

Women's Organising Assembly

DISCUSSION GUIDE

ITUC, International Trade Union Confederation

2nd World Women's Conference
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Sincere thanks also go to Daina Z. Green, contributing author and editor of this discussion guide. Daina has worked on gender equity issues for many years. She is certified by the ILO as a Facilitator for Participatory Gender Audits and enjoys advising workplace teams involving unions, governments and non-governmental organizations on how to identify and eliminate discriminatory barriers.

Based in Canada, over the last decade many of her training and equity projects have taken her to Latin America and the Caribbean.

Finally, our thanks go to all the authors, whose contributions have made this such a rich discussion guide. We hope that their thoughts and words will serve as inspiration to union women not only at this Women's Organising Assembly but also in our own unions, our communities and beyond.

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Introduction



A Revolutionary woman

A poem by Marwa Sharafeldin

You talk to me about your austerity measures
The need to copyright my past, present and future
To relieve your financial crisis pressures
I have to tighten my belt and work hard
For somehow, I have to save the banking system
So it can save me and my daily, hard work pleasures

I am told that the financial architecture is designed
So that abundance overflows
from rich to poor,
strong to powerless,
man to woman,
But all I can see in your architecture ... is bad plumbing
Clogged pipes everywhere
Congested with your investments
And my assortment of hard-earned debts
But you better watch it, for you really cannot beat me
I'm used to tying your free trade with my free labour
Your market economy with my care economics
Your fiscal policy with the welfare of my tenderness...
But not for you, for those I love...
And in my love lies my revolution
So don't get too comfortable
Because I am a revolutionary woman

Did you know of the kind of world that I desire?
My fickle warrior heart, and my eyes that shine like fire?
My dancing step and my strong working hands?
That knead our freedom together without tire
My deep wild laughter
At the colourful dreams to which I aspire?
Don't let my thunderous silence fool you
For I shall never honour your economic ceasefire
Don't get too comfortable
I'm a revolutionary woman

I am all too aware that you need me
Can you survive without my loving free labour?
Without the royalty of my generous nature?
Can your empires last one second if I decide to with-hold
The abundance of my one dollar?
What if all of us decide to do so?
What happens to your profits
If my womb decides to hibernate
No more babies for this world

And no more consumers for this market
What if I ... decide again to Occupy?
A new market, a new system, a new justice

Never forget
Your power comes from my acquiescence
To my legion of beloved friends, sisters and mothers
'The street is ours!'...once said an old ancient mama sage
Its true you know, all it takes nowadays, is one Facebook event page
Let us then see you cower ... under the surge of this woman power
So don't get too comfortable
I'm a revolutionary woman

Untamed minds and boundless dreams
Ablaze with all possibilities
Equality, justice and solidarity
Connecting our joint bloodstreams
I pluck the stars and scatter them around us
It is an old protection ritual for the adventurous
Be prepared...
For I know the smell of revolution when it's a brewin'
Don't get too comfortable...
'Cause in front of me lies, a terrifying bunch, of revolutionary women

Foreword

By Sharan Burrow, ITUC General Secretary



Welcome to the Women's Organising Assembly

Sharan Burrow, General Secretary, ITUC

The Women's Organising Assembly marks a strategic moment in the critical fight to reclaim our democracies, our communities, the dignity of work and our rights as women and as workers.

We are witness to alarming decent work deficits in an ailing global economy; decent work deficits that impact disproportionately on women. The dominant model of corporate greed has driven a global economy based on exploitative wages, insecure and unsafe work. It must end and we will counter the threat to equality, social justice and our environment posed by the power and influence of these corporations on democratically elected governments.

The ITUC is determined to take up this challenge by building the power of workers. Organising women everywhere is critical to this priority.

The global economy is no more stable today than it was six years ago and the scourge of unemployment and inequality is driving economic instability and social despair.

In 2010 global growth stood at 5 per cent and it was described as the 'green shoots' of recovery, but in hindsight it was the height of concerted action. The IMF just last month again, for the 7th consecutive time, revised down global growth projections to a mere 3.1 per cent. With the Eurozone in continued recession and slow growth in the US the drag on the BRICS countries is the latest casualty. With projected growth for Brazil at 2.5 per cent and with growth declining in China and India while growth in Africa is largely jobless growth there is an urgent need for leadership.

No nation is an island in today's globalised economy and we need to rebuild economies based on shared values where people's lives and livelihoods with their families and their communities come first. The challenge is significant. We are, at best, facing an era of prolonged stagnation. Add to this, the increasing failure of multilateralism, when from the IMF to the UN, the EU and the G20, the failure to understand that the global economic crisis, caused by greed and inequality, required a social response of equal or greater urgency to that of bailing out the financial sector simply underscores the leadership crisis.

In this context the state of the world for working people and their families is very bleak. Unemployment is again rising above 200 million and youth unemployment is a problem in every nation. For crisis countries and developing nations - facing continuing unemployment with youth unemployment levels of 30 to 60 per cent - societal tensions are in ferment.

The ILO estimates a need to create 600 million new jobs in the next 10 years. Without a determined approach to rebuilding economies with sustainable jobs and social protection at the core of a coordinated global effort, we are facing an economic and social time bomb.

If you consider the global workforce, there are around 2.9 billion workers on our planet. The global economy has a formal sector of just 60% and more than 50% of workers have some form of irregular employment contract. The informal sector is therefore around 40% of the global economy and growing. Here there are no rules; it is the sector of desperation where the dominant profile of workers includes women, migrants and young people. This is no longer a north-south divide as even within G20 countries this sector occupies between 25% and 85% in individual nations.

And 75% of the world's people have no social protection.

And inequality is increasing in almost every nation.

The OECD (2011) reports that "Increases in household income inequality have been largely driven by changes in the distribution of wages and salaries, which account for 75 % of household incomes among working-age adults....This was due to both growing earnings' shares at the top and declining shares at the bottom, although top earners saw their incomes rise particularly rapidly."

The most recent OECD report (2013) shows no reversal of the inequality trend – quite the contrary. Market income inequality increased further and more rapidly than ever before. The increase between 2008 and 2010 was as strong as in the twelve years prior to the crisis.

Indeed the 300 wealthiest citizens in the world hold the equivalent wealth to that of the poorest 3 billion.

The decent work deficit is increasingly characterising the global economy and its supply chains.

Women have been hardest hit by the financial crisis as their employment and income levels steadily deteriorate. The ITUC (2013) Global Poll shows that 65 % of women think the economic situation in their country is bad.

54 % of women think their country is going in the wrong direction.

