

TOOLS FOR ORGANIZERS

IN EXPORT PROCESSING ZONES AND INDUSTRIES



ORGANIZING STRONG UNIONS

Module 1: BUILDING UNITY

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BUILDING UNITY

DEFINITIONS

■ **CEAL:** Labor Studies and Support Center, an organization in El Salvador that supported the workers at the Tainan factory in El Salvador's San Bartolo Export Processing Zone.

■ **DISCRIMINATION:** Discrimination occurs when a person or group of people are treated badly or unfairly because they are different, for example, because of their race, sex, religion, age, or disability. Workers often face discrimination at work.

■ **EXPORT PROCESSING ZONES (EPZS):** EPZs are industrial areas in a country that offer special incentives to foreign investors. These incentives may include low taxes, lax environmental regulations, and low labor costs. Low wages, long hours, and dangerous and repressive working conditions are the norm in many EPZs. Sometimes organizing unions is banned or restricted. EPZs are also known by other names, such as Special Economic Zones, Industrial Development Zones, etc.

■ **GENDER:** Gender refers to the social identity of men and women – what it means to be masculine or feminine in the society in which we live. It can also refer to the expected behaviors and beliefs of men and women.

■ **INTERNATIONAL TEXTILE, GARMENT AND LEATHER WORKERS FEDERATION – AFRICA (ITGLWF):** The Africa regional organization of the ITGLWF, an international federation of textile unions with over 10 million members worldwide.

■ **LABOR ORGANIZING:** Labor organizing brings workers together in a way that builds power to achieve a common goal. It is the key to workers' economic power and a key defense against assaults on workers' health, safety, and livelihood.

■ **LABOR UNION:** A labor union is an organization of workers who build collective power in their workplace in order to protect

worker rights and improve working conditions, such as wages, hours and benefits. Often the union negotiates a collective bargaining agreement (or contract) with the employer to define and secure the rights of its members.

■ **MANAGEMENT:** Management is the group of people in a company, business or public agency that makes decisions about how a company, a factory, or a workplace is organized. Management can make rules about how much people are paid, when and how they work, and other rules that affect the workplace.

■ **NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATION (NGO):** NGOs are organized groups, independent of government, most often working to achieve a social objective such as ending poverty or serving particular groups of people, such as women or workers. NGOs can be small or large. They may be grassroots activist organizations, research centers, educational groups, or policy advocates.

■ **ORGANIZERS:** Organizers are people who take responsibility for helping others work together on a common goal, such as organizing a union. They may bring people together to talk about issues, educate people about an issue, or help them become involved in a project. Union organizers are people who help workers build workplace unions. Union organizers may be employed by an organized union or may be workers who volunteer their time.

■ **PRIORITIES:** Priorities are the things that matter most to a person or a group. Many organizers have found that the process of setting priorities with other workers is an important way to create unity, define goals, and mobilize for action.

■ **SWAZILAND MANUFACTURING AND ALLIED WORKERS UNION (SWAMU):** SWAMU is a union that has organized workers in export processing zones in Swaziland, including the workers at the Zheng Yong factory.

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INTRODUCTION TO ORGANIZING STRONG UNIONS

Building worker power is fundamental to achieving worker rights, and organizing strong unions is fundamental to achieving worker power. The best unions are rooted in worker activism and analysis, led by capable leaders, and structured to last through many challenges over time. Without strong unions, workers have no voice at the workplace and no way of negotiating current victories into permanent gains.

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

With a strong union, workers can build alliances with other unions and organizations. We will look at how to build alliances in Modules 5 to 7. Strong unions are also the base from which workers can impact relevant local, national, and international economic and social policies. In Modules 8 to 10, we will explore a number of strategies workers have used to change the rules of the game. Throughout the 10 modules, the stories from real experiences of organizing in export processing zones illustrate the power and skills unions can develop to defend the rights of workers.

MODULE 1: BUILDING UNITY WORKSHOP GOALS

INTRODUCTION

Building collective power among workers is not always easy, but the rewards are great. To build collective power, it is necessary to address the fact that workers may come from diverse ethnic, racial, religious, regional, and gender backgrounds, and may bring with them all the stereotypes, prejudices, and mistrust found outside the workplace. Their concerns may vary, depending upon their backgrounds, work classifications, seniority, and so forth. Facing this array of challenges, some activists may think that rather than taking the time and effort to address diversity and build unity for collective action, they can just tell workers what to do. Experience shows that this is no way to build collective power.

When workers are not unified, an individual activist is left vulnerable to retaliation by the employer. A lack of unity allows the employer to pit one group of workers against another. It allows social prejudices that divide workers to become stronger than their interests as a class. When organizers pick issues that aren't vital enough to unify workers, then the campaign will also fail to engage workers sufficiently in the struggle for their own rights.

Collective action is the best tool that workers have in the face of powerful employers. Collective action requires collective analysis of problems, priorities, and strategies. It also involves finding common threads among the diverse and sometimes divergent interests among workers.

In this module we explore ways to find out what issues are most important for workers, to choose a compelling issue around which to begin organizing, and to address the differences among workers in order to build on their collective strength. In the first two exercises, we define organizing and learn to identify important issues as a group. In the third exercise, we analyze the causes, consequences, and solutions of a problem or issue. In the fourth exercise, we prioritize issues based on criteria that many workers have found make for strong organizing campaigns. By understanding what issues matter to different groups of workers, and which ones matter to a lot of workers, organizers can choose a compelling issue that can unite the workforce. In the fifth exercise, we develop skits on gender issues, because while most workers in export processing zones are women, their work and family issues are often neglected in organizing campaigns. These skits and stories point to ways to overcome barriers and involve women workers in organizing campaigns.

MODULE 1: BUILDING UNITY (CONTINUED)

TEACHING GOALS

- To emphasize the importance of addressing issues that unite workers, even when workers experience issues differently, in order to build collective action.
- To teach respect for different points of views and diverse backgrounds among workers.
- To build awareness of gender issues in organizing.
- To motivate workers to develop action ideas that build unity at the workplace.

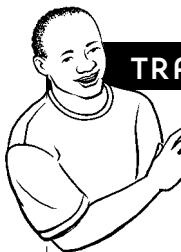
SKILLS GOALS

- To learn a group process for prioritizing issues.
- To get practice in applying criteria to organizing issues in order to find ones that are both compelling and winnable.
- To gain skills in active listening and resolving conflicts that may arise among workers.
- To become familiar with asking and answering strategic questions about organizing campaigns.

TRAINER'S NOTES

TIME TO DO THIS WORKSHOP:

The whole workshop will take about **8 hours** if you do all the exercises as well as the Welcome, Learn By Doing, and Closing activities. If you want to make it shorter, you can do only one of the exercises or divide the workshop in half and present it over 2 training sessions.



TRAINERS TIP

When a workshop is over 2 hours long or participants are tired, breaks and energizers are important tools to keep participants interested and engaged in the training. Energizers are short, fun activities that let participants move around and take a mental break from the hard work of learning. Be sure to plan time for energizers, especially after lunch and in the evening when participants' energy is lowest. You can even ask a group of participants to form an "Energizer Committee" with the job of calling for a game or energizer whenever they see the participants are getting sleepy or distracted. This committee can then lead the games or ask you to lead them. Energizers can be songs, chants, or any non-competitive game or activity the group can do together.

TRAINER'S NOTES (CONTINUED)

MATERIALS NEEDED FOR THIS WORKSHOP:

- Something to write on that everyone can see: large paper and marking pens or chalk and chalkboard.
- Copies of the Fact Sheet "What makes a compelling union issue" on page 35 (Exercise 3 only).
- A copy of the stories on page 24 (Exercise 4 only): use a photocopier or handwrite each story on a separate piece of paper.
- A hat, basket, can, or other container (Exercise 4 only): fold the papers with the stories and place them in the container.
- Copies of the Fact Sheet on "Good Listening" on page 38 (Exercise 5 only).

BEFORE YOU START:

- Read the whole Workshop Curriculum.
- Plan your agenda for the workshop. Decide how long the workshop will be. Choose which exercises you will do. Plan time for breaks and energizers.
- Collect all the materials you need.
- Set up the room the way you want it.



TRAINERS TIP

Some words and terms in this curriculum may be new for you or for the participants in the workshop. Look on the inside front cover for a list of definitions.

HOW THE WORKSHOP WORKS

HOW THE WORKSHOP WORKS

The workshop has 6 sections. In each section you and the participants will be doing a different kind of activity. There is a picture to remind you of the kind of activity you will do in that section. Here are the pictures and what they are reminding you to do:



WELCOME AND
GET STARTED



DISCUSS THE
STORY AND/OR
PICTURES



LEARN ABOUT
OTHER WORKERS'
SUCCESSES



DO EXERCISES
TO LEARN NEW
SKILLS



LEARN BY DOING



EVALUATE AND CLOSE
THE TRAINING



WELCOME AND GET STARTED

TRAINER: In this section, you will tell the group what the workshop is about. Then participants will introduce themselves to each other. The other activities can help people feel welcome, comfortable, and respected during the workshop. When people feel comfortable, they will learn more and the workshop will be more successful.

TIME: 30 minutes (or less if there are fewer than 20 people in your group).

ACTIVITIES FOR GETTING STARTED:

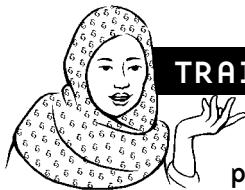
First do Activities **1** and **2**, then choose among **A**, **B**, and **C** for one more activity.

1. Tell everyone what the workshop is about. Review the Teaching Goals from Page 4.
2. Ask everyone to introduce themselves, including their name and place of work.



INTRODUCTION QUESTION:

What is one thing you look forward to in this workshop, and one thing you had to put aside in order to be here today?



TRAINERS TIP

SONGS, PRAYERS, AND POEMS will let people know that their culture and spirit will be respected in the workshop. Songs, prayers, and poems are also an opportunity to let a participant be the leader.



TRAINERS TIP

INTRODUCTION QUESTIONS help people use their voices and participate in an easy way for the first time. They will then be more comfortable to speak later on.

WELCOME AND GET STARTED (CONTINUED)

ACTIVITIES FOR GETTING STARTED: (CONTINUED)

- A. Ask everyone to take turns saying why they think the workshop is important.
- B. Ask a volunteer to sing a song, say a prayer, or recite a poem.
- C. Ask the participants to take turns answering the introduction question in the box.
Answering the introduction question can help people to start thinking about the topic of the workshop, or just to begin to get to know one another better.



TRAINERS TIP

Thanking the participants for being present and acknowledging that many people may be missing their families or other responsibilities during the workshop is a good way to start. It is similar to how organizers sometimes need to acknowledge what people, especially women, put aside in order to participate in an organizing campaign.



DISCUSS THE STORY AND/OR PICTURES

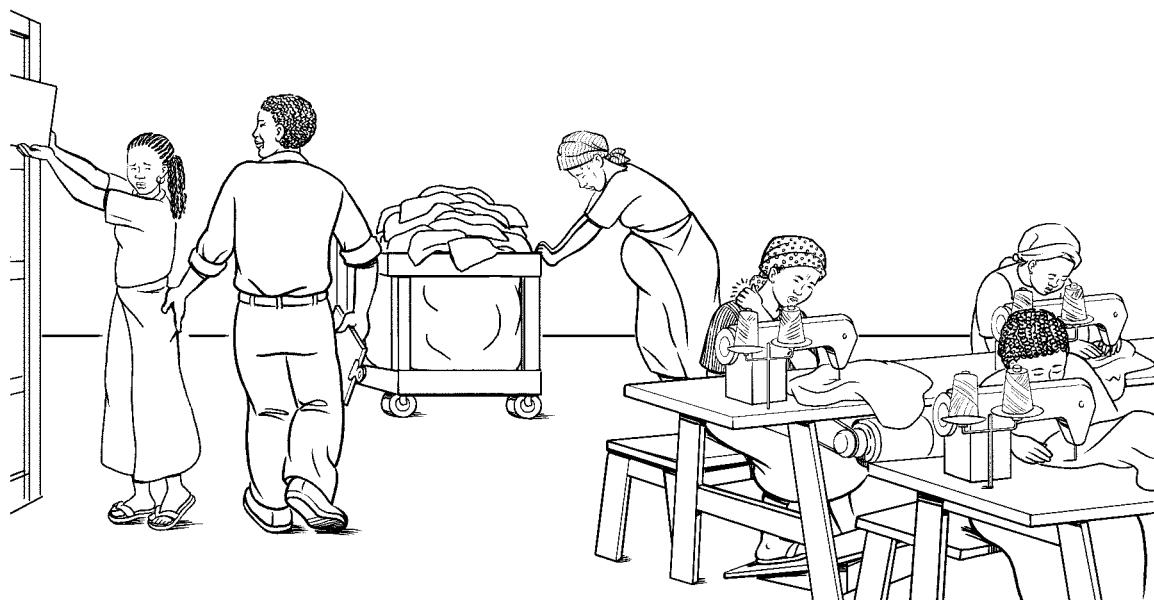
TRAINER: In this section, you can ask someone in the group to read the story out loud or you can read it out loud yourself. If you don't want to use the story, you can just look at the pictures together. Then discuss the story and/or pictures using the questions on the next page.

TIME: 30-45 minutes

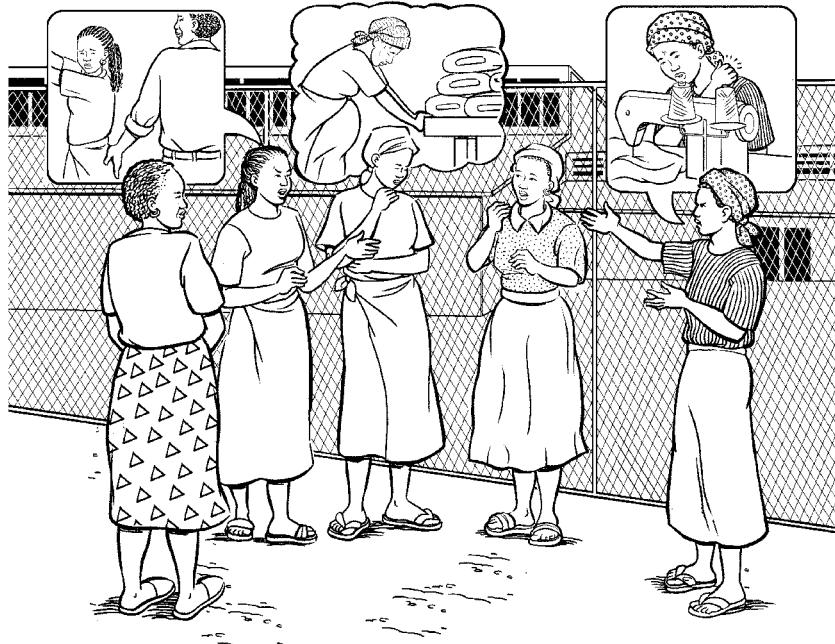
JUNE HARTLEY's Story:

"I think that in unions, women have been much more sensitized to issues beyond just the workplace, because women have a lot more social and economic responsibility. [Therefore] Gender sensitivity or a gender perspective is important in the early stages of a union campaign. We've talked with workers a lot about health and safety on the job, injuries and illnesses of different kinds, which has brought in a number of issues like pregnancy and sick leave. Men and women may both need sick leave, but a woman may need a little bit more. We also talk about compassionate leave to let women look after their sick babies."

— JUNE HARTLEY, Project Manager,
ITGLWF Africa



DISCUSS THE STORY AND/OR PICTURES (CONTINUED)



TRAINER: Ask the participants to discuss the questions below. Allow 5 to 10 minutes for each question. If you want to, you can write what people say on a big piece of paper or a chalkboard as they answer the questions.

If there are more than 20 people in the room, you can divide into small groups of 4 or 5 people for the discussion. If they are in small groups, visit each group while they talk. Make sure that each person in each group has a chance to talk.

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS:

1. What is happening in the pictures?
2. In June's story, what are the kinds of issues that she talks to workers about and why?
3. Do you agree with June that women have more social and economic responsibility than men? How might that affect the main concerns of men and women in the workplace?
4. How might problems like the ones in the pictures or in June's story affect men and women workers differently?
5. In June's story and in the pictures, what brings people together to organize?



LEARN ABOUT OTHER WORKERS' SUCCESSES

TRAINER: In this section, you can ask for several different people in the group to volunteer to read the different parts of the story out loud or you can read it out loud yourself. Then ask the group to discuss the question at the bottom.

TIME: 15 minutes



SHEDARECK MASUKU and MIKE TSABEDZE's story, Zheng Yong factory, Swaziland, Africa

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

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

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

DISCUSSION QUESTION:

1. What one new thing did you learn from this story?



TRAINERS TIP

After reading this story, it may be helpful to discuss how the issues identified might affect men workers and women workers differently. How could this affect the organizing campaign?



DO EXERCISES TO LEARN NEW SKILLS

EXERCISE 1: DEFINE ORGANIZING

TRAINER: In this exercise, participants will discuss the story from Zheng Yong, to together define organizing and to identify some actions and beliefs that can make a campaign successful.

TIME: 60 minutes

WHAT TO DO:

1. If the group has just completed the activity on page 12, “Learn about other workers’ successes,” then skip to Step 2. Otherwise, explain that for this exercise you want to review the story of the Zheng Yong workers. Ask for several different people in the group to volunteer to read the different parts of this story on page 12 out loud, or read it out loud yourself.
2. Ask participants to sit in 3 groups. Ask each group to pick one person to report back after their discussion. Ask each group to discuss just one of the following questions:

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS:

- What motivated the workers at Zheng Yong to take action?
 - What were the different activities they did to achieve their goals?
 - What were some of their challenges?
3. Ask the 3 groups to come back together in one circle. Ask each of the 3 small groups to report back their answers to just one of the 3 questions. Ask the other groups to add their comments after each report.
 4. In the large group, ask the following questions:

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS:

- Based on the story from Zheng Yong and your own experience, how would you define or describe the idea of “organizing”?
- What were some of the values and beliefs that guided the workers at Zheng Yong when they took action?
- What are some of your values and beliefs that would help you in organizing?

DO EXERCISES TO LEARN NEW SKILLS

EXERCISE 1: DEFINE ORGANIZING (CONTINUED)

REFLECTION ON THE EXERCISE:

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

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

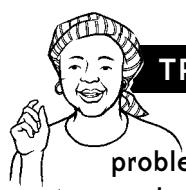


DO EXERCISES TO LEARN NEW SKILLS

EXERCISE 2: IDENTIFY KEY ISSUES

TRAINER: In this exercise, participants will use experiences from their own lives to think about good issues for organizing. They will brainstorm a list of issues and set priorities of which issues are most likely to mobilize workers at their worksite.

TIME: 90 minutes

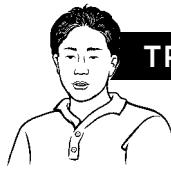


TRAINERS TIP

An issue is a specific problem or concern that workers feel strongly about. Many organizers find that when workers begin to organize, it is important to find out what issues the workers in their factory care about, and especially, which issues matter enough to move people to take action.

WHAT TO DO:

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



TRAINERS TIP

When talking about the problems in your factory, some of the workers may start to share a longer story. To keep the focus on brainstorming, it may be helpful to ask workers who have been talking for more than 3 minutes to identify in that story what was the main problem or main thing they want to see changed.

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS:

- What things happen in your workplace now that are problems for you and other workers?
- Are there things that happen that are unfair or unjust?
- Are there things that happen that are dangerous for workers?
- What is particularly important to you about each of these items?

DO EXERCISES TO LEARN NEW SKILLS

EXERCISE 2: IDENTIFY KEY ISSUES (CONTINUED)

WHAT TO DO (CONTINUED):

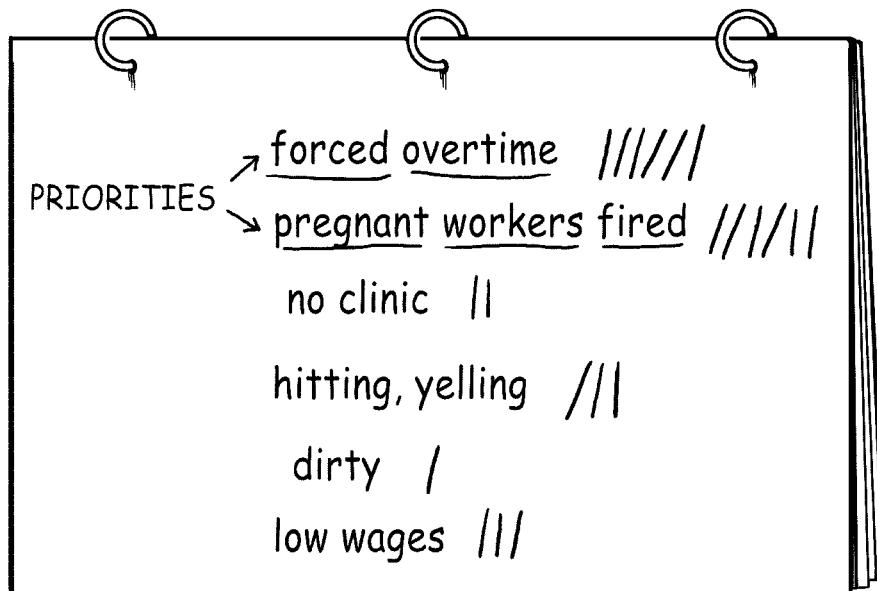
2. Now you are ready to set priority issues with the group. Ask for a volunteer to read the list of issues. Then, ask the participants to set priorities among these issues by raising their hand (voting) for the issues they believe would be the most likely to mobilize other workers to action. Each participant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

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

3. Discuss in the large group the following questions:

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

Mention any important differences or ways to build unity among workers that may not have been mentioned, such as those in the Trainer's Tip on the next page. You may also want to read out loud the quote from Meas Morokot, in the Trainer's Tip on page 18.



DO EXERCISES TO LEARN NEW SKILLS

EXERCISE 2: IDENTIFY KEY ISSUES (CONTINUED)



TRAINERS TIP

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

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

REFLECTION ON THE EXERCISE

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

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



TRAINERS TIP

If participants voted for their top issues on a large paper, save that piece of paper. You can use it in Exercise 3, and again in Module 4 for Action Planning.

DO EXERCISES TO LEARN NEW SKILLS

EXERCISE 2: IDENTIFY KEY ISSUES (CONTINUED)

REFLECTION ON THE EXERCISE (CONTINUED):

Before moving on to the next exercise, ask the group to name 1 or 2 actions they could take to build their union using the lessons learned in this exercise. Ask a volunteer to remember or write down these Action Ideas for the group. You will use the Action Ideas to make an Action Plan later (either at the end of this workshop, or after completing the first 4 Modules in the workshop curriculum).



TRAINERS TIP

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

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

-- MEAS MOROKOT, Top One, Cambodia.



DO EXERCISES TO LEARN NEW SKILLS

EXERCISE 3: CHOOSING A “GOOD” ORGANIZING ISSUE

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

TIME: 45 minutes

WHAT TO DO:

1. Hand out copies of the Fact Sheet: “What Makes a Compelling Union Issue” on page 35. Ask for volunteers to read it out loud, or you can read it to the participants.
2. Ask the participants to comment on what they agree with or disagree with about the items on the Fact Sheet. Ask the participants if they would like to make additions to this Fact Sheet to include their own ideas about what helps workers to build unity or overcome differences. Write those additions on the large paper or blackboard so that everyone can see them.
3. Write on the large paper or the blackboard the most important issues that were identified in Exercise 2. (You can use the same large paper you used for voting in that exercise if you still have it.) Ask the participants to discuss the following questions for only the few most important issues that were identified:

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS:

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

DO EXERCISES TO LEARN NEW SKILLS

EXERCISE 3: IDENTIFY DIFFERENT TYPES OF POWER (CONTINUED)

REFLECTION ON THE EXERCISE:

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

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

Before moving on to the next exercise, ask the group to name one or two actions they could take to build their union using the lessons learned in this exercise. Ask a volunteer to remember or write down these Action Ideas for the group. You will use the Action Ideas to make an Action Plan later (either at the end of this workshop, or after completing the first 4 Modules in the workshop curriculum).



DO EXERCISES TO LEARN NEW SKILLS

EXERCISE 4: SKITS ABOUT ORGANIZING WOMEN WORKERS

TRAINER: In this exercise, participants will create skits showing a problem and a solution, based on quotes from workers involved in organizing campaigns around the world. The skits are about organizing women workers. You will need to prepare a few materials before leading this exercise: slips of paper with the stories copied from page 24 and a small container such as a hat, basket or can. Depending on the time you have and the size of the group, you might decide to use only some of the slips of paper instead of all of them.

TIME: 60 minutes or more

WHAT TO DO:

1. To get ready for this exercise, use a photocopier or handwrite to copy the stories from page 24 onto individual pieces of paper. Fold the papers and place them in a hat, can or basket.
2. Have the participants form small groups of 5 to 8 workers each. Ask each group to draw one paper from the hat.
3. Tell the group that each story is a quote from workers in different campaigns. All the stories have something to do with the power differences between men and women and how this affects workers when they are organizing.
4. Ask each group to read the story aloud within their own group. Ask each group to discuss the following questions:

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS:

- What's the problem that is happening in this story?
- Is there a solution proposed in the story? If so, do you think it's a good solution?
- What's the best solution to this problem that you can think of?

DO EXERCISES TO LEARN NEW SKILLS

EXERCISE 4: SKITS ABOUT ORGANIZING WOMEN WORKERS (CONT.)

WHAT TO DO (CONTINUED):

5. Ask each group to prepare a brief skit that shows 2 things: the problem and the best solution. Remind the groups that they can use their own experiences, as well as the story on the paper, to create the skit. Give the groups 15 to 20 minutes to read the story, discuss it, and prepare the skit.
6. Gather all the small groups together and perform the skits. Applaud and encourage one another!
7. After all the skits are performed, ask the whole group to discuss the following questions:

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS:

- What were the differences you noted in the lives and opinions of men and women in the skits?
 - In your experience, do men and women have equal power at work or at home?
 - What are some of the things that organizers should think about when organizing women?
8. Read the Fact Sheet on pages 36-37, "Organizing Women Workers," after the discussion, or ask for volunteers to read it out loud.



DO EXERCISES TO LEARN NEW SKILLS

EXERCISE 4: SKITS ABOUT ORGANIZING WOMEN WORKERS (CONT.)

REFLECTION ON THE EXERCISE

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

- Differences between men and women affect union organizing.
- To build strong unions, organizers need to take steps to address gender inequality within the union, as well as in the workplace.

Before moving on to the next exercise, ask the group to name one or two actions they could take to build their union using the lessons they learned in this exercise. Ask a volunteer to remember or write down these Action Ideas for the group. You will use the Action Ideas to make an Action Plan later (either at the end of this workshop, or after completing the first 4 Modules in the workshop curriculum).

STORIES ABOUT ORGANIZING WOMEN WORKERS:

<p>"On home visits, we always went out in mixed pairs, men and women, to avoid problems of violence against women, especially from the taxi drivers."</p> <p>Aurelia Cruz, Dominican Republic</p>	<p>"The men are afraid to join unions. Women are hired more than men in Lesotho clothing factories, so there are few men in the factories. The men are afraid to lose their jobs, even though they like what we do in the union. They say, 'These women are strong. They are not afraid of our employer.'"</p> <p>Marashalane Ramaliehe, Lesotho</p>	<p>"We would also come to people's houses to visit them... Since we organizers at Zheng Yong were men and almost all the Zheng Yong workers were women, it was important for us to bring women workers with us on the visits, so that the workers' boyfriends would not be jealous or feel threatened."</p> <p>Shadareck Masuki, Swaziland</p>
<p>"My husband, before, asked me to stop working for the union. But I said no, the union is important, all the workers suffer – including me and our daughter who works there. I explained to my husband and now my husband supports me. Now my husband gives me rides to meetings and waits outside."</p> <p>Tham Sovan, Cambodia</p>	<p>"Generally, women don't join unions, and if they join they don't participate very much due to machismo, household chores, cooking, children, etc. It makes their participation difficult because they do that on Saturdays and Sundays, and those are the days to meet."</p> <p>Vinicio Reyes, Dominican Republic</p>	<p>"We have been alerting women trade unionists about safety, about rape... And we have been educating men that if women fear going out at night, then at least 50% of the working class will be prevented from participating in the labor movement – so this is a class concern, so it must be taken up by the union."</p> <p>Stephen Faulkner, South Africa</p>
<p>"The whole concept of a free working woman has changed. Some women can't go back to their villages because of what has happened to them. They can't marry because of the low social status of Free Trade Zone working women. So we've become enslaved to the Free Trade Zones."</p> <p>S.A. Chandrawathi, Sri Lanka</p>	<p>"I'm always working, 9 hours out of the house at the factory, then there's 15 hours more for which there is no salary. What does a man do? He works and when he gets out of work, he goes home to change his clothes and goes out to play football."</p> <p>Daisy Hernandez, El Salvador</p>	<p>"The campaign changed my life completely, and I know it changed the other women workers as well... I learned things I never conceived of, like how to be a leader... But actually, my husband had to change his life more. He had to learn to cook. I leave at 7 in the morning and get home after 9 at night. He had to learn to bathe the kids and put them to bed."</p> <p>Aurelia Cruz, Dominican Republic</p>



DO EXERCISES TO LEARN NEW SKILLS

EXERCISE 5: PRACTICE LISTENING AND RESOLVING CONFLICTS

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

TIME: 90 minutes

WHAT TO DO:

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

DO EXERCISES TO LEARN NEW SKILLS

EXERCISE 5: PRACTICE LISTENING... (CONT.)

WHAT TO DO (CONTINUED):

3. Begin the steps you just described by reading Conflict #1 out loud (see conflict stories on page 27). Ask Group 1 to tell their solutions to the problem to their partners for 3 minutes. Give Group 2 about 2 minutes to ask questions.
4. Ask for 2 or 3 volunteers from Group #2 to tell their partner's solution to the whole group.
5. Repeat the process with the second story, reversing the groups.
6. Ask participants to answer the following discussion question as a large group.

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS:

- What one new thing did you learn about listening?
 - How did it feel to be listened to or not listened to by your partner?
 - What one new thing did you learn about solving conflicts within a union?
 - What is one way you could use something you learned in this exercise to improve communication and conflict resolution in your own union?
7. Give the participants copies of the Fact Sheet: Good Listening (on pages 38-39). Read the Fact Sheet or ask for volunteers to read it aloud. Ask participants to answer the following discussion question as a large group.

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS:

- Are there ideas from this Fact Sheet that you saw happen in this exercise today? Which ones?
 - Are there ideas you would like to try out later? Which ones?
8. If you like, you can add any suggestions from the Fact Sheet on Communication and Conflict Resolution (on page 40) for preventing and resolving conflicts in unions.

DO EXERCISES TO LEARN NEW SKILLS

EXERCISE 5: PRACTICE LISTENING... (CONT.)



CONFLICT #1:

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

CONFLICT #2:

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

DO EXERCISES TO LEARN NEW SKILLS

EXERCISE 5: PRACTICE LISTENING... (CONT.)

REFLECTION ON THE EXERCISE:

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

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

Before moving on to the next exercise, ask the group to name one or two actions they could take to build their union using the lessons learned in this exercise. Ask a volunteer to remember or write down these Action Ideas for the group. You will use the Action Ideas to make an Action Plan (either at the end of this workshop, or after completing the first 4 Modules in the workshop curriculum).



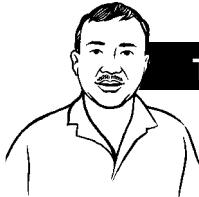
LEARN BY DOING

TRAINER: In this exercise, participants will review the key ideas from the workshop and use them to make plans for taking action in their own worksite.

TIME: 30 minutes or more

WHAT TO DO:

1. Ask the participants to state one thing they have learned in this workshop. (If the group is more than 25 people, you may lead a brief brainstorm about what was learned. If the group is smaller than that, you may want to ask each person to say one thing they learned.)
2. Summarize the main ideas discussed during the workshop, including building unity among workers, selecting a good union issue, and understanding how to address gender and other differences when organizing to increase unity. See the "Trainer's Tip" box on this page for an example of how to make a summary statement.



TRAINERS TIP

An important goal of this workshop is for participants to use their new skills in action. This exercise and the sample worksheet that goes with it are some activities that can help participants move from learning to action.



TRAINERS TIP

Here is an example of a summary statement that a facilitator could offer near the end of a workshop:

"Over the course of the day, we have looked at ways to build unity among workers by understanding what matters to them. We have defined organizing as working together to gain power to resolve problems. We identified problems and solutions, and thought about how to pick the best issues for organizing. We also talked a lot about the differences among workers, like between men workers and women workers. We practiced listening and resolving conflicts. We saw in the skits how important it is to address differences directly, so that we can build a stronger, more united union."

