 2016.

# Handout 6.1b.

# 24-hour daily use schedule

12 a.m.	1 a.m.	2 a.m.	3 a.m.	4 a.m.	5 a.m.	6 a.m.	7 a.m.	8 a.m.	9 a.m.	10 a.m.	11 a.m.
00.00	1.00	2.00	3.00	4.00	5.00	6.00	7.00	8.00	9.00	10.00	11.00
12 p.m.	1 p.m.	2 p.m.	3 p.m.	4 p.m.	5 p.m.	6 p.m.	7 p.m.	8 p.m.	9 p.m.	10 p.m.	11 p.m.
12.00	13.00	14.00	15.00	16.00	17.00	18.00	19.00	20.00	21.00	22.00	23.00

# Handout 6.2.

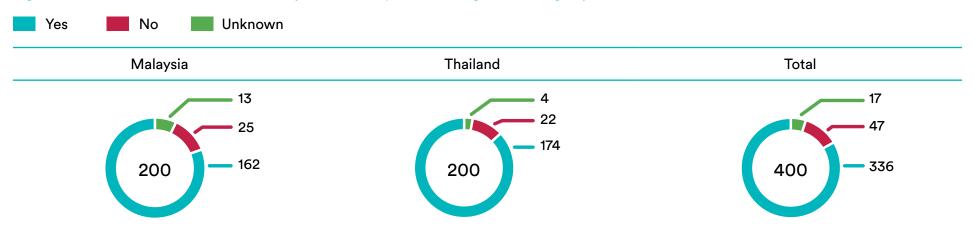
# Four myths

# 1. Myth: Domestic work is not hard work.

Reality: Domestic work involves long hours and taxing work, and during stand-by and on-call hours, there is little time for rest.

Below is an excerpt from the following ILO and UN Women research report: Bridget Anderson, Worker, Helper, Aunty, Maid? – Working Conditions and Attitudes Experienced by Migrant Domestic Workers in Thailand and Malaysia (ILO and UN Women, 2016), 59–60.

Figure. Domestic workers' answers to "Do you have rest periods during the working day?"



Long hours are not only associated with those workers who have care responsibilities. Because domestic work is not ["productive," in traditional terms], it is difficult to measure in terms of tasks performed or intensity of labour. One employer who did implement an eight-hour working day as a right circumscribed it with: "If the domestic worker works at her fullest" (Thai female employer aged 51–60). This seems to be an important component of employers' reluctance to allow an eight-hour day: They felt that the worker is not actually working a lot of the time: "They should

have their eight hours of sleep... their work is domestic work. In between, they are not fully occupied. ... They have time to nap in the afternoon, we tell them to take a break" (Malaysian employer couple aged 51–60, husband speaking). Our interviews 1 suggest that employers felt that a lot of the time domestic workers were doing nothing in particular or even resting – "She comes with me and sits here. ... If someone comes, there is work; if not, just sitting only" (Malaysian male employer aged 41–50).

Employers perceived a trade-off between this lack of intensity – taking it easy – and longer hours. However, this was experienced very differently by domestic workers, who saw being able to take it easy as the main difference between being in their own home and living with their employer. In their own home they could be "lazy": "Working for [my employer] I have to do it orderly. I have to do well. In my own home I can leave it until I have time. ... I can rest when I'm tired and do it later. But working for an employer, I get paid so I have to do better" (Mia, Vietnamese worker aged 52). In your own home you can leave the work until you want to do it and decide when to prioritize it. As one domestic worker put it: "They will tell us the time to mop, time to sweep, time to wipe things clean, and the time to be completed. The time is given. At the employer's house, they decide on time, in our house, we decide on time" (Linda, Indonesian domestic worker aged 23).

The principal advantage of factory work (another option often available to low-skilled migrant women) over domestic work, according to workers, was the possibility of controlling hours and being able to leave work behind. Employers are imagining that they are in the shoes of the domestic worker, but it seems they are forgetting that the domestic worker is not in her own house. So while employers may be able to be "lazy" and prioritize in their own home, this does not mean that domestic workers can because they are not simply substituting for the labour of their female employer and are in a very different relation to the household. While it was not explicitly stated by interviewees, it would appear that resting is perceived by employers as negative, rather than an essential part of well-being.

<sup>1</sup> Researchers for this report conducted interviews with 55 employers in Thailand (29 employers in Bangkok and 26 in Chiang Mai). Six of these respondents were male, 48 female, and one survey was completed by a couple. Fifty interviews were also conducted with employers in Malaysia; 14 were male, 32 female, and four surveys were completed by couples.

# 2. Myth: Gender-neutral policies are sufficient to prevent discrimination

Reality: In order to address discrimination, polices need to be gender-responsive, recognizing gendered differences and impacts.

Below is an excerpt from the following ILO report: ILO, 10 Keys for Gender Sensitive OSH Practice - Guidelines for Gender Mainstreaming in Occupational Safety and Health, 2013, 7 and 9-10.

Gender-neutral policies are supposed to use the knowledge of gender differences in a given context to overcome biases in delivery, to ensure that they target and benefit both women and men irrespective of their sex.

Some policies that appear gender-neutral may be shown, after a close assessment to be gender blind, meaning that they do not specifically recognize gender differences. Not acknowledging gender differences may mean that apparently neutral policies impact differently on women and men and reinforce existing inequalities. A lack of distinction between male and female needs and characteristics provides for assumptions which incorporate biases in favour of existing gender relations by not reflecting the substantial differences in the lives of women and men.

OSH [occupational safety and health] is a core aspect of promoting gender equality. Still, gender is often neglected in the design of policies and the planning and implementation of OSH prevention strategies. A "gender-neutral equals gender-blind" approach assumes that general preventive interventions will be just as effective for women as men, this may not be the case as women and men remain highly segregated across and between sectors and across and within jobs. For equity purposes, policies on OSH should take into account the gender division of labour and the socioeconomic and cultural contexts, as inequalities both in and outside the workplace can have an impact on the health and safety of all workers, in particular women. ..,

Gender differences in exposure to risks of musculoskeletal disorder (MSDs) are the most common health impairments in the workplace. Women tend to suffer more from pain in the upper back and upper limbs as a result of repetitive work in both manufacturing and office work, this is accentuated during pregnancy. They also often have jobs which require prolonged standing; while men tend to suffer more. ...

Due to the type of work that many women carry out and because of societal roles and social structures, they are generally at a higher risk of psychosocial hazards and risks that can cause work-related stress, burnout, violence, discrimination and harassment. Women entering non-traditional occupations (such as construction which can be considered men's work) are particularly at risk of discrimination and sexual harassment. Research

[by the World Health Organization] has found that, women's stress levels remain high after work, particularly if they have children living at home. Men, however, generally unwind rapidly at the end of the working day. ...