Only 12 % of women say their income has risen in the last two years and only 12% of women think their government is focused on the interests of working people.

66 % of women say laws do not give them adequate protection to ensure job security.

67% of women say laws do not give them protection for fair wages

This is a strong indictment of the failure of governments to ensure decent work. But the good news is that 68% of women think work places with a union provide better wages, conditions and health and safety for workers. This is a sound foundation for organising.

And women know what will ensure security and opportunity for themselves and their families. Women are more strongly in support of a social protection floor:

76 % strongly support decent retirement incomes

78% strongly support access to healthcare

73% strongly support access to education, and

62% strongly support affordable access to childcare. Sadly only 54 % of men indicate strong support for childcare which is critical for women's participation in the workforce.

Women may be half the working-age population, but they represent less than one-third of the actual labour force. For a decade or more, women's participation in the workforce has been stuck at about 50 per cent, whereas male participation has remained consistently – and comfortably – close to 80 per cent.

According to the IMF these global averages mask wide regional variations. The situation is starkest in the Middle East and North Africa, for example, where about 80 per cent of working-age women do not participate in the labour market.

Women in paid employment still earn less than their male colleagues even when doing the same work. The gender pay gap is around 18 % in the OECD nations and expands dramatically in the developing economy. Women hold fewer than 14 per cent of corporate board seats in the European Union, and fewer than 10 per cent of chief executive officer positions in Fortune 500 companies. The number of women in government appears to have stalled at around 20% and women in union leadership falls way short at just 12%.

If employment trends had continued at pre-crisis levels, there would have been nearly 29 million more people in the labour force in 2011. Falling participation among women accounts for two-thirds of this shortfall. This must be corrected.

Mobilising the untapped female workforce is a critical part of rebuilding our economies. If women equalled the number of men in the workforce the GDP of France would increase by 4%, Japan by 8% and Egypt by 34%.

We demand a different world, a world that we can achieve only by fully including women. This requires us to organise the values, voice, and contributions of women. Our unions, our workplaces and our democracy will be stronger for it.

And we see progress.

The '12 by 12' campaign for Domestic workers has been supported by more than 80 affiliates organising domestic workers to fight for ratification of Convention 189 and just labour laws.

Labour Rights for Women is an organising project that has reached out to thousands of women across eight countries, both in formal and informal sectors.

Street vendors, waste pickers and marginalised agricultural workers are being organised in the informal sector - demanding social protection, minimum wages and labour laws to formalise their jobs.

Young people are being supported to organise in their workplaces and their communities through the ITUC 'Get Organised platform' and young women leaders are emerging through the Decisions for Life campaigns.

We are building the ITUC Global Academy to train and support lead organisers to coordinate organising in their workplaces and in communities.

Equally the ITUC 'Count Us In' campaign to raise the numbers of women in trade union leadership has been launched and affiliates are signing up.

But these efforts are just the beginning. As we celebrate the struggles of women for democracy and peace, for rights, decent work and climate justice we must draw inspiration and determination from their courage to organise to build the power of women.

Looking Back □ Looking Forward

By Diana Holland, Chair of the ITUC Women's Committee



It is not working women, low paid workers, pregnant women, mothers and carers who caused the global economic crisis, and yet women are disproportionately paying the highest price. The ITUC Global Poll 2012¹ includes the important statement:

“Women are more pessimistic than men. 68% say their country is going in the wrong direction”

This 2nd World Women's Conference - Organising Assembly - is not just about opposing discrimination and injustice because it is wrong. The focus on organising working women is central to the trade union response and part of the solution for the global trade union movement – women leading the way, as the young women involved in the ITUC Decisions for Life Young Women's project are doing, for example.

The global economic crisis has increased poverty and swelled the ranks of the “working poor” to 1.5 billion working men and women, the majority being women - whose jobs do not provide enough to meet basic needs. The ITUC report² International Women's Day 8th March 2011, showed that while the initial impact was equally detrimental to men and women, a second wave of the global economic crisis has led to increasing numbers of women losing their jobs or being forced into more precarious, temporary, and informal forms of work. The ITUC report for International Women's Day 8th March 2012 reported on the lack of progress in closing the gender pay gap in the workplace, although importantly it does show that there is a smaller gender pay gap in sectors with higher union organisation.³

These threats to hard-won gains are having a major impact on women's lives and to their families and communities. Austerity measures, challenges to trade union rights, and cutbacks are deeply threatening to women's rights and opportunities to work throughout the world. Action on sex discrimination, unfair pay, sexual harassment, violence against women, women's health, including reproductive health and support for pregnant women, working mothers and carers, is increasingly being challenged and given a lower priority. The ILO⁴ has documented increases in complaints of workplace discrimination at the same time as cutbacks in bodies charged with inspection and preventing the economic crisis from generating more inequalities.

Against this backdrop, action called for at **the 1st ITUC World Women's Conference 2009 ‘Decent Work, Decent Life for Women’⁵**, bringing together 450 women delegates from 102 countries across the world, has taken on a sharp focus. The conference underlined the International Labour Conference resolution on gender equality: “Crises should not be used as excuses to create even greater inequalities nor undermine women's acquired rights” and called for implementation of the agreed Jobs Pact: “measures to retain persons in employment, to sustain enterprises and to accelerate employment creation and jobs recovery combined with social protection systems in particular for the most vulnerable integrating gender concerns on all measures” and the ITUC women called for action plans for:

- organising women workers
- collective bargaining, social dialogue and gender equality
- worldwide action on gender equality, economic and social justice, climate change and food security
- core labour standards
- women's representation in trade unions

¹ http://www.ituc-csi.org/IMG/pdf/120604_-_ituc_poll.pdf

² *Living With Economic Insecurity: Women in Precarious Work* ITUC March 2011

³ *Frozen in time: Gender pay gap unchanged for 10 years* ITUC March 2012

⁴ In its report *Equality at Work: The continuing challenge* ILO May 2011

⁵ *1st ITUC Women's conference 2009: Conclusions and Recommendations*

ITUC Women's Committee: Action for Equality

In the years since the conference, the ITUC Women's Committee with the Equality Department has ensured these action plans are being implemented in line with the ITUC Charter for Women and Action Plan for Equality in Trade Unions. As well as inspiring action at national and workplace levels, internationally ITUC women have been active across the world on International Women's Day and on the International Day to End Violence against Women & Girls, with Global Union Federations, on the World March of Women, at the UN Commission on the Status of Women, defending the Beijing Platform for Action, and in the Workers' Group of the ILO.