LEARN BY DOING (CONTINUED)

WHAT TO DO (CONTINUED):

3. Explain that the next step in organizing is to take action. Even small actions help workers to build a strong union. After completing the first 4 training modules on “Organizing Strong Unions,” participants will make a more complete Action Plan. This exercise is like a stepping stone toward an Action Plan, and it gives the participants a chance to put some of their learning into practice.
4. Make a “Learn By Doing” Worksheet like the one on page 32 on a large piece of paper or chalkboard. Explain to the participants that you will fill out this Worksheet together. Ask for a volunteer to take notes if you are writing on a chalkboard so the participants will have a record of their plan.
5. Ask the volunteers who have been remembering the Action Ideas from each exercise to say them out loud. Write these ideas in the left-hand column of the large sheet of paper or chalkboard. Ask the participants if they have any other action ideas for building unity among workers that is not yet on the list. Write down these additional ideas.
6. Ask the participants to identify which of the Action Ideas would be especially good at building workers’ power. Put an X in the column under “Builds Power” by those Action Ideas.
7. Ask the participants to identify which of the Action Ideas would be especially strong for increasing the unity among workers, or increasing the participation of women (or other specific groups) in the union. Put an X in the column under “Unifies Us” by those Action Ideas.



TRAINERS TIP

At the end of Module 4: Building Unions That Last, you will find an Action Planning tool using ideas from Modules 1, 2, 3, and 4. These 4 modules were designed to work together to address the single topic of “Organizing Strong Unions.” If you are not offering all 4 of these workshops together, you may want to look at the Action Plan section of Module 4 for additional ideas about using the information in this module.

LEARN BY DOING (CONTINUED)

WHAT TO DO (CONTINUED):

8. Ask the participants to identify which of the Action Ideas could be done right away, even before the next workshop. For example, if there is a week before the next workshop, the action might be to “Talk to 10 workers about the main problems they see in the workplace.” If there is only one night before the next workshop, the action might be to “Think of 3 people who are good listeners and how they could help build unity among the workers.” Put an X in the column under “Do Now” by those Action Ideas. Ask all the participants to commit to doing one action from this list before the next workshop. (If many actions are possible to do right away, you may want to pick one that has X marks in all 3 columns.)
9. For the Action Ideas that are not identified as “Do Now,” put an X in the column under “Do Later.” Tell participants that you will come back to these ideas to see how they fit together into an Action Plan after completing the first 4 Training Modules on “Organizing Strong Unions.” At that time, participants will identify which action ideas fit best with their goals.



“LEARN BY DOING” WORKSHEET

ACTION IDEA	BUILDS POWER	UNIFIES WORKERS	DO NOW	DO LATER



EVALUATE AND CLOSE TRAINING

TRAINER: In this section, you will remind the group what the goals of the training were and acknowledge the goals you have accomplished together in the training. You will thank any individuals or groups who helped make the training a success. Then participants will have a chance to evaluate the training and commit to taking action. The closing activities suggested on this page can help people feel successful, hopeful, and powerful as they complete the workshop.

TIME: 30 minutes (or less if there are fewer than 20 people in your group)

ACTIVITIES FOR EVALUATION AND CLOSING:

1. Remind the participants of the goals of this training (see page 4). Acknowledge that everyone has worked hard to finish the training and accomplish these goals.
2. Thank any individuals or groups who contributed to the success of the training, including those who contributed meeting space, food, time, etc.
3. As a large group, ask each person to say:
 - One thing she or he learned in the training,
 - One thing she or he liked about the training,
 - One thing she or he will do to build their union based on what they learned in the training.

Options for this step: If you have a large group (more than 20 participants), you can ask for 4 or 5 volunteers to answer the 3 questions or ask each person to answer only one question—rather than asking each person to answer all 3 questions.



TRAINERS TIP

You may want to spend more time evaluating the workshop with the participants if:

- you're working on improving your own training skills and you want to know how you can improve your facilitation;
- you're unsure of whether the content of the workshop was too easy, too hard, or just right for your participants;
- you're trying to decide whether to use this workshop again as part of your union's education program.

EVALUATE AND CLOSE TRAINING (CONTINUED)

ACTIVITIES FOR EVALUATION AND CLOSING (CONTINUED):

4. Lead the group in a closing ritual. This could be a chant, song, dance, poem, or prayer.



TRAINERS TIP

Ask one of the participants to choose the closing ritual and lead the group in a chant, song, poem, prayer, etc. This gives someone in the group a chance to exercise leadership. It also makes clear to the group that what they have accomplished in the workshop belongs to them, not to you as the trainer.

FACT SHEET: WHAT MAKES A COMPELLING UNION ISSUE

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

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

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

FACT SHEET: ORGANIZING WOMEN WORKERS

ORGANIZING WOMEN WORKERS IS LIKE ORGANIZING MEN WORKERS – BUT DIFFERENT

- Women and men both can be underpaid for their work, but sometimes women are paid less just because they are women.
- Women and men both face harassment on the job, but women are more likely to face sexual harassment.
- Women and men both are often forced to work overtime, but this may have a bigger effect on women because they often have young children, old people or sick relatives at home waiting for their care.

BARRIERS WOMEN EXPERIENCE TO PARTICIPATING IN THE UNION

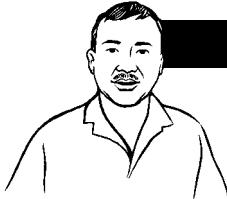
- Double Work Day: Women usually do most of the cleaning, child care, laundry, food purchasing, food preparation, care for the sick and elderly, and other work in the home in addition to their work in the factory.
- Discrimination: Women are often discouraged from taking certain jobs, leading meetings, or speaking up at all simply because they are women. These narrow expectations based on gender can deprive a workplace – or a union – of many great leaders who happen to be women.
- Lack of Education or Economic Power: Women often have fewer opportunities than men to go to school, develop job skills, control their own money, or make independent decisions.
- Violence Against Women: Women face greater risks of rape and assault which may make it difficult for women to attend evening meetings or conduct outreach. In addition, some women face violence in their own home at the hands of relatives or husbands, especially if their relatives or husbands do not approve of their participation in the union.

FACT SHEET: ORGANIZING WOMEN WORKERS

(CONTINUED)

IMPORTANCE OF ORGANIZING WOMEN WORKERS

- Despite these barriers, it is vitally important that unions involve women in organizing campaigns, especially in EPZs, because in EPZs women make up the majority of the workforce. No union can succeed if it doesn't involve the majority of workers.
- Involving women workers in organizing means addressing safety concerns, adjusting schedules to accommodate women, developing women leaders, and ensuring that all workers are treated with respect and dignity within the union, regardless of gender.



GILBERTO GARCIA, CEAL, El Salvador:

"We still have to learn how to better work with groups of workers, mostly women, who have been subjected to oppression for years, who have had mostly negative experiences in the workplace, as well as in the home, the family, and the community. I believe that solidarity is the basic human instinct, so the question is how to overcome all this oppression and rebuild relations of solidarity. Part of this must also be rebuilding the relations between men and women which currently support neither organization nor solidarity."

FACT SHEET: GOOD LISTENING: A KEY SKILL FOR TRAININGS AND FOR ORGANIZING

FOR WORKERS

Workers who are listened to feel respected and valued. Good listening is a way of showing workers that their ideas are valuable and important for finding solutions to their own problems.

Good listening can help people in a group stay calm and constructive as they deal with hard problems. Listening to each other is an important skill for being able to plan, work and make decisions together. That is to say, for organizing!

FOR THE FACILITATOR OR ORGANIZER

Good listening is an extremely important way to identify the real issues that participants have, not just what the facilitator or organizer thinks they are. Good listening helps facilitators, organizers, and leaders to understand what participants are feeling or thinking, what their obstacles are, and what will get them more engaged.



FACT SHEET: GOOD LISTENING: A KEY SKILL FOR TRAININGS AND FOR ORGANIZING

(CONTINUED)

TIPS FOR GOOD LISTENING

- **Good listening is not the same as being silent:** Good listening means encouraging others to speak, letting them know that you want to hear what they have to say, and asking open-ended questions.
- **Ask clarifying questions:** To encourage participation, ask questions that begin with “tell us more about...?” or “what happened when...?” or “what do you think...?”
- **Listen to what is not being said:** Pay attention to people’s words, but also to their body language and tone of voice to understand what people are really saying and how they are feeling emotionally.
- **Listen with your body:** Use your body language to show that you are really paying attention by sitting down with participants, making eye contact, or moving closer—whatever is culturally appropriate for the group you are training.
- **Summarize key points:** Repeat back to people what you have heard them say to let them know that you really were listening and to make sure you understood correctly what they meant.
- **Acknowledge feelings that you “hear”:** Show that you understand people’s non-verbal communication by saying how you think they might be feeling through questions or statements such as “you seem upset about what happened...do you want to talk about it?”
- **Acknowledge good intentions and points of agreement:** Acknowledge people’s good intentions as you understand them and ways in which people are in agreement with one another when this is true.

FACT SHEET: COMMUNICATION AND CONFLICT RESOLUTION

Strong unions are ones that maintain a high degree of communication among members and with leadership of the union. The structure of the union should facilitate communication both horizontally (among those at the same level) and vertically (between members and leadership of the union). But structure alone is not enough – you need to develop a culture of communication in the union. Trust grows where decisions are made in a transparent fashion and information and resources are shared.

Trust is an important element of communication, especially in settings where political repression has sown a lot of distrust, or where rumors are used to shame or hurt individuals. For example, many women workers have been reluctant to participate in unions due to rumors about their behavior, especially where attending union meetings and carrying out house visits are not traditional roles for women. Women workers who can count on the men and women in their union to contradict such rumors are more likely to join the union and even win the support of their husbands and families. Trust grows where decisions are made in a transparent fashion and information and resources are shared.

No group of people has ever organized without encountering some conflicts along the way. For this reason, union organizers and leaders often find it helpful to set up a process for airing conflicts before they get out of hand. For example:

- In Cambodia, workers at Nien Hsing made sure that the union had leaders in all sections of the factory so that any conflicts could be brought to the attention of the union as soon as possible.
- In El Salvador, the workers at Tainan factory continued to meet regularly to talk through any problems even while the factory was closed.

Workers in many unions have testified to the value of being completely and respectfully heard, as a first step toward resolving a conflict within the union. The practice of active listening as described in this Module is one tool for ensuring that individuals in a conflict are heard.

Another useful tool in helping to resolve a conflict is to help the parties to the conflict separate their emotional response from the facts of the situation. In some cultures, it is appropriate to voice those emotions out loud, while in other cultures, it is more common to acknowledge them in other ways. After a person has “let the steam off” the conflict, a skillful listener can help him or her focus attention on the facts of the situation and possible solutions.

DEFINITIONS (CONTINUED)

■ **TOP ONE:** Top One is a factory in an Export Processing Zone in Cambodia, Southeast Asia.

■ **UNION CONTRACT:** A union contract is a written, legally-binding agreement between a group of workers and an employer. The contract generally describes how the employer will treat workers, including wages, work hours, and working conditions. The goal of many union organizing

campaigns is to negotiate with the employer to get a union contract. A union contract is also called a “collective bargaining agreement.”

■ **ZHENG YONG FACTORY:** The Zheng Yong factory is a clothing factory in Swaziland, Southern Africa, where workers organized with the Swaziland Manufacturing and Allied Workers Union.

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TOOLS FOR ORGANIZERS

IN EXPORT PROCESSING ZONES AND INDUSTRIES

TRAINING MODULES IN THIS SERIES:

SECTION I: ORGANIZING STRONG UNIONS

1. Building Unity
2. Tapping Our Strength
3. Developing Democratic Leadership
4. Building Unions That Last

SECTION II: BUILDING ALLIANCES

5. Allying With Other Unions
6. Linking With Non-Governmental Organizations
7. Mounting International Campaigns

SECTION III: FIGHTING FOR LABOR RIGHTS

8. Negotiating Labor Rights in Export Processing Zones
9. Using Trade Provisions to Organize
10. Stopping Anti-Worker International Financial Institutions Policies

This booklet, **BUILDING UNITY**, is Module 1 of 10 in a series of training modules for working people organizing in Export Processing Zones or other export-oriented industries.

ORGANIZING STRONG UNIONS

Module 2: TAPPING OUR STRENGTH

TOOLS FOR ORGANIZERS

IN EXPORT PROCESSING ZONES AND INDUSTRIES



TAPPING OUR STRENGTH

DEFINITIONS

- **CULTURAL TRADITIONS:** Cultural traditions are the customs or way of life of a group of people. They can include religious, spiritual, social, or political customs.
- **DISCRIMINATION:** Discrimination when a person or group of people are treated badly or unfairly because they are different, for example, because of their religion, region, race, sex, age, or disability.
- **GENDER:** Gender refers to the social identity of men and women – what it means to be masculine or feminine in the society in which we live. It can also refer to the expected behaviors and beliefs of men and women.
- **ITGLWF AFRICA:** The Africa regional organization of the International Textile, Garment and Leather Workers Federation (ITGLWF), an international federation of textile unions with over 10 million members worldwide.
- **LECAWU:** LECAWU is the Lesotho Clothing and Allied Workers Union that supported workers who organized at the Nien Hsing garment factory in Lesotho, Southern Africa.
- **MANAGEMENT:** Management is the group of people in a company or business that makes decisions about how a company, factory, or a workplace is organized. Management can make rules about how much workers are paid, when and how they work, and other rules that affect the workplace.
- **NIEN HSING:** Nien Hsing is a garment factory in Lesotho.
- **PERSONAL VIOLENCE:** Personal violence is violence that harms one individual person as opposed to a group of people.
- **PHYSICAL VIOLENCE:** Physical violence is violence that causes a person's body to be harmed or hurt.
- **POWER IMBALANCE:** Power imbalance is the privilege and authority that one group of people has over another. Some power imbalances, such as gender, religion, or racial imbalances, may occur in society and be reflected in the workplace.
- **PSYCHOLOGICAL VIOLENCE:** Psychological violence is non-physical violence that harms a person's psyche, spirit, or self-esteem. It can include bullying or mobbing.
- **RIGHTS:** Rights are rules that have been developed to protect people from bad treatment. Worker rights protect people from bad treatment at work. Worker rights may come from laws or through contractual agreements between employers and unions. Each country has laws which say what rights workers have, such as the right to a minimum wage, maximum hours of work, a safe working environment, and protection from harassment and discrimination on the job.
- **SHOP STEWARDS:** Shop stewards are shopfloor workers elected by their fellow workers to represent their interests in the union and in the workplace. (The shopfloor refers to a particular work location, such as a factory, a part of a factory, or a group of piecework locations.) Shop stewards take responsibility for continuously organizing in a particular workplace. Shop stewards also educate their co-workers about their rights at work and lead actions to defend those rights.
- **STRIKE:** A strike is when workers decide together to stop work in order to protest and improve their working conditions. When used strategically, a strike can be a very important and powerful organizing tactic for workers. In some places, workers' right to strike is protected by law.
- **TACTIC:** The activities in a campaign that make up the strategy and pressure the decision-makers to achieve the campaign goals.

TAPPING OUR STRENGTH

TOOLS FOR ORGANIZERS IN EXPORT PROCESSING ZONES AND INDUSTRIES

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INTRODUCTION TO ORGANIZING STRONG UNIONS

Building worker power is fundamental to achieving worker rights, and organizing strong unions is fundamental to achieving worker power. The best unions are rooted in worker activism and analysis, led by capable leaders, and structured to last through many challenges over time. Without strong unions, workers have no voice at the workplace and no way of negotiating current victories into permanent gains.

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

With a strong union, workers can build alliances with other unions and organizations. We will look at how to build alliances in Modules 5 to 7. Strong unions are also the base from which workers can impact relevant local, national, and international economic and social policies. In Modules 8 to 10, we will explore a number of strategies workers have used to change the rules of the game. Throughout the 10 modules, stories from real experiences of organizing in export processing zones illustrate the power and skills unions can develop to defend the rights of workers.

MODULE 2: TAPPING OUR STRENGTH

WORKSHOP GOALS

INTRODUCTION

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

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

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

In this module, we identify the fears that can stand in the way of union organizing and talk about them. We further explore the meaning of power and powerlessness, and what workers can do to find their power even when a situation is very challenging. Then we use traditional cultural methods to build strength and courage. Finally, we make a plan for first steps to overcome fear and build a greater sense of power.

TEACHING GOALS

- To identify fears that can stand in the way of union organizing.
- To show the dynamics of power and powerlessness.
- To understand that fear stems from real risks, and must be addressed with both strategy and courage.
- To identify different types of power that can be tapped in organizing.
- To show how organizing unions can help workers act despite their fears.
- To show how creative cultural traditions can help union organizing.

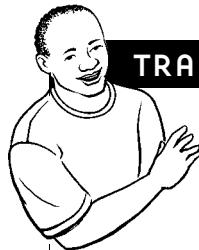
SKILLS GOALS

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

TRAINER'S NOTES

TIME TO DO THIS WORKSHOP:

The whole workshop will take about **7 hours** if you do all the exercises as well as the Welcome, Action Planning, and Closing activities. If you want to make it shorter, you can do only one of the exercises or divide the workshop in half and present it over 2 training sessions.



TRAINERS TIP

When a workshop is over 2 hours long or participants are tired, breaks and energizers are important tools to keep participants interested and engaged in the training.

Energizers are short, fun activities that let participants move around and take a mental break from the hard work of learning. Be sure to plan time for energizers, especially after lunch and in the evening when participants' energy is lowest. You can even ask a group of participants to form an "Energizer Committee" with the job of calling for a game or energizer whenever they see the participants are getting sleepy or distracted. This committee can then lead the games or ask you to lead them. Energizers can be songs, chants, or any non-competitive game or activity the group can do together.

TRAINER'S NOTES (CONTINUED)

MATERIALS NEEDED FOR THIS WORKSHOP:

- Something to write on that everyone can see: large paper and marking pens or chalk and chalkboard.
- Copies of the Fact Sheet "Violence At Work" on pages 30-31 (Exercise 1 only). Optional.
- Some materials for drawing (Exercise 2 only): paper and pens, pencils, markers or crayons, chalk and chalkboard, cardboard, charcoal, or anything else you can find for drawing. In some places, people use sticks and make their drawings in the sand or dirt. In other places, people use scissors and cloth to make pictures.
- Copies of the Fact Sheet "4 Types of Power" on page 32 (Exercise 3 only).

BEFORE YOU START:

- Read the whole Workshop Curriculum.
- Plan your agenda for the workshop. Decide how long the workshop will be. Choose which exercises you will do. Plan time for breaks and energizers.
- Collect all the materials you need.
- Set up the room the way you want it.



TRAINERS TIP

Some words and terms in this curriculum may be new for you or for the participants in the workshop. Look on the inside front cover for a list of definitions.

HOW THE WORKSHOP WORKS

HOW THE WORKSHOP WORKS

The workshop has 6 sections. In each section you and the participants will be doing a different kind of activity. There is a picture to remind you of the kind of activity you will do in that section. Here are the pictures and what they are reminding you to do:



WELCOME AND
GET STARTED



DISCUSS THE
STORY AND/OR
PICTURES



LEARN ABOUT
OTHER WORKERS'
SUCCESSES



DO EXERCISES
TO LEARN NEW
SKILLS



LEARN BY DOING



EVALUATE AND CLOSE
THE TRAINING



WELCOME AND GET STARTED

TRAINER: In this section, tell the group what the workshop is about. Then participants will introduce themselves to each other. The other activities can help people feel welcome, comfortable, and respected during the workshop. When people feel comfortable, they will learn more and the workshop will be more successful.

TIME: 30 minutes (or less if there are fewer than 20 people in your group)

ACTIVITIES FOR GETTING STARTED:

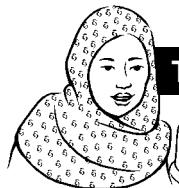
First do Activities **1** and **2**, then choose among **A**, **B**, and **C** for one more activity.

- 1.** Tell everyone what the workshop is about. Review the Teaching Goals from Page 2.
 - 2.** Ask everyone to introduce themselves to the group.
-
- A.** Ask everyone to take turns saying why they think the workshop is important.
 - B.** Ask a volunteer to sing a song, say a prayer, or recite a poem.
 - C.** Ask the participants to take turns answering the introduction question in the box. Answering the introduction question can help people to start thinking about the topic of the workshop, or just to begin to get to know one another better.



INTRODUCTION QUESTION:

Name one fear you had as a child that you don't have anymore.



TRAINERS TIP

SONGS, PRAYERS, AND POEMS let people know that their culture and spirit will be respected in the workshop. Songs, prayers, and poems are also an opportunity to let a participant be the leader.



TRAINERS TIP

INTRODUCTION QUESTIONS help people use their voices and participate in an easy way for the first time. Then they will be more comfortable to speak later on.



DISCUSS THE STORY AND/OR PICTURE

TRAINER: In this section, you can ask someone in the group to read the story out loud or you can read it out loud yourself. If you don't want to use the story, you can just look at the picture together. Then discuss the story and/or picture using the questions on the next page.

TIME: 30 minutes

MARASHALANE RAMALIEHE's Story:

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

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

— MARASHALANE RAMALIEHE, Shop Steward,
Nien Hsing garment factory, Lesotho



DISCUSS THE STORY AND/OR PICTURE (CONTINUED)

TRAINER: Ask the participants to discuss the questions below. Allow about 10 minutes for each question. If you want to, you can write what people say on a big piece of paper or a chalkboard as they answer the questions.

If there are more than 20 people in the room, you can divide into small groups of 4 or 5 people for the discussion. If they are in small groups, visit each group while they talk. Make sure that each person in each group has a chance to talk.

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS FOR THE STORY:

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

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS FOR THE PICTURE:

1. What is going on in the picture?
2. Have you ever felt like the workers in this picture? Why?
3. In your workplace, what do managers do to control the workers?



LEARN ABOUT OTHER WORKERS' SUCCESSES

TRAINER: In this section, you can ask for several different people in the group to volunteer to read the different parts of the story out loud or you can read it out loud yourself. Then ask the group to discuss the question at the bottom.

TIME: 45 minutes



MARASHALANE RAMALIEHE's Story, Nien Hsing, Lesotho

I first heard Jabu at a union meeting. Jabu is the Secretary General of the ITGLWF-Africa. He said, "We workers, we are to be together and be strong. We are to trust ourselves. You can trust the workers you are going to talk to. But before you can do anything, you need to understand."

At the meeting where I heard Jabu, they also gave us union shirts and caps. I took them to work with me. The management did not like it. They said that I was going to spoil the workers. But I didn't take off the union shirt and cap. When I would go to the toilets, the other workers would notice me and see the shirt and cap of the union. Then at lunch I could talk to them about the union.

People understood what I was saying about the union, about being together and being strong. Most of them were afraid of being dismissed. But I told them, "Dismissed for what? You cannot be dismissed unreasonably. Just keep doing your job." I told them exactly what Jabu said: that there is a law in this country for workers and employers. Even though the law often went the way of the management, we could still use it for ourselves, because the law also said that we had the right to join a union. We learned which kinds of dismissals are fair and which kind are unfair, and about the procedure management must follow for dismissal. We came to understand these things.

Still, one day we had to strike. A lady was dismissed after having a baby. We were being paid late. We couldn't pay the rent for our houses or buy food. That day at lunch we said that we were going to strike right then to show that these problems must stop. We were inside the factory singing, but when the last alarm rang all the workers who said they would strike went back to their jobs. Only two ladies stayed with me.

story continued on next page >

LEARN ABOUT OTHER WORKERS' SUCCESSES (CONTINUED)

MARASHALANE RAMALIEHE's Story, Nien Hsing, Lesotho (CONTINUED):

I knew those workers wanted to strike, even though they were afraid and didn't know how to begin. I told them: "We can be successful if we don't stop now. We should sing." One lady was too afraid to sing. She just followed us. My voice sometimes disappeared. It isn't that I wasn't afraid.

We went to the cutting room and the sewing room. When we entered, the workers there stopped and watched us. The workers were told to go back to work and not to watch us. But everybody stood up and sang. We began to march through the factory.

The director was at the entrance to the factory. The company men wanted to take us by power, to throw us out. There was only one way to keep moving—past the entrance. There were many men there. We were only ladies, with no power like them. They would be able to take us out and we would be dismissed without solving any of our problems.

Some of the workers were nearing the entrance. I wanted them to come back so we could go to the back of the factory. We would fight back there if management tried to fight. The director noticed what I was doing. He grabbed my neck. He stabbed me with scissors that he had taken from around the neck of one of the ladies. I was about to fall. I only knelt down, then rose up again. There was blood everywhere.

Then all the workers stood up. We went out of the factory singing. The workers wanted to beat the director, even though they were afraid. All of the workers had joined us now.

When I came back to work after a few days, the union and management were talking together and starting to solve the problems. That was when management understood that there was a union called LECAWU. They accepted that there would be shop stewards and everything else that the workers, the union, and the management need to work together."

DISCUSSION QUESTION FOR THE GROUP:

1. What one new thing did you learn from this story?
2. What do you think were the fears and the hopes in the minds of the workers at Nien Hsing when the strike was called?
3. Who do you think was most powerful in this story? In what way were they powerful?



DO EXERCISES TO LEARN NEW SKILLS

EXERCISE 1: IDENTIFY AND OVERCOME FEARS

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

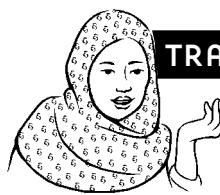
TIME: 75 minutes

WHAT TO DO:

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

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS:

- In your experience, what fears do workers have that stop them from forming a union?
- What do workers think will happen to them if they try to form a union?
- How likely is it that the things workers fear will actually happen?
- What can workers and the union do together to address those fears?



TRAINERS TIP

Some common fears that prevent workers from forming unions include:

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

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

EXERCISES TO LEARN NEW SKILLS

EXERCISE 1: IDENTIFY AND OVERCOME FEARS (CONTINUED)

WHAT TO DO (CONTINUED):

2. After making the list of fears, read the list you have made back to the group. Then ask the participants to choose the 3 fears that they think are most common among their co-workers. Each participant may vote for 3 fears. Keep track of how many people vote for each fear by putting a mark by it on the paper or chalkboard.
3. Count to see which 3 fears got the most votes. Read these back to the group.



TRAINERS TIP

Some good ways to help workers overcome fears about organizing include:

- Issues—keep talking about the reasons why you need to make a change.
- Strategy—talk about the worst fears before they happen and make a plan for dealing with them.
- Solidarity—remind each other that there are many of you and that you are strong if you are united.
- Vision—paint a picture with words of what a better life will be like when you succeed in your organizing.

If the participants in your group don't use these strategies for overcoming fear, you can prompt them with ideas from this list.

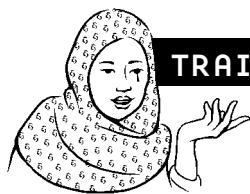
4. Ask the participants to sit in 3 groups. Assign one of the 3 top fears to each group. Ask each group to work together to plan how they would talk to a co-worker who had that particular fear to help that co-worker become strong enough to help organize the union.

EXERCISES TO LEARN NEW SKILLS

EXERCISE 1: IDENTIFY AND OVERCOME FEARS (CONTINUED)

WHAT TO DO (CONTINUED):

5. After about 15 minutes, ask each small group to present to the large group what they would say. If they choose to, they can do this as a role play in which one of the participants acts the part of the frightened worker and the others talk to her to give her courage.



TRAINERS TIP

Fear of violence can be one factor that prevents workers from forming unions. Violence at work can take many different forms, including physical violence, psychological violence, and the violence of political repression. Hand out copies of the Fact Sheet on pages 30-31 to help the participants think about different kinds of violence at work and how to deal with it.



TRAINERS TIP

"I don't think you can ever organize without confronting fear. The fear that you face as an individual disappears when you all get together. That's an important experience for people to have and to learn from.

We started to organize inside, but we didn't know much about how to do it. But we knew that the biggest obstacle we had to overcome was fear: fear of losing your job, fear of what other people will say, fear of the company throwing everyone out of work by moving away. Only by defeating fear would we be able to form a union strong enough to gain recognition and win a contract."

—Aurelia Cruz, BJ&B Campaign Organizer, Dominican Republic

EXERCISES TO LEARN NEW SKILLS

EXERCISE 1: IDENTIFY AND OVERCOME FEARS (CONTINUED)

REFLECTION ON THE EXCERCISE

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

- The goal of this exercise was to identify some of the fears that keep people from organizing, and bring those fears out into the open where the workers and the union can deal with them.
- When the fears about organizing are openly discussed, then organizers and workers together can find ways to address those fears in a supportive way. Talking about the issues and vision of change, as well as strategies for reducing risks and increasing solidarity, helps to address fears.
- Fear is often linked to a feeling of powerlessness or a feeling of being out of control. Many of the ways that were identified for confronting fears are ways that help workers to recognize the power they do have, even in difficult situations.
- Fear can be helpful to workers because it identifies things to be concerned about and what to plan for. Fear can be harmful to workers, though, if it leads to panic or paralysis.
- Many courageous organizers and workers still experience fear. Courage helps workers take deliberate actions despite their fears, because they are motivated by something bigger than fear.

Before moving on to the next exercise, ask the group to name 1 or 2 actions they could take to build their union using the lessons learned in this exercise. Ask a volunteer to remember or write down these Action Ideas for the group. You will use the Action Ideas to make an Action Plan, either at the end of this workshop, or after completing the first 4 Modules in the workshop curriculum.



DO EXERCISES TO LEARN NEW SKILLS

EXERCISE 2: FEELING POWER AND POWERLESSNESS

TRAINER: In this exercise, participants will describe their personal experiences with power and powerlessness and then draw pictures of those experiences. They will discuss these experiences and analyze what they tell us about sources of power for workers.

TIME: 1 hour and 15 minutes

WHAT TO DO:

1. Give each participant a piece of paper and marking pens or something to draw with. Ask them to draw a line down the middle. On one side of the line, ask participants to draw a picture of a situation that made them feel powerful. On the other side ask them to draw a situation that made them feel powerless. Ask participants to use any situation in their lives, at work or at home, in their families or communities, or whatever else they think of as a good example of these feelings.
2. Put all the drawings up on a wall, and ask participants to walk around in a group to look at all the drawings. Ask each participant to briefly explain their drawing to the group.
3. As each person explains their drawing, write down on a large sheet of paper or chalkboard the words and phrases that participants use to describe feeling powerful and feeling powerless, in two separate lists. Do not write down the details of what happens in the stories or the situations drawn. (If there are 2 facilitators, one can write on the large sheet of paper or chalkboard while the other one asks each participant to speak about their drawing.) See the Trainer's Tip on page 18 for examples of common responses.

EXERCISES TO LEARN NEW SKILLS

EXERCISE 2: FEELING POWER AND POWERLESSNESS (CONTINUED)

WHAT TO DO (CONTINUED):

4. When all the participants have explained their drawings, ask for a volunteer to read the list of words and phrases that describe situations that make us feel powerful, and the list of words and phrases that describe situations that make us feel powerless.
5. Ask the large group to discuss the following questions for about 10 minutes:

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS:

1. What are some of the things that made people feel powerful or powerless?
2. In what ways are our reactions to situations the same or different?
3. In what situations could someone start out feeling powerless but later feel powerful? How does that shift or change happen?



EXERCISES TO LEARN NEW SKILLS

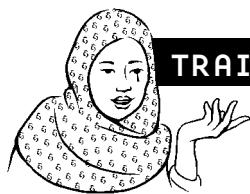
EXERCISE 2: FEELING POWER AND POWERLESSNESS (CONTINUED)

REFLECTION ON THE EXCERCISE

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

- The goal of this exercise was to learn that we are never completely powerless. Even in situations that are very difficult, people can have more power through organizing, working together, problem-solving, getting information, and making their best effort.
- There are many kinds of power that affect a situation – not only the power over other people that an employer can use, for example. Power is a dynamic force, and in any situation many people have some degree of power.
- An organizer's job is to help workers to understand power, overcome feelings of powerlessness, develop courage, and take action to gain more power over their lives at work.

Before moving on to the next exercise, ask the group to name 1 or 2 actions they could take to build their union using the lessons they learned in this exercise. Ask a volunteer to remember or write down these Action Ideas for the group. You will use the Action Ideas to make an Action Plan later (either at the end of this workshop or after completing the first 4 modules in the workshop curriculum).



TRAINERS TIP

- Things That Make People Feel Powerless**
- disrespect, insults
 - being ignored
 - stereotypes
 - lack of control
 - loss
 - ignorance
 - shame
 - isolation

- Things That Make People Feel Powerful**
- overcoming fear through action
 - recognition by others of what I did
 - finding a creative way to solve a problem
 - being able to handle a difficult task
 - succeeding as a leader
 - caring for and helping others
 - joining a group with others who have the same problem
 - joining a union
 - make others feel how powerful we are together



DO EXERCISES TO LEARN NEW SKILLS

EXERCISE 3: IDENTIFY DIFFERENT TYPES OF POWER

TRAINER: In this exercise, the participants will identify 4 different types of power. They will then work in small groups to explain one type of power and find an object to symbolize that power. The group will end by discussing how to use the different types of power in organizing.

TIME: 45 minutes

WHAT TO DO:

1. Ask participants to sit in 4 groups. Hand out copies of the Fact Sheet: 4 Types of Power on page 32.
2. Ask each group to read the Fact Sheet. Assign each group one of the 4 types of power to discuss in detail. Ask each group to discuss the following questions in relation to their one type of power.