Men's OSH has received more attention than women's, this is not true for reproductive health. Occupational research and measures to protect workers' reproductive health at work have focused primarily on protecting pregnant women – and particularly the foetus. There are many workplace hazards that can affect the reproductive health of both sexes and their offspring. These include chemical, biological and physical hazards including pesticides, metals, dyes and solvents; noise and vibration; radiation; and infectious diseases. In addition, heavy lifting, standing or sitting for long periods of time have all been identified as occupational risks for pregnant women. Certain hazards can also affect men's fertility, sex drive or sexual performance as well as their ability to father healthy children, and some can cause cancer of male reproductive organs. They can also affect the woman, the child and the pregnancy, even if they have not been directly exposed to harmful agents themselves if they are carried in sperm or seminal fluid. It is important that both in national and workplace policy a gender-sensitive approach is adopted and the wider reproductive health of all workers, male and female, is considered.

# 3. Myth: Informal workers (including domestic workers) cannot collectively bargain

Reality: Domestic workers and other informal workers may utilize different strategies, but can and do collectively bargain to improve working conditions.

Below is an excerpt from the following ILO issue brief: ILO, "Improving Working Conditions for Domestic Workers: Organizing, Coordinated Action and Bargaining", Labour Relations and Collective Bargaining Issue Brief No. 2, 2015, 2–5.

In a number of countries organization of domestic workers into [trade] unions has facilitated collective negotiations and agreements either on a minimum wage or on working conditions: Argentina, Belgium, France, Italy and Uruguay, for example. In some cases, the domestic workers' union itself signed the agreement; in others it was signed by the national trade union confederation. National trade union confederations have supported the domestic workers' unionizing through training and guidance to represent the demands and negotiate collectively on behalf of domestic workers. The resulting agreements (whether tripartite agreements on minimum wages or bipartite collective agreements) have been widely disseminated by these unions and their networks, ensuring that workers are informed of the provisions they contain and that cases of non-compliance are identified.

In order to ensure the effective representation of domestic workers, unions have adapted their outreach strategies to reflect their specific situation of isolated and dispersed workplaces and time constraints. These strategies represent new paradigms of worker organization in dispersed and often informal workforces. Rather than building membership on the shop floor, domestic workers are organized through social networks, building on pre-existing relationships. Many unions reach out to domestic workers by distributing leaflets in places where domestic workers often congregate, such as playgrounds, toy shops, grocery stores and markets, and at public transport stops where domestic workers commute. ...

Unions of domestic workers face a number of challenges in developing solidarity and in formulating demands, including the high mobility of domestic workers and the lack of a common employer. They have adopted a number of measures, such as setting a central place and regular time for meetings, to build unity and lay the groundwork for establishing collective demands based on collective experience. As members come together, they discuss their workplace concerns, share information about rights, tips for the job, and strategies for addressing conflict. Such discussions and mutual support form the basis of organizing and representation in this sector.

In Italy, unions first campaigned with domestic workers' organizations such as the Associazioni cristiane lavoratori italiani – Collaboratrici e i collaborator familiari (ACLI-COLF) to ensure the effective recognition of the right to collective bargaining for domestic workers in 1969, paving the way for the first collective agreement in 1974. ...

The second challenge that domestic workers' organizations face is identifying the employer (and relevant employers' organization) for the purposes of bargaining. When there is a direct employment relationship with the householder, the householder is the clear employer, but certain categories of domestic workers are placed in households by intermediaries, either public or private. In addition, the placement of domestic workers in households may be subsidized by the government as part of the social welfare provided to householders. These triangular employment relationships create complexities in terms of respective rights and responsibilities. In countries such as Belgium and France, they have resulted in a number of collective agreements with different employers' organizations representing either householders or intermediaries and agencies (public or private). ...

In other countries, national bargaining was made possible by approaching existing national associations of homemakers. In this way, collective bargaining agreements were negotiated in Argentina, Germany and Uruguay. France has some of the world's longest-standing collective bargaining practices in the domestic work industry. The sector is covered by three agreements. The first was signed in 1999 but covered only privately paid workers employed by individual households (68 per cent of the workforce), two further agreements were signed: a 2012 agreement, signed by

six unions and two employers' organizations, covers domestic workers placed in private homes by non-profit intermediaries, while an agreement signed in 2014 by three unions and two employers' organizations representing private companies covers domestic workers who are employed by private enterprises.

# 4. Myth: Banning migration for vulnerable women migrant worker protects them from abuse

#### Reality: Migration bans harm women migrant workers and undermine their autonomy.

Below is an excerpt from the following ILO and UN Women research report: Rebecca Napier-Moore, Protected or Put in Harm's Way: Bans and Restrictions on Women's Labour Migration in ASEAN Countries, 2017, xiii and xvi.

There is high demand for domestic workers in Singapore and Malaysia. Women from the Philippines and Indonesia have historically made up the largest proportion of domestic workers in both Malaysia and Singapore. However, when there were bans from the Philippines and Indonesia, as well as extension of higher wages and some limited labour rights provisions to Filipina and Indonesian domestic workers through bilateral agreements or embassy pressure, resulted in a shift of recruitment efforts to Cambodia (for Malaysia) and Myanmar (for Singapore), among other origin countries. Country of origin migration bans and pressure for better conditions for just one set of workers tends to shift recruitment to other countries of origin that are home to people who will or must migrate for less pay and few guarantees of decent work – a race to the bottom. Once Myanmar and Cambodian workers started migrating to these destination countries in larger numbers as a response, reports of abuse increased. The Myanmar and Cambodia governments responded with bans on migration for domestic work in 2014 and 2011, respectively. ...

#### **Summary of research findings**

- Myanmar and Cambodian women migrated for domestic work, despite the 2014 Myanmar ban on migration for domestic work and the 2011
   Cambodian suspension on migration for domestic work to Malaysia.
- Migration restrictions limited women to irregular channels for exiting their countries of origin. This left an absent or partial "legal trail" for accountability in country of origin recruitment systems.

- The bans resulted in an increase of small, unregulated recruiters in Myanmar and Cambodia. During the bans, Myanmar and Cambodian migrant domestic workers faced increased deception in recruitment, including contract substitution.
- Myanmar and Cambodian migrant domestic workers interviewed said migration costs increased, as informal payments had to be paid at exit ports and when they transited through third countries.
- During bans, women migrant workers did not have access to protective elements afforded by regular migration, including pre-departure training, standard employment contracts, access to complaints mechanisms, or recourse to a regulated recruitment agency or origin government assistance.
- Duty-bearing stakeholders, including government officials, reported that the ban absolved them from responsibility for abuses that occur in migration. In situations where women migrated despite the ban, duty-bearers said that blame for abuses now rested with women migrant workers, since they contravened migration restrictions.
- Partly because it is harder to recruit and send workers under these and other restrictions in ASEAN, there is high employer demand for domestic workers. Interviewed women reported that recruiters were not allowing them to return home upon complaints of exploitation.
   Employers were also reportedly forcing workers to sign contract extensions in Malaysia under threat of not receiving their salary.
- Any single country's ban on women's migration shifts regional recruitment to other countries and potentially drives the ASEAN labour market to lower working conditions and wages.
- Women reported that bans increased class-based stigma attached to domestic work.
- Restrictions on women's migration can strain diplomatic relations, reportedly making bilateral relations and negotiation more difficult.
- Policy incoherence between countries of origin and destination meant that women who migrated through irregular channels had access to documented status in countries of destination, with access to assistance and redress that this afforded. Of research respondents, all in Singapore (26 of 26 women interviewees) and a minority in Malaysia (three of 14 interviewed) had documentation in their country of destination. However, these countries of destination also applied further restrictions on migrant women's work. These restrictions discriminated against women migrant workers based on their age, country of origin, spousal permission, pregnancy status, religion, or level of education.