As part of its central commitment to positive action, the committee has also advanced new developments, and it is the achievements of young women workers, domestic workers and Arab women in particular that lead the way. Their achievements demonstrate very clearly that workers in some of the most vulnerable and exploited positions in the economy can inspire the most positive change needed by all across the world.

Decent Work for Women: Domestic workers convention – 12 by 12 campaign

After a long campaign for justice led by domestic workers, particularly migrant domestic workers, the ITUC has been part of the major alliance with the IUF which achieved the ILO Convention and Recommendation on Domestic Workers at the 2011 ILC, central to its campaign for Decent Work, Decent Life for Women. Domestic work is undervalued work, mainly carried out by women, central to our economy, with serious exploitation and abuse hidden in communities and homes, and limited or no access to redress. The ILO Convention is a major achievement, and the campaigning for ratifications throughout 2012-13 has been turning words of support into action which needs to continue.

Arab Women's Network – Changing for Equality

International Women's Day 2011 saw women trade unionists from Arab countries coming together to launch their network 'Changing for Equality' under the umbrella of the ITUC with the support of the ILO. At the heart of the network is mobilisation for democracy, social justice, decent work and gender equality. Their declaration confirms the urgency of promoting women in all sectors of society, and their action plan states:

- 'women have to be actors of the transition to more democratic regimes and involved on an equal footing with men in the decision making process towards democracy
- that trade unions in the region must increase their commitment to gender equality and the advancement of women's rights
- that quotas remain a necessity to ensure women's access to decision-making bodies'

Young women – 'Decisions for Life'

The ITUC Decisions for Life project has been reaching out to thousands of young women workers internationally: 'The lifetime decisions adolescent women face, determine not only their individual future, but also that of society: their choices are key to the demographic and workforce development of the nation' The project has been achieving a ground-breaking level of tangible changes in workplaces, conditions and involvement. The motivation and creativity of young women coming forward in some of the most challenging situations is rebuilding the confidence of workers everywhere. As one of the young women has said: 'Don't give up easily, strive and 'ght for your rights as workers' and focus on your dreams and goals regardless of the environment you are living in'⁶ The principle of ensuring young women have the space, resources, opportunity, respect and value must continue to be a priority.

Moving forward

This latest global economic crisis and its aftermath needs the leadership and strength of all women – including young women, Arab women, domestic workers, and all those across the world facing discrimination, exploitation and exclusion from power and decision-making. Trade unions internationally are demonstrating that they can be central to making this happen through organising in the informal economy; recognising the potential for job creation in the care economy; eliminating the barriers and empowering the talents of women in the workplace, the union and wider community and in leadership at all levels.

This is how we will strengthen our movement – harnessing the talents and strength of all working people, women and men.



ITUC Congress Resolution on Gender Equality



1. Congress reiterates that gender equality is a key human rights goal and component of social justice. It commits the ITUC to the achievement of gender equality in all its endeavours, deplores the continuing reality of deep and pervasive discrimination against women in all areas of economic and social activity and recognises the equal contribution of women and men to society, to economic life and to the trade union movement.
2. Congress notes with concern that gender differences in participation and unemployment rates are a persistent feature of global labour markets in spite of advances in educational levels of women. Women suffer multiple disadvantages in access to labour markets, and in most cases do not have the same opportunities as men in the choice of work and in having access to the working conditions to which they aspire. Such exclusion is particularly serious as regards young women migrants. In addition, traditional social roles burden women with an undue share of caring responsibilities and domestic or family work.
3. Gender discrimination is evident throughout the world in access to resources, educational and economic opportunities, political power and leadership positions. Only 40% of those employed in the world are women, with the majority being in the agricultural sector and in informal economic activities where incomes and working conditions are generally lower. Women are over-represented in low-paying jobs, under-represented in executive, management and technical positions and often suffer poor working conditions. Women's skills and jobs have been historically undervalued with the global gender pay gap at around 22%. Policies and programmes to achieve gender equality are essential, but have not proven adequate to dismantle stereotypes and overcome injustice.
4. Cultural, economic, social and religious barriers must be identified, condemned and overcome in order for women's human rights to be respected and fully implemented everywhere. As gender discrimination frequently interacts with other forms of discrimination such as age and gender identity, policies and programmes should be put in place to address the multiple forms of discrimination against women and a cross-cutting approach on gender should be adopted.
5. Sexual harassment and other forms of abuse are serious forms of discrimination that undermine the dignity of women and men and negate gender equality. Congress deplores the reality that one third of women suffer from violence at some stage in their lives.
6. Because traditional occupational segregation has forced women into economic activities often characterised by low pay, whether low-skilled or skilled, it is critical to recognise appropriately the importance and value of the jobs, sectors and activities where women are overrepresented. Provision should be made for women to acquire the skills that are related to jobs, activities and sectors that are growing and offering decent work opportunities, and women's skills must be valued equally with those of men. Women should also be encouraged to join non-traditional sectors such as those linked to green jobs. Vocational training, education and skills development policies should promote equality of opportunity for

girls and women, and initiatives should be taken for the sharing of family responsibilities between men and women to reconcile equitably work and personal life especially in relation to child and dependent care.

7. Discrimination and disadvantage in the world of work is often related to, or exacerbated by women's reproductive role and their lack of access to affordable related services and support and the inadequacies of maternity protection. Donor governments must provide developing country governments with the resources to provide satisfactory and universally accessible reproductive health and medical care and access to sufficient professional staff for all, to reduce maternal and new-born mortality around the world in line with the fifth Millennium Development Goal.

8. Congress recognises that globalisation affects women and men differently and that its differential impact and resultant needs should be subject to gender analysis in both policy development and impact assessment. The withdrawal of the state from regulatory and economic activity, and the reduction of public spending adversely affect employment in sectors in which women are highly represented and reduce those services on which women are disproportionately dependent because of the unequal division of family responsibilities.

9. Congress underlines that the global crisis has deepened inequality and undermined women's rights and that as a result an impoverishment of women, especially elderly women, is taking place. The crisis should be seized as a critical opportunity to adopt a new policy paradigm that reflects a rights-based approach and promotes equity and gender equality. National economic recovery strategies must therefore incorporate a comprehensive gender analysis from the outset.

10. Congress declares that gender equality should be addressed as a central element of all aspects of employment policy, including macroeconomic frameworks, active labour market policies, skills development, enterprise promotion and employment-intensive infrastructure programmes. Gender issues must be central to the process of designing and assessing the impact of recovery packages.