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS:

1. What does this type of power mean to you? Can you think of examples of this power in your own life?
2. Who usually uses this type of power – workers or management? In what way?
3. How might women workers and men workers use this power differently?

EXERCISES TO LEARN NEW SKILLS

EXERCISE 3: IDENTIFY DIFFERENT TYPES OF POWER (CONTINUED)

WHAT TO DO (CONTINUED):

3. Ask each group to look around the room and find one picture or object that can symbolize or represent the type of power that they have discussed. Give the groups about 5 minutes to choose an object as a symbol.
4. Ask each group to report back to the large group by showing their symbol and saying why they think it represents that one type of power.
5. Ask the large group to discuss the following question:

DISCUSSION QUESTION:

1. How can workers use all 4 of these types of power to build unity and gain respect for their rights?

REFLECTION ON THE EXCERCISE

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

- The goal of this exercise was to understand that there are many kinds of power.
- Some kinds of power rely more on unity and internal strength than on controlling other people.
- A union campaign can use many different kinds of power to build strength for workers.

Before moving on to the next exercise, ask the group to name 1 or 2 actions they could take to build their union using the lessons learned in this exercise. Ask a volunteer to remember or write down these Action Ideas for the group. You will use the Action Ideas to make an Action Plan later (either at the end of the workshop, or after completing the first 4 modules in the workshop curriculum).



DO EXERCISES TO LEARN NEW SKILLS

EXERCISE 4: BUILD COURAGE IN YOUR WORKPLACE

TRAINER: In this exercise, the participants will identify creative cultural traditions that can be used to build strength and courage in their workplace. Then they will create a song, dance, chant, poem, or prayer.

TIME: 60 minutes

WHAT TO DO:

1. Read Jabu's story below. You can ask for several participants to volunteer to read the different parts of the story out loud or you can read it out loud yourself.



JABU NGCOBO's Story, Nien Hsing, Lesotho

"The social element was very important in our organizing. With what money we had, we would provide some meat and bread and start a meeting. People would sit and rest for a while. Then we would do something traditional with the workers. For example, we sometimes opened meetings by asking somebody to pray. This way, union activities would be comfortable for people who believe that praying is important in anything you do. The activist group at Nien Hsing spent most of their weekends having prayer and talking about the union.

We also have large celebrations with workers every year. Workers and their families sing and dance for each other. Many of them compose songs that are union-oriented. People get very excited when they hear songs about workers rights and they love to hear music and dance. Our workforce is very young and energetic—they like to bend their bodies. These celebrations have helped us accommodate the young workers.

We also go to the funerals of the workers' families. We go and mourn with the family, not only to share in the victories, but to also to share in times of crisis. We go to the lives of the people, rather than bringing them to our life."

—Jabu Ngcobo, Secretary General of ITGLWF Africa

EXERCISES TO LEARN NEW SKILLS

EXERCISE 4: BUILD COURAGE IN YOUR WORKPLACE (CONTINUED)

WHAT TO DO (CONTINUED):

2. Ask the participants to sit in groups of 4 or 5 people. Ask them to discuss the following questions in their small groups.

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS:

1. What creative cultural traditions did Marashalane, Jabu, and the workers use to build strength and courage while organizing in Lesotho?
2. What are some cultural traditions of the people in your own culture that help you and others feel strong and courageous in difficult situations?
3. What is an example of how creative cultural traditions use the different types of power discussed in Exercise 3 - “power over,” “power with,” “power to,” or “power within”?
4. Ask each small group to create a song, dance, poem, chant, or prayer that shows what helps them fight fear and helps them feel strong. This part should take 15 minutes.
5. Ask each group to take a turn performing what they created for the rest of the group.



EXERCISES TO LEARN NEW SKILLS

EXERCISE 4: BUILD COURAGE IN YOUR WORKPLACE (CONTINUED)

REFLECTION ON THE EXCERCISE

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

- The goal of this exercise was to learn about how cultural expressions like music and dance can help workers feel strong and courageous.
- Music is one way that many people experience their “power within,” that sense of determination and purpose that gives us power to act. When groups of people share music, dancing, stories, and laughter, they also increase their “power with” and “power to” take action.

Before moving on to the next exercise, ask the group to name 1 or 2 actions they could take to build their union using the lessons learned in this exercise. Ask a volunteer to remember or write down these Action Ideas for the group. You will use the Action Ideas to make an Action Plan later (either at the end of the workshop or after completing the first 4 modules of the workshop curriculum).



LEARN BY DOING

TRAINER: In this exercise, participants will review the key ideas from the workshop and use them to make plans for taking action in their own worksite.

TIME: 30 minutes or more

WHAT TO DO:

1. Ask the participants to state one thing they have learned in this workshop. (If the group is more than 25 people, you may lead a brief brainstorm about what was learned. If the group is smaller than that, you may want to ask each person to say one thing they learned.)
2. Summarize the main ideas discussed during the workshop, including acknowledging risks and fears in organizing, understanding different types of power, and using cultural expressions to increase workers' sense of power.
3. Explain that the next step in organizing is to take action. Even small actions help workers to build a strong union. After completing the first 4 training modules on "Organizing Strong Unions," participants will make a more complete Action Plan. This exercise is a "mini Action Plan."
4. Make a "Learn By Doing" Worksheet like the one on page 27 on a large piece of paper or chalkboard. Explain to the participants that you will fill out this Worksheet together. Ask for a volunteer to take notes if you are writing on a chalkboard so the participants will have a record of their plan.



TRAINERS TIP

An important goal of this workshop is for participants to use their new skills in action. This exercise and the sample worksheet that goes with it are some activities that can help participants move from learning to action.

LEARN BY DOING (CONTINUED)

EXERCISE 4: BUILD COURAGE IN YOUR WORKPLACE (CONTINUED)

5. Ask the volunteers who have been remembering the Action Ideas from each exercise to say them out loud. Write these ideas in the left-hand column of the large sheet of paper or chalkboard. Ask the participants if they have any other action ideas for overcoming fear and building strength among workers that is not yet on the list. Write down these additional ideas.
6. Ask the participants to identify which of the Action Ideas would be especially good at building workers' power. Put an X in the column under "Builds Power" by those Action Ideas.



MAKE AN ACTION PLAN (CONTINUED)

7. Ask the participants to identify which of the Action Ideas would be especially strong for increasing the unity among workers, or increasing the participation of women (or other specific groups) in the union. Put an X in the column under “Unifies Us” by those Action Ideas.

8. Ask the participants to identify which of the Action Ideas could be done right away, even before the next workshop. For example, if there is a week before the next workshop, the action might be: “Write a chant for demonstrations that makes us feel powerful and determined.” If there is only one night before the next workshop, the action might be: “Think of one big reason I want to help organize workers at my worksite, and how that reason gives me ‘power within’ to succeed.” Put an X in the column under “Do Now” by those Action Ideas. Ask all the participants to commit to doing one action from this list before the next workshop. (If many actions are possible to do right away, you may want to pick one that has X marks in all three columns.)

9. For the Action Ideas that are not identified as “Do Now,” put an X in the column under “Do Later.” Tell participants that you will come back to these ideas to see how they fit together into an Action Plan after completing the first 4 Training Modules on “Organizing Strong Unions.” At that time, participants will identify which action ideas fit best with their goals.



TRAINERS TIP

At the end of Module 4: Building Unions That Last, you will find an Action Planning tool using ideas from Modules 1, 2, 3, and 4. These 4 modules were designed to work together to address the single topic of “Organizing Strong Unions.” If you are not offering all 4 of these workshops together, you may want to look at the Action Plan section of Module 4 for additional ideas about using the information in this module.

ACTION PLAN WORKSHEET

ACTION IDEA	BUILDS POWER	UNIFIES US	DO NOW	DO LATER



EVALUATE AND CLOSE TRAINING

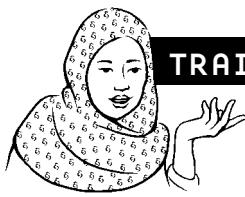
TRAINER: In this section, you will remind the group what the goals of the training were and acknowledge the goals you have accomplished together. You will thank any individuals or groups who helped make the training a success. Then participants will have a chance to evaluate the training and commit to taking action. The closing activities suggested on this page can help people feel successful, hopeful, and powerful as they complete the workshop.

TIME: 30 minutes (or less if fewer than 20 people are in your group)

ACTIVITIES FOR EVALUATION AND CLOSING:

1. Remind the participants of the goals of this training (see page 3). Acknowledge that everyone has worked hard to finish the training and accomplish these goals.

2. Thank any individuals or groups who contributed to the success of the training, including those who contributed meeting space, food, time, etc.



TRAINERS TIP

You may want to spend more time evaluating the workshop with the participants if:

- you're working on improving your own training skills and you want to know how you can improve your facilitation;
- you're unsure of whether the content of the workshop was too easy, too hard, or just right for your participants;
- you're trying to decide whether to use this workshop again as part of your union's education program.

EVALUATE AND CLOSE TRAINING (CONTINUED)

3. As a large group, ask each person to say:

- One thing she or he learned in the training
- One thing she or he liked about the training
- One thing she or he will do to build their union based on what they learned in the training.

Options for this step: If you have a large group (more than 20 participants), you can ask for 4 or 5 volunteers to answer the 3 questions or ask each person to answer only one question—rather than asking each person to answer all 3 questions.

4. Lead the group in a closing ritual. This could be a chant, song, dance, poem, or prayer.



TRAINERS TIP

Ask one of the participants to choose the closing ritual and lead the group in a chant, song, poem, prayer, etc. This gives someone in the group a chance to exercise leadership. It also makes clear to the group that what they have accomplished in the workshop belongs to them, not to you as the trainer.

FACT SHEET: VIOLENCE AT WORK

WHAT IS VIOLENCE AT WORK?

Violence at work is a serious problem that affects not only its victims, but also co-workers, family members, and the community. The International Labor Organization (ILO) considers unacceptable many kinds of violence that workers suffer on the job. These range from homicide, rape and battery to name calling, rude gestures, and interfering with work tools and equipment. Women workers are more vulnerable to certain kinds of violence such as rape, sexual harassment, and stalking.

ARE THERE LAWS AGAINST VIOLENCE AT WORK?

The ILO makes rules about the rights people have at work. All countries are supposed to protect these rights. Two ILO rules address the problem of violence at work. One ILO rule says that forced labor or slavery is unacceptable. The other rule states that there should not be discrimination in the workplace.

The United Nations Declaration of Human Rights also defines rights that apply everywhere, including the workplace. These include:

- Everyone has the right to life, liberty, and security of person.
- No one shall be held in slavery or servitude; slavery and the slave trade shall be prohibited in all their forms.
- No one shall be subjected to torture or to cruel, inhuman, or degrading treatment or punishment.
- All are equal before the law and are entitled without discrimination to equal protection of the law. All are entitled to equal protection against any discrimination in violation of this Declaration and against any incitement to such discrimination.

VIOLENCE AT WORK (CONTINUED)

WHAT CAN WE DO ABOUT VIOLENCE AT WORK?

There is no single solution to violence at work. There are many ways to prevent or minimize violence in the workplace. For example, workers can pay attention to what is happening in their factory and make sure others are not being abused or mistreated. If someone is in danger, workers can organize to confront the boss or make sure that person is not alone. Training and education (educating about sexual harassment, for example) can also help prevent workplace violence. It is also important to make sure the physical work environment is comfortable and safe, and that people are not working long hours and many shifts, which can lead to stress and violence. Violence at work is really about power imbalances between people. When one person or group of people has a lot of power and does not respect others, violence can occur. A good way to stop violence before it starts and to be able to deal with violence if it happens is to organize a union so that workers are not powerless.



TRAINERS TIP

Unions also work on ending violence outside of the workplace. An example is the work on domestic violence of the Forum of Unions in Zone Enterprises (FUZE), a union federation in the Philippines.

"The first FUZE project that linked a number of area coalitions was the Disadvantaged Women's Project (DAW), which started in 1997. DAW was originally formed to address issues of sexual harassment and job discrimination against women, but the coalition partners early on identified domestic violence as a major issue for the community... Women's organizations, youth organizations, and other advocacy groups all wanted domestic violence to be the issue that FUZE focused on. It surfaced to be a major problem that needed to be addressed."

— Judy Geronimo, Program Officer, Solidarity Center, AFL-CIO

FACT SHEET: 4 TYPES OF POWER

POWER is the ability to have an intentional effect on oneself and others – that is, the power to get things done. There are 4 main types of power that can be used in an organizing campaign. Each of these can be used in a positive way or a negative way, depending on the situation.

■ **POWER OVER:** This is the most commonly recognized type of power. “Power over” means being able to enforce your will over others. “Power over” has many negative associations for people, such as repression, force, coercion, discrimination, and abuse. “Power over” is seeing power as a win-lose situation, where for some people to gain power, other people must lose it. When people are systematically denied access to important resources like land, jobs, fair wages, and healthcare, then someone (the government, or employers, or the wealthy) is responsible for using “power over” people to enforce inequality and injustice.

However, “Power over” can be used in some situations by working people to gain the upper hand and force the government or employers to grant concessions to workers.

There are 3 other types of power that are more collaborative:

■ **POWER WITH:** “Power with” has to do with building unity. When we find common interests among different people and groups, and build collective strength, that is “power with.” The idea of “power with” is to build mutual support, solidarity, and collaboration. Unions, for example, use “power with” to create greater strength for workers. Coalitions of unions and other groups, as described in Modules 5 and 6, are one way for poor people to use their “power with” for social change.

■ **POWER TO:** “Power to” refers to the ability of every person to take action. Each individual has the potential to make a difference in their own family, worksite, community and the world. Leadership development, as discussed in Module 3, is one way to increase each person’s ability to use their “power to.”

■ **POWER WITHIN:** “Power within” describes a person’s own sense of self-worth and purpose. It also includes the ability to recognize individual or group differences, like the differences between men and women workers. “Power within” helps workers to overcome fears. Many people find their “power within” through practicing their spiritual beliefs or by sharing their stories of struggle and success. “Power within” feeds each person’s ability to imagine and have hope. “Power within” is dignity and strength.

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TOOLS FOR ORGANIZERS

IN EXPORT PROCESSING ZONES AND INDUSTRIES

TRAINING MODULES IN THIS SERIES:

SECTION I: ORGANIZING STRONG UNIONS

1. Building Unity
2. Tapping Our Strength
3. Developing Democratic Leadership
4. Building Unions That Last

SECTION II: BUILDING ALLIANCES

5. Allying With Other Unions
6. Linking With Non-Governmental Organizations
7. Mounting International Campaigns

SECTION III: FIGHTING FOR LABOR RIGHTS

8. Negotiating Labor Rights in Export Processing Zones
9. Using Trade Provisions to Organize
10. Stopping Anti-Worker International Financial Institutions Policies

This booklet, **TAPPING OUR STRENGTH**, is Module 2 of 10 in a series of training modules for working people organizing in Export Processing Zones or other export-oriented industries.

ORGANIZING STRONG UNIONS

Module 3: DEVELOPING DEMOCRATIC LEADERSHIP

TOOLS FOR ORGANIZERS

IN EXPORT PROCESSING ZONES AND INDUSTRIES



DEVELOPING DEMOCRATIC LEADERSHIP

DEFINITIONS

■ **DUES DEDUCTION:** In many workplaces, a company deducts money from workers' pay and gives it directly to the union. In other places, the workers themselves must collect union dues. Union dues are used to pay for the organizing, bargaining, and other activities of a union.

■ **EXPORT PROCESSING ZONE (EPZ):** EPZs are industrial areas in a country that offer special incentives to foreign investors. These incentives may include low taxes, lax environmental regulations, and low labor costs. Low wages, long hours, and dangerous and repressive working conditions are the norm in many EPZs. Sometimes organizing unions is banned or restricted. EPZs are also known by other names, such as Special Economic Zones, Industrial Development Zones, etc.

■ **FEDERATIONS:** Unions join together in federations to create greater strength. Federations are often long-lasting organizations through which unions share information and resources to create greater political and economic power for workers. A federation can also be groups of workers or groups of any similar organizations, for example: womens organizations, consumers groups, neighborhood associations, etc.

■ **GOAL:** A goal is what a person or group hopes to accomplish when they organize or take action. For example, goals of union organizing could be to build leadership, create a union, and secure justice for workers.

■ **LABOR LAW:** Labor laws are rules made by a country, state, or local government about the conditions in which people work. For example, these rules can set the minimum rate of pay people receive, the health and safety conditions in a workplace, the rights workers have to organize, and many other things that affect people's work conditions and their relationship with their employer.

■ **LABOR UNION:** A labor union is an organization of workers who build collective power in their workplace in order to protect worker rights and improve working conditions, such as wages, hours and benefits. Often the union negotiates a collective bargaining agreement (or contract) with the employer to define and secure the rights of their members.

■ **LEADER:** A leader is someone who has the respect of a group of people, helps them make decisions, and helps them take action to achieve a goal. In the workplace, a leader is someone who brings workers together, inspires them, and helps them to conquer fear. A leader can use his or her influence to help build and strengthen a union.

■ **MANAGEMENT:** Management is the group of people in a company or business that makes decisions about how a company, a factory, or a workplace is organized. Management can make rules about how much people are paid, when and how they work, and other rules that affect the workplace.

■ **MAPPING:** Mapping means making a picture to describe your situation at work or in the world. Mapping can be used to describe the areas and people in your workplace or to describe the allies who can help you in your union organizing campaign. Mapping is a useful tool in analyzing power relationships and planning actions.

■ **MEMBER COLLECTION CAMPAIGN:** A member collection campaign is a program of union activities to get new workers involved in organizing a workplace union.

■ **ORGANIZERS:** Organizers are people who take responsibility for helping others work together on a common goal, such as organizing a union. They may bring people together to talk about issues, educate people about an issue, or help them become involved in a project. Union organizers are people who help workers build

DEVELOPING DEMOCRATIC LEADERSHIP

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INTRODUCTION TO ORGANIZING STRONG UNIONS

Building worker power is fundamental to achieving worker rights, and organizing strong unions is fundamental to achieving worker power. The best unions are rooted in worker activism and analysis, led by capable leaders, and structured to last through many challenges over time. Without strong unions, workers have no voice at the workplace and no way of negotiating current victories into permanent gains.

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

With a strong union, workers can build alliances with other unions and organizations. We will look at how to build alliances in Modules 5 to 7. Strong unions are also the base from which workers can impact relevant local, national, and international economic and social policies. In Modules 8 to 10, we will explore a number of strategies workers have used to change the rules of the game. Throughout the 10 modules, stories from real experiences of organizing in export processing zones illustrate the power and skills unions can develop to defend the rights of workers.

MODULE 3: DEVELOPING DEMOCRATIC LEADERSHIP WORKSHOP GOALS

INTRODUCTION

Leadership is central to any organizing effort—without effective leaders no one will follow. But often we are confused about what good leadership is. Is it the firebrand who dares to challenge the employer and risk her job for what she believes is right? Or is it the quiet one who commands respect from all those who know her?

Both of these types of people may become leaders, along with other people who have different personalities and skills. The best group leadership combines people with different styles who work as a team to represent the views of the membership, make decisions, and communicate those decisions to the membership. Good leadership is not about any one style, but about a process where the membership has input and representation, while leaders make decisions and are accountable back to the membership.

In this module we will learn how a remarkable group of workers in Cambodia organized themselves to develop a democratic leadership team. Their example contrasts sharply with the “firebrand” method common in other Cambodian factories, where a single leader rises to call for a strike with few lasting results. As you will see from their story, this group of women has developed a leadership team with a structure and rules that have proven successful.

The exercises lead us to reflect and envision what leadership means, and what characteristics we value. Then we analyze where leaders might be in a workplace and challenge participants to analyze their own workplaces. Finally, we describe leadership as a role that is responsible and accountable, and discuss the process of good leadership.

TEACHING GOALS

- To identify the characteristics and skills of good leaders.
- To understand the importance of diverse representation in leadership.
- To understand roles and responsibilities of different levels of organizational structure.
- To understand what accountability to the membership means.

SKILLS GOALS

- To map the workplace for various factors.
- To plan changes in leadership.

TRAINER'S NOTES

TIME TO DO THIS WORKSHOP:

The whole workshop will take about **5 to 6 hours** if you do all the exercises as well as the Welcome, Learn by Doing, and Closing activities. If you want to make it shorter, you can do only one exercise or divide the workshop in half and present it over 2 training sessions.



TRAINERS TIP

When a workshop is over 2 hours long or participants are tired, breaks and energizers are important tools to keep participants interested and engaged in the training. Energizers are short, fun activities that let participants move around and take a mental break from the hard work of learning. Be sure to plan time for energizers, especially after lunch and in the evening when participants' energy is lowest. You can even ask a group of participants to form an "Energizer Committee" with the job of calling for a game or energizer whenever they see the participants are getting sleepy or distracted. This committee can then lead the games or ask you to lead them. Energizers can be songs, chants, or any non-competitive game or activity the group can do together.

TRAINER'S NOTES (CONTINUED)

MATERIALS NEEDED FOR THIS WORKSHOP:

- Something to write on that everyone can see: large paper and marking pens, or chalk and chalkboard.
- Some materials for drawing (Exercise 1 and 3 only): paper and pens, pencils, markers or crayons, chalk and chalkboard, cardboard, charcoal, or anything else you can find for drawing. In some places, people use sticks and make their drawings in the sand or dirt. In other places, people use scissors and cloth to make pictures.

BEFORE YOU START:

- Read the whole Workshop Curriculum.
- Plan your agenda for the workshop. Decide how long the workshop will be. Choose which exercises you will do. Plan time for breaks and energizers.
- Collect all the materials you need.
- Set up the room the way you want it.



TRAINERS TIP

Some words and terms in this curriculum may be new for you or for the participants in the workshop. Look on the inside front cover for a list of definitions.

HOW THE WORKSHOP WORKS

HOW THE WORKSHOP WORKS

The workshop has 6 sections. In each section you and the participants will be doing a different kind of activity. There is a picture to remind you of the kind of activity you will do in that section. Here are the pictures and what they are reminding you to do:



WELCOME AND
GET STARTED



DISCUSS THE
STORY AND/OR
PICTURES



LEARN ABOUT
OTHER WORKERS'
SUCCESSES



DO EXERCISES
TO LEARN NEW
SKILLS



LEARN BY DOING



EVALUATE AND CLOSE
THE TRAINING



WELCOME AND GET STARTED

TRAINER: In this section, you will tell the group what the workshop is about. Then participants will introduce themselves to each other. The other activities suggested on this page can help people feel welcome, comfortable, and respected during the workshop. When people feel comfortable, they will learn more and the workshop will be more successful.

TIME: 30 minutes (or less if there are fewer than 20 people in your group)

ACTIVITIES FOR GETTING STARTED:

First do Activities **1** and **2**, then choose among **A**, **B**, and **C** for one more activity.

- 1.** Tell everyone what the workshop is about. Review the Teaching Goals from Page 3.
- 2.** Ask everyone to introduce themselves to the group.

A. Ask everyone to take turns saying why they think the workshop is important.

B. Ask a volunteer to sing a song, say a prayer, or recite a poem.

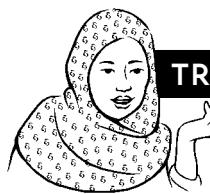
C. Ask everyone to take turns answering the introduction question in the box.

Answering the introduction question can help people to start thinking about the topic of the workshop.



INTRODUCTION QUESTION:

Name one person who you think of when you hear the word “leader” and tell us why.



TRAINERS TIP

SONGS, PRAYERS, AND POEMS let people know that their culture and spirit will be respected in the workshop. Songs, prayers, and poems are also an opportunity to let a participant be the leader.



TRAINERS TIP

INTRODUCTION QUESTIONS help people use their voices and participate in an easy way for the first time. Then they will be more comfortable to speak later on.



DISCUSS THE STORY AND/OR PICTURES

TRAINER: In this section, you can ask someone in the group to read the story out loud or you can read it out loud yourself. If you don't want to use the story, you can just look at the pictures together. Then discuss the story and/or pictures using the questions on the next page.

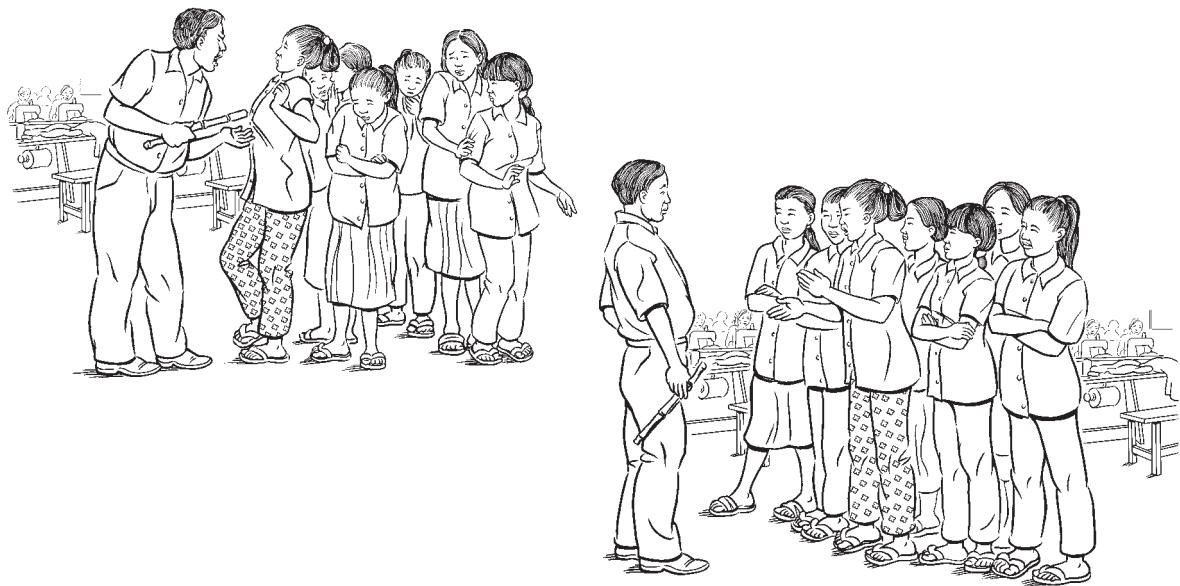
TIME: 30 minutes

MEAS MOROKOT's Story:

"When organizers first approached us outside the gates of the factory, I didn't know anything about unions. They asked us to talk to other workers, to find other women who were willing to be leaders. But when I talked to others, they were all afraid. So we all just waited for help. We weren't doing anything for ourselves."

"Later, we contacted the organizers again and they told me: 'You are acting like goats, not tigers. All of you are always the goats. But if one or 2 of you in the front lines will become tigers, then everyone else will become tigers too.' So I joined the union. We started identifying leaders. At first, that's all the campaign was—finding leaders, identifying leaders in other sectors of the factory that didn't have leaders yet."

— MEAS MOROKOT, President,
Top One workers' union, Cambodia



DISCUSS THE STORY AND/OR PICTURES (CONTINUED)

TRAINER: Ask the participants to discuss the questions below. Allow about 10 minutes for each question. If you want to, you can write what people say on a big piece of paper or a chalkboard as they answer the questions.

If there are more than 20 people, you can divide into small groups of 4 or 5 people for the discussion. If they are in small groups, visit each group while they talk. Make sure that each person in each group has a chance to talk.

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS:

- 1.** What happened in Morokot's story?
- 2.** What does Morokot mean by "goats" and "tigers"?
- 3.** Is your workplace like Morokot's, with "goats" and "tigers"? Why?
- 4.** Why do you think the workers in Morokot's story spent so much time finding leaders?

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS FOR THE PICTURE:

- 1.** What happened in these pictures? Why?
- 2.** Have you ever felt like the workers in these pictures?
- 3.** What makes people afraid to be leaders in your factory?



LEARN ABOUT OTHER WORKERS' SUCCESSES

TRAINER: In this section, you can ask for several different people in the group to volunteer to read the different parts of the story out loud or you can read it out loud yourself. Then ask the group to discuss the question at the bottom.

TIME: 30 minutes



MEAS MOROKOT and THAM SOVAM's Story, Top One, Cambodia

"After we found the leaders, we organized the member collection campaign. This was when we signed up members. We had small house meetings. All the leaders were required to have these meetings with workers. We started one-on-one to make workers aware of what a union is. We expect leaders to educate workers about the union. That's how we got 70% of the workers signed up in just one week!

"It's a very fundamental issue to have leaders in all areas of the factory. We assign leaders to be responsible for each line, each department. For example: if there are 35 workers, there will be 2 leaders. Sometimes 10 people have one leader. All the sectors, all the lines have leaders.

"Leaders are expected to recruit more members and maintain relationships between the union and the members. Union leaders also have to collect union dues for all members on that line. We don't have dues deduction. We make the plan together, then we follow up with the leaders—ask what they did and didn't do. For example, if someone says she'll talk to 3 workers, we'll follow up and ask how it went.

"It's important to have a lot of leaders to talk to members every day. If there's a problem, the leaders have a meeting, then they tell everyone else in the factory what's happening. Everyone in the union has to have frequent meetings. Leaders and advisors have to meet frequently and leaders have to meet with members as well. Leaders on the line have to organize meetings frequently with workers on the line.

"We have to keep talking together. If we're not talking together, we lose relationships and connection, and we lose solidarity.

story continued on page 11

LEARN ABOUT OTHER WORKERS' SUCCESSES (CONTINUED)

MEAS MOROKOT'S and THAM SOVAM'S STORY (CONTINUED):

Other federations do it the opposite way: they bargain without power, workers get fired, then there's a strike over firings. In places like that, a union is sometimes created in one or 2 days during a strike. Sometimes a federation chooses the wrong leaders, hotheads, people who are quick to anger. These are also the people who are easily bought by management.

At Top One, **no one** has gotten fired—because we built the union carefully. When there is a lot of member support and where workers are educated about labor law, management is afraid to fire the leader.”

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS:

1. What one new thing did you learn from this story?
2. What is the purpose of having frequent meetings among leaders?
3. How do you think they found the leaders at Top One?



DO EXERCISES TO LEARN NEW SKILLS

EXERCISE 1: TELL A STORY ABOUT A LEADER IN YOUR LIFE

TRAINER: In this exercise, each participant will tell a partner a story about someone who has been a leader for him or her.

TIME: 60 minutes

WHAT TO DO:

1. Ask the participants to sit together in pairs. Each person will have 5 minutes to tell their partner a story about someone who has been a leader in their life. Each person should also tell their partner what that leader did that made him or her a good leader.
2. After 5 minutes, remind the participants to switch so that the second person can tell their story.
3. After 5 more minutes, ask the participants to return to the large group. Ask them to name activities that leaders do. Remind the participants to think about what leaders did in their own stories and in Meas' and Tham's story from Cambodia. If you want, you can write this list on large paper or a chalkboard. Make sure everyone has a chance to talk.
4. Ask the group to discuss the personal characteristics that make someone into a good leader. You can write this list on a large paper or a chalkboard. Make sure that the leadership characteristics in the Training Tip on page 14 are included in the discussion.
5. Read the three quotes in the Trainer's Tip on page 13 from workers in different EPZs. Ask the participants if they agree or disagree with the quotes, and why.

EXERCISES TO LEARN NEW SKILLS

EXERCISE 1: TELL A STORY (CONTINUED)

REFLECTION ON THE EXERCISE

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

- The goal of this exercise was to learn about what makes a good leader for a union.
- In this exercise, everyone had examples of leaders they already know or admire. We can use these examples to help us develop our own leadership skills.
- Leaders can have different styles and personalities. Some things that leaders have in common are that they are respected by others, and that they listen to and encourage other workers



TRAINERS TIP

Here are some things that organizers in EPZs have said about identifying leaders. You can share these quotes with the participants in your workshop to help think about the characteristics of leaders.

“There are 2 types of leaders: talkative leaders who are good at having conversations and silent types who are stable and shy. Talkatives help recruit, but silent types are important too.”

— Shaw Lebakae, Deputy General Secretary, LECAWU, Lesotho

“First we look for one leader. That leader brings 5 people. Then those 5 people are supposed to each bring one or 2. If they do it, they pass the test. If not, they’re not leaders and they usually don’t come back.”

— Kong Pharith, Organizer, Top One, Cambodia

“We’d look for people who weren’t afraid to stand up for their rights, who were looked up to in the factory, people who were well-liked and honest, people who cared about the truth.”

— Aurelia Cruz, BJ&B organizer, Dominican Republic

EXERCISES TO LEARN NEW SKILLS

EXERCISE 1: TELL A STORY (CONTINUED)

REFLECTION ON THE EXERCISE (CONTINUED)

Before moving on to the next exercise, ask the group to name 1 or 2 actions they could take to build their union using the lessons learned in this exercise. Ask a volunteer to remember or write down these Action Ideas for the group. You will use the Action Ideas to make an Action Plan (either at the end of this workshop, or after completing the first 4 Modules in the workshop curriculum).