# Handout 6.3.

# Alternatives to migration bans and moratoriums – The example of migrant men in the Thai fishing industry

Below is an excerpt from the following ILO and UN Women research report: Rebecca Napier-Moore, Protected or Put in Harm's Way: Bans and Restrictions on Women's Labour Migration in ASEAN Countries, 2017, 53-54.

Examples of alternatives to restrictions are also seen in men-dominant sectors, practices which can also be applied to women-dominant work. Take the destination example of migrant men in the fishing sector: trafficking, forced labour, and severe exploitation in the fishing industry in Thailand have been highlighted internationally.... Thailand has taken ... steps to make systemic changes for all workers – both Thai nationals and migrant workers in the fishing industry, including:

- Registering about 20,000 undocumented workers on fishing vessels;
- Training of labour inspectors and establishment of labour inspection mechanisms at three points: port-in, port-out, and at-sea;
- [In 2018 and 2019, Thailand ratified the ILO Protocol of 2014 to the Forced Labour Convention, 1930, and the Work in Fishing Convention, 2007 (No. 188), making Thailand the first country in Asia to adopt these international standards. Changes to Thai law to comply with these new obligations include amendments to the Prevention and Suppression of Human Trafficking Act 2008 and the Labour Protection of Work in Fishing Act, which brings together recent rules on work in fishing. 1] ...

The sector is also one that has international scrutiny due to supply chain connections to Europe or North America; domestic work – and several other women-dominant sectors – does not share that characteristic and therefore lacks similar lobbying leverage. Nonetheless, the lesson learned from these efforts is that systemic changes towards labour rights protections are possible where there is political and social will for change at domestic and international levels.

<sup>1</sup> Updating text to account for development detailed in: ILO, Endline Research Findings on Fishers and Seafood Workers in Thailand, 2020, p. vii.

# Handout 7.2.

# ILO model trade union agreement <sup>1</sup>

#### Model

# **Trade Union Agreement on Migrant Workers' Rights**

Agreement between:

Organization(s) in the country of origin:

And

Organization(s) in the country of destination:

The (names of the signing organizations):

#### The following points can be included as a preamble to bilateral trade union agreements:

Aware of the importance of migration for employment between (names of the two countries) and their positive contribution to the economies of both the country of origin of migrant workers and the country of destination [hereafter both parties].

Convinced that the benefits of labour migration for (names of the two countries), their national workers, and the migrant workers themselves, can best be maximized through the effective promotion and respect of workers' rights, including basic human rights, and fundamental principles and rights at work enshrined in UN and ILO Conventions, and through the promotion of decent work for all.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Available at: https://www.ilo.org/dyn/migpractice/docs/208/Model.pdf.

Equally convinced that the situation of migrant workers should be addressed through the principles of international trade union solidarity, social justice, equal treatment, equal opportunity, and gender equity.

Reaffirming that freedom of association is a central and non-negotiable principle and that the participation of migrant workers in trade unions contributes to their integration into the society of the countries of destination.

#### **Key principles**

Signatories to trade union bilateral agreements may wish to agree on the following key principles in addressing issues related to the rights of migrant workers:

- Provisions of the ILO Constitution and the Philadelphia Declaration which, amongst other things, proclaim that labour is not a commodity.
- Provisions of the ILO Multilateral Framework on Labour Migration which, amongst others, affirm that all ILO Conventions, unless stated otherwise, apply equally to migrant workers, regardless of their status; and provide basic principles and practical guidelines and best practices for a rights-based approach to labour migration.
- Provisions of ILO Conventions No.97 on Migration for Employment, 1949, and No.143 on Migrant Workers (Supplementary Provisions), 1975, and the International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of their Families, 1990, which together represent a charter for the rights of migrant workers and provide for sound migration policies based on cooperation between countries, social dialogue and the development of legal migration avenues based on labour market needs, as well as other social and economic factors.
- Provisions of international human rights treaties with particular reference to the right of universal access to healthcare.
- Provisions of national and international laws and jurisprudences to the effect that once an employment relationship has been established, all workers should enjoy the full panoply of labour rights included in internationally-recognized standards, the country's legislation and applicable collective agreements.

# Trade union campaigns

#### The signatories to trade union bilateral agreements may wish to agree to carry out joint trade union campaigns:

- To raise awareness about the positive contribution of labour migration to the economies of both the countries of origin and the countries of destination of migrant workers, as well as their contribution to the promotion of cultural diversity and international cooperation; and to raise awareness of migrant workers about their rights and the general situation of the destination countries before departure through making information available in the languages of migrant workers.
- To actively campaign against racism and xenophobia in society and combat discrimination and misleading propaganda in both the countries of origin and countries of destination of migrant workers.
- To actively promote the ratification of International Labour Conventions No. 97 and No. 143 and the International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of their Families (1990) as well as ILO Conventions dealing with public and private employment agencies.
- To fully support the work undertaken by the ILO to develop an international convention to promote decent work for domestic workers.
- To raise the specific concerns of migrant workers in their national tripartite labour committees and encourage affiliated unions to integrate them in collective bargaining with employers; and ensure that labour legislation and collective agreements fully protect all migrant workers, including those involved in temporary labour migration programmes.
- To take specific measures to address occupational health and safety and housing concerns of migrant workers, particularly in sectors known for dangerous working conditions, as well as to promote special protection for particularly vulnerable workers, such as domestic and agricultural workers.

### **Other actions**

The signatories to the bilateral trade union agreements may wish to commit themselves to undertake the following actions:

- To develop regular communication channels and networking at the highest level between organizations party to this agreement, through the holding of regular seminars, pre-departure union training, and orientation programmes on arrival in the destination countries to acquaint themselves with their new environment, as well as organizing conferences on issues related to labour migration and workers' rights, and to exchange information on the labour market situations of their respective countries.
- To set up migrant workers' consultative bodies and special migrant workers' desks, within their organizations, so as to reach out and organize migrant workers and ensure they may join the trade union in the country of destination, may participate in union activities and may obtain trade union protection in case of abuses and violations of their rights.
- To establish information centres for migrant workers as part of their efforts aimed at guaranteeing ways of protecting migrant workers: in countries of origin before they consider migration, in the migration process, and upon arrival in the countries of destination, during their stay and in the process of returning home, with special efforts to provide both potential migrants, and migrants with information material in their native languages.
- To develop joint measures, including legal support, for immediate action to denounce abusive practices and to find solutions to them through legal remedies or other available dispute-resolution mechanisms.
- To encourage affiliated unions in both countries to build up cooperation, particularly in sectors where migrant workers are present.
- To undertake joint trade union activities to mark International Migrant Workers' Day on 18 December.
- To organize regular cross-border meetings and joint evaluation of progress made in the implementation of bilateral agreements in order to propose possible measures for improvements as appropriate.