11. Congress demands the full respect of core labour rights in all export processing zones (EPZs) where women make up nearly 80% of the workforce, in order to eliminate exploitative, dangerous and sometimes brutal practices of which women are the most frequent victims.

12. Congress notes that women constitute nearly half the world's migrants and that many work in the least protected and most exploited sectors and are increasingly trafficked into illegal employment and prostitution. It condemns the growth of such slavery-like practices and commits the ITUC to fight against them and to achieve more effective national and international enforcement of measures to eliminate them.

13. Women also make up the majority of workers with precarious jobs and of workers in the informal economy who are not protected by legislation, are denied fundamental rights and are subject to sub-standard conditions of work. Congress calls on affiliates to intensify the organisation of all women and men workers, both in the formal and informal economy while making all efforts to bring those workers who are currently denied their fundamental rights at work within the scope of legislative protection.

14. Congress encourages and supports the actions of unions working to lend moral and material assistance to women and children who have refugee status owing to conflicts or violent situations.

15. Congress is concerned that in spite of the growth in women's membership of affiliates of the ITUC to 40% and the efforts made to better represent women in their structures and policies, the full integration of gender perspectives in trade union decision-making, policies and activities remain inadequate. Trade unions have the basic responsibility, and must be at the forefront of the struggle, to achieve gender equality in the workplace, in their policies, in their own structures and in society. The ITUC calls on affiliates to prioritise and ensure the organisation of women into unions and the promotion of women into leadership positions and throughout their structures.

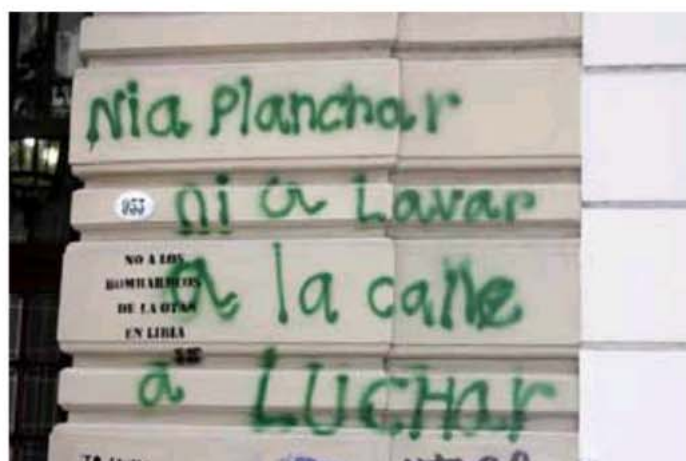
ITUC Action Programme

16. Congress instructs the ITUC and regional organisations and structure, working together with Global Unions partners and affiliates to:

- (a) intensify the Decent Work for Decent Life for Women Campaign aimed at achieving social justice and gender equality at the workplace and in trade unions and to continue the drive to organise women workers, particularly in EPZs and the informal economy, as well as domestic, migrant, rural, young, and other vulnerable workers;
- (b) assist in the extension of gender awareness training programmes to both men and women trade union leaders and activists with a view to the systematic incorporation of gender perspectives in policies, programmes, publications and negotiations;
- (c) promote the appropriate participation of women as trade union negotiators and implement a Plan of Action for collective negotiation, social dialogue and gender equality, including: health and safety of women in the workplace and health policy, including HIV/AIDS; policies and procedures to eliminate sexual harassment, discrimination and violence in the workplace and in the community in general; and training for all negotiators and union representatives regarding the incorporation of gender policies in all trade union activities;
- (d) increase union activity for pay equity at national, regional and international level, including collective bargaining, research and information dissemination on the gender pay gap, support for equal pay for work of equal value, revision of the widely-held notion of certain jobs or professions being the preserve of a single gender, capacity building, and campaigning on the work-life balance and for the right to a decent living wage sufficient to cover basic needs, and for women working involuntarily on part-time contracts to have the possibility of moving to full-time contracts or at least to increased hours;
- (e) promote access of women trade unionists to education on all areas of trade union work at the national and international levels, including the global economic crisis, trade and labour standards, climate change and international institutions;
- (f) monitor and assist unions to bring about coherence in trade union gender policies at the international, regional and national levels and encourage unions to carry out gender audits to strengthen their policies and structures on gender equality including through use of the ILO Gender Audit tool;
- (g) take affirmative action and other corrective measures as necessary to further strengthen women's involvement in trade union decision-making, policies and activities and promote actively the ITUC's commitment to achieve gender parity in its programmes and in access to positions of responsibility in the leadership and structures of the ITUC, its affiliates and trade unions generally, with particular attention to the active participation of young women in decision-making bodies, including by collecting disaggregated data on gender parity in affiliates and taking measures in the case of non-compliance;
- (h) promote gender parity within the ILO and a higher representation of women at the International Labour Conference, and the involvement of trade union women at the UN Commission on the Status of Women (CSW);
- (i) fully engage in efforts to enable the adoption of an ILO Convention supplemented by a Recommendation for domestic workers, and its subsequent ratification and full implementation;
- (j) intensify campaigning at national, regional and international levels for the ratification and implementation of ILO Conventions 100 (Equal Remuneration), 111 (Discrimination), 156 (Workers with Family Responsibilities), 169 (Indigenous and Tribal Peoples), 175 (Part-Time Work), 177 (Home Work) and 183 (Maternity Protection), and implementation of the recommendations of the 2009 ILO Conference on "Gender Equality at the Heart of Decent Work";
- (k) carry out gender analysis of the policies and actions of the IFIs, WTO and other institutions dealing with the global economy and development, and address these issues in the framework of achieving the UN's third Millennium Development Goal (MDG3) on gender equality;

- (l) ensure gender equality is mainstreamed in all decision making, including measures to deal with the global crisis as endorsed in the ILO Global Jobs Pact and investment in green jobs for women and for men;
- (m) Identify and condemn cultural, economic, social and religious barriers to the respect of women's rights that have to be overcome in order for women's human rights to be respected and fully implemented everywhere;
- (n) Strengthen the commitment of companies to positive actions and programmes that seek to achieve gender equality;
- (o) actively promote the access of women to quality public services including health, education, transport and water, and public services such as day care centres and preschools that enable women to have access to the labour market and to remain in it, as part of the struggle for achieving gender equality;
- (p) undertake specific actions for girls' education and the elimination of child labour and the elimination of human trafficking, particularly in the sex trade;
- (q) undertake specific actions to protect women's health and safety at work, with particular regard to their reproductive health and maternity rights;
- (r) defend women's right to free decisions on their bodies and their sexuality;
- (s) condemn violations of women's trade union rights and violence against women trade unionists, participate actively in the International Day for Elimination of Violence against Women, 25 November and strive for the elimination of all the various forms of violence against women;
- (t) make every possible effort to secure the application of the UN Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW);
- (u) promote the implementation of the Beijing Declaration and Platform of Action adopted by the Fourth World Conference on Women in 1995, in particular Section F on women and the economy, at national, regional and international levels and ensure effective trade union input and participation at follow up meetings, as well as support the organising of a Fifth World Conference on Women;
- (v) support the building of solidarity between trade union women at all levels, including international solidarity actions with the Global Union Federations;
- (w) actively take part in 8 March, International Women's Day, making it a day of global action, and build alliances with civil society on behalf of women trade unionists and with women's organisations in order to achieve common goals, including the World March of Women.