TRAINERS TIP

Make sure that by the end of this exercise, the participants have thought about these characteristics of good leaders:

- Willing to take risks
- Helps other people
- Helps other people become leaders
- Respected by others
- A good worker
- Organizes group action
- Talks to others at work
- Thinks things through
- Not quick to anger
- Feels accountable to others for his or her actions
- Follows through on promises and commitments
- Is influential in an important social group at the workplace (examples: a young person in group of young people, a woman in a group of women).

See the Fact Sheet on pages 27 for more characteristics of a leader.



DO EXERCISES TO LEARN NEW SKILLS

EXERCISE 2: MAP LEADERS IN YOUR WORKPLACE

TRAINER: In this exercise, participants will discuss why it is important to map leaders in their workplace. They will decide what should be on their map. Together they will make a map that looks like a chart or a map that looks like a picture.

TIME: 60 minutes

WHAT TO DO:

1. As a large group, ask participants to answer these discussion questions. You should write down their answers to the second question on large paper or a chalkboard. Make sure everybody has a chance to talk

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS:

1. Why is it important to make a map of your workplace?
2. What information should be on the map?



TRAINERS TIP

WHY MAKE A MAP?

To build a strong union at Top One in Cambodia, Meas Morokot and Tham Sovam found it was important to recruit a group of leaders who represented all the different areas and social groups in their factory. Making and using a map can help you make sure you include every area or social group as you recruit leaders for your union. By putting the number of workers in each area on the map, you will get an idea of how many leaders you will need to be able to talk to all the workers regularly.

EXERCISES TO LEARN NEW SKILLS

EXERCISE 2: MAP LEADERS IN YOUR WORKPLACE (CONTINUED)

WHAT TO DO (CONTINUED):



TRAINERS TIP

WHAT INFORMATION SHOULD BE ON THE MAP?

- the number of people who work in each area
- the number of people on each shift

The map can also show the social groups of people who work in the factory. These different groups could be:

- people who do the same kind of job in the factory
- men or women
- older or younger workers
- single mothers/not single mothers
- people who speak different languages
- people from different ethnic groups
- people from different regions or villages
- people of different religions, etc.
- any leaders who work in each area (remember your discussion about “characteristics of a good leader” from earlier in the workshop)
- whether those leaders already support the union

Don't worry about getting the numbers exactly right! You can find out the exact numbers later.

2. Ask participants to sit in groups of 4 or 5 to make a map of their workplace. Each group's map should include all the information from the list they made in the discussion. Each map can look like a chart or like a picture. Show the participants the chart and picture map examples below.

MAP EXAMPLE #1: CHART

One way to map your worksite is to make a chart like the one on page 17. You will probably need to change the categories in the boxes so it describes your worksite. If your work is home-based, you can list homes as categories. Work together to fill in the chart, with everybody thinking about what she or he knows about who

EXERCISES TO LEARN NEW SKILLS

EXERCISE 2: MAP LEADERS IN YOUR WORKPLACE (CONTINUED)

WHAT TO DO (CONTINUED):

works in the factory. This kind of map also works well if you want to make small copies for individual workers to fill out at the factory.

MAP EXAMPLE #1: CHART

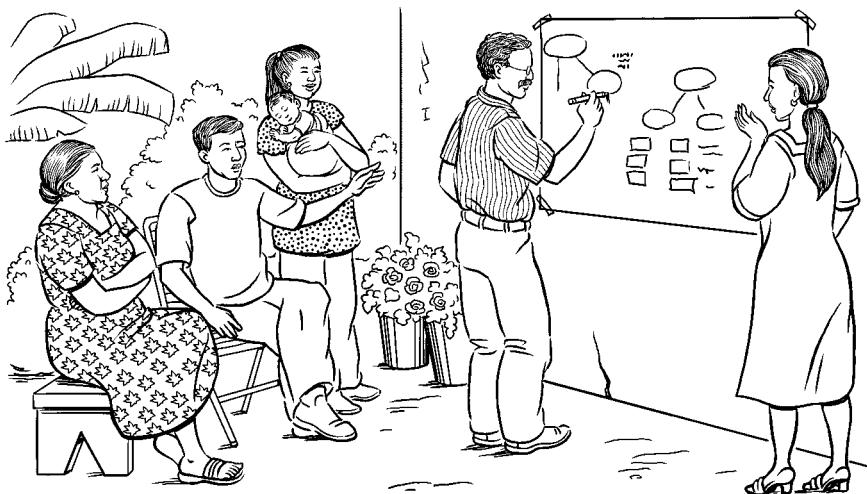
AREA OF FACTORY OR SOCIAL GROUP BY SHIFT	NUMBER OF WORKERS	LANGUAGE OR SOCIAL GROUP	ANY LEADERS IDENTIFIED?	NAMES OF LEADERS	DO THEY SUPPORT THE UNION?
Cutting Dept.— 1st Shift 2nd Shift 3rd Shift					
Sewing Dept.— 1st Shift 2nd Shift 3rd Shift					
Finishing Dept.— 1st Shift 2nd Shift 3rd Shift					
Pressing Dept.— 1st Shift 2nd Shift 3rd Shift					
Shipping Dept.— 1st Shift 2nd Shift 3rd Shift					
Etc.					

EXERCISES TO LEARN NEW SKILLS

EXERCISE 2: MAP LEADERS IN YOUR WORKPLACE (CONTINUED)

MAP EXAMPLE #2: PICTURE

Another way to map your worksite is to make a picture. Work together to draw a picture showing all the different areas of your factory. The picture might look something like the one people are making below. Leave enough room in your picture to fill in the number of workers in each area, the number on each shift, etc. This kind of map works especially well for a group of workers meeting together outside the factory. It also works well for a group of workers in which not everybody reads or writes.



3. After about 30 minutes, ask each small group to present their map to the rest of the participants. Encourage the participants to ask each other questions and make suggestions about changes and improvements they could make to their maps.

EXERCISES TO LEARN NEW SKILLS

EXERCISE 2: MAP LEADERS IN YOUR WORKPLACE (CONTINUED)

REFLECTION ON THE EXCERCISE

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

- The goal of this exercise was to learn about how to map the leaders in the worksite. To involve workers from every part of the production process, it is important to have leaders on all shifts and in all parts of the worksite.
- Once a group of organizing workers know where they have leaders in place and where the leaders are missing, it is easier to make a plan for recruiting new leaders.
- In mapping the leaders, it is useful to look at how all parts of the workforce are represented among the leaders (for example, all languages, genders, or ethnic groups).

Before moving on to the next exercise, ask the group to name 1 or 2 actions they could take to build their union using the lessons learned in this exercise. Ask a volunteer to remember or write down these Action Ideas for the group. You will use the Action Ideas to make an Action Plan (either at the end of this workshop, or after completing the first 4 Modules in the workshop curriculum).



DO EXERCISES TO LEARN NEW SKILLS

EXERCISE 3:

IDENTIFY HOW TO SUPPORT LEADERS AND HOW TO HOLD THEM ACCOUNTABLE

TRAINER: In this exercise, participants will draw a picture in 2 parts about responsibility in their own lives. A discussion follows the drawing.

TIME: 45 minutes

WHAT TO DO:

1. Give each participant materials for making a drawing.
2. Ask participants to make a picture that has 2 parts. One part of the picture will show something she or he is responsible for. The other part of the picture will show the support she or he needs to bear that responsibility. Give them about 10 minutes to draw their picture. The 2-part picture should look like this:

A responsibility I have	Support I need to bear that responsibility



TRAINERS TIP

If the participants have a hard time understanding the instructions for drawing, you can use the following examples (or make up one of your own):

- One responsibility I have is to feed my children. One support I need to bear that responsibility is for my spouse to also give money from his or her wages, so I can buy food.
- One responsibility I have is to tell everyone on my shift when there is a union meeting and encourage them to attend. One support I need is someone to translate so I can talk to the people who speak a different language than I do.

EXERCISES TO LEARN NEW SKILLS

EXERCISE 3: IDENTIFY HOW TO SUPPORT LEADERS (CONTINUED)

3. Ask the participants to take turns showing the group their pictures and explaining why they drew what they drew.
4. Ask the participants to answer the following discussion questions. You or a volunteer can write down what people say on a big piece of paper or a chalk board.

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS:

1. What responsibilities will the leaders have in our union?
2. What supports will those leaders need to bear their responsibilities?
3. How will we hold our leaders accountable for taking care of their responsibilities?

REFLECTION ON THE EXCERCISE

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

- The goal of this exercise was to learn about how to carry and fulfill our responsibilities.
- Leaders in our union need to know what is expected of them, and they also need support to fulfill their responsibilities.
- A leader must be accountable. If one person gets lazy or avoids some responsibilities, it creates negative effects on everyone in the organization.

Before moving on to the next exercise, ask the group to name 1 or 2 actions they could take to build their union using the lessons learned in this exercise. Ask a volunteer to remember or write down these Action Ideas for the group. You will use the Action Ideas to make an Action Plan (either at the end of this workshop, or after completing the first 4 Modules in the workshop curriculum).



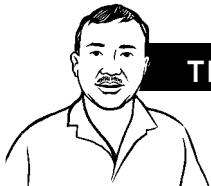
LEARN BY DOING

TRAINER: In this exercise, participants will review the key ideas from the workshop and use them to make plans for taking action in their own worksite.

TIME: 30 minutes or more

WHAT TO DO:

1. Ask participants to state one thing they have learned in this workshop. (If the group is more than 25 people, you may lead a brief brainstorm about what was learned. If the group is smaller than that, you may want to ask each person to say one thing they learned.)
2. Summarize the main ideas discussed during the workshop, including the qualities of a leader, how to map leaders in the workplace, and how to support leaders while also holding them accountable.
3. Explain that the next step in organizing is to take action. Even small actions help workers to build a strong union. After completing the first 4 training modules on “Organizing Strong Unions,” participants will make a more complete Action Plan. This exercise is a like a stepping stone toward an Action Plan, and it gives the participants a chance to put some of their learning into practice.



TRAINERS TIP

An important goal of this workshop is for participants to use their new skills in action. This exercise and the sample worksheet that goes with it are some activities that can help participants move from learning to action.

LEARN BY DOING (CONTINUED)

4. Make a “Learn by Doing” Worksheet like the one on page 25 on a large piece of paper or chalkboard. Explain to the participants that you will fill out this Worksheet together. Ask for a volunteer to take notes if you are writing on a chalkboard so the participants will have a record of their plan.
5. Ask the volunteers who have been remembering the Action Ideas from each exercise to say them out loud. Write these ideas in the left-hand column of the large sheet of paper or chalkboard. Ask the participants if they have any other action ideas for developing new leaders that are not yet on the list. Write down these additional ideas.
6. Ask the participants to identify which of the Action Ideas would be especially good at building workers’ power. Put an X in the column under “Builds Power” by those Action Ideas.
7. Ask the participants to identify which of the Action Ideas would be especially strong for increasing the unity among workers, or increasing the leadership of women (or other specific groups) in the union. Put an X in the column under “Unifies Us” by those Action Ideas.



TRAINERS TIP

At the end of Module 4: “Building Unions That Last,” you will find an Action Planning tool using ideas from Modules 1, 2, 3, and 4. These 4 modules were designed to work together to address the single topic of “Organizing Strong Unions.” If you are not offering all 4 of these workshops together, you may want to look at the Plan Action section of Module 4 for additional ideas about using the information in this module.

LEARN BY DOING (CONTINUED)

8. Ask the participants to identify which of the Action Ideas could be done right away, even before the next workshop. For example, if there is a week before the next workshop, the action might be to “Talk to 3 women in the workplace about taking on more responsibility in the union.” If there is only one night before the next workshop, the action might be to “Map the leaders in my own work unit.” Put an X in the column under “Do Now” by those Action Ideas. Ask all the participants to commit to doing one action from this list before the next workshop. (If many actions are possible to do right away, you may want to pick one that has X marks in all 3 columns.)

9. For the Action Ideas that are not identified as “Do Now,” put an X in the column under “Do Later.” Tell participants that you will come back to these ideas to see how they fit together into an Action Plan after completing the first 4 Training Modules on “Building a Strong Union.” At that time, participants will identify which action ideas fit best with their goals.

ACTION PLAN WORKSHEET

ACTION IDEA	BUILDS POWER	UNIFIES US	DO NOW	DO LATER



EVALUATE AND CLOSE TRAINING

TRAINER: In this section, you will remind the group what the goals of the training were and acknowledge the goals you have accomplished together. Thank any individuals or groups who helped make the training a success. Then participants will have a chance to evaluate the training and commit to taking action. The closing activities suggested on this page can help people feel successful, hopeful, and powerful as they complete the workshop.

TIME: 30 minutes (or less if there are fewer than 20 people in your group)

ACTIVITIES FOR EVALUATION AND CLOSING:

1. Remind the participants of the goals of this training (see page 3). Acknowledge that everyone has worked hard to finish the training and accomplish these goals.
2. Thank any individuals or groups who contributed to the success of the training, including those who contributed meeting space, food, time, etc.
3. As a large group, ask each person to say:
 - One thing she or he learned in the training
 - One thing she or he liked about the training
 - One thing she or he will do to build their union based on what she/he learned in the training.

Options for this step: If you have a large group (more than 20 participants), you can ask for about 4 or 5 volunteers to answer the 3 questions or ask each person to answer only one question—rather than asking each person to answer all 3 questions.

4. Lead the group in a closing ritual. This could be a chant, song, dance, poem, or prayer.



TRAINERS TIP

Ask one of the participants to choose the closing ritual and lead the group in a chant, song, poem, prayer, etc. This gives someone in the group a chance to exercise leadership. It also makes clear to the group that what they have accomplished in the workshop belongs to them, not to you as the trainer.

FACT SHEET: CHARACTERISTICS OF A LEADER

WHO IS A LEADER?

The following list includes some characteristics that you can use as clues for identifying leaders in your workplace. Not every leader necessarily has all these characteristics. The only characteristic that every leader **MUST** have is the first one on the list: every leader must have followers or must be able to develop followers over time.

- 1. has people who trust and who follow him or her (examples of followers: people who will come to a meeting if she invites them, people who listen to what she has to say, people who ask her opinion on important issues)
- 2. others think of her or him as a leader
- 3. is a good worker and is respected for her or his skills
- 4. other workers go to her or him with problems
- 5. her or his name comes up a lot
- 6. has been around for a while
- 7. knows and speaks well of others in the workplace and community
- 8. has a formal role in the workplace and community
- 9. is willing to speak up for herself or himself and others
- 10. does translation for others
- 11. travels to and from work with other workers
- 12. comes to meetings
- 13. helps out new workers
- 14. knows who is friends with whom
- 15. knows where people meet to have fun
- 16. is part of a social group at work
- 17. thinks things through
- 18. not quick to anger
- 19. keeps her or his promises and commitments
- 20. helps others become leaders
- 21. takes action
- 22. takes risks
- 23. organizes others to take action and risks together
- 24. makes things happen
- 25. believes in change!

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DEFINITIONS (CONTINUED)

workplace unions. Union organizers may be employed by an organized union or may be workers who volunteer their time.

■ **RIGHTS:** Rights are rules that have been developed to protect people from bad treatment. Worker rights protect people from bad treatment at work. Worker rights may come from laws or through contractual agreements between employers and unions. Each country has laws that say what rights workers have, such as the right to a minimum wage, maximum hours of work, a safe working environment, and protection from harassment and discrimination on the job.

■ **SOLIDARITY:** Solidarity is the support people can give each other in working toward common goals. In a particular workplace, it could mean people making decisions together and working as a united

group. International solidarity describes support among people or organizations from different countries. Solidarity between unions increases the strength of those unions to fight for their members' rights.

■ **TOP ONE:** Top One is factory in an Export Processing Zone in Cambodia, Southeast Asia.

■ **UNION CONTRACT:** A union contract is a written, legally-binding agreement between a group of workers and an employer. The contract generally describes how the employer will treat workers, including wages, work hours, and working conditions. The goal of many union organizing campaigns is to negotiate with the employer to get a union contract. A union contract is also called a "collective bargaining agreement."

TOOLS FOR ORGANIZERS

IN EXPORT PROCESSING ZONES AND INDUSTRIES

TRAINING MODULES IN THIS SERIES:

SECTION I: ORGANIZING STRONG UNIONS

1. Building Unity
2. Tapping Our Strength
3. Developing Democratic Leadership
4. Building Unions That Last

SECTION II: BUILDING ALLIANCES

5. Allying With Other Unions
6. Linking With Non-Governmental Organizations
7. Mounting International Campaigns

SECTION III: FIGHTING FOR LABOR RIGHTS

8. Negotiating Labor Rights in Export Processing Zones
9. Using Trade Provisions to Organize
10. Stopping Anti-Worker International Financial Institutions Policies

This booklet, **DEVELOPING DEMOCRATIC LEADERSHIP**, is Module 3 of 10 in a series of training modules for working people organizing in Export Processing Zones or other export-oriented industries.

ORGANIZING STRONG UNIONS

Module 4: BUILDING UNIONS THAT LAST

TOOLS FOR ORGANIZERS

IN EXPORT PROCESSING ZONES AND INDUSTRIES



BUILDING UNIONS THAT LAST

DEFINITIONS

- **BLACKLIST:** A blacklist is a list of the names of workers who employers refuse to hire in a particular industry or area. Putting workers on a blacklist is a common way in which anti-union employers punish workers who try to form unions.
- **CAMPAIGN:** A campaign is a series of activities that a group of people, such as members of a union, do together to achieve a goal. Workers may carry out campaigns to organize a union in their workplace. After organizing a union, workers may carry out a contract negotiation campaign to win a legally-binding contract that spells out wages, benefits, and working conditions.
- **CEAL:** Labor Studies and Support Center, an organization in El Salvador that supported the workers at the Tainan factory in El Salvador's San Bartolo Export Processing Zone.
- **CONTRACT NEGOTIATION:** Contract negotiation is the process by which workers in a union bargain with their employer for a union contract. Usually the union will present their proposal, the employer will make a different proposal, and the negotiation proceeds from there. Workers may build support for their proposals by conducting a contract campaign that includes identifying workers' priorities, researching about the employer, and pressuring the employer through rallies, strikes, or other kinds of activism.
- **EXPORT PROCESSING ZONE (EPZ):** EPZs are industrial areas in a country that offer special incentives to foreign investors. These incentives may include low taxes, lax environmental regulations, and low labor costs. Low wages, long hours, and dangerous and repressive working conditions are the norm in many EPZs. Sometimes organizing unions is banned or restricted. EPZs are also known by other names, such as Special Economic Zones, Industrial Development Zones, etc.
- **NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATION (NGO):** NGOs are organized groups, independent of government, most often working to achieve a social objective such as ending poverty or serving

particular groups of people, such as women or workers. NGOs can be small or large. They may be grassroots activist organizations, research centers, educational groups, or policy advocates.

- **STIT:** Textile Industry Workers' Union (STIT) is a union in El Salvador. The workers at the Tainan factory in El Salvador chose to affiliate with STIT after a failed attempt to organize with another union federation that did not adequately represent the workers.
- **STRATEGY:** A strategy refers to a systematic plan or main course of action for achieving a goal. For example, a first strategy to improve working conditions in a factory could be to organize a union, followed by a strategy of union protest to draw attention to bad working conditions and pressure management to change them.
- **STRATEGIC PLANNING:** Strategic planning for unions is the process of preparing for an organizing, negotiating, or other campaign. A strategic plan determines what activities will happen during the campaign, in what order, and by whom, and takes into account the union's goals, strengths, and weaknesses. This process includes analyzing external and internal power relationships.
- **SUBCONTRACTOR:** A subcontractor is a factory that produces garments or other products for one or many manufacturers, based upon the design and specifications of the manufacturer.
- **TAINAN:** Tainan is a multinational corporation; its owners are Taiwanese, its headquarters is in the U.S., and its factories are located all over the world.
- **UNION CONTRACT:** A union contract is a written, legally-binding agreement between a group of workers and an employer. The contract generally describes how the employer will treat workers, including wages, work hours, and working conditions. The goal of many union organizing campaigns is to negotiate with the employer to get a union contract. A union contract is also called a "collective bargaining agreement."

BUILDING UNIONS THAT LAST

TOOLS FOR ORGANIZERS IN EXPORT PROCESSING ZONES AND INDUSTRIES

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INTRODUCTION TO ORGANIZING STRONG UNIONS

Building worker power is fundamental to achieving worker rights, and organizing strong unions is fundamental to achieving worker power. The best unions are rooted in worker activism and analysis, led by capable leaders, and structured to last through many challenges over time. Without strong unions, workers have no voice at the workplace and no way of negotiating current victories into permanent gains.

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

With a strong union, workers can build alliances with other unions and organizations. We will look at how to build alliances in Modules 5 to 7. Strong unions are also the base from which workers can impact relevant local, national, and international economic and social policies. In Modules 8 to 10, we will explore a number of strategies workers have used to change the rules of the game. Throughout the 10 modules, stories from real experiences of organizing in export processing zones illustrate the power and skills unions can develop to defend the rights of workers.

MODULE 4: BUILDING UNIONS THAT LAST

WORKSHOP GOALS

INTRODUCTION

The struggle to organize a union may be hard, but workers often find the effort to build a lasting union organization is even harder. Sometimes workers find that enduring long strikes, employer harassment, government repression, and family criticism is actually not as painful as the disagreements, power struggles, and splits among former co-workers, friends, and comrades in struggle that occur while building the union.

The path to building a union that lasts may differ from situation to situation, but it is always important to learn to resolve conflicts among the membership effectively. A union that lasts will create a union structure that lets workers participate and helps them leverage power to achieve results. It will unite the entire membership around a common strategy to achieve its goals.

In this module we will study the experience of a group of workers in El Salvador whose union was faced with enormous odds: plant closure, monetary buy-out, lack of income, etc. Many other workers would have given up and dispersed. Yet even in the face of these tremendous challenges, the Tainan workers set a common goal and stayed together. Their unity was the key to their survival as a union, as well as their survival strategy, and is a lesson for us all.

In addition, this module includes an Action Planning exercise to help participants to put the learning from the whole first Section (Modules 1-4) into practice. This exercise serves as both a review and a way forward, as participants prepare for action at their own workplaces.

TEACHING GOALS

- To identify factors that keep a union together through a long struggle.
- To envision a sustainable union structure.
- To show how common goals are critical to sustaining unity.

SKILLS GOALS

- To plan a union structure.
- To analyze power relationships in campaigns.
- To produce an action plan.

TRAINER'S NOTES

TIME TO DO THIS WORKSHOP:

The whole workshop will take about **8 hours** if you do all the exercises as well as the Welcome, Action Planning, and Closing activities. If you want to make it shorter, you can do only one of the exercises or divide the workshop in half and present it over 2 training sessions.



TRAINERS TIP

When a workshop is over 2 hours long or participants are tired, breaks and energizers are important tools to keep participants interested and engaged in the training.

Energizers are short, fun activities that let participants move around and take a mental break from the hard work of learning. Be sure to plan time for energizers, especially after lunch and in the evening when participants' energy is lowest. You can even ask a group of participants to form an "Energizer Committee" with the job of calling for a game or energizer whenever they see the participants are getting sleepy or distracted. This committee can then lead the games or ask you to lead them. Energizers can be songs, chants, or any non-competitive game or activity the group can do together.

TRAINER'S NOTES (CONTINUED)

MATERIALS NEEDED FOR THIS WORKSHOP:

- Something to write on that everyone can see: large paper and marking pens or chalk and chalkboard.
- Some materials for drawing (Exercise 2 only): paper and pens, pencils, markers or crayons, chalk and chalkboard, cardboard, charcoal, or anything else you can find for drawing. In some places, people use sticks and make their drawings in the sand or dirt. In other places, people use scissors and cloth to make pictures.

BEFORE YOU START:

- Read the whole Workshop Curriculum.
- Plan your agenda for the workshop. Decide how long the workshop will be. Choose which exercises you will do. Plan time for breaks and energizers.
- Collect all the materials you need.
- Set up the room the way you want it.



TRAINERS TIP

Some words and terms in this curriculum may be new for you or for the participants in the workshop. Look on the inside front cover for a list of definitions.

HOW THE WORKSHOP WORKS

HOW THE WORKSHOP WORKS

The workshop has 6 sections. In each section you and the participants will be doing a different kind of activity. There is a picture to remind you of the kind of activity you will do in that section. Here are the pictures and what they are reminding you to do:



WELCOME AND
GET STARTED



DISCUSS THE
STORY AND/OR
PICTURE



LEARN ABOUT
OTHER WORKERS'
SUCCESSES



DO EXERCISES
TO LEARN NEW
SKILLS



LEARN BY DOING



EVALUATE AND CLOSE
THE TRAINING



WELCOME AND GET STARTED

TRAINER: In this section, you will tell the group what the workshop is about. Then participants will introduce themselves to each other. The other activities suggested on this page can help people feel welcome, comfortable, and respected during the workshop. When people feel comfortable, they will learn more and the workshop will be more successful.

TIME: 30 minutes (or less if there are fewer than 20 people in your group)

ACTIVITIES FOR GETTING STARTED:

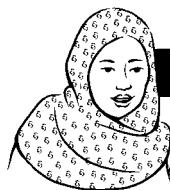
First do Activities **1** and **2**, then choose among **A**, **B**, and **C** for one more activity.

- 1.** Tell everyone what the workshop is about.
 - 2.** Ask everyone to introduce themselves to the group.
-
- A.** Ask the participants to take turns saying why they think the workshop is important.
 - B.** Ask a volunteer to sing a song, say a prayer, or recite a poem.
 - C.** Ask the participants to take turns answering the introduction question in the box. Answering the introduction question can help people to start thinking about the topic of the workshop.



INTRODUCTION QUESTION:

What one thing do you think is most important to make a good friendship last?



TRAINERS TIP

SONGS, PRAYERS, AND POEMS let people know that their culture and spirit will be respected in the workshop. Songs, prayers, and poems are also an opportunity to let a participant be the leader.



TRAINERS TIP

INTRODUCTION QUESTIONS help people use their voices and participate in an easy way for the first time. Then they will be more comfortable to speak later on.



DISCUSS THE STORY AND/OR PICTURE

TRAINER: In this section, you can ask someone in the group to read the story out loud or you can read it out loud yourself. If you don't want to use the story, you can just look at the pictures together. Then discuss the story and/or picture using the questions on the next page.

TIME: 30 minutes

GILBERTO GARCIA's Story:

"You know, if we research all our defeats I bet we would find avoidable interpersonal conflicts at the bottom of most of them. I say this because I've spent 5 years watching these disasters! That's why we spent so much time in this campaign talking everything out as a group, building relationships of transparency and trust among the workers and among the national and international organizations."

— GILBERTO GARCIA, Labor Studies and Support Center (CEAL), El Salvador



DISCUSS THE STORY AND/OR PICTURE (CONTINUED)

TRAINER: Ask the participants to discuss the questions below. Allow about 10 minutes for each question. If you want to, you can write what people say on a big piece of paper or a chalkboard as they answer the questions.

If there are more than 20 people in the room, you can divide into small groups of 4 or 5 people for the discussion. If they are in small groups, visit each group while they talk. Make sure that each person in each group has a chance to talk.

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS FOR THE PICTURE AND STORY:

1. What is happening in this picture?
2. In your experience, who usually wins **inside the union** when members of a union fight among themselves? Who wins **outside the union**?
3. In your experience, have you ever seen a union or community organization lose a struggle because the members could not get along with each other? What happened?
4. What kinds of conflicts among members of a union can weaken a union the most?



LEARN ABOUT OTHER WORKERS' SUCCESSES

TRAINER: In this section, you can ask for several different people in the group to volunteer to read the different parts of the story out loud or you can read it out loud yourself. Then ask the group to discuss the question at the bottom.

TIME: 30 minutes



DAISY HERNÁNDEZ's Story, Textile Industry Workers' Union (STIT), Tainan factory, San Bartolo EPZ, El Salvador

"Most companies offer workers good conditions when they start up, but after everything is all set up, when they have all the workers they need, then things begin to go downhill. That's when we started to organize to have our rights respected... A friend introduced us to some other organizers and that's how we came to affiliate with STIT.

"It's kind of funny: the worse things got, the quicker workers started joining the union. The company just turned tail and fled, handing out severance pay as they pleased and not according to any rules. I can understand why some workers accepted that: not everyone has the same resolve and if the company tells you they're going to shut down you just take what you can get. But we in the union said: 'No! We're going to struggle, even if it means problems for our kids, taking on debts, losing whatever we had saved for.'

"We kept on this road and set ourselves a goal: to open a factory where we could get back to work in the maquila niche that we know. It hasn't been easy, but we're still here, though sometimes I don't know how. We all get by doing whatever work we can. I make tamales, 200 every 3 days, which I carry in a basket on my head and sell around my neighborhood. That's how I support my 3 kids. It would have been easier if I could get a job in another maquila, but the blacklist made that impossible.

"We paid a high cost, especially the single mothers. We're blacklisted in the San Bartolo Zone, maybe in the whole country. It's the worst thing they could have done to us. We go out looking for work and never find it.

"As an organization, we are responsible for 250 union members. We have to

story continued on page 11

LEARN ABOUT OTHER WORKERS' SUCCESSES (CONTINUED)

DAISY HERNÁNDEZ' Story, CONTINUED:

communicate with them regularly so they know what's happening with the struggle to reopen the factory. We continued going door to door to inform workers about what was going on, but also to see for ourselves how people were coping without work, with their kids losing a year of school because they couldn't afford the school fees. That's the worst thing that can happen to a parent. And people were losing their houses.

"The principal reason why we are still together after a year of struggle is that we have developed good communication skills among us. When problems come up, we face them and talk about them. We try to organize reflections, to sit down, take an inventory of our strengths and weaknesses, and examine how we're acting with our coworkers. We talk to clarify our thoughts and resolve the issues. To help us stay united, we hold workshops on different topics once or twice a week. We invite members as well as the Executive Committee, and that's another way we stay in touch.

"Now that the company has agreed to open a new factory and recognize the union, we feel vindicated. We have faith that when the factory reopens everything will be different."

LEARN ABOUT OTHER WORKERS' SUCCESSES (CONTINUED)

GILBERTO GARCIA's Story, Labor Studies and Support Center (CEAL), El Salvador

"The most impressive thing about the Tainan workers is how they managed to stay united in the struggle for so long – 14 months without work – how they organized; and the international pressure they were able to bring to bear. Another front of resistance was around severance pay. Eighty union members refused to accept severance pay because that would mean legally accepting that the plant was closing.

"Getting a contract became the main objective. There were negative examples in Guatemala and Honduras where shops were reopened and then closed again as the union was worn down. We wanted to do better, so we applied every kind of pressure we could think of. We had permanent discussions in STIT, explaining every step, every action, spending thousands of hours describing all the actors and their roles, analyzing the corporation, the Gap, our allies, etc. It was a central part of consciousness-raising so that the workers would see not just a closed factory gate, but a complex structure of relations. We would all decide together and discover together what awaited us at the end of the road.

"Solidarity among people may be innate, but the maquila is so tough that it often destroys it... Here is a concrete example: a sack of beans... Donations of food can help workers endure a strike or, if it is distributed unfairly, can create strikebreakers. Travel to another country can generate solidarity to support a campaign or generate envy among workers that can destroy a campaign. Financial support can keep workers firm and resistant in a struggle or it can corrupt it entirely.

"If I had to give one piece of advice, it would be to pay attention to communication. Make sure that information flows, make sure that everyone gets to speak and gets listened to, and make sure everyone learns how to listen as well as how to speak."

DISCUSSION QUESTION FOR THE GROUP:

1. What one new thing did you learn from these stories?
2. What kept the union together during the struggle to reopen the Tainan factory?
3. In your own experience, what else can help keep a union together during a difficult struggle?



DO EXERCISES TO LEARN NEW SKILLS

EXERCISE 1:

DRAW A PICTURE OF A STRONG UNION ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE

TRAINER: In this exercise, participants will draw a picture showing the different people and organizations involved in organizing the union at Tainan. The picture should show them arranged in a strong organizational structure.

TIME: 90 minutes

WHAT TO DO:

1. As a large group, ask participants to complete the following task. You or a volunteer should write what they say on a large piece of paper. Leave space to draw a little picture next to each name on the list.

BRAINSTORM TASK:

Identify the kinds of people and organizations involved in the Tainan campaign.

In a large group, ask the participants to think of a little picture or word to represent each group on their list. For example, Factory Workers could be represented by a



TRAINERS TIP

Make sure that at least these people and organizations are on the list:

- Tainan Factory Workers
- Worker Leaders and Organizers
- Workers Who Come to Meetings
- Workers Union Executive Committee
- Union staff from STIT
- Local NGO (CEAL)
- International NGOs

EXERCISES TO LEARN NEW SKILLS

EXERCISE 1: DRAW A PICTURE (CONTINUED)

picture of a person, Worker Leaders and Organizers could be represented as a person carrying a sign, CEAL could be represented by its name, etc. Ask a volunteer to draw the little picture next to each name or group on the list.