#### Other promotional efforts

The signatories to bilateral trade union agreements may wish to commit themselves to jointly promote:

- Cooperation between the governments of the countries of origin of migrant workers and their countries of destination to enhance governance of migration, in the fields of the establishment of legal avenues for labour migration, the strengthening of labour inspection, legal cooperation in the case of trafficking and abusive situations, and issues of maintenance of social security entitlements and the strict supervision and control of activities by recruitment and employment agencies (in conformity with ILO Convention No. 181 on Private Employment Agencies), and subcontractors, as well as the elimination of abuse of sponsorship schemes.
- The establishment of communication and negotiations between their trade union organizations and employers' associations and recruitment and employment agencies in their respective countries so as to secure better conditions for migrant workers and non-migrant workers alike, and combat exploitation and social dumping.
- The development of a model and unified employment contract for migrant workers, based on the provisions of international labour standards and enforced through national legislation and labour inspection.
- Initiatives aimed at securing the involvement of trade unions in the development of bilateral agreements between governments of destination and origin countries, and the setting up of national tripartite consultation mechanisms and bilateral cooperation forums to discuss and formulate rights-based migration policies, taking into account labour market needs and the possible expansion and facilitation of legal channels as a means of eliminating the exploitation and abusive conditions of workers trapped in irregular situations.
- Tripartite consultation and decision-making mechanisms to address situations related to the status of migrant workers, social protection aspects and possibly encourage measures facilitating the regularization of the status of migrant workers trapped in irregular situations.

# Handout 7.3a.

# Convention No. 190 campaign materials <sup>1</sup>



<sup>+</sup> Available at: https://idwfed.org/en/campaigns/c190/c190-campaign-materials. Reproduced with permission.

# CHANGING ATTITUDES AND PROMOTING GENDER EQUALITY

All of us in the world of work - governments, employers and workers - have a role to play to provide and sustain a work culture based on mutual respect and dignity.

- The Convention is a meaningful tool to fight discrimination and inequality at the world of work.
- The Convention states that governments shall adopt legislation ensuring the right to equality and non-discrimination in employment and occupation for all, including women, migrants, people with disabilities and multiple and intersecting identities, whether race, ethnicity, indigenous status, sexual orientation and gender identity.
- Workplace risk assessments, as set out in the Convention, can also help to change attitudes, since they can take into account factors that increase the likelihood of gender-based violence and harassment (like gender, cultural and social norms).
- And C190 also includes, for the first time, domestic violence as an element that affects employment, as well as the health and safety of workers.

#### WHAT IS VIOLENCE AND HARASSMENT?

- Violence and harassment is a range of unacceptable behaviours and practices, or threats, that can happen once or many times, with the aim of, or result in, or are likely to result in, physical, psychological, sexual or economic harm.
- Violence and harassment is more than physical abuse. It can take the form of sexual harassment, verbal and emotional abuse, bullying, mobbing, threats and stalking. Denial of resources or access to services and other deprivations of liberty are also forms of violence.
- Perpetrators can be employers, managers, supervisors, peers, colleagues as well as third parties, like clients, employers' relatives or friends, and service providers.
- Violence affects both men and women, although women are disproportionally affected.
- It is called gender-based violence when it is directed at a person because
  of their sex or gender.
- One in three women and girls, irrespective of their economic status experience violence in their lifetime.

# C190 AND TRADE UNIONS - THIS IS OUR TOOL AND WE SHOULD USE IT

#### Under the Convention 190:

- Gender-based violence and harassment, including domestic violence, should be mainstreamed into safety and health at work.
- Employers are required to take measures and develop workplace policies, in consultation with trade unions, to prevent violence and harassment.
- It obliges states to provide trade unions with resources and training on violence and harassment in the world of work, including gender-based violence.

C190 will enter into force 12 months after two ILO member states have ratified it. But unions do not need to wait for ratification; we should already use this instrument to change the lives of workers.

C190 provides a momentum for trade unions and other stakeholders to fight violence and harassment in the world of work. LET'S USE IT NOW!

- Promote non-discrimination and equality through campaigns and collective bargaining.
  - Educate members about what violence and harassment in the world of work is.
- Raise awareness among members on C190 and its importance. C190 is a life changing convention that will help millions of workers have safer working environments, helping eliminate all forms of violence and harassment, especially gender-based violence.
- Include language in collective bargaining agreements based on these instruments (C190/R206).
- Work with employers in making sure that health and safety policies include violence and harassment, and more specifically gender-based violence.
- Support the work of global union federations in the negotiation of global framework agreements to include language based on the instruments (C190/R206) to fight violence and harassment in the world of work.



# Handout 7.3b.

# Hands off pants on

UNITE HERE is a trade union in the United States (an affiliate of AFL-CIO) that represents 300,000 working people in North America. Its members work in the hotel, gaming, food service, manufacturing, textile, distribution, laundry, transportation, and airport industries. Its membership is diverse – predominantly women and racial minorities, including migrant workers.

#### "Hands off pants on": UNITE HERE wins sexual harassment protections for hotel workers in Chicago and Seattle

UNITE HERE won protections for all hospitality workers – union and non-union members – in several US jurisdictions. In Chicago, Local 1 won passage of the Hands Off Pants On Ordinance in 2018. This ordinance:

- Requires that all hotel workers be equipped with panic buttons;
- Requires hotel employers to develop, maintain and comply with a written policy on sexual harassment and assault by a guest;
- Describes procedures for addressing complaints; and
- Gives workers the right to stop work when danger is perceived, and be assigned to work on a different floor or area away from the offending guest.

Leading up to the work, a member survey found 58 per cent of hotel workers and 77 per cent of casino workers had been sexually harassed by a guest. These findings gave the trade union the evidence needed to advocate for protections through collective bargaining and a city ordinance.

Source: AFL-CIO, Addressing Sexual Harassment in the Workplace: There Is Power in My Union, 2019. 1

# **Small group question:**

What creative, concrete measures could your trade union ask for/advocate for to address issues of violence in the workplace to benefit its members and women migrant workers?

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> This toolkit can be found at: https://aflcio.org/reports/addressing-sexual-harassment-workplace-there-power-my-union.