June 2010



Organising for Change



Women in the Senegalese Labour Movement

Senegalese workers under French colonial rule resisted forced labour conditions, as their colonisers set about building roads and railways to export the country's wealth back to rich nations. Workers saw little difference between 19th century forced labour and slavery.

The country's first unions were made up of male public service workers educated in French. They used their relative privilege to help other workers establish trade unions and even negotiated for their brothers in private sector unions. By the 1930s, there were unions organised by sector (banking, railway, construction, metalworkers and merchant marine).

Several key strikes leading up to World War II galvanised the nascent working class. The French Army fired on mass protests during the railway workers' strike to silence the workers' demands, but workers and their communities held firm, and achieved their goals. Workers in the Port of Dakar won major wage increases during a historic strike during the same period. However, unions were suspended during that war, both in France and its colonies. In 1945, printers led a successful strike for higher wages followed in 1946 by a number of others strikes, including a railway strike in 1947.

The 1947 railway strike was a watershed moment in Senegalese trade union history. The colonial authorities not only cut off wages, but also cut off water supplies and pressured local traders not to sell food to the strikers. Neither side would concede and the strike dragged on into 1948. Following a tragic shooting incident that left two youths dead, it was the mobilisation of women - who took to the streets in a show of support for the strikers - that tipped the balance and forced the bosses to the negotiating table.

Women began to join the paid labour force in greater numbers in the years following Senegal's independence in 1960. Midwives, doctors and teachers were the pioneers of women's labour activism. It was not long before the women realised they needed to be present in their unions, and to sit at the negotiating tables with their brothers. In the industrial sector, women first joined the ranks of fish processing and tobacco workers. And they joined unions. Women fought against the unlimited working hours imposed on them by bosses obsessed with increased production for export. Not willing to invest in refrigeration facilities, bosses insisted that women work up to 14 hours a day, in order to process the entire day's catch before it went bad. Women began to take part in May Day marches and union conventions.

Women in fish processing were outraged to be excluded from the 40-hour week set out in the colonial Overseas Labour Code. They were joined in their struggle for reasonable working hours by working women around the country, and were finally victorious in the 1970s.

But that was just the beginning of their struggles. The women then had to fight for basic safety equipment. They had no gloves to protect them when handling frozen fish. Basic human rights such as maternity and widowhood leave, and childcare were not respected. Working in these deplorable conditions, women sometimes miscarried at work, and there were countless rapes on the dangerous roads as women made their way home late at night. Women's male partners also sometimes pressured them to quit and come back home to take care of domestic responsibilities. But many women trade unionists embraced feminist principles and pushed for full participation in the labour movement.

During the "golden age" of women's militancy, female hospitality workers fought for the right for promotion and to become supervisors. In healthcare, women were leaders in many struggles benefitting them and their male co-workers. Women municipal workers, making up 40% of the sector, are highly visible in their unions.

A bloody strike in the food processing sector in 1982, and two subsequent strikes in the sector, showed that when women workers could count on the support of their husbands, an unbreakable chain of solidarity was formed. The women occupied the SAIB processing plant for three months. They kept the scabs out and no tuna was processed until the strike was won. As a result of their militancy, the women now have more humane working conditions and much improved labour relations with their company.

Known as the “blouses blanches” (white shirts), doctors and midwives continue their high-profile struggle for decent wages and working conditions. They continue to fight for wage equality, the right to leaves, and safety at work.

The first Working Women's Conference, organised by the highly-female Food Workers' Union in 1972, sparked greater consciousness of the need to fight for women's rights as women and as workers. Today, Working Women's Conferences are held in each region of the country.

Senegalese women are steadily moving into union leadership posts, including top positions.

Today, the ITUC has 5 affiliates in Senegal:

- ❑ Confédération Nationale des Travailleurs du Sénégal (CNTS)
- ❑ Confédération des Syndicats Autonomes du Sénégal (CSA)
- ❑ Confédération Nationale des Travailleurs du Sénégal - Forces du Changement (CNTS-FC)
- ❑ Union Démocratique des Travailleurs du Sénégal (UDTS)
- ❑ Union Nationale des Syndicats Autonomes du Sénégal (UNSAS)

We thank them for their invaluable assistance in organising and hosting this 2nd World Women's Conference – the Women's Organising Assembly.

Key messages:

1. Senegalese trade unions evolved from their roots up under French colonialism to a militant model of unity and strength with the emergence of the country's democracy. Before Senegal's independence in 1960, unions were almost entirely male-dominated.
2. Both before and after independence, women took part in struggles for improved wages and working conditions. From the beginning of their participation in paid work, especially in the tobacco industry, healthcare, and fish processing sectors, women have been gradually taking their place as leaders in labour organisations.
3. Women trade-unionists today fight alongside their brothers for better working conditions and social policies that reflect their needs as workers and as women.

Get inspired!

1. Women in the fish plants called on their husbands to support their strike for safer work and higher wages. Making the fight “a family affair” was the key to success.
2. Sometimes achieving unity among trade unions is a question of “two steps forward and one step back.” We need to keep working at it.
3. Have we been able to de-colonise our own unions? Are we stuck in patriarchal models? Popular education is one way to understand how we as workers have the “bosses in our heads.” Once we understand, we can kick the bosses out, along with outdated patriarchal beliefs! Brazilians Paulo Freire (Pedagogy of the Oppressed) and Augusto Boal (Theatre of the Oppressed) pioneered popular education approaches that have produced great leaps in awareness when used in union education.

Introduction to the World March of Women

By Wilhelmina Trout



The World March of Women (South Africa)

In October 1998 in Montreal, Quebec, Canada, women from various parts of the world came together to discuss the preparation of a new worldwide campaign to confront the causes of poverty and violence. At this meeting it was decided to embark on international action which was launched on International Women's Day 08 March 2000 and ended on October 17 2000, this led to the formation of the World March of Women (WMW).