Cut out these little pictures and arrange them on a large sheet of paper in organizational relationship to each other. Start with the Tainan Factory Workers, then decide where to put the Union Executive Committee. After that, fill in the other people and organizations on the list.

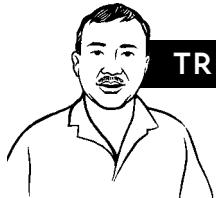
2. Ask the participants to sit together in groups of 4 or 5 people. Give each group materials for drawing and ask them to discuss the questions below. For each question, draw a different color line between the people or groups in the campaign to show 1) communication relationship, 2) decision-making relationship, and 3) power relationship.

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS:

1. What kind of **communication** was needed during the campaign? Was the structure of the union effective for this?
2. Who made the **decisions** during the campaign? Did the union's structure reflect this decision-making?
3. Where should worker **power** be concentrated in this structure? Did the union's structure reflect this?
4. After about 25 minutes of discussion, ask participants to think about a structural weakness in their own unions and to draw a diagram in their small groups showing a better structure. The diagram should include all of the people and organizations that are (or should be) important to the union. It should also show who should make decisions, who should share information with whom, and who should have power over whom. Give them about 15 minutes to draw their picture. (See the Trainer's Tip on the next page).
5. After about 15 minutes, ask the participants to return to the large group. Ask each small group to show their picture to the large group and describe what they have drawn and why. Ask them how they would begin to implement their idea.

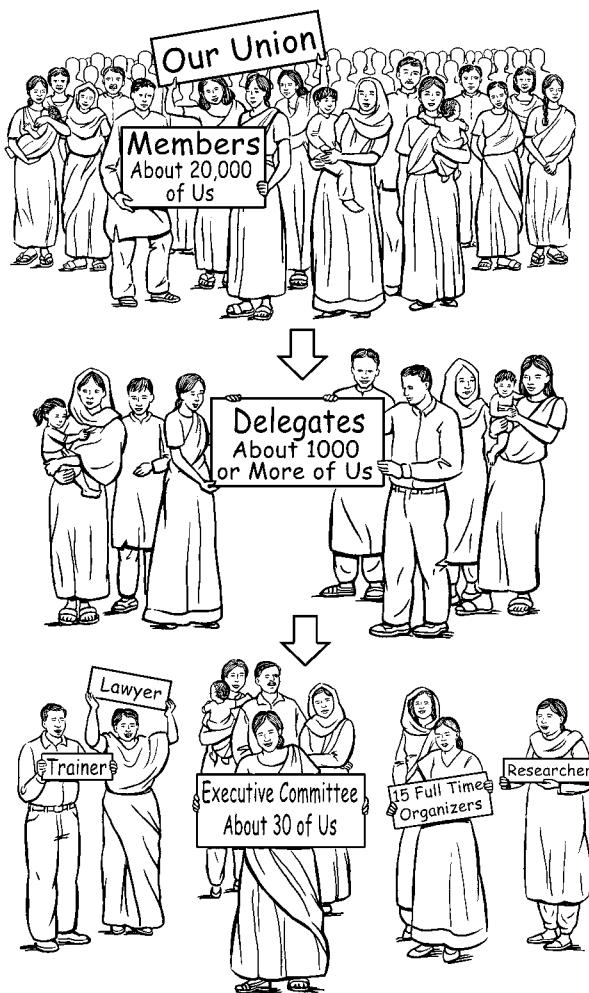
EXERCISES TO LEARN NEW SKILLS

EXERCISE 1: DRAW A PICTURE (CONTINUED)



TRAINERS TIP

The goal of this exercise is for participants to draw a picture showing what an ideal organizational structure would be like for Daisy Hernandez' union during the struggle at Tainan. The pictures might look something like this drawing:



Credit: Image adapted from The Australian Workers' Union, from AWU website, <http://awu.net.au/national/about/structure.html>, June 2004.

EXERCISES TO LEARN NEW SKILLS

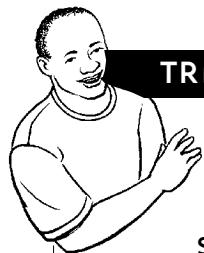
EXERCISE 1: DRAW A PICTURE (CONTINUED)

REFLECTION ON THE EXERCISE

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

- Union structures can help or hurt communication and decision-making
- Union structures should be designed to put power in the hands of members
- Union structures can be changed to allow more participation and to be more effective

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



TRAINERS TIP

At the end of this Module, on pages 31-32, you will find a Fact Sheet on "Lasting Union Structures." You may want to read this Fact Sheet out loud, or some parts of it, as part of the conclusion to this exercise. If participants are having a difficult time understanding structures during the training, you might find it useful earlier.



DO EXERCISES TO LEARN NEW SKILLS

EXERCISE 2: ANALYZE YOUR POWER TO ACHIEVE YOUR GOALS

TRAINER: In this exercise, participants will choose a goal, identify who will support and who will oppose that goal, and analyze whether the union can channel enough power through its members and community supporters to achieve the goal.

TIME: 90-120 minutes

WHAT TO DO:

1. Read the following definition aloud to the participants:

"Power refers to the ability to get things done, often through control over resources or ways to influence others."



TRAINERS TIP

SOURCES OF POWER COMMONLY USED IN THE WORKPLACE AND SOCIETY:

- Force, violence, abuse
- Money, wealth and status
- Knowledge, information
- Inspiring fear
- Control of the media
- Laws and regulations

SOURCES OF POWER THAT MEN, WOMEN, WORKERS, UNIONS, AND CITIZENS USE:

- Persistence and commitment
- Information and our own experiences
- Organization and planning
- Righteousness, being just
- Solidarity, greater numbers, unity
- Humor
- Courage and creativity
- International allies

EXERCISES TO LEARN NEW SKILLS

EXERCISE 2: ANALYZE YOUR POWER (CONTINUED)

WHAT TO DO (CONTINUED):

2. In a large group, ask the participants to answer the following discussion questions. Write their answers on a large piece of paper or a chalkboard.

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS:

1. What are the main sources of power that you can see in the workplace or society? (Another way to ask this is, what is it that allows some people to get what they want from others?)
2. What are your sources of power as women and men, as workers, as union members and as citizens? That is, what is it that helps you get what you want?
3. Summarize the main points that came up in the discussion. Add to the list any of the items from the Trainer's Tip box on page 17 that might not have been mentioned.
4. Tell the participants that this exercise is about using power to achieve a goal. A goal is a specific aim or outcome that the union wants to achieve. Ask the participants to choose one goal for the union. This should be something concrete they want to accomplish together. Example: At Tainan, the goal was to re-open the factory and have the blacklisted workers re-hired.
5. Ask the participants to answer the discussion questions below. As the participants answer the questions, you or a volunteer should write what they say on two lists on a big piece of paper or a chalkboard. On one list, write all the individuals and groups who would use their power to **support** the goal. On the other list, write all the individuals and groups who would use their power to **oppose** the goal.

EXERCISES TO LEARN NEW SKILLS

EXERCISE 2: ANALYZE YOUR POWER (CONTINUED)

WHAT TO DO (CONTINUED):



TRAINERS TIP

A goal is a specific aim or outcome that the union wants to achieve. Examples of goals for union organizing could include:

- Gaining official recognition of the union as the representative of the workers.
- Getting a union contract signed.
- Getting fired workers to be re-hired.

To achieve a goal like this, a union may have smaller goals along the way – like recruiting 50 new members. In this exercise, participants will learn more if they pick an important or major goal they want to achieve.

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS:

1. Who within the factory will use their power to support this goal (include all groups of workers, worker leaders, supervisors, owner, etc.)?
2. Who within the factory will use their power to oppose or resist this goal?
3. Who outside the factory will use their power to support this goal (include other workers, workers' families, community groups, local merchants, international union allies, local and international NGOs, etc.)?
4. Who outside the factory will use this power to oppose this goal?
5. Would this list be the same for all goals that the union might have?

6. Next, chart power. Power refers to the ability to get things done, often through control over resources or ways to influence others. Ask participants which sources of power (from the list they made in Step 2) are most important in the context of this particular goal. Write (or copy over) the names of those sources of power on the left-hand side of a large sheet of paper or chalkboard. Draw next to that list two columns, labeled "Employers" and "Workers" (like in the example on page 20).

EXERCISES TO LEARN NEW SKILLS

EXERCISE 2: ANALYZE YOUR POWER (CONTINUED)

7. Next, fill in the rest of the power chart by discussing with participants the following question: “Between the workers and the employers, who relies more on what source of power?” The number of X’s in the columns under “Employers” and “Workers” indicates the degree to which the participants think this is true. Here is an example:

SOURCES OF POWER	EMPLOYERS	WORKERS
Money	XXXX	
Political System	XXX	X
Religious Beliefs	X	XX
Union Solidarity		XXXXX
Community Allies		XXX
International Allies		X
Media	XX	X

It's important for participants to understand that while employers might have lots of sources of power, worker can have lots of power, too.

8. Then go back to the Supporters and Opposition lists, and go through the individuals and groups on the list one by one. For each, ask the group if this individual or group is a **little powerful**, **somewhat powerful**, or **very powerful**. Draw a single star (★) by the individual or groups that are a little powerful, 2 stars (★★) by those that are somewhat powerful, and 3 stars (★★★) by those that are very powerful.

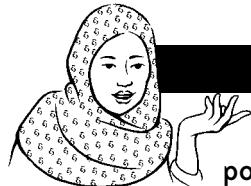
EXERCISES TO LEARN NEW SKILLS

EXERCISE 2: ANALYZE YOUR POWER (CONTINUED)

9. Ask the participants to take a look at their lists, then answer the discussion questions below as a group:

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS:

1. Which side has more power: the one opposing or the one supporting your goal?
2. Based on this analysis you just did, do you think you will have enough power to accomplish your goal, including power inside the factory and power in the community?
3. If you don't have enough power to accomplish your goal, what strengths can you build on to get more power inside the factory?
4. If you don't have enough power to accomplish your goal, what strengths can you build on to get more power in the local and international community?



TRAINERS TIP

For more information and training on building power inside the workplace, see Modules 1 to 3 in this series, including:

- Building Unity
- Tapping Our Strength
- Developing Democratic Leadership

For more information and training on building power outside the workplace in the local and international community through strategic alliances, see Modules 5 to 7 in this series, including:

- Allying With Other Unions
- Linking With Non-Governmental Organizations
- Mounting International Campaigns

EXERCISES TO LEARN NEW SKILLS

EXERCISE 2: ANALYZE YOUR POWER (CONTINUED)

REFLECTION ON THE EXERCISE

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

- The list of the union's supporting and opposing groups may be different on different issues
- Different groups have different sources of power
- Workers have power, primarily through the strength of their unity and action
- Workers can increase their power through strengthening their unions and alliances with community and international supporters
- Analyzing power will help union activists strategize better about how to achieve their goals

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



LEARN BY DOING

TRAINER: In this exercise, participants will make plans for future work together based on what they learned in the workshop, including the Action Ideas from each exercise. They will have a discussion and fill out the Action Plan Worksheet on pages 27-28.

TIME: 2 hours or more

WHAT TO DO:

1. Ask the participants to state one thing they have learned in this workshop. (If the group is more than 25 people, you may lead a brief brainstorm about what was learned. If the group is smaller than that, you may want to ask each person to say one thing they learned.)
2. Summarize the main ideas discussed during the workshop, including building a strong organizational structure, and analyzing the power needed to achieve the union's goals.
3. As this workshop is the conclusion of the Organizing Strong Unions section, the first 4 modules of this curriculum, ask the participants to also recall the main things they learned in the first 3 workshops: Building Unity, Tapping Our Strength, and Developing Democratic Leadership. If possible, review the main Action Ideas that were discussed in each of those workshops. (If you saved the large papers used for "Learn By Doing Worksheets," you may want to post these for the participants to review.)



TRAINERS TIP

An important goal of this workshop is for participants to put their new skills in action. This exercise and the sample worksheets can help participants move from learning to action.

LEARN BY DOING (CONTINUED)

4. Make an Action Plan Worksheet like the one on page 27 on a large piece of paper or chalkboard. You may need to put several pieces of paper on the wall next to one another to make a big enough Worksheet for writing on. Explain to the participants that you will fill out this Worksheet together. Ask for a volunteer to take notes if you are writing on a chalkboard so the participants will have a record of their plan.
5. Ask participants to name one important overall goal of their campaign. Write what they say in the section of the Worksheet that says: "Overall Goal of Campaign or Project". Many workers find this exercise works best if the Overall Goal is one that could be achieved in one or 2 years.

Examples: "Win recognition of the union at our factory." "Negotiate a contract." "Pressure the government to make better laws for EPZs."

6. Ask the participants to do a Power Analysis about this goal, using the steps in Exercise 2 in this module. Who would support this idea and who would oppose it? What sources of power can they each use? What kind of effort will be necessary to increase worker power? Write up this Power Analysis on sheets of paper next to the Action Planning Worksheet, or on another wall.
7. Ask participants to reflect on the following 4 categories, based on the first 4 modules: Building Unity, Tapping Our Strength, Developing Democratic Leadership, and Building Unions That Last. For each category, ask participants to consider any barriers they need to overcome to achieve their goal, or any advantages they already have that they can use.
8. Ask volunteers to brainstorm Action Steps to achieve the goals, based upon the Action Ideas they have come up with from the previous exercises and the power analysis. Write the ideas under the 4 categories or beside them if the action ideas don't fit inside the 4 categories. Encourage participants to relate their Action Steps directly to the Power Analysis they just did. Underline the Action Steps that the participants agree are particularly important.

LEARN BY DOING (CONTINUED)

9. When the list of steps are complete, draw a Timeline like the one on Page 28 . You can label the time as “Short-term,” “Medium-term” and “Long-term,” as shown there, or you can put more specific dates that relate to the participants’ goals or campaigns. Ask the participants when they will do each Action Step, starting with the ones that they have identified as particularly important.

Example: A participant says she will try to recruit five new women leaders for her union in the next 3 months. The power analysis lets everyone know that this is an achievable goal. You might draw a picture of five women on a little line crossing the Timeline in the “Short-term” area.

10. After the Action Steps are arranged on the Timeline, go back over them and ask the participants **who** will do each action step, and **what support or resources** they need to carry it out. Add that information to the Timeline in the lines on the right.

LEARN BY DOING (CONTINUED)

REFLECTION ON THE EXERCISE

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

- The action plan starts with a goal or several goals
- The power analysis tells workers what is needed to achieve those goals
- The action steps of the action plan should be a roadmap to achieve the goal(s)
- The information learned in the first 4 modules can be useful in creating an action plan for organizing
- Each step of the action plan should have a person and a completion date assigned for it
- At significant dates, the group should review progress towards reaching the goal(s)

ACTION PLAN WORKSHEET

OVERALL GOAL OF CAMPAIGN OR PROJECT:

BRAINSTORM OF ACTION IDEAS:

IDEAS TO BUILD
UNITY

IDEAS TO TAP OUR
STRENGTH

IDEAS TO DEVELOP
LEADERS

IDEAS TO MAKE A
UNION THAT LASTS

ACTION PLANNING TIMELINE

ACTION STEPS

For each Action Step:

- 1) WHO will do it, and
- 2) WHAT SUPPORT or RESOURCES do they need

TERM	ACTION STEPS	WHO	SUPPORT/RESOURCES
SHORT TERM			
MEDIUM TERM			
LONG TERM			



EVALUATE AND CLOSE TRAINING

TRAINER: In this section, you will remind the group what the goals of the training were and acknowledge the goals you have accomplished together. You will thank any individuals or groups who helped make the training a success. Then participants will have a chance to evaluate the training and commit to taking action. The closing activities suggested on this page can help people feel successful, hopeful, and powerful as they complete the workshop.

TIME: 30 minutes (or less if there are fewer than 20 people in your group)

ACTIVITIES FOR EVALUATION AND CLOSING:

1. Remind the participants of the goals of this training (see page 3). Acknowledge that everyone has worked hard to finish the training and accomplish these goals.
2. Thank any individuals or groups who contributed to the success of the training, including those who contributed meeting space, food, time, etc.



TRAINERS TIP

Ask one participant to choose the closing ritual and lead the group in a chant, song, poem, prayer, etc. This gives someone in the group a chance to exercise leadership. It also makes clear to the group that what they have accomplished in the workshop belongs to them, not to you as the trainer.

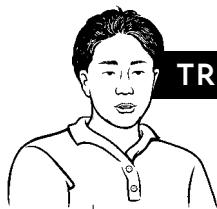
EVALUATE AND CLOSE TRAINING (CONTINUED)

3. As a large group, ask each person to say:

- One thing she or he learned in the training
- One thing she or he liked about the training
- One thing she or he will do to build their union based on what they learned in the training.

Options for this step: If you have a large group (more than 20 participants), you can ask for 4 or 5 volunteers to answer the 3 questions or ask each person to answer only one question – rather than asking each person to answer all 3 questions.

4. Lead the group in a closing ritual. This could be a chant, song, dance, poem, or prayer.



TRAINERS TIP

You may want to spend more time evaluating the workshop with the participants if:

- you're working on improving your own training skills and you want to know how you can improve your facilitation;
- you're unsure of whether the content of the workshop was too easy, too hard, or just right for your participants;
- you're trying to decide whether to use this workshop again as part of your union's education program.

FACT SHEET: LASTING UNION STRUCTURES

WHO IS A LEADER?

MANY WAYS TO STRUCTURE A UNION

A union is essentially an organization of workers who join together to change the conditions that affect their lives. This includes improving their wages, hours and working conditions as well as increasing working peoples' control over government, the environment, and their children's future. Unions around the world have developed different organizational structures to do this. Some unions consist of workers who all work at one worksite, others of workers who work at different worksites but for one employer. Some unions include all workers in a particular geographic region, others include all workers in a particular industry or kind of job. Some unions are members of regional or even international labor federations. Others stand alone. In some countries, unions are closely and formally connected with political parties. In other countries, these connections are less clear.

LABOR LAWS SHAPE UNION STRUCTURES

The labor laws of each particular country shape the way workers structure unions in those countries. Internationally, all countries in the United Nations also have agreed to the International Labor Organization's (ILO) fundamental principles guaranteeing workers the right to form a union. However, many countries still have labor laws and policies that in practice deny workers the right to form a union. In these situations, workers still organize collectively to improve their wages, hours, and working conditions, but they may use different structures for organizing themselves than workers in countries where labor rights are protected.

PLANNING YOUR UNION STRUCTURE

While every worker organization must find the structure that works best for their conditions, here are some ideas to consider in structuring your organization:

- **Leadership matters!** An essential step in establishing a strong union is to have a clear leadership structure that all members believe will represent their needs and issues. Ideally, the leadership of your union should be representative, including workers from all different groups at the workplace. Many unions have a variety of different leadership roles within their organizational structure, allowing workers who have different strengths and skills to find different ways of participating. Because good leaders are hard to find, many unions also have programs to identify and train workers to become leaders.

FACT SHEET: LASTING UNION STRUCTURES (CONTINUED)

- **Understanding and addressing the issues of all groups:** The best way to understand and address the issues of all the members of a union is to have a good communication system. A good communication system lets members know what is happening in the union during a campaign and between campaigns. It also keeps leaders aware of what members' real needs and priorities are. Some unions establish committees to work on finding solutions for specific issues that are important to their members. Others establish caucuses (or interest groups) to focus on the needs of specific groups who tend to have less power in the workplace or the union such as women, young people or religious or ethnic minorities.
- **Formalizing your union structure:** Many unions have a written document that describes the rules and principles everybody in the union has agreed to follow in working together. This kind of document is usually called a constitution or by-laws. Examples of what might be written down in a union constitution or by-laws include: rules about who can be a member of the union, processes for choosing or changing leaders, processes for resolving conflicts, guidelines for who should make different kinds of decisions, rules about whether members will pay dues and how much dues they will pay, etc.
- **Resolving conflict:** Conflict happens in every union. Two important strategies to prevent conflicts from weakening or destroying a union are to have open and honest communication among members and to have a clear process for resolving conflicts. Such a process can be written down in the union constitution or by-laws. Some unions also have training programs to educate members and leaders on effective communication skills.
- **Build your power:** In the end, the true test of whether a union will survive or not is whether it has the power to win in struggles with employers and policy-makers for better conditions for its members. Power comes from organized, active and committed members and from strong, positive alliances with other organizations. An effective union structure will provide for constantly organizing members and helping them to be active. For example, many unions provide child care and schedule meetings at times when women with families can attend. An effective union structure will also provide time and training for leaders and activists in how to set goals, analyze power relationships with other organizations, and build alliances.

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TOOLS FOR ORGANIZERS

IN EXPORT PROCESSING ZONES AND INDUSTRIES

TRAINING MODULES IN THIS SERIES:

SECTION I: ORGANIZING STRONG UNIONS

1. Building Unity
2. Tapping Our Strength
3. Developing Democratic Leadership
4. Building Unions That Last

SECTION II: BUILDING ALLIANCES

5. Allying With Other Unions
6. Linking With Non-Governmental Organizations
7. Mounting International Campaigns

SECTION III: FIGHTING FOR LABOR RIGHTS

8. Negotiating Labor Rights in Export Processing Zones
9. Using Trade Provisions to Organize
10. Stopping Anti-Worker International Financial Institutions Policies

This booklet, **BUILDING UNIONS THAT LAST**, is Module 4 of 10 in a series of training modules for working people organizing in Export Processing Zones or other export-oriented industries.

BUILDING ALLIANCES

Module 5: ALLYING WITH OTHER UNIONS

TOOLS FOR ORGANIZERS

IN EXPORT PROCESSING ZONES AND INDUSTRIES



ALLYING WITH OTHER UNIONS

DEFINITIONS

■ **ALLIANCE:** An alliance is a relationship of mutual support between two or more groups. Joining federations and coalitions are two ways that unions form alliances. Alliances can strengthen unions in many ways, such as providing money or people to help with campaigns, sharing information, and shaping strategies together.

■ **BATAAN:** One of the cities in the Philippines where the TUCP and FUZE direct an area coalition to support workers in the EPZs.

■ **CAMPAIGN:** A campaign is a series of activities that a group of people, such as members of a union, do together to achieve a goal. Workers may carry out campaigns to organize a union in their workplace. After organizing a union, workers may carry out a contract negotiation campaign to win a legally-binding contract that spells out wages, benefits, and working conditions.

■ **COALITION:** A coalition is an alliance involving multiple groups or organizations. Often, a coalition is temporary, formed to achieve specific short-term goals. After a campaign, it may be changed or dissolved.

■ **CONTRACT NEGOTIATION:** Contract negotiation is the process by which workers in a union bargain with their employer for a union contract. Usually the union will present their proposal, the employer will make a different proposal, and the negotiation proceeds from there. Workers may build support for their proposals by conducting a contract campaign that includes identifying workers' priorities, researching about the employer, and pressuring the employer through rallies, strikes, or other kinds of activism.

■ **EXPORT PROCESSING ZONE (EPZ):** EPZs are industrial areas in a country that offer special incentives to foreign investors. Low wages, long hours, and dangerous and repressive working conditions are the norm in many

EPZs. Typical working conditions include low wages, long hours, and dangerous and repressive working conditions. Sometimes organizing unions is banned or restricted. EPZs are also known by other names, such as Special Economic Zones, Industrial Development Zones, etc.

■ **FEDERATION:** Unions join together in federations to create greater strength. Federations are often long-lasting organizations through which unions share information and resources to create greater political and economic power for workers. A federation can also be groups of workers or groups of any similar organizations, for example: womens organizations, consumer groups, neighborhood associations, etc.

■ **FUZE:** The Forum of Unions in Zone Enterprises (FUZE) is an informal coalition of 45 unions in the export processing zones in the Philippines. FUZE was set up by the Trade Union Congress of the Philippines (TUCP) to provide greater support among unions during organizing and contract campaigns. FUZE also participates in the area coalitions set up by TUCP to involve unions, Non-Governmental Organizations, and government officials in addressing issues that affect workers.

■ **INTERNATIONAL LABOR ORGANIZATION (ILO):** The ILO is a part of the United Nations that promotes workers rights and human rights. The ILO sets international labor standards to protect basic rights such as the right to organize, collective bargaining, abolition of forced labor, equality of opportunity and treatment, and other conditions at work. Workers, employers, and governments all participate in the ILO. The annual International Labor Conference of the ILO is an important forum for unions seeking to pressure governments and employers in a public way.

ALLYING WITH OTHER UNIONS

TOOLS FOR ORGANIZERS IN EXPORT PROCESSING ZONES AND INDUSTRIES

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INTRODUCTION TO BUILDING ALLIANCES

Even when workers build strong unions, employers may exert their power by using relationships with other groups or institutions beyond the factories or EPZs. Their decisions may be strongly influenced by local competitors, political parties or governments, and/or the conditions in their factories in other countries.

In situations like this, having a strong union inside the plant is an important beginning, but is often not enough to win. In order to have significant influence locally and internationally, unions must ally with those with whom they share common interests. These groups may include other unions, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), and international human rights organizations.

In this section we'll explore the experiences of workers in various countries with building alliances among unions, NGOs, and international supporters. In the module "Allying with Other Unions," we'll practice how to understand what other unions need and want, and on what basis to form alliances. In "Linking with NGOs" we will learn to build relationships based upon common interests. Finally in "Mounting International Campaigns," we'll study how alliances with international supporters can create opportunities for workers that they would otherwise not have had.

In all of these examples, building alliances with other unions, NGOs, and international supporters adds strength to a local union's efforts to organize unions.

MODULE 5: ALLYING WITH OTHER UNIONS

WORKSHOP GOALS

INTRODUCTION

Unions allying with other unions seems like an obvious and excellent idea, but the reality is that there are many barriers that prevent unions from getting together. The unions may be from different industries or sectors, they might belong to different union federations, or be linked with different political parties. Many times these differences are intense, due to competition for representation or other rivalry.

When unions overcome those barriers to form alliances, they are able to carry out coordinated action on a larger scale. By mutually assisting each other, sharing knowledge and skills, and acting together on an agreed-upon plan, union alliances can be more effective defenders of workers' rights.

In this module we will study FUZE, an EPZ-wide federation of unions in the Philippines, which came together from different federations to assist each other in union organizing. In this region, in addition to normal barriers to union organizing, unions had to overcome a history of anti-unionism. Forming a federation to bring union organizers together on a regular basis and assist unions in organizing campaigns helped to win organizing campaigns.

This module provides tools and skills to help workers identify potential connections among unions. Common interests and complementary strengths are building blocks for an effective union alliance.

TEACHING GOALS

- To identify the benefits of allying with other unions.
- To discuss ways of overcoming barriers to allying with other unions.
- To understand the structures of local, national, and international union federations.
- To strategize about improving alliances with other unions.

SKILLS GOALS

- To map organizational relationships.
- To identify overlapping and non-overlapping interests.
- To role-play problems and solve them as a group.

TRAINER'S NOTES

TIME TO DO THIS WORKSHOP:

The whole workshop will take about **5 hours** if you do all the exercises as well as the Welcome, Action Planning, and Closing activities. If you want to make it shorter, you can do only one exercise or divide the workshop and present it over 2 training sessions.



TRAINERS TIP

When a workshop is over 2 hours long or participants are tired, breaks and energizers are important tools to keep participants interested and engaged in the training.

Energizers are short, fun activities that let participants move around and take a mental break from the hard work of learning. Be sure to plan time for energizers in your workshop, especially after lunch and in the evening when participants' energy is lowest. You can even ask a group of participants to form an "Energizer Committee" with the job of calling for a game or energizer whenever they see the participants are getting sleepy or distracted. This committee can then lead the games or ask you to lead them. Energizers can be songs, chants, or any non-competitive game or activity the group can do together.

TRAINER'S NOTES (CONTINUED)

MATERIALS NEEDED FOR THIS WORKSHOP:

- Something to write on that everyone can see: large paper and marking pens or chalk and chalkboard.
- Some materials for drawing (Exercise 1 only): paper and pens, pencils, markers or crayons, chalk and chalkboard, cardboard, charcoal, or anything else you can find for drawing. In some places, people use sticks and make their drawings on the ground. In other places, people use scissors and cloth to make pictures.
- 30 cards (Exercise 1 only): paper, cardboard, cloth, or other material cut into pieces big enough to write several words on each. Divide the cards into 2 sets of 15 cards each.
- String, sticks, or marking pens (Exercise 1 only): You can use pens to draw lines and arrows, or you can use string, sticks, or other material that participants can use to represent a line or arrow.
- Tape, pins, or thumbtacks (Exercise 1 only, optional).

BEFORE YOU START:

- Read the whole Workshop Curriculum.
- Plan your agenda for the workshop. Decide how long the workshop will be. Choose which exercises you will do. Plan time for breaks and energizers.
- Collect all the materials you need.
- Set up the room the way you want it.



TRAINERS TIP

Some words and terms in this curriculum may be new for you or for the participants in the workshop. Look on the inside front and back covers for a list of definitions.

HOW THE WORKSHOP WORKS

HOW THE WORKSHOP WORKS

The workshop has 6 sections. In each section you and the participants will be doing a different kind of activity. There is a picture to remind you of the kind of activity you will do in that section. Here are the pictures and what they are reminding you to do:



WELCOME AND
GET STARTED



DISCUSS THE
STORY AND/OR
PICTURE



LEARN ABOUT
OTHER WORKERS'
SUCCESSES



DO EXERCISES
TO LEARN NEW
SKILLS



LEARN BY DOING



EVALUATE AND CLOSE
THE TRAINING



WELCOME AND GET STARTED

TRAINER: In this section, you will tell the group what the workshop is about. Then participants will introduce themselves to each other. The other activities suggested on this page can help people feel welcome, comfortable, and respected during the workshop. When people feel comfortable, they will learn more and the workshop will be more successful.

TIME: 30 minutes (or less if there are fewer than 20 people in your group)

ACTIVITIES FOR GETTING STARTED:

First do Activities **1** and **2**, then choose among **A**, **B**, and **C** for one more activity.

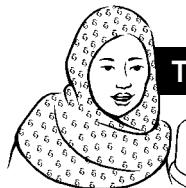
- 1.** Tell the participants what the workshop is about.
- 2.** Ask everyone to introduce themselves to the group.

- A.** Ask the participants to take turns saying why they think the workshop is important.
- B.** Ask a volunteer to sing a song, say a prayer, or recite a poem.
- C.** Ask the participants to take turns answering the introduction question in the box. Answering the introduction question can help people to start thinking about the topic of the workshop.



INTRODUCTION QUESTION:

What is one thing you know about another union (not your own)?



TRAINERS TIP

SONGS, PRAYERS, AND POEMS let people know that their culture and spirit will be respected in the workshop. Songs, prayers, and poems are also an opportunity to let a participant be the leader.



TRAINERS TIP

INTRODUCTION QUESTIONS help people use their voices and participate in an easy way for the first time. Then they will be more comfortable to speak later on.



DISCUSS THE STORY AND/OR PICTURE

TRAINER: In this section, you can ask someone in the group to read the story out loud or you can read it out loud yourself. If you don't want to use the story, you can just look at the picture together. Then discuss the story and/or picture using the questions on the next page.

TIME: 30 minutes

LOLET INAMARGA's story:

"When a campaign for a certification election comes up, members of the Forum of Unions in Zone Enterprises (FUZE) go help the campaign. Before, there was nothing like that. It used to be that if a union belonged to a federation, only that one federation would help out. Now, other organizers and worker leaders help out."

—LOLET INAMARGA, Trade Union Congress of the Philippines (TUCP)
and Forum of Unions in Zone Enterprises (FUZE), the Philippines.



DISCUSS THE STORY AND/OR PICTURE (CONTINUED)

TRAINER: Ask the participants to discuss the questions below. Allow about 5 to 10 minutes for each question. If you want to, you can write what people say on a big piece of paper or a chalkboard as they answer the questions.

If there are more than 20 people in the room, you can divide into small groups of 4 or 5 people for the discussion. If they are in small groups, visit each group while they talk. Make sure that each person in each group has a chance to talk.

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS:

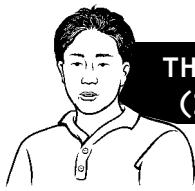
1. What is happening in this picture and story?
2. If you are struggling alone while organizing at your worksite, how do you feel when others come to help?
3. Why do you think employers might respond differently when facing an action by many unions, instead of just one union?
4. What experiences have you had in your union of solidarity among different unions or federations?



LEARN ABOUT WORKERS' SUCCESSES

TRAINER: In this section, you can ask for several different people in the group to volunteer to read the different parts of the story out loud or you can read it out loud yourself. Then ask the group to discuss the question at the bottom.

TIME: 15 minutes



THE FUZE STORY: REYNALDO REYES (IN BATAAN) AND MARLOU POQUIZ (IN SUBIC), THE PHILIPPINES

"We started the coalitions because we realized that if it's just workers and the union, it's very hard for us, because the local government, employers, police, and the Department of Labor and Employment (DOLE) will threaten us. We realized we should have these groups with us in coalition to minimize our problems.

"We started to lay the groundwork with the politicians... We asked them to attend our seminar or to send a representative. We start our trainings by focusing on gender sensitivity or child labor. When we invited the politicians, they appreciated the topics. This was the start of our partnership.