# Handout 8.1. My personal gender history

Childhood	Adolescent stage ———	Early adulthood (career/work days)	Stage to building a family	
When I was a child, my parents/ caregivers taught me that:	When I was a teen-ager, my family, teachers, religion taught me that:	When I was choosing my career/work, I learned that:	In building and nurturing a family, I learned that:	
Little girls should behave this way:	As a young woman, I should behave this way:	Careers/ work associated with women are:	Women should take the following roles:	
Toys/games for girls are:	Hobbies/interests of a young woman should be:	At work, the capacities and attitudes expected of women are:	In making decisions women should be:	
Little boys should behave this way:	As a young man, I should behave this way:	Careers/ work associated with men are:	Men should take the following roles:	
Toys/games for boys are:	Hobbies/interests of a young man should be:	At work, the capacities and attitudes expected of men are:	In making decisions men should be:	

Source: ILO, Leadership Training Manual for Women Leaders of Cooperatives, 2005, 28

# Handout 8.2.

# Trade union report card for women's leadership

Strategy to promote women's leadership in trade unions	What is the union already doing for women members?	What are other ways to do further work in this area?	What could the union do specifically for women migrant workers?
Address women's true priorities If trade unions consistently address women's concerns, they are more likely to inspire their long- term, active involvement.			
Create and support formal women's mentoring programmes  Mentoring is most effective at supporting women's leadership if it addresses women's experiences in trade union work, obstacles to claiming power and strategies for dealing with these obstacles.			
Provide opportunities for women to strategize together Trade unions can provide women-specific training programmes, conferences, women's committees and networks at the local, regional and national levels.			
Put women in leadership In leadership positions, women can serve as role models to other women. They can provide women's perspectives on trade union strategies and make trade unions more supportive of their concerns.			

Strategy to promote women's leadership in trade unions	What is the union already doing for women members?	What are other ways to do further work in this area?	What could the union do specifically for women migrant workers?
Highlight the importance of women's contributions Trade unions can provide examples of women's leadership and contribution to trade union work, and hold them up as models.			
Provide flexible options for involvement To accommodate the conflicting demands of women's lives, trade unions can offer creative options and opportunities for them to get involved. For example, women may ask for ways to participate at flexible times and places, which trade unions could provide through conference calls, lunchtime meetings, or work that can be done at home. They may need trade unions to welcome children and provide them activities or child care. They may simply need meal time meetings with food.			
Provide training on mobilizing women Trade unions should provide training to leaders and organizers on strategies to address obstacles facing women. Training on how to support women's activism can easily be integrated into existing programmes for organizing and leadership.			

Source: Adapted from Amy Caiazza and Casey Clevenger, "Seven Strategies that Promote Women's Activism and Leadership in Unions", Institute for Women's Policy Research Research-in-Brief No. 1918, 2007, 2–3. Reproduced with permission.

# Handout 9.1.

# Case studies on social inclusion

UNESCO held a workshop entitled Policies and Processes for Social Inclusion: Exploring Possibilities in Northern ASEAN Countries (March 2015). One participant presented case studies concerning migrant workers in ASEAN, and shared the following information:

#### 1. Unscrupulous migration agents

A migrant who is a legal passport holder permitted to work in the country of destination is forced to give his passport to a migration agent for the documentation process. The agent retained the passport for two years and charged a fee of 1,000 baht (US\$30) per month for his services. The migrants must pay the agent's fees in order for their passports to be returned.

#### 2. Limited access to healthcare

An employer deducts a fee for participating universal healthcare through social security of 30 baht (US\$1) per month from his workers' wages. In addition to this, an up-front charge of 500 baht (US\$15) is charged for the establishment of the health fund, membership card, etc. When the workers required services from the hospital for accidents, child birth or other services, they found that there was no record of their name on the health fund and neither the employer nor the hospital would provide any assistance.

## 3. Insecure contracting arrangements

Many factory owners indirectly employ migrants through a broker. This reduces the responsibility of the factory towards the workers to protect the factory owner. The costs of this type of arrangement are forced on the migrants who must pay the broker's fees, bribes to policy officers and other costs.

## 4. No security against crime

A recent incident in the country of destination involved a violent robbery by nationals of migrants. Gunmen entered a building and threatened the community. The victims were able to capture one of the gunmen and delivered him to the police. The police not only took no action, but released the gunmen who has since made threats to several women migrant workers from the community.

# Handout 10.1. "My family's slave"

Below is an excerpt from Alex Tizon, "My family's slave", in *The Atlantic*, June 2017, available at: https://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2017/06/lolas-story/524490/. Reproduced with permission.

Lola never got that allowance. She asked my parents about it in a roundabout way a couple of years into our life in America. Her mother had fallen ill (with what I would later learn was dysentery), and her family couldn't afford the medicine she needed. "Pwede ba?" she said to my parents. Is it possible? Mom let out a sigh. "How could you even ask?," Dad responded in Tagalog. "You see how hard up we are. Don't you have any shame?"

My parents had borrowed money for the move to the U.S., and then borrowed more in order to stay. My father was transferred from the consulate general in L.A. [Los Angeles] to the Philippine consulate in Seattle. He was paid \$5,600 a year. He took a second job cleaning trailers, and a third as a debt collector. Mom got work as a technician in a couple of medical labs. We barely saw them, and when we did they were often exhausted and snappish.

Mom would come home and upbraid Lola for not cleaning the house well enough or for forgetting to bring in the mail. "Didn't I tell you I want the letters here when I come home?" she would say in Tagalog, her voice venomous. "It's not hard *naman!* An idiot could remember." Then my father would arrive and take his turn. When Dad raised his voice, everyone in the house shrank. Sometimes my parents would team up until Lola broke down crying, almost as though that was their goal.

It confused me: My parents were good to my siblings and me, and we loved them. But they'd be affectionate to us kids one moment and vile to Lola the next. I was 11 or 12 when I began to see Lola's situation clearly. By then Arthur, eight years my senior, had been seething for a long time. He was the one who introduced the word slave into my understanding of what Lola was. Before he said it I'd thought of her as just an unfortunate member of the household. I hated when my parents yelled at her, but it hadn't occurred to me that they – and the whole arrangement – could be immoral.

"Do you know anybody treated the way she's treated?," Arthur said. "Who lives the way she lives?" He summed up Lola's reality: Wasn't paid. Toiled every day. Was tongue-lashed for sitting too long or falling asleep too early. Was struck for talking back. Wore hand-me-downs. At scraps and leftovers by herself in the kitchen. Rarely left the house. Had no friends or hobbies outside the family. Had no private quarters. (Her designated place to sleep in each house we lived in was always whatever was left – a couch or storage area or corner in my sisters' bedroom. She often slept among piles of laundry.) ...

[Mom] used to get angry whenever Lola felt ill. She didn't want to deal with the disruption and the expense, and would accuse Lola of faking or failing to take care of herself. Mom chose the second tack when, in the late 1970s, Lola's teeth started falling out. She'd been saying for months that her mouth hurt.

"That's what happens when you don't brush properly," Mom told her.

I said that Lola needed to see a dentist. She was in her 50s and had never been to one. I was attending college an hour away, and I brought it up again and again on my frequent trips home. A year went by, then two. Lola took aspirin every day for the pain, and her teeth looked like a crumbling Stonehenge. One night, after watching her chew bread on the side of her mouth that still had a few good molars, I lost it.

Mom and I argued into the night, each of us sobbing at different points. She said she was tired of working her fingers to the bone supporting everybody, and sick of her children always taking Lola's side, and why didn't we just take our goddamn Lola, she'd never wanted her in the first place, and she wished to God she hadn't given birth to an arrogant, sanctimonious phony like me.

I let her words sink in. Then I came back at her, saying she would know all about being a phony, her whole life was a masquerade, and if she stopped feeling sorry for herself for one minute she'd see that Lola could barely eat because her... teeth were rotting out of her... head, and couldn't she think of her just this once as a real person instead of a slave kept alive to serve her?