The WMW remained and grew into an international feminist action movement connecting grass-roots groups and organisations rooted in local struggles and local contexts. We believe that the only way to create a better world is to change the balance of power favourable to the well-being of women by building a broad-based women's movement that organises, mobilises and unites many women around the world who want and struggle for the transformation of societies.

Today we are organised in National Coordinating Bodies (NCB's), composed of hundreds of women and grassroots groups in more than 76 countries. We have an International Committee (IC) composed of feminist activists, two from each of the five continents. An International Secretariat (IS), with an International Coordinator, coordinates the movement's day-to-day activities and rotates every six years to a different country. The first country to host the IS was Quebec, Canada and currently Sao Paulo, Brazil.

Every second year member organisations come together in an International Meeting (IM) where the International Committee members and the International Coordinator are elected and strategic decisions are adopted.

The active participating groups and NCB's are free to define their actions, agenda, and priorities in their respective countries. International actions are decided on by all member groups through a broad participatory consultation process, with the final decision taken by the IM. Decisions are not imposed, the groups support them because they identify strongly with the discourse, actions and images that build and symbolise unity in the diversity of the WMW internationally.

The entire history of the WMW is marked by a dynamic of analysis and action developed from the local to the international and vice-versa. The connection between the international and the local has become one of our strengths and an incentive for many groups to support the March. We do not want to simply reproduce a communication line from the international to the local level. We want the actions and analyses of the local groups participating in the March to have increasing influence on our vision of the world, and our alternatives. This presents concrete challenges, including the translation of the contents of our work into three languages (French, English, and Spanish) and into other languages (the responsibility of each NCB).

Since 2000 there has been global action every 5 years.

- < Throughout 2000, over 6,000 groups from 161 countries organised national demonstrations, came together to share ideas and give voice to their demands. The mobilisation built up locally and regionally, culminating on 17 October with simultaneous marches in 40 countries. The official closing event took place in New York with the symbolic handing over of over five million signatures collected to the UN Headquarters, denouncing the devastating impact of the IMF and World Bank policies on women.
- < In 2005, unlike 2000, the responsibility for the 2nd world action lay with the NCB's. The aim was to strengthen NCB's and build solidarity at both national and regional level. With very limited financial support, three principal actions were organised
 - The World Relay of the Women's Global Charter for Humanity
 - A worldwide collective creation of a solidarity Patchwork Quilt
 - 24 Hours of Feminist Solidarity

The Charter presents in 31 affirmations the world that women want to build. Each country contributed its analysis and expressed its concerns and after several versions it was adopted at the 5th International Meeting in Rwanda in 2004.

The Charter and quilt started their international journey together on March 8 2005, in Sao Paulo. Over 30,000 women participated, marching in the streets passing through 53 countries on five continents and ended up in Ouagadougou, Burkina Faso on October 17. At each border, groups of women ceremoniously passed on The Charter and the Quilt to each other. These were moments of great impact. At each stop women organised actions to raise awareness and inform people about the contents of the Charter and they urged their political leaders to put into practice the Charter values. As the solidarity patchwork quilt arrived, countries added their square to the quilt. Piece by piece, the March's vision of another world, expressed in the Women's Global Charter for Humanity, materialised as the quilt was assembled. Ideally each square was made by groups of women through a collective process of sewing, embroidery and reflection about the values of equality, freedom, solidarity, justice and peace captured by the Charter's contents.

- < Leading up to the 3rd global action in 2010, and inspired by women's struggles at the local level, four action areas emerged around which the March wanted to deepen its analysis and strengthen its action:
 1. The common good, food sovereignty and access to resources and biodiversity.
 2. Peace and demilitarisation.
 3. Violence against women as a tool for controlling women's bodies, lives and sexuality
 4. Women's work

In 2010 thousands of women across the globe marched under the slogan "Women on the March Until we All are Free!" National actions took place in 52 countries, directly involving more than 38,000 women who had built national platforms around the 4 action areas. In Pakistan, in spite of bombs exploding women took to the streets. Women from Mali debated peace-building and demonstrated in Gao, an area of armed conflict. In Greece, they held demonstrations against high military expenditure and austerity measures. In Brazil, more than 2,000 women marched for 10 days under the slogan.

Three regional actions were also organised, leading to debates and public demonstrations. In Asia, women from 10 countries met in Manila, Philippines and demonstrated against the military presence of the United States in Southeast Asia. In Europe, women from 23 countries came together in Istanbul, Turkey and proclaimed their demands under the slogan, "Women, Peace, and Freedom". In the Americas, the WMW joined the Women's Social Movement against War and for Peace to raise awareness and denounce the reality of the Colombian conflict.

The 2010 global action culminated in a gathering of an international delegation of 220 women from 41 countries in South Kivu, Democratic Republic of Congo. It was our decision to take action there, first as an expression of our solidarity with the women who resist day to day armed conflict, particularly women in Eastern DRC. We also wished to continue our discussion to reassert our on-going denunciation of the growing militarisation of the world; increasing militarisation is a tool that bolsters the patriarchy in its ties to capitalism.

This Closing Event was a huge mobilisation success in the DRC; the international delegation was well organised; solidarity with women who live in conflict areas was expressed; large participation of Congolese women from all 9 provinces (3,000 people registered); support from allied organisations; women from the country believed they were in a better position to present their demands to their government; the permanent structural benefits for the city of Bukavu, all these achievements gave us the courage to reflect on our weaknesses and challenges, it expressed our level of maturity as an international feminist movement and the accumulation of our 12 years of collective history.



Women Workers in Egypt - before and after the Revolution

By Nawla Darwiche, New Women Foundation (Egypt)

In Egypt, women's participation in the formal economy has doubled from 10.9% (917,000) in 1981 to 22.34% (5.11 million) in 2006 (last available statistics). However, the official rate of female unemployment rose from 19% in 1981 to 24% in 2002, then declining to 18.76% by mid-2008.