"When they attended the trainings, at the end we asked them to write their action plan: what they learned and what they will do after the training. Most of the time, they said in their action plan that they would create a program for women or children. We encouraged them to support unions, to include unions in their plans.

"Through our coalition work, 4 municipalities and one city have passed ordinances saying that companies must comply with national labor standards in order to get a business permit.

"We started working with municipalities to pass these ordinances because when we say 'union,' workers are afraid. They think it means 'strike' or 'close the factory.' The image of unions in Bataan is really bad. Lots of workers lost their jobs in the 1980s in massive labor disputes. So we use this ordinance to show public support, to show that the local government recognizes the rights of workers...

story continued on next page >

LEARN ABOUT WORKERS' SUCCESSES (CONTINUED)

THE FUZE STORY, The Philippines, CONTINUED:

"Another example of how the coalition supports organizing is the Wistron factory. They're about to have their certification election... So when we have our Bataan coalition meeting, we tell our partners about the upcoming election. We say, 'If you have neighbors or families in Wistron, please explain to them what the union is.'

"Before FUZE, it was very hard for one local union to get support from other local unions within the same zone. It was hard to get help from other union officers while we were campaigning for a certification election. If there was a strike, we might get help. Now, several union certification campaigns have succeeded because of the collective effort of unions and organizers from FUZE."

DISCUSSION QUESTION FOR THE GROUP:

What surprised you about this story?



TRAINERS TIP: UNION SOLIDARITY IN ACTION

Cell phones are everywhere in the Philippines, even in the EPZ factories. One way that organizers and leaders reach workers in the factories during a campaign is through a "text brigade." A "text brigade" is when a slogan is passed from one cell phone to another using text messaging, quickly reaching hundreds of workers. In the Philippines, text messaging is inexpensive enough that it is a great way to reach workers and promote solidarity.



DO EXERCISES TO LEARN NEW SKILLS

EXERCISE 1:

MAP THE RELATIONSHIPS AMONG UNIONS AND LABOR FEDERATIONS

TRAINER: In this exercise, the participants will brainstorm a list of union organizations they are aware of in their region. They will write the name of each organization onto a card and then assemble the cards to create a picture showing how unions join together in federations and coalitions.

TIME: 50 minutes

WHAT TO DO:

1. As a large group, ask the participants to answer the discussion question below. During the discussion, ask for 2 volunteers to write down the names of unions or union organizations that participants mention on the cards. This way, the participants make 2 sets of cards with the same words on them.
Check to make sure the 2 sets of cards are the same.

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS:

1. In your region or area, what unions, federations and union organizations (such as coalitions) do you know?
2. Ask the group to divide into 2 groups. Give each group one set of the cards with the names of unions, federations, and union organizations. Hand out materials to make the arrows or lines connecting the cards – either markers, chalk, or pens to draw with, or string or sticks to place between the cards.
3. Ask the participants in each group to arrange the cards in a way that shows their relationships with each other. They can make lines to show relationships. They can arrange the cards on the wall using tape or tacks or lay them on the floor.



TRAINERS TIP

You can use different materials in this exercise, depending on what you have available. You can make cards out of paper or cloth, or you can write on a chalk board or draw on the ground. You can write with pens, chalk, charcoal, or sticks. The straight lines to connect the cards can be made out of string, or sticks, or they can just be drawn instead.

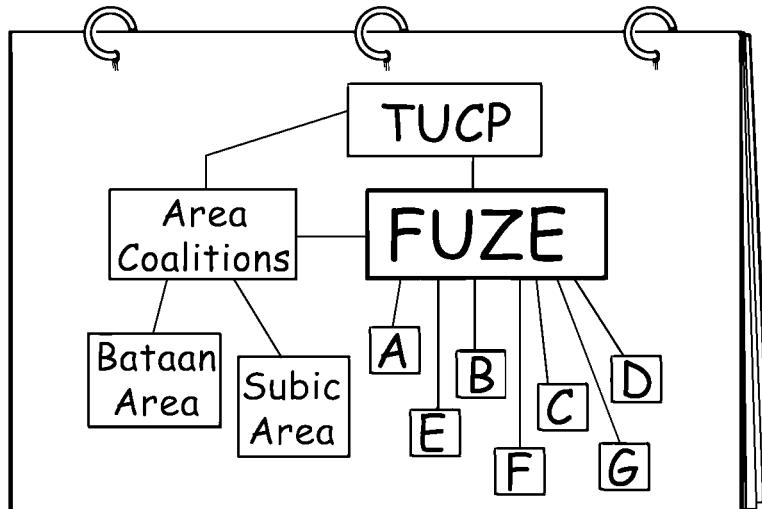
EXERCISES TO LEARN NEW SKILLS

EXERCISE 1: MAP THE RELATIONSHIPS (CONTINUED)

4. Ask participants in both groups to answer the the following discussion questions:

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS:

1. Where are the unions and federations on the cards physically located?
 2. What industries do the members of the different unions work in?
 3. Of these unions and federations, who has influence or power over whom?
What kind of influence or power?
 4. How is money shared among these unions and federations?
-
5. Give them about 25 minutes to discuss the questions and draw their picture. The picture may look something like this one, based on the story of FUZE:



TRAINERS TIP

You can use the Fact Sheet on "Trade Union Structures" on pages 25-26 to help the participants understand how unions and federations are organized.

EXERCISES TO LEARN NEW SKILLS

EXERCISE 1: MAP THE RELATIONSHIPS (CONTINUED)

6. Ask each group to describe their picture to the other group and to explain why they showed relationships as they did.
7. As a large group, answer the following discussion questions.

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS:

1. What questions do we have about how the unions and federations in our region are related?
2. Are there a lot of linkages among unions in our area, or not very many? How might this affect our unions' campaigns?
3. Where would you place your own group on this map?



TRAINERS TIP

This is not a test! Be sure to tell the participants that it's OK if they can't fill in information about unions and organizations on all the cards, or if they don't know how unions are connected to one another. Empty cards or unanswered questions are pointing out the information that they will need to research in the future.

REFLECTION ON THE EXERCISE:

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

- Workers in unions are related to others, or not related to others, in the context of the labor movement as a whole.
- Being aware of your own union's position in relationship to other unions is the first step in understanding the power of a labor movement.

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



DO EXERCISES TO LEARN NEW SKILLS

EXERCISE 2:

IDENTIFY COMMON GOALS AND DIFFERENT GOALS AMONG UNIONS THAT ARE LINKED

TRAINER: In this exercise, participants will fill in a map showing the goals of their union and of at least one other union with which they want a closer alliance. Participants will then have a discussion about the completed map.

TIME: 50 minutes

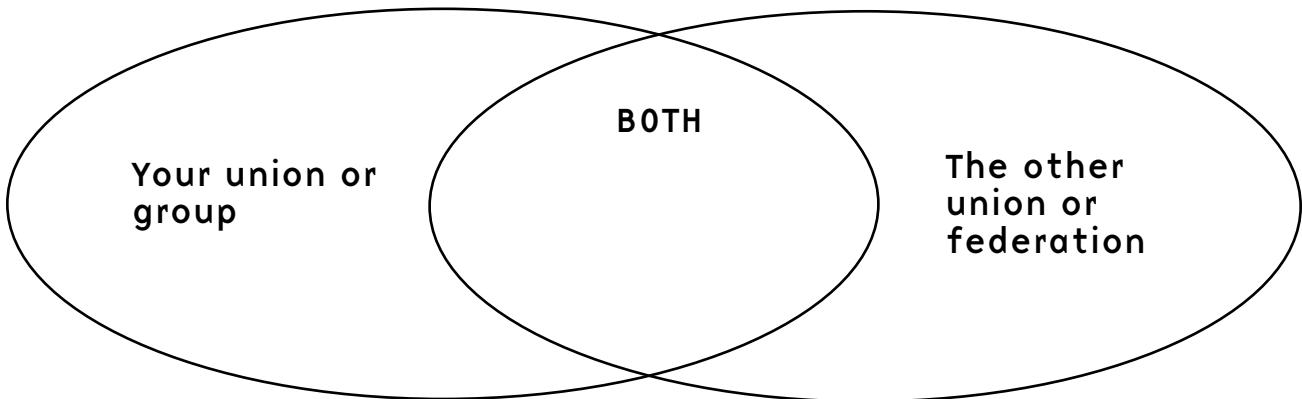
WHAT TO DO:

1. In a large group, ask the participants to identify their own union and one other union or federation with which they would like to have closer links. This may be a federation they are already a part of, or it may be a union they want assistance from.
2. Draw a “map” showing two intersecting circles (like the ones shown below) on a big piece of paper or a chalkboard.



TRAINERS TIP

If there is a specific union or federation that participants are already working with or thinking of working with, they can use that union or federation as an example when mapping goals. If participants are not in a relationship with a specific union or federation, they can talk more generally about one they know about.



EXERCISES TO LEARN NEW SKILLS

EXERCISE 2: IDENTIFY GOALS (CONTINUED)

WHAT TO DO (CONTINUED):

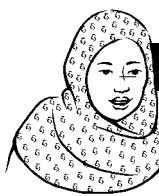
- 3.** Ask the participants to form pairs with the person next to them and think of a goal that their union or the other union might have. Give an example of a goal to get the participants started, such as “Build a strong organization,” or “Get union certification at our factory.” Give the participants no more than 3 to 5 minutes to think of a goal.
- 4.** Ask each pair to say the goal they thought of.
- 5.** Ask the pair to come up to the map and point to the area it belongs in: goals that only their group or union has, goals that only the other union or federation has, or goals that both share. Ask them to draw a symbol or picture representing the goal in the corresponding area of the map (or you can draw it for them).
- 6.** After every pair has participated, ask people to discuss the following questions as a large group.

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS:

- 1.** How much do our union and the other organization share goals?
- 2.** How will having different goals affect our working together in an alliance?
- 3.** What factors stand in the way of us building a successful alliance with other unions?
- 4.** Are there goals that female union members across unions may share, even if their unions don't always agree on goals?
- 5.** What groups of workers (if any) might not find their goals reflected on this map?
- 6.** What are the possible dangers of alliances with other unions?

EXERCISES TO LEARN NEW SKILLS

EXERCISE 2: IDENTIFY GOALS (CONTINUED)



TRAINERS TIP

If it is hard for the participants to think of goals, you can have them start by talking about the FUZE story on pages 10-11. Ask them, what goals brought unions together in the FUZE? What different goals might individual unions have had? After this discussion, the participants may be more ready to think about the goals of their own union.

REFLECTION ON THE EXERCISE:

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

- Unions may have some interests in common and some interests that are not common.
- The key to building a successful alliance is to understand which interests are common and which are not.

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



DO EXERCISES TO LEARN NEW SKILLS

EXERCISE 3:

DO A ROLE-PLAY ABOUT HOW UNIONS NEGOTIATE AN ALLIANCE

TRAINER: In this exercise, participants will use the common and different goals identified in Exercise 2 in a role-play. They will act out a meeting between members and organizers of 2 unions with different goals talking about forming an alliance. Afterwards, participants will discuss the role-play.

TIME: 60 minutes

WHAT TO DO:

1. Ask the participants to sit together in a large group and explain that this exercise is a role-play. Ask the participants to form 2 groups. Explain that:
 - One group will play the role of members and organizers of their own union.
 - The other group will play the role of members and organizers from the other union or federation whose goals were discussed during Exercise 2.
2. Ask each small group to review the common and different goals identified during Exercise 2. Ask them to discuss the following questions, from the perspective of the union or federation that they will play in the role-play. Give each group about 15 minutes for this discussion.

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS:

1. Would working together with the other group help you reach some of your goals?
 2. What are some of the benefits of allying with the other group?
 3. What are some of the risks of working together?
 4. What specific things would you be willing to offer to assist the other group?
 5. What specific kinds of help would you like to receive from the other group?
3. Ask each small group to choose 3 participants to be actors in the role-play.

EXERCISES TO LEARN NEW SKILLS

EXERCISE 3: DO A ROLE-PLAY (CONTINUED)

WHAT TO DO (CONTINUED):

4. Ask the 2 small groups to sit in a large group again. Ask the 3 actors from each small group to come to the front of the group. If you like, you can set up 6 chairs around a table at the front of the group as a stage for the role-play.
5. Ask the 6 actors to begin role-playing a situation of a meeting between the 2 unions (or union federations) to decide if they are going to work together, and if so, how.
6. Allow about 5 to 10 minutes for the role-play. If the actors get stuck, you can ask the participants in the audience for ideas of what they might say next.
7. When they are done with the role-play, thank the actors for the good job they did and ask the group to applaud them. Then ask the whole group to discuss the following questions:

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS:

1. What made the 2 groups in the role-play decide to work together or not?
2. How well did the resources that each group had to offer match what the other group needed?
3. How well did they handle their conflicts? Could they have done something different to build a stronger agreement?
4. What do you think would happen next in this situation?
5. What did you learn in this role-play that might be helpful for your own union?



TRAINERS TIP

Don't worry about whether the role-play seems realistic or not. The important thing is that the participants share their ideas about linking with other unions, either during the role-play or in the discussion afterwards.

EXERCISES TO LEARN NEW SKILLS

EXERCISE 3: DO A ROLE-PLAY (CONTINUED)

REFLECTION ON THE EXERCISE:

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

- Negotiation with potential allies requires preparation and understanding about common interests and different interests.
- Building alliances between unions is not necessarily easy.
- A cooperative relationship is likely to be built upon the foundation of common interests.

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



TRAINERS TIP

The story of workers at the Nien Hsing factory is a good example of successful alliances among workers. After the role-play, you may want to read the Fact Sheet on Page 27, "Union Alliances in Lesotho, Southern Africa." Ask the participants how they could use similar alliances for their own union campaigns.



LEARN BY DOING

TRAINER: In this exercise, participants will make plans for future work together based on what they learned in the workshop, including the Action Ideas from each exercise. They will have a discussion and fill out the Action Plan Worksheet on page 23.

TIME: 30 minutes or more

WHAT TO DO:

1. Make an Action Plan Worksheet like the one on page 23 on a large piece of paper or chalkboard. (You do not need to copy the examples in the Worksheet – leaving them out will give you more room to write.) Explain to the participants that you will fill out this Worksheet together. Ask for a volunteer to take notes if you are writing on a chalkboard so the participants will have a record of their plan.
2. Ask volunteers who have been remembering the Action Ideas they have developed during the exercises to say them out loud, as a reminder of the participants' thinking during this workshop. Tell participants that they can put these ideas to work in a plan to build an alliance with one other union or federation.
3. Ask participants to think of one union or federation that they would like to collaborate with. Write the name of this union or federation at the top of the Action Plan Worksheet.
4. Ask the participants to describe what kind of help they want from this other union or federation, and put their ideas in the second row of the Action Plan Worksheet.
5. Ask the participants how this other union will help them gain more power to achieve their goals. Make sure they are specific about which goals or specific issues they want help with. Write this information in the third row of the Action Plan Worksheet.
6. Ask the participants why they think the other union would want to form an alliance with them. Write the benefits to the other union in the fourth row of the Action Plan Worksheet.
7. Ask the participants to name any disadvantages or risks associated with this new alliance. Write them in the fifth row of the Action Plan Worksheet, along with any ideas for how to address these disadvantages or risks.

LEARN BY DOING (CONTINUED)

WHAT TO DO: (CONTINUED)

- 8.** Now ask participants to decide on 3 first action steps for creating an alliance with the other union. Ask them to write down who will carry out the actions and when they will do so. It may be hard to focus on only 3 action steps, but it is important to keep the list of actions to a manageable size, so that all of the actions agreed to can be accomplished by the group. Write the 3 action steps in the last row of the Action Plan Worksheet.
- 9.** When the Action Plan Worksheet is completed, ask the group to answer the questions below. You or a volunteer can write down what people say on a big piece of paper or a chalkboard.

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS:

- 1.** What role do we want alliances with other unions to have in our campaign?
- 2.** How will we know if we are successful in working with other unions?
- 3.** What will we do if problems happen in our work with other unions?
- 4.** What are we most excited about in our new Action Plan?

ACTION PLAN WORKSHEET

<p>Building an Alliance with Another Union (or Federation). Name of the union we want to ally with:</p>	
<p>Help Wanted from the Other Union:</p> <p>Example: Their members come with us to make house visits for the certification campaign.</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. 2. 3.
<p>How the Alliance Would Increase Our Power to Achieve Our Goals:</p> <p>Example: Our goal is certification, and one issue we have is getting enough media coverage. If we get another union involved, they can share their media contacts and experience.</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. 2. 3.
<p>Why They Might Want to Ally with Us:</p> <p>Example: The other union would benefit from our mutual sharing of experiences.</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. 2. 3.
<p>Any Disadvantages of Working with this other Union:</p> <p>Example: Different priorities, or different styles of running meetings.</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. 2. 3.
<p>First 3 Steps to Linking with This Union:</p> <p>Example: Call a meeting, or attend a march with them, or find out more about them.</p>	<p>Action Steps:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. 2. 3.
	<p>who will do it? By when?</p>



EVALUATE AND CLOSE TRAINING

TRAINER: In this section, you will remind the group what the goals of the training were and acknowledge the goals you have accomplished together. You will thank any individuals or groups who helped make the training a success. Then participants will have a chance to evaluate the training and commit to taking action. The closing activities suggested on this page can help people feel successful, hopeful, and powerful as they complete the workshop.

TIME: 30 minutes (or less if there are fewer than 20 people in your group)

ACTIVITIES FOR EVALUATION AND CLOSING:

1. Remind the participants of the goals of this training (see page 3). Acknowledge that everyone has worked hard to finish the training and accomplish these goals.
2. Thank any individuals or groups who contributed to the success of the training, including those who contributed meeting space, food, time, etc.
3. As a large group, ask each person to say:
 - One thing she or he learned in the training
 - One thing she or he liked about the training
 - One thing she or he will do to build their union based on what they learned in the training.

Options for this step: If you have a large group (more than 20 participants), you can ask for 4 or 5 volunteers to answer the 3 questions or ask each person to answer only one question—rather than asking each person to answer all 3 questions.

4. Lead the group in a closing ritual. This could be a chant, song, dance, poem, or prayer.



TRAINERS TIP

Ask one of the participants to choose the closing ritual and lead the group in a chant, song, poem, prayer, etc. This gives someone in the group a chance to exercise leadership. It also makes clear to the group that what they have accomplished in the workshop belongs to them, not to you as the trainer.

FACT SHEET: TRADE UNION STRUCTURES

Trade unions join together in many kinds of structures, including coalitions, regional and national federations, and global union federations to increase their power. This fact sheet explains some of the most common aspects of union structures and linkages. Keep in mind that unions and federations may be set up differently in each region or country.

TRADE UNIONS themselves are the basic “building block” of workers’ strength. Sometimes a union will represent the employees of only one company, while in other cases a union may represent the workers from an entire industry or sector.

COALITIONS: Unions often work together through formal or informal coalitions, such as the FUZE, the Forum of Unions in Zone Enterprises, in the Philippines. Unions form coalitions to support organizing in a specific region or to advocate for specific policy demands. Coalitions are flexible and often change membership as needed.

FEDERATIONS: Federations are larger organizations made up of unions. Federations are most often organized in one of 3 ways: by industry, by sector, or by location or geography.

- **Federations Organized by Industry:** In places where more than one union represents workers in a single industry (for instance health care workers), the different unions often join forces through a federation to coordinate organizing and collective bargaining.
- **Federations Organized by Sector:** Unions representing workers in related industries—for instance, all building and construction workers—may form a federation for the purposes of mutual assistance and joint action.
- **Federations Organized by Location:** Unions working in a particular region or country often form a federation to coordinate organizing campaigns and defend workers’ rights throughout that area. Regional federations themselves may be members of a national federation. The Trade Union Congress of the Philippines (TUCP) and the AFL-CIO in the United States are examples of a national federation, and are also known as “National Centers.”

GLOBAL UNION FEDERATIONS (GUFS): Because workers all around the world are affected by the same kinds of problems, global union federations have formed to defend the rights of workers in each sector. One of these global union federations is the ITGLWF, the International Textile, Garment and Leather Workers’ Federation. The ITGLWF is organized both globally and regionally. The ITGLWF actively supports workers in Export Processing Zones, including those in the Philippines and Lesotho that are described in this module.

FACT SHEET: TRADE UNION STRUCTURES

TRADE UNION STRUCTURES (CONTINUED)

Most of the world's global union federations belong to the ITUC, the International Trade Union Confederation, a federation of many different federations of global union federations and national centers.

WHAT DOES A UNION FEDERATION DO?

Whether a federation is local, regional, national or global, effective union federations act to defend worker rights by:

- Providing leadership and coordination for a strong voice for workers;
- Developing strategies for regions, industries, or sectors;
- Training union leadership and organizers;
- Supporting organizing campaigns, for example, sending workers from other unions to help;
- Drawing attention through the media (or other ways) to the injustices that workers face;
- Putting pressure on employers;
- Promoting laws and policies to benefit workers and increase unions' ability to organize;
- Building alliances with workers and organizations in other regions and countries.

FACT SHEET: UNION ALLIANCES IN LESOTHO, SOUTHERN AFRICA



This is a story about how many unions and federations worked together to support the workers at the Nien Hsing garment factory in Lesotho by pressuring the company from different directions. With the power of so many unions working together, the workers at Nien Hsing won their struggle for recognition, joining the union LECAWU. The workers at Nien Hsing benefited from the solidarity of other workers in Lesotho as well as from workers around the world.

The Nien Hsing workers' campaign in Lesotho focused on the following 3 things:

ORGANIZING THE WORKERS AT NIEN HSING:

Marashalane Ramaliehe, a shop steward at Nien Hsing, tells how they started organizing: "I told the other workers that we have rights and also duties, and that there is a law in this country for workers and employers. We had our rights as workers. We learned which kinds of dismissals are fair and which kind are unfair, and about the procedure the management must follow for dismissal. We saw that we didn't need to be afraid of anything. We are many, we are together."

BUILDING ALLIANCES WITH UNION WORKERS IN OTHER COUNTRIES:

Lesotho is next door to South Africa and its strong trade union movement. South African unions provided training and support for LECAWU. They also had the power to affect the transportation of goods from Nien Hsing through South Africa, which they had used in other cases, for example, to support striking workers in Swaziland. For the struggle at LECAWU, linking with workers in the United States, where The Gap is headquartered, was especially important. For example, as Shaw Lebakae, Deputy General Secretary of LECAWU explains, "In 2002, LECAWU sent a delegation to New York to join a union action led by UNITE, a garment workers union in the United States, against The Gap company."

USING INTERNATIONAL TRADE LAWS AND POLICIES:

Jabu Ngcobo, Secretary General of ITGLWF-Africa, explains: "The first thing ITGLWF did was to develop a booklet to distribute to our friends around the world, with information on the workers' problems. Then we raised money for LECAWU to come with us to the meeting of the International Labor Organization (ILO). We handed out the booklet to everybody at the meeting. This booklet embarrassed the government of Lesotho very much, because it seemed that the government didn't care if the employers abused their workers. So the Lesotho government started to put pressure on employers to come to an agreement with LECAWU... The Gap too became very worried that it would look bad and lose business, so it started to tell Nien Hsing to improve its treatment of workers and to cooperate with the union."

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS AND CREDITS

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DEFINITIONS (CONTINUED)



■ **ITGLWF-AFRICA:**

The Africa regional organization of the International Textile, Garment and Leather Workers Federation (ITGLWF), an

international federation of textile unions with over 10 million members worldwide.

■ **LABOR UNION:** A labor union is an organization of workers who build collective power in their workplace in order to protect worker rights and improve working conditions, such as wages, hours, and benefits. Often the union negotiates a collective bargaining agreement (or contract) with the employer to define and secure the rights of their members.

■ **LECAWU:** LECAWU is the Lesotho Clothing and Allied Workers Union in Lesotho, southern Africa.

■ **NIEN HSING:** Nien Hsing is a garment factory in Lesotho where workers organized, joining the LECAWU union.

■ **NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATION (NGO):** NGOs are organized groups, independent of government, most often working to achieve a social objective such as ending poverty or serving particular groups of people, such as women or workers. NGOs can be small or large. They may be grassroots activist organizations, research centers, educational groups, or policy advocates.

■ **SOLIDARITY:** Solidarity is the support people can give each other in working toward common goals. In a particular workplace, it could mean people making decisions together and working as a united group. International solidarity describes support among people or organizations from different countries. Solidarity between unions increases the strength of those unions to fight for their members' rights.

■ **STRATEGY:** A strategy refers to a systematic plan or main course of action for achieving a goal. For example, a first strategy to improve working conditions in a factory could be to organize a union, followed by a strategy of union protest to draw attention to bad working conditions and pressure management to change them.

■ **SUBIC TECHNICS:** Subic Technics is a factory in an Export Processing Zone in the Subic region of the Philippines where workers organized a union with the help of FUZE and TUCP.

■ **TUCP:** The Trade Union Congress of the Philippines (TUCP) is the largest labor federation in the Philippines.

■ **UNION CONTRACT:** A union contract is a written, legally-binding agreement between a group of workers and an employer. The contract generally describes how the employer will treat workers, including wages, work hours, and working conditions. The goal of many union organizing campaigns is to negotiate with the employer to get a union contract. A union contract is also called a "collective bargaining agreement."

TOOLS FOR ORGANIZERS

IN EXPORT PROCESSING ZONES AND INDUSTRIES

TRAINING MODULES IN THIS SERIES:

SECTION I: ORGANIZING STRONG UNIONS

1. Building Unity
2. Tapping Our Strength
3. Developing Democratic Leadership
4. Building Unions That Last

SECTION II: BUILDING ALLIANCES

5. Allying With Other Unions
6. Linking With Non-Governmental Organizations
7. Mounting International Campaigns

SECTION III: FIGHTING FOR LABOR RIGHTS

8. Negotiating Labor Rights in Export Processing Zones
9. Using Trade Provisions to Organize
10. Stopping Anti-Worker International Financial Institutions Policies

This booklet, **ALLYING WITH OTHER UNIONS**, is Module 5 of 10 in a series of training modules for working people organizing in Export Processing Zones or other export-oriented industries.

BUILDING ALLIANCES

Module 6: LINKING WITH NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS

TOOLS FOR ORGANIZERS

IN EXPORT PROCESSING ZONES AND INDUSTRIES



LINKING WITH NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS

DEFINITIONS

■ **CAMPAIGN:** A campaign is a series of activities that a group of people, such as members of a union, do together to achieve a goal. Workers may carry out campaigns to organize a union in their workplace. After organizing a union, workers may carry out a contract negotiation campaign to win a legally binding contract that spells out wages, benefits and working conditions.

■ **CENTRO DEL APOYO AL TRABAJADOR (CAT):** The CAT is a community-based, worker-oriented NGO in Mexico. The CAT supports workers in their struggles to organize unions and have better conditions on the job. The CAT provides support through education, strategic planning, and research. The CAT is especially well-known for using street theater as an organizing technique.

■ **CONTRACT NEGOTIATION:** Contract negotiation is the process by which workers in a union bargain with their employer for a union contract. Usually the union will present their proposal, the employer will make a different proposal, and the negotiation proceeds from there. Workers may build support for their proposals by conducting a contract campaign that includes identifying workers' priorities, researching about the employer, and pressuring the employer through rallies, strikes, or other kinds of activism.

■ **CORPORATE RESEARCH:** Investigation about a corporation, industry or industrial sector to find information that may be useful for workers in an organizing or contract negotiations campaign.

■ **EXPORT PROCESSING ZONE (EPZ):** EPZs are industrial areas in a country that offer special incentives to foreign investors. These incentives may include low taxes, lax environmental regulations, and low labor costs. Low wages, long hours, and dangerous and repressive working conditions are the

norm in many EPZs. Sometimes organizing unions is banned or restricted. EPZs are also known by other names, such as Special Economic Zones, Industrial Development Zones, etc.

■ **GLOBAL SUPPLY CHAIN:** The global supply chain is the relationship of the companies involved in producing and distributing an item. In the apparel industry, it begins with textile production as the first link in this chain, and then goes on to sewing contractors, brand-name manufacturers, and retail stores.

■ **KUKDONG:** Kukdong is a contractor in Mexico that makes clothes for Nike and other sports clothing manufacturers. The workers at Kukdong organized an independent union with the help of the CAT to improve wages and working conditions. Later the employer changed the name of the company to Mexmode.

■ **LABOR UNION:** A labor union is an organization of workers who build collective power in their workplace in order to protect worker rights and improve working conditions, such as wages, hours, and benefits. Often the union negotiates a collective bargaining agreement (or contract) with the employer to define and secure the rights of their members.

■ **NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATION (NGO):** NGOs are organized groups, independent of government, most often working to achieve a social objective such as ending poverty or serving particular groups of people, such as women or workers. NGOs can be small or large. They may be grassroots activist organizations, research centers, educational groups, or policy advocates.

■ **STRATEGY:** A strategy refers to a systematic plan or main course of action for achieving a goal. For example, a first strategy to improve working conditions in a factory could be to

CONTINUED ON INSIDE BACK COVER

LINKING WITH NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS

TOOLS FOR ORGANIZERS IN EXPORT PROCESSING ZONES AND INDUSTRIES

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INTRODUCTION TO BUILDING ALLIANCES

Even when workers build strong unions, employers may exert their power by using relationships with other groups or institutions beyond the factories or EPZs. Their decisions may be strongly influenced by local competitors, political parties or governments, and/or the conditions in their factories in other countries.

In situations like this, having a strong union inside the plant is an important beginning, but is often not enough to win. In order to have significant influence locally and internationally, unions must ally with those with whom they share common interests. These groups may include other unions, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), and international human rights organizations.

In this section we'll explore the experiences of workers in various countries with building alliances among unions, NGOs, and international supporters. In the module "Allying with Other Unions," we'll practice how to understand what other unions need and want, and on what basis to form alliances. In "Linking with NGOs" we will learn to build relationships based upon common interests. Finally in "Mounting International Campaigns," we'll study how alliances with international supporters can create opportunities for workers that they would otherwise not have had.

In all of these examples, building alliances with other unions, NGOs, and international supporters adds strength to a local union's efforts to organize unions.

MODULE 6: LINKING WITH NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS

WORKSHOP GOALS

INTRODUCTION

Unions linking with non-governmental organizations (NGOs) seem like an obvious and excellent idea, since both unions and NGOs work for social change. However, NGOs and unions have often missed opportunities to join together to build a stronger force against common adversaries. Unions and NGOs have different histories, different structures, and different ways of operating, which can make relationships difficult to forge and sustain.

When successful, though, these relationships are a powerful force for justice. The key to building union-NGO coalitions is to understand what interests unions and NGOs have in common, what interests they do not have in common, and to establish the appropriate role for each group in a campaign.

In this module we examine the CAT, a Mexican NGO that played a critical role in supporting the workers at Kukdong to organize a union. We will see that the CAT had knowledge, skills, and relationships that helped the workers in their organizing, and it collaborated with the workers in research and street theater.

TEACHING GOALS

- To understand the goals and interests of NGOs.
- To identify the advantages and disadvantages of unions linking with NGOs.
- To understand the appropriate roles of unions and NGOs in campaigns.

SKILLS GOALS

- To identify overlapping and non-overlapping interests.
- To apply understanding of overlapping and non-overlapping interests to campaign objectives.

TRAINER'S NOTES

TIME TO DO THIS WORKSHOP:

The whole workshop will take about **4 hours** if you do all the exercises as well as the Welcome, Action Planning, and Closing activities. If you want to make it shorter, you can do only one of the exercises or present the workshop over 2 training sessions.



TRAINERS TIP

When a workshop is over 2 hours long or participants are tired, breaks and energizers are important tools to keep participants interested and engaged in the training.

Energizers are short, fun activities that let participants move around and take a mental break from the hard work of learning. Be sure to plan time for energizers in your workshop, especially after lunch and in the evening when participants' energy is lowest. You can even ask a group of participants to form an "Energizer Committee" with the job of calling for a game or energizer whenever they see the participants are getting sleepy or distracted. This committee can then lead the games or ask you to lead them. Energizers can be songs, chants, or any non-competitive game or activity the group can do together.

TRAINER'S NOTES (CONTINUED)

MATERIALS NEEDED FOR THIS WORKSHOP:

- Something to write on that everyone can see: large paper and marking pens or chalk and chalkboard.
- Some materials for drawing (Exercise 3 only): paper and pens, pencils, markers or crayons, chalk and chalkboard, cardboard, charcoal, or anything else you can find for drawing. In some places, people use sticks and make their drawings in the sand or dirt. In other places, people use scissors and cloth to make pictures.

BEFORE YOU START:

- Read the whole Workshop Curriculum.
- Plan your agenda for the workshop. Decide how long the workshop will be. Choose which exercises you will do. Plan time for breaks and energizers.
- Collect all the materials you need.
- Set up the room the way you want it.



TRAINERS TIP

Some words and terms in this curriculum may be new for you or for the participants in the workshop. Look on the inside front and back covers for a list of definitions.