"A slave," Mom said, weighing the word. "A slave?"

The night ended when she declared that I would never understand her relationship with Lola. *Never.* Her voice was so guttural and pained that thinking of it even now, so many years later, feels like a punch to the stomach. It's a terrible thing to hate your own mother, and that night I did. The look in her eyes made clear that she felt the same way about me.

# Closing the gender pay gap: What role for trade unions?

Below is an excerpt from the ILO report: ILO, Closing the gender pay gap: What role for trade unions?, 2019, 25-26.

Bottom-up mobilization and union capacity building within the workplace is key: for example, the Sri Lanka women in textiles project aimed to build solidarity and associational power through workplace organizing on the basis that "like recruits like" [the organizing principle that organizing new groups of workers requires organizers with matching characteristics 1]. This meant supporting women stewards within the workplace and prioritizing negotiations on issues of relevance to female workers. Progress also depends upon women's representation throughout internal union structures and various international trade unions are making commitments to enhancing women's leadership roles within the unions at all levels. ...

Mobilization may also mean working with groups outside the formal union system. Research suggests that the struggles of female textile home workers in Mumbai to organize within existing male dominated union structures led to them forming a new trade union that recognized the specific issues facing women workers in precarious employment. In Viet Nam the Viet Labor group brought together disparate groups of workers through information sharing and various community networks while also putting pressure on firms and local public bodies to ensure observation of worker rights. Such collaborations may be necessary especially within female-dominated industries, although tensions can arise over both the legitimacy of NGOs as worker representatives.

<sup>1</sup> Derived from Andy Hodder and Lefteris Kretsos (eds), Young Workers and Trade Unions: A Global View (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015).

# Handout 10.2.

# Typology of migrant domestic workers' organizations

Below is an excerpt from the ILO report: ILO, Decent work for migrant domestic workers: Moving the agenda forward, 2016, 95–105. All emphasis and footnotes in the original text.

#### 2.1 Women migrant domestic workers forming and joining trade unions

Domestic workers seeking to organize in the context of a union face numerous challenges in law and practice. Legally, domestic workers are sometimes excluded from the right to freedom of association and therefore cannot form or join trade unions. Operationally, the workplace isolation of domestic workers does not fit into the traditional model of workplace organizing as in the case of construction and factory workers. From an organizational culture perspective, the female composition of the domestic workforce stands in contradiction with the overwhelmingly male composition of unions.

The challenges are exacerbated when it comes to migrant domestic workers. In some cases, migrant domestic workers are specifically excluded from the right to join or form unions, or to hold elected positions within the unions. If domestic workers are in irregular situation, the task of organizing them is complicated further due the fear of losing their jobs or being deported. Language barriers and cultural differences are another operational constraint to building mass organizations based on worker identity, rather than on nationality, ethnicity or language group. This may be particularly true where there are both local and migrant domestic workers.

In this context, unions have configured new ways to recruit members to work around these barriers, "necessitating new approaches to defining workplace, new organizing strategies, structures, communication tools, and due collection methods" (Bonner and Spooner, 2011, pp. 88–89). To overcome the isolation of working inside a private residence, unions have adopted a community-based model versus the traditional workplace model of organizing, sometimes even identifying a neighbourhood organizer to liaise with live-in domestic workers through their chats with other workers across balconies and arranging to take the rubbish out at the same time. Live-in domestic workers in Lebanon, for example, use balconies for interacting with other live-ins (Pande, 2009, p. 207). Across-balcony alliances constitute a critical mode of information sharing (Pande, 2012, p. 392) by means of which domestic

workers exchange tips on negotiating leave and time off with their employers (Pande, 2012, p. 393). In addition to these across-balcony alliances, arranging to take the rubbish out at the same time gives domestic workers a golden opportunity to exchange letters, money and items with other domestic workers (Pande, 2012, p. 393). Because domestic workers fall outside the ambit of labour protection, they often lack access to social and legal services (ILO, 2012c, p. 5). Unions have adopted a service-oriented approach to advocacy in order to attract new members (Ally, 2005, pp. 184–207). Unions have also developed strategies or political campaigns that target the structural sources of exploitation of this group of workers (Ally, 2005, pp. 184–207). The experience of South Africa's domestic workers' union in adapting its strategy to organizing migrant domestic workers is interesting in this regard. The South African Domestic Service and Allied Workers Union (SADSAWU) began to organize migrant domestic workers in South Africa in 2013, forming a special committee to plan and lead the organizing drive. By the end of 2015, over 500 Zimbabwean workers had become members.

#### Box 6.1

# The pillars of SADSAWU's Plan of Action for Migrant Domestic Workers

- 1. Setting up a special organizing structure internal to the union for the recruitment of migrant domestic workers;
- 2. Working with new diaspora organisations;
- 3. Developing organizing, education and training materials for migrant domestic workers; and
- 4. Launching media campaigns to increase SADSAWU's visibility among migrants: (i) "Sisters and Brothers 4 Life"; (ii) "4,000 rand Living Wage for Domestic Work"; and (iii) "Social Security for Domestic Workers".

To extend maximum protection to migrant domestic workers, the ILO's Multilateral Framework on Labour Migration, published in 2006, calls on workers' organizations in countries of origin and destination to enter into bilateral and multilateral agreements providing for the exchange of information and transfers of membership. With the support of the ILO's Global Action Programme on Migrant Domestic Workers and Their Families (GAP-MDW), the ITUC and IDWF are collaborating to maximize the protection of migrant domestic workers along the Ukraine-Poland, Zimbabwe-South Africa, Indonesia-Malaysia and Paraguay-Argentina corridors. Some of the agreements concluded between unions in countries of origin and destination are explained in box 6.2.

Some migrant domestic workers organizations have also opened branches in countries of destination. The Domestic Workers' Association (ASTRADOMES) was established in Costa Rica in 1991 by Nicaraguan domestic workers. It is an affiliate of the Latin American and Caribbean Confederation of Domestic Workers (CONLACTRAHO) as well as of the International Domestic Workers Federation (IDWF). ASTRADOMES is dedicated to protecting and advocating for the rights of domestic workers, many of whom are migrants. Its current activities include the provision of advisory and support services, information about job vacancies, as well as information technology and literacy training. ASTRADOMES played an important role in the campaign for the ratification of the ILO's Domestic Workers Convention (No. 189) in Costa Rica and Nicaragua (2013) and later in the process of adapting national legislation to the Convention's provisions. In 2012 a branch of ASTRADOMES was established in Nicaragua (now operating in the cities of Granada and Chinatega), where it provides legal assistance and pre-departure training on labour and migration rights. In Costa Rica ASTRADOMES is campaigning for simplified and lower-cost migration procedures. A first outcome has been the decision of the government of Costa Rica to increase the validity of entry visas from 30 to 90 days, in order to provide workers enough time to apply for a work permit. 1...