And the Unified Labour Law No. 12/2003 has contributed to cutting back several benefits previously enjoyed by female workers:

- Article 91 of the new modified law states that women may only obtain a maternity leave after 10 months on the job, whereas the old law allowed maternity leave to be given after only six months. Employers take advantage of this change, especially with women working under temporary or seasonal contracts - mainly within the private and the investment sectors – by hiring workers on contracts of less than 10 months. Moreover, if a woman gets married during the contract period, the contract is usually not renewed.
- Article 94 of the same law restricts to two the number of leaves for childcare a worker can take. Under the previous law, a woman was allowed to take up to three leaves over the entire period of service.
- In addition, the law exempts some specific categories of workers (domestic workers and agricultural workers) from legal protections.
- Women are also excluded by law from certain jobs “that might be harmful to them for health or moral reasons”. Women are not allowed to work night shifts, which has a substantial negative effect on their access to promotional opportunities (Articles 90 and 91).
- Article 123 of the law stipulates that the female worker has the right to rescind her contract whether for marriage, pregnancy or childbirth. Practically, this is a way to encourage women to quit their jobs under the pretext of protecting the unity of the family.

Illustrations of discrimination against women in the workplace

In the textile and clothing industry, women are concentrated in the ready-to wear clothing sector that pays lower wages than spinning, which has an almost entirely male workforce. According to the testimonies of women from different regions, the starting salary of females is lower than that of males. Moreover, female workers are deprived of the opportunity for promotion or to hold supervisory positions. They are usually temporary workers that can be disposed of at any time as a consequence of their reproductive role within the family.

There is large gap between the percentage of male and female supervisors, even in mainly-female sectors. The marginalisation of women is especially noticeable in the chemical and electronics industries where female supervisors account for only 2% and 3% respectively.

In 2009, the NWF prepared a report on sexual harassment in the industrial zones based on a sample of 40 female workers from four regions (Alexandria, Suez, Port-Said and Ismailiah). All those interviewed confirmed that sexual harassment occurs at the workplace regardless of the dress of the worker (either veiled or unveiled), her marital status, or her age. Most cases of sexual harassment are perpetrated by colleagues, supervisors, or employers.

In most factories, eligibility for company housing is restricted to men.

Contribution of women workers before the revolution

Since 2006, Egypt has witnessed important social movements, especially in the ranks of the working class. Note the great strike at the Mehallah El Kobra spinning and weaving factory in December 2006 and September 2007, involving some 26,000 male and female workers. It is worth mentioning that the December 2006 strike was initiated by 3,000 female garment workers who left their work stations and marched to the spinning and weaving sections where their male colleagues had not yet stopped their machines.

For the first time, the role of women in these strikes is changing from merely supporting men, to standing side by side with them in the negotiations. Moreover, several women participated in the hunger strike organised by the protesters. Two women workers played a role that has become legendary: Amal Said and Widad Demerdash. As a result of their defiance, they were threatened with rape in front of their children by the security services of the factory.

Women have also been very active and have played leadership roles in sectors such as nursing and property tax collection, where the first independent trade union for Egyptian workers was founded in 2009.

At the Mansura-Espana garment factory, the great majority of employees are women. They were the principal force behind a two-month strike in April-June 2007. In the course of the strike, several women went on a hunger strike and five threatened to commit suicide.

Another prominent figure from Southern Egypt is Aisha Abu Samada, elected as a member of her local union committee for the 2006-2011 term at the "Hennawi" tobacco factory where most of the workers are women. In 2007, she led 350 men and women in several collective actions. She also collected 250 signatures on a petition to recall some union committee members who did not support the demands of the majority of workers. As a punishment, she was fired from her job and banished from the union's executive.

The marginalisation of women in the "official" trade union structures is very pronounced. In the 2001-2006 trade union elections, women won 4% of the total local union committee positions, 1.5% of the local union presidencies and 2% of the positions on the executive boards of general unions.

During and after the revolution

Undoubtedly, the firm stand of the Egyptian workers during the revolution played a decisive role in the withdrawal of the former president. Women workers were at the heart of this movement. Women were generally present in all the Tahrir squares of Egypt: at check points, in field hospitals, and side by side with their male colleagues, throwing stones at the thugs, as well as falling victim to fire from security forces and Mubarak supporters. The number of identified female martyrs during the first months of the revolution has reached 23.

During 2010, two women board members of the local trade union committee of the Suez El Nasr fertiliser factory refused to withdraw their complaint of financial contraventions by the company management. They were falsely accused of physically attacking one of the members of the general trade union and former member of the local council. These women continue to fight against corruption and bring to light all the fraud occurring in the factory.

On June 14 2011, the first Egyptian woman worker was charged along with six other workers and was summoned to appear before a military court. Nadia Mohamed Ahmad Youssef, Vice President of the local trade union committee at the El Tamsah factory affiliated to the Suez Canal Authority, was accused of participating in a sit-in after requesting the enforcement of the new collective agreement negotiated with seven trade unions. After a number of protests against the arrests, the case was stayed by the military prosecutor.

The marginalisation of women increased after January 25, 2013, with the rise of Islamist discourse calling for women to return to their homes.

The representation of women remains quite limited even in the independent trade unions registered after the revolution.

What are the main demands regarding women and work?

- ❑ Establish wage scales with minimum and maximum wages.
- ❑ Adopt all necessary measures to secure equal opportunities for women and men at work in terms of wages, promotion and vocational training.
- ❑ Amend the labour law to include all working women (domestic workers, and women in the agricultural and informal sectors).
- ❑ Reinstate the articles related to women's reproductive rights: maternity leave, childcare leave, kindergartens, etc.
- ❑ Call on the government to take all the necessary measures to allow women to occupy public positions: as judges, governors, ministers, etc.
- ❑ Enact measures to prevent women from being sexually harassed at the work place.
- ❑ Make women's economic participation visible in official statistics.



Towards 'leaderfull' transformation

By Hakima Abbas, AWID

Leadership has been a mainstay of social development since time immemorial. Leaders have been the centre piece of folktale, legend and mythology as much for their embodiment of 'good' leadership – courageous, bold, problem solving, innovative, creative, shrewd and caring - as for stories of failure, disrepute and overthrow. Leadership in Africa is a complex web of multiple images of authority, power and hierarchy. While commentators often underscore the political leadership woes of Africa as evidence of a leadership crisis on the continent, the collective leadership of African peoples in social transformation has largely been ignored in the body of knowledge determining and understanding leadership. Similarly, within our movements, the single charismatic man continues to be heralded as the leader of transformative processes while African women's leadership has been consistently disappeared from dominant narratives of change on the continent.

The individualised male-centric definition of leadership contributes to the lack of recognition of women as leaders. Patriarchy offers a central place to men in seats of authority and positions of power. However, an important distinction must be drawn between leadership and authority, the latter being merely a claim to legitimacy through title or position, and the former being a set of actions and processes set in motion by individuals or groups of individuals understood to be leaders. Title may cement authority but it does not equate to leadership.