HOW THE WORKSHOP WORKS

HOW THE WORKSHOP WORKS

The workshop has 6 sections. In each section you and the participants will be doing a different kind of activity. There is a picture to remind you of the kind of activity you will do in that section. Here are the pictures and what they are reminding you to do:



WELCOME AND
GET STARTED



DISCUSS THE
STORY AND/OR
PICTURE



LEARN ABOUT
OTHER WORKERS'
SUCCESSES



DO EXERCISES
TO LEARN NEW
SKILLS



LEARN BY DOING



EVALUATE AND CLOSE
THE TRAINING



WELCOME AND GET STARTED

TRAINER: In this section, you will tell the group what the workshop is about. Then participants will introduce themselves to each other. The other activities suggested on this page can help people feel welcome, comfortable, and respected during the workshop. When people feel comfortable, they will learn more and the workshop will be more successful.

TIME: 30 minutes (or less if there are fewer than 20 people in your group)

ACTIVITIES FOR GETTING STARTED:

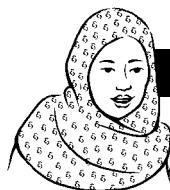
First do Activities **1** and **2**, then choose among **A**, **B**, and **C** for one more activity.

- 1.** Tell the participants what the workshop is about.
 - 2.** Ask everyone to introduce themselves to the group.
-
- A.** Ask the participants to take turns saying why they think the workshop is important.
 - B.** Ask a volunteer to sing a song, say a prayer, or recite a poem.
 - C.** Ask the participants to take turns answering the introduction question in the box. Answering the introduction question can help people to start thinking about the topic of the workshop.



INTRODUCTION QUESTION:

What community organizations do you belong to and why? (Examples: church, women's group, football club, etc.)



TRAINERS TIP

SONGS, PRAYERS, AND POEMS let people know that their culture and spirit will be respected in the workshop. Songs, prayers, and poems are also an opportunity to let a participant be the leader.



TRAINERS TIP

INTRODUCTION QUESTIONS help people use their voices and participate in an easy way for the first time. They will then be more comfortable to speak later on.



DISCUSS THE STORY AND/OR PICTURE

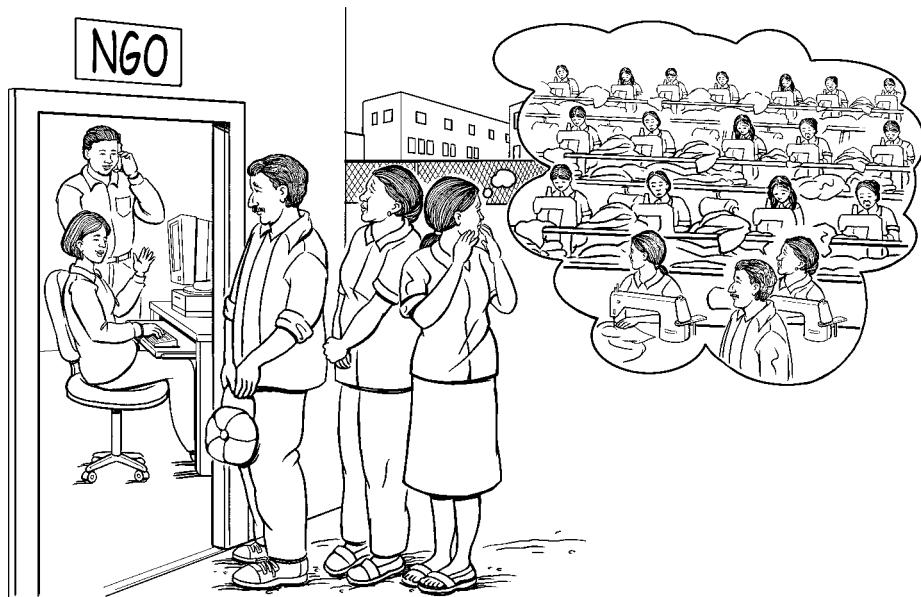
TRAINER: In this section, you can ask someone in the group to read the story out loud or you can read it out loud yourself. If you don't want to use the story, you can just look at the pictures together. Then discuss the story and/or picture using the questions on the next page.

TIME: 30 minutes

BLANCA VELÁSQUEZ DÍAZ's story:

"In these struggles we've participated in, we've learned that the workers have to organize themselves. We should be a complement to their struggles, but they shouldn't depend so much on our organization: the Workers' Support Center (CAT). We've learned not to promise so much, not to raise expectations too high."

—BLANCA VELÁSQUEZ DÍAZ, Centro del Apoyo al Trabajador (CAT), México



DISCUSS THE STORY AND/OR PICTURE (CONTINUED)

TRAINER: Ask the participants to discuss the questions below. Allow about 10 minutes for each question. If you want to, you can write what people say on a big piece of paper or a chalkboard as they answer the questions.

If there are more than 20 people in the room, you can divide into small groups of 4 or 5 people for the discussion. If they are in small groups, visit each group while they talk. Make sure that each person in each group has a chance to talk.

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS:

1. What is happening in this picture?
2. Have you or other people in your community ever been in a situation like this?
3. What resources do the people in the CAT office have that the workers who are visiting them might want?
4. Why does the organization called the CAT think that it is important for workers to organize themselves and not be dependent on outside organizations like the CAT?

ADDITIONAL DISCUSSION QUESTIONS:

1. Are there any non-worker organizations that help people in your community?
2. What activities do these organizations do that help the people in your community?
3. What activities do these organizations do that are not necessarily helpful for people in your community?



LEARN ABOUT OTHER WORKERS' SUCCESSES

TRAINER: In this section, you can ask for several different people in the group to volunteer to read the different parts of the story out loud or you can read it out loud yourself. Then ask the group to discuss the question at the bottom.

TIME: 15 minutes



BLANCA VELÁSQUEZ DÍAZ'S story, Centro del Apoyo al Trabajador (CAT), México

"When we decided to start the CAT as an organization, there weren't any other worker-oriented NGOs in the region. There were no organizations willing to support workers in their struggles against the right-wing business owners. We started with 2 people. We thought: 'Why not start an organization that could work with workers in several companies at the same time?' Now we're 7 people.

"First, we started to hear about what was happening in the Kukdong factory. The company had begun operations promising good working conditions but had not fulfilled those promises and it was a hellish place to work. The workers, mostly young women, were taking the first steps toward organizing themselves independently. We thought: 'Why not help these women organize?' – but we really had no plan. We felt gratified when they asked us to help, so that's what we did.

"We developed a work plan. We made of map of the area and identified worker's houses by colors tied to the different parts of the workplace so we could see where we were weak and where we were strong. And we also began outreach locally and nationally to build solidarity inside Mexico, especially with lawyers who work on human rights problems.

"To strengthen the workers, we focus our efforts on union education and laying the foundations of resistance. The trainings take place in the small towns and outlying areas where the workers live, right in people's houses, and often involve not only the workers but their parents and families too. We hold them wherever and whenever people are ready and willing. The objective is to get the workers to understand their rights as workers and as women, to discuss the wages and

story continued on next page >

LEARN ABOUT WORKERS' SUCCESSES (CONTINUED)

BLANCA VELÁSQUEZ DÍAZ'S story, México, CONTINUED:

benefits that they want. We also do trainings on organizing techniques, including theater, and on strategic thinking.

"We also involve the workers in research. Home visits bring you into direct contact with the workers. Without home visits it is very hard to develop unity. Workers have to do that internal work. The NGO organization can do the external work: looking into the finances of the company, its ownership, customers, other plants, trying to understand its strategic place in the garment industry's chain of production. Both aspects have to move forward together, hand in hand."

DISCUSSION QUESTION FOR THE GROUP:

What one new thing did you learn from this story?



DO EXERCISES TO LEARN NEW SKILLS

EXERCISE 1:

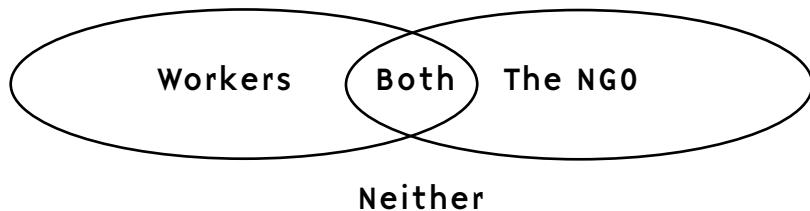
MAP NEEDS AND PRIORITIES OF NGOS AND WORKERS ORGANIZING A UNION

TRAINER: In this exercise, participants will fill in a map showing the needs and priorities of NGOs and organizing workers. Participants will use the list of Needs and Priorities provided to fill in the map. Participants will then have a discussion about the completed map.

TIME: 60 minutes

WHAT TO DO:

1. Ask the participants to sit together in a large group. Draw a “map” showing two intersecting circles like the ones shown below on a big piece of paper or a chalkboard.



2. Read out loud the Needs and Priorities on the list below, one by one. After you read each Need or Priorities from the list, ask participants to decide whether this is a Need or Desire that only workers have, that only NGOs have, that both have, or that neither have. Then write the Needs and Priorities in the circles on the map where the participants decide they belong.

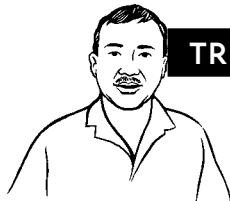


TRAINERS TIP

If there is a specific NGO that participants are already working with or thinking of working with, they can use that NGO as an example when mapping Needs and Priorities. If participants are not in a relationship with a specific NGO, they can think generally about NGOs they know about.

EXERCISES TO LEARN NEW SKILLS

EXERCISE 1: MAP NEEDS AND PRIORITIES (CONTINUED)



TRAINERS TIP

NGOs can offer workers resources that might include:

- Corporate research, including information about the company, its customers, its place in the global garment industry's chain of production;
- Information about workers in related facilities and industries;
- Training on labor and human rights, organizing techniques, and specific issues important to the workers;
- Evaluation and strategic planning for an organizing campaign;
- Relationships with other organizations and individuals;
- Financial, political, personal, or other support;
- A place to meet.

Workers can offer NGOs resources that might include:

- Information about the workforce, daily operations of the company, and company business activity;
- Inspiration for further program work in the community;
- Relationships with other organizations and individuals;
- Financial, political, personal, or other support;
- Union facilities and resources;
- Partnerships that might enable NGOs to get funding from foundations.

NEEDS AND PRIORITIES:

1. Improve conditions for people in the community.
2. Impress other people and organizations.
3. Let other people and organizations know about your good work.
4. Get money or support from other people or organizations.
5. Develop leaders.
6. Get many people involved in organizing.

EXERCISES TO LEARN NEW SKILLS

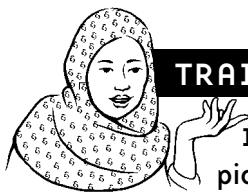
EXERCISE 1: MAP NEEDS AND PRIORITIES (CONTINUED)

NEEDS AND PRIORITIES: (CONTINUED)

7. Impress an employer with how strong you are.
 8. Improve the lives of workers.
 9. Build a strong organization.
 10. Learn new things about organizing.
 11. Get new information.
 12. Get respect.
 13. Be part of making decisions about strategy.
3. Ask participants to answer the following discussion question as a large group.

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

1. What other Needs and Priorities belong in these circles?
2. Is it all right that workers and NGOs sometimes want different things during an organizing campaign? Why or why not?
3. During a union organizing campaign, how many Needs and Priorities should be in the part of the map that is for both workers and NGOs?
4. What do organizing workers need to tell an NGO about their needs before they start working together?
5. In what ways might the Needs and Priorities map change during different stages of an organizing campaign?



TRAINERS TIP

If the participants in your group are more comfortable with pictures than words, you can ask them to suggest a picture to represent each Need or Priority as you read it out loud. Then you or a volunteer can draw these Need or Priority pictures in the circles where the participants decide they belong.

EXERCISES TO LEARN NEW SKILLS

EXERCISE 1: MAP NEEDS AND PRIORITIES (CONTINUED)

REFLECTION ON THE EXERCISE:

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

- Unions and NGOs have differences but also have commonalities.
- When the relationship between unions and NGOs is based on an understanding of workers' needs, the result can lead to valuable gains in worker power.
- It is important that both the union and the NGO be aware of the opportunities and limitations of the relationship.

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



TRAINERS TIP

One way to minimize what can go wrong between unions and NGOs is to understand each other's needs. It's important for organizing workers to let NGOs know what is most important to them at the beginning of the relationship.

It's also important for organizing workers to understand what is important to the NGOs they work with.

"With one of the groups we're meeting with now...the workers are thinking ahead, saying: 'We have to see how we can get legal support to prepare for the reprisals and harassment coming,' and not just to them, but to their families. It's good they're thinking ahead. They understand that struggle brings obstacles from the municipal and state governments, from the company and from the corrupt unions. They have asked the CAT for help and we have suggested that they should first do more base-building work, to work secretly to develop their strength."

— BLANCA VELÁSQUEZ DÍAZ, Centro del Apoyo al Trabajador (CAT), México



DO EXERCISES TO LEARN NEW SKILLS

EXERCISE 2:

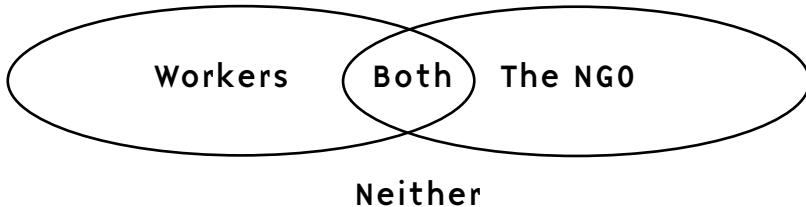
MAP NEEDS AND PRIORITIES OF NGOS AND WORKERS STRUGGLING FOR A CONTRACT

TRAINER: In this exercise, participants will repeat the activities they did in Exercise 1, from the point of view of workers who already have organized a union and are now trying to negotiate a contract with an employer. As in Exercise 1, participants will fill in a map showing the needs and priorities of NGOs and negotiating workers. Participants will use the list of Needs and Priorities provided to fill in the map. Participants will then have a discussion about the completed map.

TIME: 60 minutes

WHAT TO DO:

1. Draw a “map” showing two intersecting circles like the ones shown below on a big piece of paper or a chalkboard.



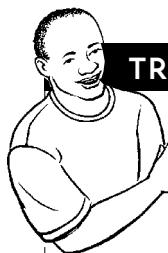
2. One by one, read out loud the items on the Needs and Priorities list below. After each Need or Priority, ask participants to decide whether this is a Need or Priority that **only workers** have, that **only NGOs** have, that **both** have, or that **neither** have. Then write the Needs and Priorities in the circles on the map where the participants decide they belong.

EXERCISES TO LEARN NEW SKILLS

EXERCISE 2: MAPPING FOR A CONTRACT (CONTINUED)

NEEDS AND PRIORITIES:

1. Improve conditions for people in the community.
2. Build a strong organization.
3. Get new information.
4. Get respect.
5. Be part of making decisions about strategy.
6. Stick to stated ideals for success.
7. Make compromises.
8. Impress other people and organizations.
9. Get a contract that recognizes the union and improves workers' lives.
10. Get an ideal contract that wins on all stated goals.
11. Let other people and organizations know about your good work.
12. Get money or support from other people or organizations.
13. Develop leaders.
14. Get many people involved in organizing.
15. Impress an employer with how strong you are.
16. Help workers who are suffering under current conditions.
17. Work on several campaigns or projects at the same time.



TRAINERS TIP

Don't forget that you can use pictures instead of words to represent the Needs and Priorities on the map!

EXERCISES TO LEARN NEW SKILLS

EXERCISE 2: MAPPING FOR A CONTRACT (CONTINUED)

3. After you have completed the map, ask participants to answer the following discussion questions.

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS:

1. What other Needs and Priorities belong in these circles?
2. How is the map you made for negotiating workers the same as or different from the map you made for organizing workers?
3. Is it all right that workers and NGOs sometimes want different things during contract negotiations? Why or why not?
4. During contract negotiations, how many Needs and Priorities should be in the part of the map that is for both workers and NGOs?
5. How important is it for your contract negotiations if number of Needs and Priorities that workers and NGOs share is small?
6. What do negotiating workers need to tell an NGO about their needs before they start working together?
7. In what ways might the Needs and Priorities map change during different parts of a contract negotiation campaign?



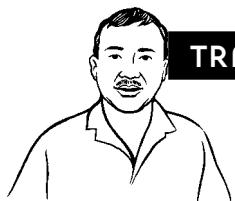
LEARN BY DOING

TRAINER: In this exercise, participants will make plans for future work together based on what they learned in the workshop, including the Action Ideas from each exercise. They will have a discussion and fill out the Action Plan Worksheet on page 21.

TIME: 30 minutes or more

WHAT TO DO:

1. Make an Action Plan Worksheet like the one on page 21 on a large piece of paper or chalkboard. (You do not need to copy the examples in the Worksheet – leaving them out will give you more room to write.) Explain to the participants that you will fill out this Worksheet together. Ask for a volunteer to take notes if you are writing on a chalkboard so the participants will have a record of their plan.
2. Ask volunteers who have been remembering the Action Ideas they have developed during the exercises to say them out loud, as a reminder of the participants' thinking during this workshop. Tell participants that they can put these ideas to work in a plan to build an alliance with an NGO.
3. Ask participants to think of one NGO they would like to collaborate with. Write the name of this NGO at the top of the Action Plan Worksheet.



TRAINERS TIP

An important goal of this workshop is for participants to put their new skills in action. This exercise and the sample worksheets that go with it can help participants move from learning to action.

LEARN BY DOING (CONTINUED)

WHAT TO DO: (CONTINUED)

4. Ask the participants to describe what kind of help they want from this NGO and put their ideas in the second row of the Action Plan Worksheet.
5. Ask the participants how this NGO will help them gain more power to achieve their goals. Make sure they are specific about which goals or specific issues they want help with. Write this information in the third row of the Action Plan Worksheet.
6. Ask the participants why they think the NGO would want to form an alliance. Write the benefits to the NGO in the fourth row of the Action Plan Worksheet.
7. Ask the participants to name any disadvantages or risks associated with this new alliance. Write them in the fifth row of the Action Plan Worksheet, along with any ideas for how to address these disadvantages or risks.
8. Now ask participants to decide on 3 first action steps for creating an alliance with the NGO. Ask them to write down who will carry out the actions and when they will do so. It may be hard to focus on only 3 action steps, but it is important to keep the list of actions to a manageable size, so that all of the actions agreed to can be accomplished by the group. Write the 3 action steps in the last row of the Action Plan Worksheet.
9. When the Action Plan Worksheet is completed, ask the group to answer the questions below. You or a volunteer can write down what people say on a big piece of paper or a chalkboard.

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS:

1. What role do we want alliances with NGOs to have in our campaign?
2. How will we know if we are successful in working with NGOs?
3. What will we do if problems happen in our work with NGOs?
4. What are we most excited about in our new Action Plan?

ACTION PLAN WORKSHEET

<p>Building an Alliance with an NGO. Name of the NGO we want to ally with:</p>	
<p>Help Wanted from the NGO:</p> <p>Example: Their members help us reach out to others in the region.</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. 2. 3.
<p>How the Alliance Would Increase Our Power to Achieve Our Goals:</p> <p>Example: Our membership needs more training in using music and theater to appeal to supporters. This NGO can give us some arts training.</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. 2. 3.
<p>Why They Might Want to Ally with Us:</p> <p>Example: The NGO would be able to access more workers with their literacy program, which is one of their goals.</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. 2. 3.

<p>Any Disadvantages of Working with this NGO:</p> <p>Example: Different ways of making decisions, or questions about how reliable they are.</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. 2. 3.
--	--

<p>First 3 Steps to Linking with This NGO:</p> <p>Example: Call a meeting, attend an event they sponsor, or talk to other unions that have worked with them before.</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. 2. 3.
---	--



EVALUATE AND CLOSE TRAINING

TRAINER: In this section, you will remind the group what the goals of the training were and acknowledge the goals you have accomplished together. You will thank any individuals or groups who helped make the training a success. Then participants will have a chance to evaluate the training and commit to taking action. The closing activities suggested on this page can help people feel successful, hopeful, and powerful as they complete the workshop.

TIME: 30 minutes (or less if there are fewer than 20 people in your group)

ACTIVITIES FOR EVALUATION AND CLOSING:

1. Remind the participants of the goals of this training (see page 3). Acknowledge that everyone has worked hard to finish the training and accomplish these goals.
2. Thank any individuals or groups who contributed to the success of the training, including those who contributed meeting space, food, time, etc.



TRAINERS TIP

Ask one of the participants to choose the closing ritual and lead the group in a chant, song, poem, prayer, etc. This gives someone in the group a chance to exercise leadership. It also makes clear to the group that what they have accomplished in the workshop belongs to them, not to you as the trainer.

EVALUATE AND CLOSE TRAINING (CONTINUED)

ACTIVITIES FOR EVALUATION AND CLOSING: (CONTINUED)

3. As a large group, ask each person to say:
 - One thing she or he learned in the training
 - One thing she or he liked about the training
 - One thing she or he will do to build their union based on what they learned in the training.

Options for this step: If you have a large group (more than 20 participants), you can ask for 4 or 5 volunteers to answer the 3 questions or ask each person to answer only one question--rather than asking each person to answer all 3 questions.

4. Lead the group in a closing ritual. This could be a chant, song, dance, poem, or prayer.



TRAINERS TIP

You may want to spend more time evaluating the workshop with the participants if:

- you're working on improving your own training skills and you want to know how you can improve your facilitation;
- you're unsure of whether the content of the workshop was too easy, too hard, or just right for your participants;
- you're trying to decide whether to use this workshop again as part of your union's education program.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS AND CREDITS

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DEFINITIONS (CONTINUED)

organize a union, followed by a strategy of union protest to draw attention to bad working conditions and pressure management to change them.

■ **STRATEGIC PLANNING:** Strategic planning for unions is the process of preparing for an organizing, negotiating, or other campaign. A strategic plan determines what activities will happen during the campaign, in what order, and by whom, and takes into account the union's goals, strengths, and weaknesses. This process includes analyzing external and internal power relationships.

■ **UNION CONTRACT:** A union contract is a written, legally-binding agreement between a group of workers and an employer. The contract generally describes how the employer will treat workers, including wages, work hours, and working conditions. The goal of many union organizing campaigns is to negotiate with the employer to get a union contract. A union contract is also called a "collective bargaining agreement."

TOOLS FOR ORGANIZERS

IN EXPORT PROCESSING ZONES AND INDUSTRIES

TRAINING MODULES IN THIS SERIES:

SECTION I: ORGANIZING STRONG UNIONS

1. Building Unity
2. Tapping Our Strength
3. Developing Democratic Leadership
4. Building Unions That Last

SECTION II: BUILDING ALLIANCES

5. Allying With Other Unions
6. Linking With Non-Governmental Organizations
7. Mounting International Campaigns

SECTION III: FIGHTING FOR LABOR RIGHTS

8. Negotiating Labor Rights in Export Processing Zones
9. Using Trade Provisions to Organize
10. Stopping Anti-Worker International Financial Institutions Policies

This booklet, **LINKING WITH NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS**, is Module 6 of 10 in a series of training modules for working people organizing in Export Processing Zones or other export-oriented industries.

BUILDING ALLIANCES

Module 7: MOUNTING INTERNATIONAL CAMPAIGNS

TOOLS FOR ORGANIZERS

IN EXPORT PROCESSING ZONES AND INDUSTRIES



MOUNTING INTERNATIONAL CAMPAIGNS

DEFINITIONS

- **ALLIANCE:** An alliance is a relationship of mutual support between two or more groups. Joining federations and coalitions are two ways that unions form alliances. Alliances can strengthen unions in many ways, such as providing money or people to help with campaigns, sharing information, and shaping strategies together.
- **AFL-CIO:** The American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations is the largest national labor federation in the U.S.A.
- **BJ&B:** BJ&B is a Korean-owned factory in the Dominican Republic. BJ&B workers make caps for universities, as well as other businesses and institutions.
- **BRANDS:** A brand is the unique name that a company uses to sell its products. Sometimes the brand name is the same as the company name.
- **CODE OF CONDUCT:** A Code of Conduct is a written commitment made by a company to meet certain legal and ethical standards of treatment for workers. Codes of Conduct commonly assure the right of workers to organize unions and bargain collectively. Unlike a union contract, Codes of Conduct are not enforceable by law, but monitoring groups and international NGOs have formed to hold companies accountable for following the Codes.
- **DIRTY CAMPAIGN:** A dirty campaign refers to efforts by a company to prevent workers from organizing a union using tactics such as lies, intimidation, threats, or violence.
- **DISCRIMINATION:** Discrimination occurs when a person or group of people are treated badly or unfairly because they are different, for example, because of their race, sex, religion, age, or disability. Workers often face discrimination at work.
- **EXPORT PROCESSING ZONE (EPZ):** EPZs are industrial areas in a country that offer special incentives to foreign investors. These incentives may include low taxes, lax environmental regulations, and low labor costs. Low wages, long hours, and dangerous and repressive working conditions are the norm in many EPZs. Sometimes organizing unions is banned or restricted. EPZs are also known by other names, such as Special Economic Zones, Industrial Development Zones, etc.
- **FEDATRAZONAS:** FEDATRAZONAS is a labor federation in the Dominican Republic.
- **FREEDOM OF ASSOCIATION:** Freedom of association means the right of workers to join together. It includes activities workers engage in during union organizing, such as holding meetings, talking together, sharing written information, and forming unions.
- **INTERNATIONAL CAMPAIGN:** An international campaign refers to the coordinated efforts of organizations from different countries to support workers struggling to organize a union or improve their working conditions. Strategies used in these campaigns may include sending letters and faxes, providing technical assistance to train and support workers, and organizing solidarity activities. When companies, owners, and consumers are located in different countries than factory workers, mounting international campaigns has been effective in helping workers to apply pressure to get their unions recognized by employers and to negotiate contracts.
- **LABELS:** A label is a cloth tag stitched into a garment identifying what company made or sold the garment. Sometimes the word label is also used to refer to the brand name of the company that makes or sells the product.

MOUNTING INTERNATIONAL CAMPAIGNS

TOOLS FOR ORGANIZERS IN EXPORT PROCESSING ZONES AND INDUSTRIES

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INTRODUCTION TO BUILDING ALLIANCES

Even when workers build strong unions, employers may exert their power by using relationships with other groups or institutions beyond the factories or EPZs. Their decisions may be strongly influenced by local competitors, political parties or governments, and/or the conditions in their factories in other countries.

In situations like this, having a strong union inside the plant is an important beginning, but is often not enough to win. In order to have significant influence locally and internationally, unions must ally with those with whom they share common interests. These groups may include other unions, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), and international human rights organizations.

In this section we'll explore the experiences of workers in various countries with building alliances among unions, NGOs, and international supporters. In the module "Allying with Other Unions," we'll practice how to understand what other unions need and want, and on what basis to form alliances. In "Linking with NGOs" we will learn to build relationships based upon common interests. Finally in "Mounting International Campaigns," we'll study how alliances with international supporters can create opportunities for workers that they would otherwise not have had.

In all of these examples, building alliances with other unions, NGOs, and international supporters adds strength to a local union's efforts to organize unions.

MODULE 7: MOUNTING INTERNATIONAL CAMPAIGNS

WORKSHOP GOALS

INTRODUCTION

In the global economy, workers, especially workers in EPZs, are challenged to organize multinational corporations. Typically a factory owner lives in another country, probably speaks another language, is very rich, has influence with governments, and has many plants to which he could send their work. In addition, they also must organize another set of employers, the brand-name buyers, who not only pay the factory owners to produce their goods, but also direct the factory owners regarding quality requirements, delivery schedules, and labor standards.

To organize effectively in these 2 kinds of multinational corporations, workers need multinational strategies that involve alliances with unions and NGOs in other countries. These new strategies are becoming more common as workers in all sectors, not just EPZs, are being affected by the global economy.

In this module we will study the strategy of the BJ&B campaign in the Dominican Republic. We will see that by understanding the chain of production, workers were able to target and apply pressure internationally. Also, by understanding the power relationship that consumers have with stores, the workers were able to appeal to a key consumer ally: the university community. This international organizing campaign was carried out as a high-visibility public campaign, using tools such as the internet, media, worker tours, and so forth. The result of this sophisticated strategy was not only achieving union recognition, but also winning the first collective bargaining agreement in an EPZ plant in recent Dominican history.

TEACHING GOALS

- To understand the importance of a strong worker base inside the plant.
- To understand the economic relationships between workers, subcontractors, and buyers.
- To understand the power of consumers to influence buyers.
- To understand the effectiveness of a public campaign.
- To understand Codes of Conduct and how they can be utilized in organizing.

SKILLS GOALS

- To analyze organizing strategy.
- To apply a new strategy to the participant's own situation.

TRAINER'S NOTES

TIME TO DO THIS WORKSHOP:

The whole workshop will take about **7 hours** if you do all the exercises as well as the Welcome, Action Planning, and Closing activities. If you want to make it shorter, you can do only one of the exercises or present the workshop over 2 training sessions.



TRAINERS TIP

When a workshop is over 2 hours long or participants are tired, breaks and energizers are important tools to keep participants interested and engaged in the training. Energizers are short, fun activities that let participants move around and take a mental break from the hard work of learning. Be sure to plan time for energizers in your workshop, especially after lunch and in the evening when participants' energy is lowest. You can even ask a group of participants to form an "Energizer Committee" with the job of calling for a game or energizer whenever they see the participants are getting sleepy or distracted. This committee can then lead the games or ask you to lead them. Energizers can be songs, chants, or any non-competitive game or activity the group can do together.

TRAINER'S NOTES (CONTINUED)

MATERIALS NEEDED:

- Something to write on that everyone can see: large paper and marking pens, or chalk and chalkboard.
- Tape or tacks – recommended
- Copies of cut-out cards found on pages 19-21—enough for one complete set for every 10 participants
- Copies of cut-out arrows and lines found on page 22—enough for one complete set for every 10 participants

BEFORE YOU START:

- Read the whole Workshop Curriculum.
- Plan your agenda for the workshop. Decide how long the workshop will be. Choose which exercises you will do. Plan time for breaks and energizers.
- Collect all the materials you need.
- Set up the room the way you want it.

TRAINERS TIP

Some words and terms in this curriculum may be new for you or for the participants in the workshop. Look on the inside front and back covers for a list of definitions.



HOW THE WORKSHOP WORKS

HOW THE WORKSHOP WORKS

The workshop has 6 sections. In each section you and the participants will be doing a different kind of activity. There is a picture to remind you of the kind of activity you will do in that section. Here are the pictures and what they are reminding you to do:



WELCOME AND
GET STARTED



DISCUSS THE
STORY AND/OR
PICTURE



LEARN ABOUT
OTHER WORKERS'
SUCCESSES



DO EXERCISES
TO LEARN NEW
SKILLS



LEARN BY DOING



EVALUATE AND CLOSE
THE TRAINING



WELCOME AND GET STARTED

TRAINER: In this section, you will tell the group what the workshop is about. Then participants will introduce themselves to each other. The other activities suggested on this page can help people feel welcome, comfortable, and respected during the workshop. When people feel comfortable, they will learn more and the workshop will be more successful.

TIME: 30 minutes (or less if there are fewer than 20 people in your group)

ACTIVITIES FOR GETTING STARTED:

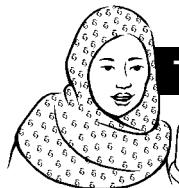
First do Activities **1** and **2**, then choose among **A**, **B**, and **C** for one more activity.

1. Tell the participants what the workshop is about.
 2. Ask everyone to introduce themselves to the group.
-
- A. Ask the participants to take turns saying why they think the workshop is important.
 - B. Ask a volunteer to sing a song, say a prayer, or recite a poem.
 - C. Ask the participants to take turns answering the introduction question in the box. Answering the introduction question can help people to start thinking about the topic of the workshop.



INTRODUCTION QUESTION:

What other countries do you think of when you hear the word “international”?



TRAINERS TIP

SONGS, PRAYERS, AND POEMS let people know that their culture and spirit will be respected in the workshop. Songs, prayers, and poems are also an opportunity to let a participant be the leader.



TRAINERS TIP

INTRODUCTION QUESTIONS help people use their voices and participate in an easy way for the first time. Then they will be more comfortable to speak later on.



DISCUSS THE STORY AND/OR PICTURE

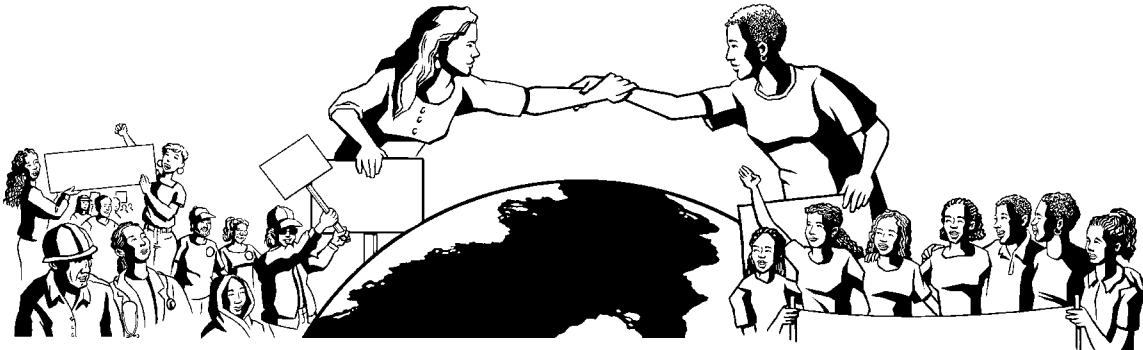
TRAINER: In this section, you can ask someone in the group to read the story out loud or you can read it out loud yourself. If you don't want to use the story, you can just look at the picture together. Then discuss the story and/or picture using the questions on the next page.