# 2.2 The association model of organizing

The association model of representation emerged as a model for organizing domestic workers in contexts where unions did not have the capacity to respond to the particular characteristics of the domestic work sector and where the socio-legal environment was not favourable to unionizing efforts. Among other forms, these associations can be migrant associations (membership-based requiring fee-paying such as in unions, and non-membership based), legal advocacy groups, feminist NGOs and cooperatives. Given their history, membership, organizational culture and goals, these associations place greater emphasis on the migration and women dimensions of domestic workers than on the class or occupational dimensions (Ally, 2005, pp. 184–207).

The United Kingdom-based Kalayaan is an example of the association model of organizing where the emphasis is on **migration status**. Established in 1987, Kalayaan campaigned for the formal recognition of migrant domestic workers in the UK within the immigration rules. <sup>2</sup> Today, Kalayaan continues to lobby for changes to the immigration rules for migrant domestic workers, which tie the migrant domestic worker to the employer with whom she entered the UK. Since April 2012, migrant domestic workers have been prevented from changing employer or from renewing their visa beyond six months (Migrants' Rights Network, 2015).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> ILO Good practice database on labour migration policies and programmes, available at: http://www.ilo.org/dyn/migpractice/migmain.showPractice?p\_lang=en&p\_practice\_id=35 [accessed on 28 June 2016].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Kalayaan website, available at: http://www.kalayaan.org.uk/about-us/our-history/ [accessed on 12 April 2016].

Nari is a self-help group of Nepalese women working as domestic workers in Lebanon. Nari means "Women," the affirmation of which in a patriarchal context given it the connotation of "Feminist" and is an example of the association model of organizing where the emphasis is on gender status. Nari was established in 2012 in Beirut with the support of the NGO Kafa (Enough) Violence & Exploitation and in collaboration with the General Federation of Nepalese Trade Unions and Anti-Slavery International. Nari members have undergone intensive training on gender-based violence and use this training to advise their peers. In the absence of a diplomatic representation of the Government of Nepal, Nari gathers witness statements from other domestic workers and refers cases of abuse and exploitation to the relevant NGOs and support services in Lebanon.

Because of their extensive networks and access to communities at the grassroots level, feminist NGOs and migrant associations offer perspectives and evidence-based research that can encourage as well as inform the immigration policy debate. Although more women are joining trade unions, very few occupy union leadership positions. Women face unionists' "deep-seated fraternal and masculine orientation", further underlining the importance of the association model at least in the early stages of organizing. Women organizations allow women workers "to develop the 'oppositional consciousness" that is necessary to challenge inequalities and to identify their own priorities with a view to developing alternative strategies that are better suited to their distinctive experiences and constraints (Kabeer, 2015).

Although associations are adapting union characteristics, the system of representation generated under these groups is not sustainable beyond particular advocacy campaigns. Organizing on the basis of gender and migration reproduces the logic that domestic work is women's work and the work of women of colour, ignoring labour and structural class dynamics. The individual legal advocacy supported by these organizations does not challenge the structural position of domestic workers. It constructs domestic workers as client recipients rather than building workers' capacity to be "engines of their own organizing" (Ally, 2005).

Associations are adopting union characteristics (i.e., paying membership fees etc.) without union powers. The ILO and the IDWF are supporting HomeNet to establish a Network of Domestic Workers in Thailand: based on the success it has had in organizing home-based workers in the lead up to the adoption of the Home Work Convention, 1996 (No. 177). The network now counts 450 members: 120 Burmese and 330 Thai domestic workers. All members are registered with the Ministry of Labour, but the network's services are extended to documented and undocumented workers alike. All members are called to pay membership fees. Thai domestic workers pay 150 Thai Baht (equivalent to US\$4.35) and Burmese workers pay 120 Thai Baht (US\$3.48). This is because on average Thai workers earn higher wages than Burmese. A logo depicting a woman carrying a broom and sweeping the globe was designed

and membership cards to reinforce solidarity among workers and affiliation with the network will soon be distributed to its 450 worker members. The network has recently realized that its engagement on labour issues is limited without affiliating with a union, which they continue to contemplate as the next stage in their organization's strategy: "You have to be part of the labour movement to understand labour issues... you cannot stay alone... we need to understand the tripartite system and be part of it," said the network coordinator when discussing the importance of working with trade unions to achieve maximum protection for domestic workers (Tayah, 2016).

#### 2.3 Collaboration between the association and union models

Increasingly, the tension between the union versus association model is fading in favour of an integrated model of organizing that straddles associations, unions, international associations and international union federations. Perhaps the most successful outcome of such collaboration in recent years is the is the Hong Kong Federation of Asian Domestic Workers Union (FADWU). Other recent examples include Justice 4 Domestic Workers (a self-help grassroots organization) becoming affiliated with Unite the Union in the UK. There is also evidence of domestic workers coops collaborating with trade unions in Jamaica and India.

Domestic workers' unions in Hong Kong [China] formed the Hong Kong Federation of Asian Domestic Workers Unions (FADWU) in 2010 with the support and coordination effort of Asian Migrants Centre (AMC), the Hong Kong Confederation of Trade Unions (HKCTUs), and the Alliance of Progressive Labor (APL). FADWU organizes domestic workers of five different nationalities. It is affiliated to HKCTU and its current affiliates include the Hong Kong Domestic Workers General Union, the Thai Migrant Workers Union in Hong Kong (TMWU), the Union of Nepalese Domestic Workers in Hong Kong, and the Progressive Labor Union of Domestic Workers in Hong Kong. ...

Another example is Justice 4 Domestic Workers (J4DWs), a self-help grassroots organizations of migrant domestic workers established in the United Kingdom in 2009. J4DW, affiliated with Unite the Union a big sector union in the United Kingdom. J4DW campaigns for domestic workers' rights to be recognised under the UK employment law. J4DW is currently campaigning and lobbying on immigration law reform and Modern Slavery Bill to restore the Overseas Domestic Worker Visa. It collaborates with Kalayaan and with Anti-Slavery International.

Collaboration between trade unions and domestic workers' cooperatives: <sup>3</sup> Cooperatives represent another associational model of organizing. Because affordable private and public care institutions are becoming less available, cooperatives are emerging as significant players in the care sector, both as

Examples of domestic workers' cooperatives include the Cooperative Home Care Associates, New York City; Ecomundo Cleaning Cooperative, New York City; Si Se Puede! Women's Cleaning Cooperative, New York City; and Co-operativa Valenciana de Empleadas de Hogar de Levante, Spain. Domestic workers' cooperatives operating independently may not be able to provide effective worker representation but when affiliated with a trade union they can.

care providers and employers. An ILO (2016) survey of 182 respondents from the care sector and cooperative movements in North America, Europe, Sub-Saharan Africa, Asia and the Pacific suggests that cooperatives provide care for the elderly, people living with disabilities, people living with chronic illness, and children. Twenty-three percent of care cooperatives provide domestic work services, with almost 13 per cent of care providers being domestic workers. About 28 per cent of survey respondents directly affiliated with a care cooperative reported that their cooperative employed migrant workers, most often in the areas of domestic work (57 per cent), followed by home-based childcare (43 per cent), nursing (28 per cent), and centre-based childcare (28 per cent) (Matthew et al., 2016).