Dominant understandings of leadership define success in leadership to be determined by the talents, skills, knowledge, performance and behaviour of the individual leader. Within this paradigm, the key abilities of a leader include the capacity for having a vision, seeing the big picture, and bringing people into the fold to 'follow' the leader towards a common goal and behind their vision. Traits however that make for a good leader are often the same traits in patriarchal constructs that make for a 'bad woman': strength, courage, daring, authority, vision. Contention about whether traits and attributes of a 'successful' leader are inborn or learned continue to shape discussion on leadership development and the possibilities therein. Perhaps more noteworthy than the debate itself is the important assumption therein that not everyone at all times is a leader or is taking leadership, that shifts in leadership within and between people does not occur. Yet, as we will explore, African activism is increasingly challenging this assumption, as does feminist and anarchist theory.

Much of leadership scholarship is based on organisational development and concerned with efficiency of business. By extension, dominant leadership theory rests on capitalist framings and outcomes where hierarchy and male-centrism is normative. Recently, more attention has been given to women's leadership in this frame with value placed on outcome and efficiency in what is termed the 'gender dividend': "those organisations with the most women as senior leaders enjoy rates of return that are greater—often by double-digits—than those with far fewer or no women in their leadership ranks. (...) the Gender Dividend is a steady benefit that is earned by making wise, balanced investments in developing women as workers and potential leaders, as well as understanding women as consumers and their impact on the economy and the bottom line."¹ Women's leadership in this construct is commodified; rendered an efficient investment for the capitalist market.

On the other hand, women's rights actors have been increasingly vested in the increase of women's visibility and participation in political leadership and other positions of authority. The global women's movement has mobilised to enhance women's role and representation in authority under the assumption that women in these positions would advance gender equality by creating the policies, legislation, implementation and enforcement to challenge patriarchy, and transform power and the practice of leadership through their own feminist leadership. The focus has largely been with the number of

1 The Gender Dividend □ Transforming business through the leadership of women by Sharon Allen (2011) accessed at: <http://globalblogs.deloitte.com/deloitteperspectives/2011/01/the-gender-dividend.html>

women and the qualitative difference women's leadership purportedly achieves. The mainstreaming of gender equality frameworks has failed to take into account a transformation of the very basis of leadership that feminism as a theory and praxis offers. Consequently, these initiatives tend to rest on an essentialist view of persons gendered as women derived still from societal projections of gendered attributes. Women's leadership is considered, within this, to be imbued with characteristics seen as inherent to women such as collectivism, nurturing, listening etc. and supposed to be important to encourage and enable more women's participation.

Feminist values, ethics and principles must play a central role in the process and practice of feminist leadership. This precondition for feminist leadership renders somewhat obsolete conversations of the number of women in positions of authority and rather places emphasis on the values, norms and vision of leadership for the transformation and dismantling of patriarchy. Feminist leadership however is not only concerned with the end objectives and vision of a formation² or movement but with the manner in which the work is carried out.

Importantly, African feminist Bisi Adeleye-Fayemi notes that "the feminist leadership model conceptualizes leadership as a service."³ This is a radical shift from the notions of leadership for power and goes to the heart of leadership as movement building and for transformation. Bisi goes further to state that feminist leadership "allows for individual feminist leaders to guide and lead their movements responsibly, but it also decentralizes power and decision-making so that everyone in the movement becomes a leader in their own right. Developing feminist leadership is fundamental to the survival of our organisations and we therefore need a re-conceptualisation of power and leadership." The relationship between feminist leadership and power is wrought with complexities and is as critical in the process of leadership as in its end goal. Srilatha Batliwala notes that "feminist leadership will strive to make the practice of power visible, democratic, legitimate and accountable, at all levels, and in both private and public realms."⁴

"Women need to know that they can reject the powerful's definition of their reality – that they can do so even if they are poor, exploited or trapped in oppressive circumstances. They need to know that the exercise of this basic personal power is an act of resistance and strength. Many poor and exploited women, especially non-white women, would have been unable to develop positive self-concepts if they had not exercised their power to reject the powerful's definition of their reality." bell hooks, *Feminist Theory: From Margin to Centre*

In mainstream scholarship and activism, African leadership remains largely undefined if not derided⁵. Further, the dearth of documentation on transformations in African societies has rendered the weapon of theory somewhat blunt for Africa's current social movements and continues to enable a static, essentialist and often oppressive perception of African 'tradition', norms or culture to be perpetuated. However, it is important in considering any distinction to feminist leadership in Africa, to examine less superficially, the positions and practices of leadership within Africa's transformative movements.

The African Union has recognised "Africa's rich tradition of solidarity, consensus, national reconciliation and communalism and its contribution to the universal principles of governance, democracy, and human rights."⁶ These values are indeed the cornerstone of many documented political systems in many of Africa's nations (rather than in the Nation state, which has been largely characterised by dominant - at best two - party power). For instance, in describing the Ashanti political system, Kwasi Wiredu⁷ notes "For all concerned, the system was set up for participation in power, not its appropriation, and the underlying philosophy was one of cooperation, not confrontation." It must be recognised however that along with the positive (and this is a subjective attribution) aspects of African political leadership that have and continue to exist there are, hand in hand and equally, characteristics that reinforce oppressive power such as patriarchy and ethnic chauvinism. The degrees and breadth

2 A formation is a group or collective of individuals brought together to work towards a common goal. A formation can be an informal entity such as a collective, hub or affiliate group, or can be a formal structure such as an organization, network or institution. A formation may be permanent or temporary and may undergo various permutations of its original purpose.

3 The Satang Jobarteh Memorial Lecture: A Feminist Never Dies by Bisi Adeleye-Fayemi (2003) published in the *Feminist Leadership in Eastern Africa: Opportunities and Challenges* report of the Eastern African Sub-Regional African Women's Leadership Institute (AWLI) by Akina Mama wa Afrika available at www.akinamamawaafrika.org

4 'Feminist Leadership for Social Transformation' by Srilatha Batliwala (2011). CREA accessed at web.crea-world.org/Doc/F1.pdf

5 African political leadership is often equated with 'bad governance' - a loose framework used (and misused) by neo-liberal and liberal commentators that has become standard in human rights, development and governance lexicon.

6 Declaration on the Theme of the Summit: 'Towards Greater Unity And Integration Through Shared Values' Assembly/AU/Decl.1(M)

7 Democracy and Consensus in African Traditional Politics: A Plea for a Non-Party Polity by Kwasi Wiredu in *Post-Colonial African Philosophy: A Critical Reader* (1997)