Trade unions and cooperatives have common origins and shared goals of "fostering economic security and industrial democracy". Cooperatives associated with trade unions have emerged in a variety of countries as a response to the need to improve the bargaining power of independent workers (Laliberté, 2013, pp. 173–77). Examples of collaboration between domestic worker cooperatives and trade unions include: (i) cooperatives/associations as prelude to a trade union; (ii) unions providing cooperative services to their members; and (iii) cooperatives and unions operating through one platform (ILO, 2015l, p. 9).

For example, the Jamaican Household Workers Association was founded as a cooperative in 1991 and currently has over 1,600 members. The Association works closely with employers, governments and trade unions to ensure that their workers benefit from fair wages and ethical employment practices. On 18 March 2013 the Association was formally registered as a trade union, shifting the focus from largely serving the economic interests of their members to a greater emphasis on advocating their rights (ILO, 2015), p. 9).

Another collaboration between cooperatives and trade union is the Self-Employed Women's Association (SEWA) in India. SEWA members are rural and urban poor women working in the informal sector, who have empowered themselves by organizing into a labour union to struggle for their rights, and into cooperatives to improve their economic security (Blaxall, 2004). SEWA counts a large number of domestic workers, with 4,300 in New Delhi alone.

## 2.4 International alliances and organizing

Activism by, with or on behalf of migrant workers is, by definition, transnational in nature (Piper, 2005) and, as a result, "does not fit easily into the analytical distinction between claims-making in the context of global value chains and claims-making in the context of national markets" (Kabeer, 2015, p. 40). Neither of these regimes have a strong incentive to protect migrants' rights as their value lies in the wages that they remit to their home countries and in their role as "cheap, unprotected and disposable pool of labour" for the destination country (Kabeer, 2015, p. 40).

Transnational networks active on behalf of migrant workers have evolved from the efforts of NGOs and migrant activists based in the Global South (Kabeer, 2015). Most prominent, in the case of domestic workers, are Migrant Forum in Asia (MFA) and the Global Alliance Against Traffic in Women (GAATW). These networks have succeeded in establishing a connection between the gender, migration and labour/class identities of workers. They have also succeeded in connecting the grassroots level to global policy platforms on migration, channelling workers' demands directly to the ears of governments, regionally through the Colombo Process and internationally through the Global Forum on Migration and Development. ...

The knowledge sharing that takes place in the context of international networks "provide[s] mutual support and creates voice and influence at the international level to re-exert pressure at the national" (Kabeer, 2015, p. 36). Information politics, through the WIEGO, the IDWF, Migrant Forum in Asia and the GAATW, support domestic workers' organizations with "research and statistics to strengthen their claims-making efforts in national policy processes [...] [and] to provide support to its members in building national federations and regional networks, lobbying at International Labour Conferences, linking its members with various international trade secretariats and influencing policy documents at national international levels" (Kabeer, 2015, pp. 36–37).

The IDWF has now grown to more than half a million members across the world (500,897) with 59 affiliates. Europe counts around seven affiliates with 54,512 members in four countries (Belgium, Germany, Ireland and Italy), more than 98 per cent of whom are women. In Asia there are around 12 affiliates with 311,587 members. India alone counts around 286,704 members under four affiliates, the largest Indian affiliate being the National Domestic Workers Movement with 200,000 members. Bangladesh has 16,000 female members under the "National Domestic Women Workers Union" affiliate. In Africa there are around 103,000 members across 20 affiliates. In the Americas, there are 114,483 members across 19 affiliates. <sup>4</sup>

As the network grows, the IDWF's thirst for good practices grows to meet the demands of its members. With the support of the ILO, an e-knowledge sharing platform was created to enable the members of the network to provide mutual support in real time. The platform allows members to post their organization's profile and share resources and campaign materials as well as news about their activities. By October 2015, there were over 10,000 registered members. Today the IDWF makes extensive use of its website and Facebook page to post updates on activities and achievements and provide resource material for its members. The next step will be to build a database of wages and working conditions of domestic workers, including migrants, in each country and territory.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> IDWF membership survey 2015.

# Handout 10.3.

# The rap method

Below is an excerpt from the report: ILO and IDWF (International Domestic Workers' Federation), Decent work for domestic workers: Eight good practices from Asia, 2017, 106–07.

# Rap - Six steps

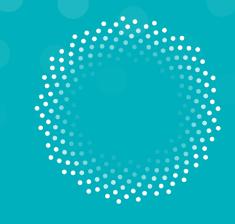
- 1. **Introduction.** The rapper introduces both herself and the organization, including its objectives. The introduction must be short, clear and presented in simple language. Ideally, this is the stage at which the rapper gains the trust of the target.
- 2. **Explore the problems.** The rapper has to explore the problems actually faced by the target, rather than present a list of general domestic worker issues. This moment represents a first step in raising awareness about domestic worker conditions, and it allows the rapper to collect useful information to be later used in persuading the target to join the organization (steps three and four). It is important the target feels comfortable during the conversation, so rappers should make use of small talk and open-ended questions; they should avoid anything that suggests an interrogation. The aim is to let the target talk about her working situation and about the problems she may face with issues such as working conditions, wages, daily working hours, days off, payment, paid holidays, and social security.
- 3. Raise consciousness regarding issues of responsibility. The rapper should use the information acquired in step two to discuss the causes of any issues at hand. The rapper needs to identify who should be held accountable for them and why. The rapper emphasizes how the target's problems are related not only to the individual employer/domestic worker relationship and links the received information to domestic worker rights, raising awareness about elements of decent work, the absence of relevant labour legislation, and about how the organization can more effectively advocate for domestic worker protection while voicing domestic worker interests. This step presents an opportunity for both rapper

<sup>1</sup> This report often uses the non-standard abbreviation "DWs" to refer to domestic workers. For ease of reading, all uses of "DW" have been changed to "domestic workers" throughout the excerpt.

and domestic worker to explore and better understand the issues regarding domestic work, first identifying the issues and then discussing who or what might be responsible for them.

- 4. **Vision/dreams.** Various elements of awareness having been raised, the conversation moves to the target's dreams and expectations for the future. The rapper should encourage the target to discuss means of achieving these aspirations, and then discuss whether it is possible and/or easier to reach the dreams individually or in collaboration with other fellow domestic workers. Next the organizer describes how the organization as a collective of fellow domestic workers, with similar issues and dreams might help her achieve these objectives. The rapper explains what the organization does for its members and the advantages of participation. This step provides the opportunity to present the organization's activities and visions, showing how it empowers domestic workers so they can advocate for their own interests such measures as school activities, learning about rights, and learning how to negotiate with employers and to find support in handling cases brought against them.
- 5. **Invitation to join.** The rapper asks the target to join the organization and attend a meeting. If the answer is yes, the rapper collects her name and telephone number or the signed organization registration form. If the answer is no, the organizer tries to repeat step three, explaining again why it is important to join the organization. If the target still does not want to join it is important not to exert undue pressure. The rapper should simply take her contact information and approach her another time, repeating the Rap from step three.
- 6. **Encourage the target to take action.** If the domestic worker is willing to join, the rapper then encourages her to participate in the next meeting and to invite others, including friends.





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