TIME: 30 minutes

MIREYA PEREZ' story:

"When we would visit people they would ask if it was true that we had international support, that the consumers were on our side, if they really cared about how we were being treated. In this way the work of the international organizations was important to the workers."

—MIREYA "JENNY" PEREZ, BJ&B worker, Dominican Republic



DISCUSS THE STORY AND/OR PICTURE (CONTINUED)

TRAINER: Ask the participants to discuss the questions below. Allow about 10 minutes for each question. If you want to, you can write what people say on a big piece of paper or a chalkboard as they answer the questions.

If there are more than 20 people in the room, you can divide into small groups of 4 or 5 people for the discussion. If they are in small groups, visit each group while they talk. Make sure that each person in each group has a chance to talk.

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS:

1. What is going on in the picture?
2. In Mireya's story the workers felt stronger knowing that consumers and international organizations cared about how they were treated. Why would knowing that others care about your working conditions help you feel strong in your struggle?
3. Do you feel that there are people in your own country who care about your working conditions?
4. Have you heard of people in other countries who care about your working conditions?



LEARN ABOUT OTHER WORKERS' SUCCESSES

TRAINER: In this section, you can ask for several different people in the group to volunteer to read the different parts of the story out loud or you can read it out loud yourself. Then ask the group to discuss the question at the bottom.

TIME: 15 minutes

TRAINERS TIP

After each section of this story, stop and ask if everyone understands. It may help to summarize the main points of each section as you go.



**AURELIA CRUZ and IGNACIO HERNANDEZ' stories, BJ&B,
Dominican Republic**

AURELIA CRUZ, ORGANIZER, BJ&B:

"The workers at BJ&B wanted to organize because conditions at the factory were terrible and there was incredible repression. The company threatened to take all the work away if we organized, saying unions caused other factories to close."

"We started to organize inside but we didn't know much about how to do it. We did know that the biggest obstacle was fear. Only by defeating that fear would we be able to form a union strong enough to gain recognition and win a contract."

**IGNACIO HERNANDEZ, GENERAL SECRETARY, FEDATRAZONAS,
DOMINICAN LABOR FEDERATION:**

"The workers were terrorized by the company. So we sat down with people from the national and international labor movements to start a coordinated campaign."

"International unions like the garment union UNITE and the Solidarity Center provided some financial support. We also received support and solidarity from an organization of students in the U.S. called United Students Against Sweatshops (USAS). Many U.S. universities that bought the caps made at BJ&B, and the independent monitoring group—the Workers' Rights Consortium (WRC)—also helped us bring our case to the brands. After that, brands like Reebok and Nike became genuinely interested and sent representatives to investigate. The brands forced BJ&B to rehire the union leaders that they fired when we started the campaign."

story continued on next page >

LEARN ABOUT OTHER WORKERS' SUCCESSES (CONTINUED)

IGNACIO HERNANDEZ's Story, Dominican Labor Federation CONTINUED:

"Our strategy of coordination with international groups worried the company. They still carried out a dirty campaign against us, but they had to respect the workers' basic rights. Finally the company felt pressured enough to sit down and talk.

"Many workers who were afraid to support the union began to lose that fear. The company adopted and published a Code of Conduct to improve its image. This was a result of our campaign and the pressure exerted on the brands, which in turn pressured BJ&B.

"What can we learn from this whole experience? Without an outward looking strategy, the union couldn't have won. But all the resources and international support in the world wouldn't have allowed us to win if the workers didn't organize a majority into the union. It all depended on them and their strength. Coordinating that spirit and commitment with the international support was what enabled them to win."

DISCUSSION QUESTION FOR THE GROUP:

What one new thing did you learn from this story?



TRAINERS TIP: CODE OF CONDUCT

A Code of Conduct is a written commitment made by a company to meet certain legal and ethical standards of treatment of workers. Codes are typically adopted by the brands and usually include some of these rights:

- Wages that are at least the legal minimum wage, extra pay for overtime
- A limit on overtime hours
- Non-discrimination in hiring, firing, and treatment
- No use of child labor
- No use of forced labor
- The right to organize unions and bargain collectively
- A working environment that is healthy and safe

In the BJ&B campaign, the brands had Codes of Conduct, but the union also pressured the factory owner to create a Code of Conduct. Then the union could use the company's own Code of Conduct to put more pressure on the company. Codes of Conduct can be useful in your organizing campaigns as a tool to hold brands accountable for the way subcontractors treat workers. For more information on Codes of Conduct, see the Fact Sheet on pages 30-31.



DO EXERCISES TO LEARN NEW SKILLS

EXERCISE 1:

SHOW RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN BRANDS, FACTORIES, AND WORKERS AT BJ&B

TRAINER: In this exercise participants will arrange the cut-out cards to show relationships in the international economy with and without an international campaign, using the BJ&B story and their own work situation as examples. After arranging the cards, they will discuss the arrangements they made.

TIME: 30 minutes

WHAT TO DO:

1. Ask the participants to sit together in groups of 10.
2. Give the participants the cards with the Brands, the Factory, and the Workers written on them. Also, hand out the cut-out arrows and lines.
3. Ask the group to arrange these cards (representing the factory, brands, and workers) in a way that shows their relationships with each other. They can use the arrow lines to show relationships between organizations in which one organization has power over the other. They can use their plain lines to show relationships without power. They can arrange the cards on the wall using tape or tacks, or lay them on a table or the floor.
4. Ask each group to describe their chart and to explain why they showed relationships as they did. What kind of power relationships do their charts show?
5. As a large group, ask the participants to answer the discussion questions below.

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS:

1. Who has the real power to change working conditions at BJ&B? What gives them this power?
2. Who has the real power to change conditions in your factory?
3. In your factory, has anyone seen representatives from the brands come and visit? What do they do when they come? How do they act?



TRAINERS TIP

The cards the participants arrange will look something like the chart on the next page. Use the discussion questions to help people think more about these relationships in their own workplace.

EXERCISES TO LEARN NEW SKILLS

EXERCISE 1: SHOW RELATIONSHIPS (CONTINUED)

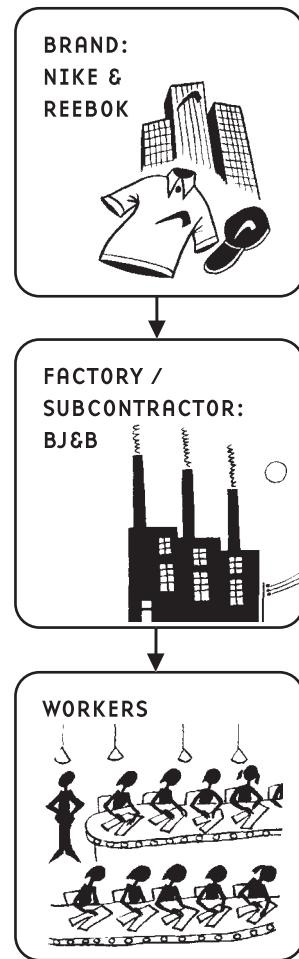
REFLECTION ON THE EXERCISE:

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

- The brands have power over the factory owners.
- The brands and factory owners have power over the working conditions.
- For workers' power to increase, they have to address both the brands and the factory owners.

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

MODEL CHART 1





DO EXERCISES TO LEARN NEW SKILLS

EXERCISE 2: SHOW OTHER ORGANIZATIONS' RELATIONSHIPS WITH THE BRANDS, FACTORY, AND WORKERS AT BJ&B DURING AN INTERNATIONAL CAMPAIGN

TRAINER: In this exercise, participants will arrange the cut-out cards to show relationships in the international economy during the international campaign. After arranging the cards, they will discuss the arrangements they made.

TIME: 30 minutes

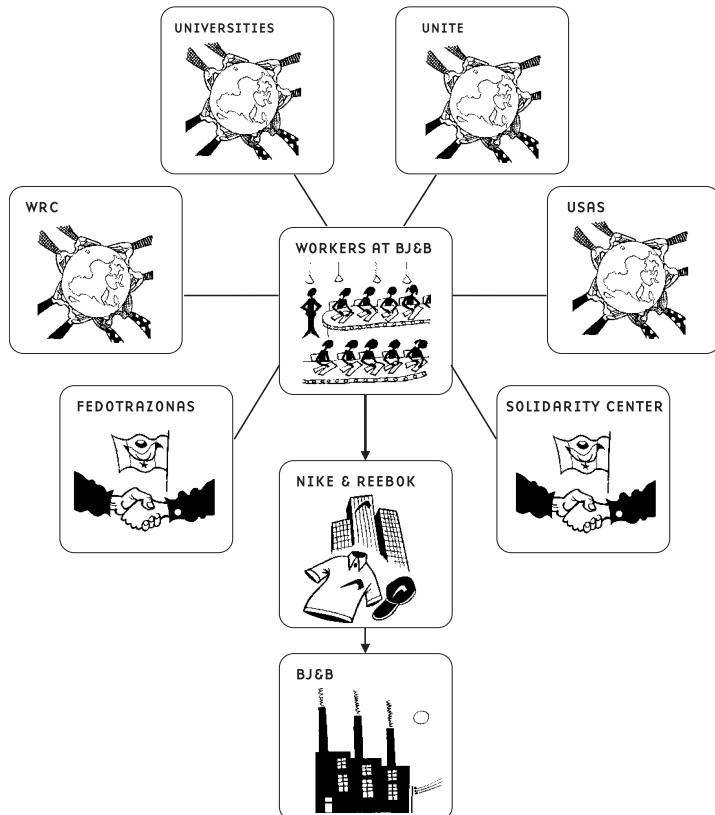
WHAT TO DO:

1. Ask participants to return to their groups of 10.
2. Give the participants the rest of the cards representing national and international organizations.
3. Ask the group to add these to their chart, according to what happened at BJ&B. Again, the participants should think about the different relationships and which organizations have power over others. They might make a chart like the one on the right or on the next page.



TRAINERS TIP

Participants can make other cards, more arrows, or more lines as needed.



EXERCISES TO LEARN NEW SKILLS

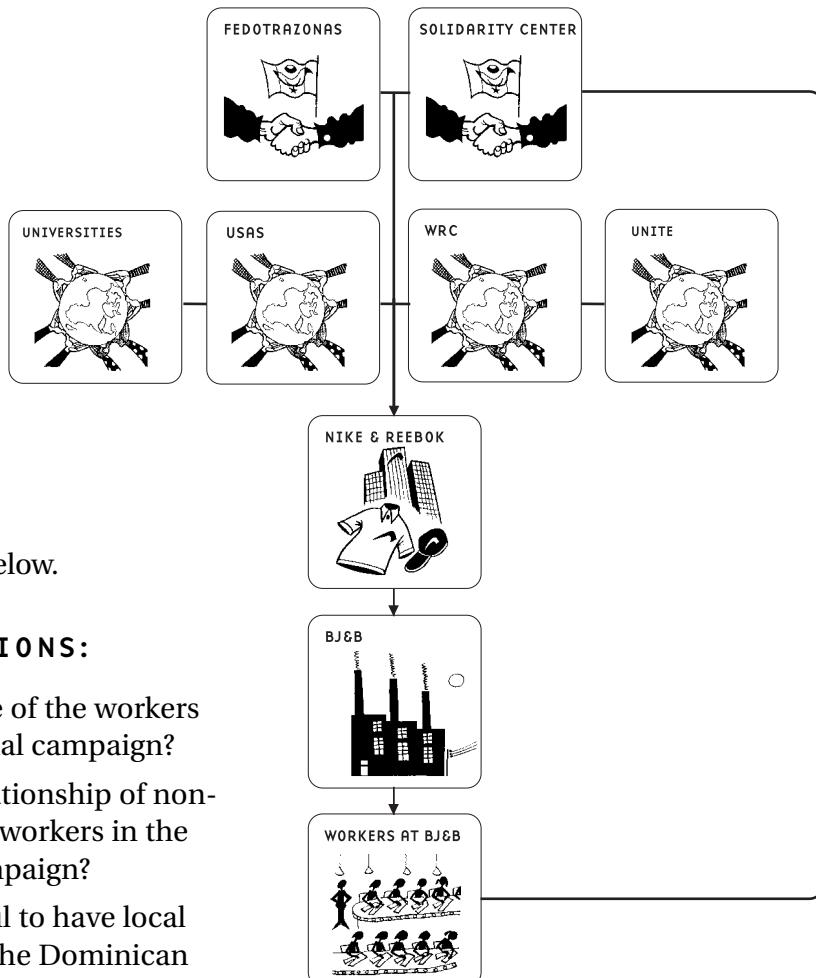
EXERCISE 2: SHOW OTHER RELATIONSHIPS (CONTINUED)

WHAT TO DO (CONTINUED):

4. Ask each group to describe their chart and to explain why they showed relationships as they did. What kind of power relationships do their charts show?
5. As a large group, ask the participants to answer the discussion questions below.

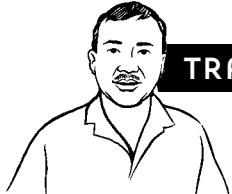
DISCUSSION QUESTIONS:

1. What was the role of the workers in the international campaign?
2. What was the relationship of non-worker groups to workers in the international campaign?
3. Why was it helpful to have local organizations in the Dominican Republic to help with the international campaign?
4. What role did Codes of Conduct play?
5. What information do workers have that is essential for international campaigns?
6. Is it harder for women workers and leaders to participate in an international campaign than men? Why?



EXERCISES TO LEARN NEW SKILLS

EXERCISE 2: SHOW OTHER RELATIONSHIPS (CONTINUED)



TRAINERS TIP

Here are some things that organizers in EPZs have said about international solidarity campaigns. You can share these quotes with the participants in your workshop to help them think about the role of international solidarity and the role of the workers in a campaign.

“It’s good to have international support. You never know when you’ll need it to resolve an impasse. It’s amazing how you can generate thousands of letters and faxes, and that really helps. But it’s our work and we have to do it, we can’t sit around with our arms crossed waiting for support.”

—FREDDY DE LOS SANTOS, BJ&B UNION GENERAL SECRETARY, DOMINICAN REPUBLIC

“It was very important that we created an international network to help Lesotho garment workers. It sent the message to Nien Hsing and the government that they were not only fighting LECAWU or those workers, but organizations from all over the world. But I think the most important thing is that we had strong organizing of workers on the ground, more than the international campaign.”

—JABU NGCOBO, SECRETARY GENERAL, ITGLWF AFRICA

REFLECTION ON THE EXERCISE:

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

- Worker organizing on the ground is at the heart of the international campaign.
- The role of NGOs and other unions is to be supportive to workers on the ground.
- Codes of Conduct can be tools that help workers put pressure on the brands and factory owners to allow workers to organize.

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



DO EXERCISES TO LEARN NEW SKILLS

EXERCISE 3: SHOW RELATIONSHIPS AMONG BRANDS, FACTORY, WORKERS, AND OTHER ORGANIZATIONS FOR YOUR OWN WORKPLACE

TRAINER: In this exercise, participants will write information about their own workplace on the same cards they arranged to show the BJ&B story. They will arrange the cards to show relationships for their own workplace. After arranging the cards, they will discuss their arrangements.

TIME: 45 minutes

WHAT TO DO:

1. Ask participants to return to their groups of 10.
2. Ask for one person in each group to write the name of their factory (or subcontractor) on the **FACTORY CARD**.
3. Ask if anyone in the group knows of organizations in their own country that can help with an international campaign. Ask them to write the name of each group on the **NATIONAL ORGANIZATION** cards.
4. Ask if anyone knows of international organizations that care about working conditions. Ask them to write the name and country of each group on an **INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS** card.
5. Ask if anyone knows the brand names on the clothes or other items they make. Ask them to write the name of each brand on the **BRANDS** card.
6. Wherever the participants don't know the information for their workplace and country, ask them to just put a question mark "?" on the card.
7. Ask the group to move the cards, the arrows, and the lines around to fit the relationships of their campaign.



TRAINERS TIP

Be sure to tell the participants that it's OK if they can't fill in information on all the cards. This is not a test! The empty cards and unanswered questions are pointing out the information that they will need to research in the future.

EXERCISES TO LEARN NEW SKILLS

EXERCISE 3: SHOW RELATIONSHIPS IN YOUR WORKPLACE (CONT.)

8. Bring the 2 groups back together and ask each group to describe their chart. Why did they show relationships as they did? What kind of power relationships do their charts show?
9. Ask the participants to answer the discussion questions below.

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS:

1. What is the same and what is different between your campaign and what happened at BJ&B?
2. What have international organizations already done, if anything, to support your struggle for better working conditions?
3. What kinds of organizations will have power over your brands?
4. Does anyone know if your brands have Codes of Conduct? Has anyone ever seen any Codes of Conduct posted in the factory? Does anyone know what they say?

REFLECTION ON THE EXERCISE:

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

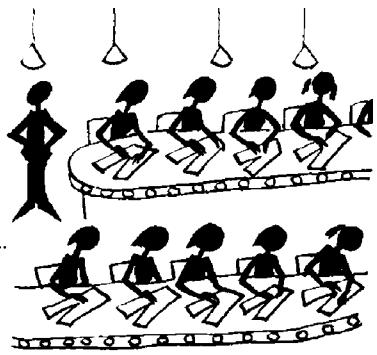
- In the global economy, especially in EPZs, factory workers and their supporters are linked through a complex series of relationships.
- Knowing what these international relationships are is the first step in being able to mount an international campaign.
- Codes of Conduct may be one tool that workers can use to hold brands and factories accountable for violations of labor standards inside factories.
- The purpose of mounting international campaigns is to strengthen the position of the union in the factory.

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



**WORKERS: AT BJ&B
COUNTRY: DOMINICAN
REPUBLIC**

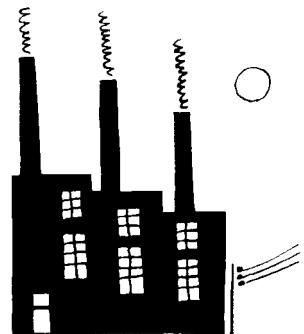
WORKERS:



COUNTRY:

**FACTORY/SUBCONTRACTOR: BJ&B
COUNTRY: KOREA**

FACTORY/SUBCONTRACTOR:



COUNTRY:

**BRAND: NIKE & REEBOK
COUNTRY: U.S.A**

BRANDS:

COUNTRY:





LOCAL/NATIONAL ORGANIZATION:

FEDOTRAZONAS

COUNTRY: DOMINICAN
REPUBLIC



LOCAL/NATIONAL ORGANIZATION:

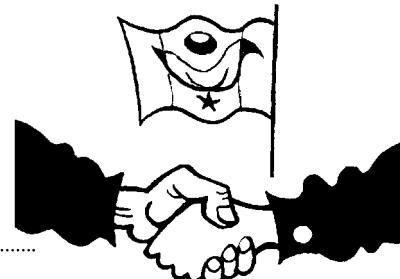
COUNTRY:

NATIONAL/LOCAL ORGANIZATION:

THE SOLIDARITY CENTER

FIELD OFFICE

COUNTRY: DOMINICAN REPUBLIC



NATIONAL/LOCAL ORGANIZATION:

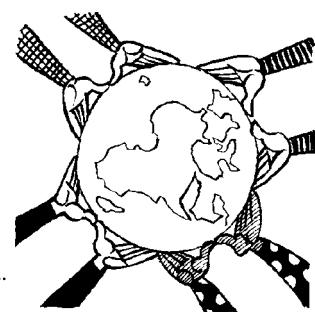
COUNTRY:

INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION:

UNITED STUDENTS

AGAINST SWEATSHOPS

COUNTRY: U.S.A.



INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION:

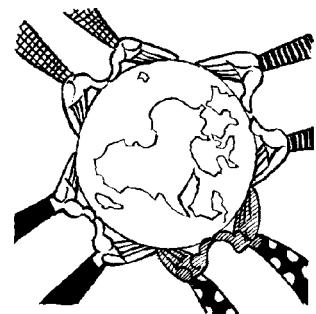
COUNTRY:



**INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION:
WORKERS RIGHTS CONSORTIUM**
COUNTRY:

**INTERNATIONAL
ORGANIZATION:**

COUNTRY:

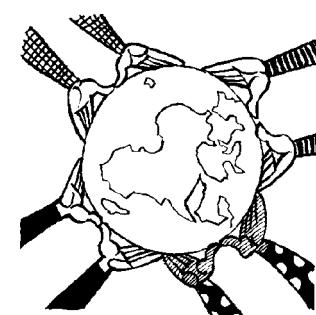


**INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION:
UNITE (UNION OF
NEEDLETRADES, INDUSTRIAL
AND TEXTILE EMPLOYEES)**

COUNTRY: U.S.A.

INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION:

COUNTRY:

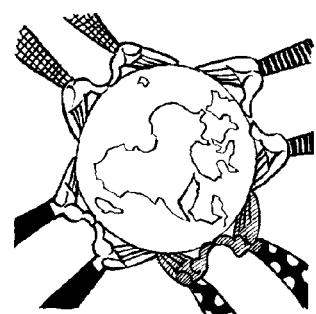


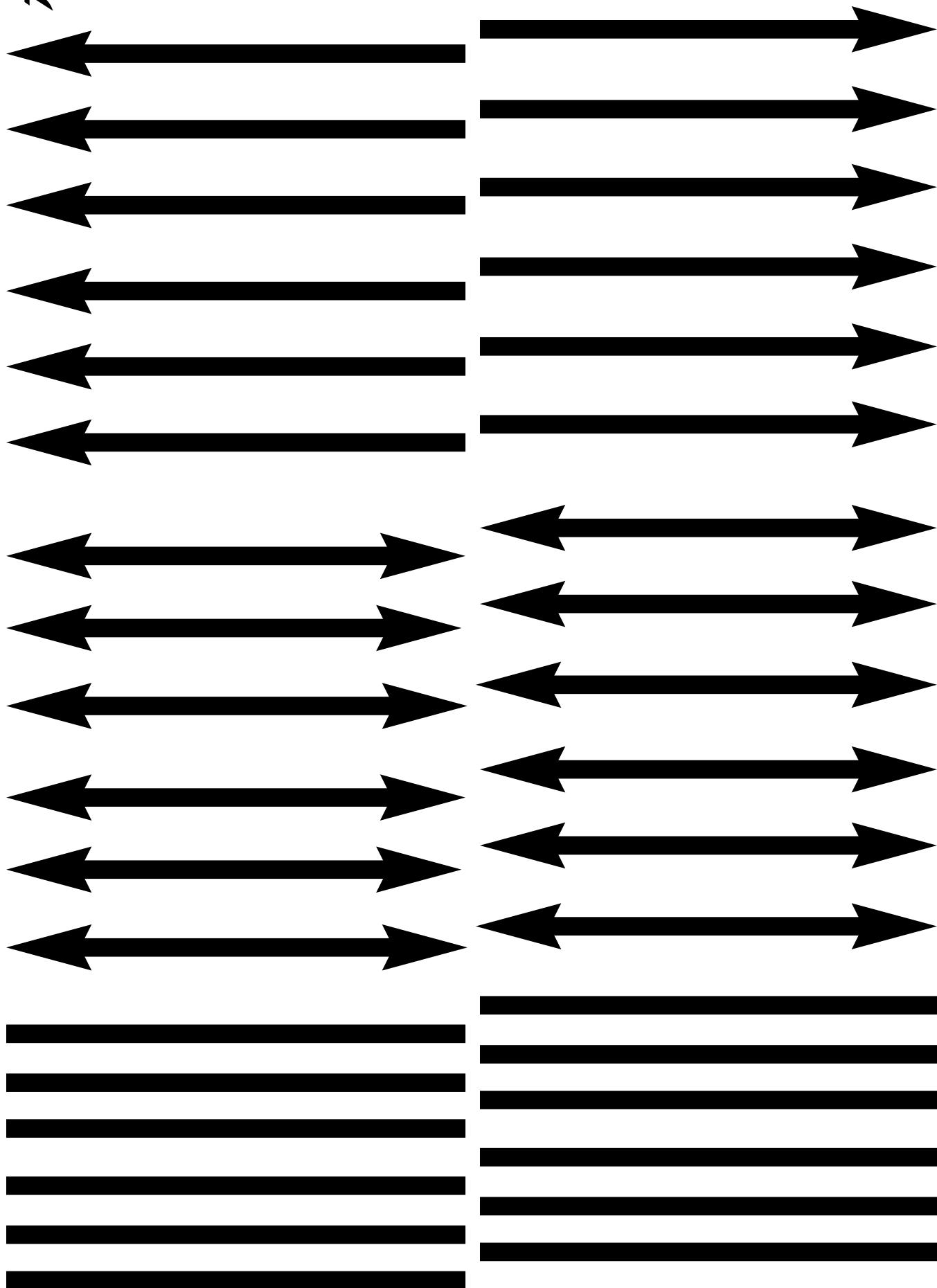
**INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION:
UNIVERSITIES**

COUNTRY:

INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION:

COUNTRY:







LEARN BY DOING

TRAINER: In this exercise, participants will make plans for future work together based on what they learned in the workshop, including the Action Ideas from each exercise. They will have a discussion and fill out the Action Plan Worksheet on page 25.

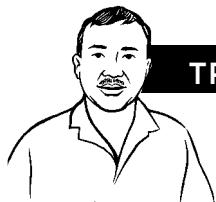
TIME: 30 minutes or more

WHAT TO DO:

1. Make an Action Plan Worksheet like the one on page 25 on a large piece of paper or chalkboard. Explain to the participants that you will fill out this Worksheet together. Ask for a volunteer to take notes if you are writing on a chalkboard so the participants will have a record of their plan.
2. As a large group, ask participants to name the overall goal of their campaign. Write what they say in the section of the Worksheet that says: "Overall Goal of Campaign or Project."

EXAMPLES: "Get to know NGOs in the area that could help with an international campaign," "Find out if the brands in my factory have a Code of Conduct," "Make plans for an international campaign."

3. Lead the participants to do a power analysis. Ask: Who would support this idea and who would oppose it? Which side has more power right now? What kind of effort will be necessary to increase worker power?
4. Ask volunteers for Action Steps to achieve the goals, based upon the Action Ideas they have come up with from the exercises and the power analysis. When the steps are complete, ask the participants to decide when they will do each step in the next year. Write a word or draw a picture representing this Action Idea in the appropriate section of the Action Plan Worksheet.
5. Ask the participants to answer the questions on the next page. You or a volunteer can write down what people say on a big piece of paper or a chalkboard.



TRAINERS TIP

An important goal of this workshop is for participants to use their new skills in action. This exercise and the sample worksheet that goes with it are some activities that can help participants move from learning to action.

LEARN BY DOING (CONTINUED)

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS:

1. How does the chart that we made in the exercises help us decide who we should contact and what information we need?
2. What information do we need to bring to international organizations so that they can help us with our campaign?
3. As we get involved in an international campaign, what kinds of problems and misunderstandings may come up in our relationships with groups from around the world?
4. How will we know if we have successfully worked with international organizations to get what we want at our factory?



TRAINERS TIP

You may find it useful to refer to the Fact Sheets at the end of this module in your discussion of how to evaluate whether the issues you have picked are strong issues.

ACTION PLAN WORKSHEET

OVERALL GOAL OF CAMPAIGN OR PROJECT:			
ACTION STEPS FOR THE NEXT MONTH: EXAMPLE: 3 things we will do to plan the role of an international campaign in our overall campaign (in what ways do we want an international campaign to support our overall campaign goal?).	1. 2. 3.	ACTION STEPS FOR THE NEXT 3 MONTHS: EXAMPLE: 3 things we will do to identify international organizations that could be involved in our international campaign.	1. 2. 3.
ACTION STEPS FOR THE NEXT 6 MONTHS: EXAMPLE: 3 things we will do to involve identified international organizations in our international campaign.	1. 2. 3.	ACTION STEPS FOR THE NEXT 9 MONTHS: EXAMPLE: 3 things we will do to make sure that both women and men are able to participate in building relationships with international organizations.	1. 2. 3.
ACTION STEPS FOR THE NEXT 12 MONTHS: EXAMPLE: 3 things we will do to educate ourselves and other members of our union about the global economy.	1. 2. 3.		



EVALUATE AND CLOSE TRAINING

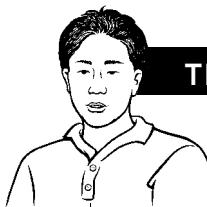
TRAINER: In this section, you will remind the group what the goals of the training were and acknowledge the goals you have accomplished together. You will thank any individuals or groups who helped make the training a success. Then participants will have a chance to evaluate the training and commit to taking action. The closing activities suggested on this page can help people feel successful, hopeful, and powerful as they complete the workshop.

TIME: 30 minutes (or less if there are fewer than 20 people in your group)



TRAINERS TIP

Ask one of the participants to choose the closing ritual and lead the group in a chant, song, poem, prayer, etc. This gives someone in the group a chance to exercise leadership. It also makes clear to the group that what they have accomplished in the workshop belongs to them, not to you as the trainer.



TRAINERS TIP

You may want to spend more time evaluating the workshop with the participants if:

- you're working on improving your own training skills and you want to know how you can improve your facilitation;
- you're unsure of whether the content of the workshop was too easy, too hard, or just right for your participants;
- you're trying to decide whether to use this workshop again as part of your union's education program.

EVALUATE AND CLOSE TRAINING (CONTINUED)

ACTIVITIES FOR EVALUATION AND CLOSING:

1. Remind the participants of the goals of this training (see page 3). Acknowledge that everyone has worked hard to finish the training and accomplish these goals.
2. Thank any individuals or groups who contributed to the success of the training, including those who contributed meeting space, food, time, etc.
3. As a large group, ask each person to say:
 - One thing she or he learned in the training
 - One thing she or he liked about the training
 - One thing she or he will do to build their union based on what they learned in the training

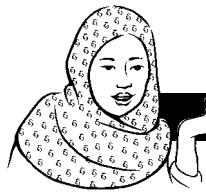
OPTIONS FOR THIS STEP: If you have a large group (more than 20 participants), you can ask for 4 or 5 volunteers to answer the 3 questions or ask each person to answer only one question—rather than asking each person to answer all 3 questions.

4. Lead the group in a closing ritual. This could be a chant, song, dance, poem, or prayer.

FACT SHEET: RESEARCHER'S CHECKLIST FOR INTERNATIONAL CAMPAIGNS

USE THESE RESEARCH QUESTIONS TO FIND THE INFORMATION YOU NEED TO BUILD A POWERFUL INTERNATIONAL CAMPAIGN.*

- 1. What are the brands and labels whose products are made in your factory?
- 2. Do those brands have their own Codes of Conduct?
- 3. Does your factory or company have Codes of Conduct?
- 4. What do the different Codes of Conduct say?
- 5. How do the different Codes of Conduct compare with your actual working conditions?
- 6. What consumer groups for these brands might be interested in helping workers?
- 7. Are there other workers who are already fighting for better conditions in other factories with these same brands?
- 8. Is there an organization that will care about worker conditions in the home country of the subcontractor or factory owner?
- 9. What can these different groups and organizations do to help?
- 10. What have they done to help other workers?
- 11. How can you contact these groups?



TRAINERS TIP

Here are some suggested next steps for workers:

AT THE FACTORY OR COMPANY OFFICE

- Look at the labels and names on what you make and copy them down for the next meeting.
- Look for posted Codes of Conduct. Can you find any?
- If you know that a Code of Conduct exists but can't find it, ask what it says and to see it.

OUTSIDE THE WORKPLACE

- Invite someone from a local federation, NGO, or the Solidarity Center to visit and speak with your group.
- Ask for help answering the questions on this page.

*Excerpted from the Handbook on Workers Rights in the Global Economy, Women Working Worldwide

FACT SHEET: INTERNATIONAL WORKERS' RIGHTS

Workers everywhere have rights. Whether we are homeworkers, work in a workshop, in a factory, or in a field, we all have rights.

INTERNATIONAL LABOR ORGANIZATION (ILO) FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS

The ILO formulates international labor standards in the form of Conventions and Recommendations setting minimum standards of basic labor rights: freedom of association, the right to organize and bargain collectively, abolition of forced labor and child labor, and equality of opportunity and treatment.

The ILO promotes the development of independent employers' and workers' organizations, and provides training and advisory services to those organizations. Within the UN system, the ILO has a unique 3-part structure where workers and employers participate as equal partners with governments in its work. Except for certain specific agreements, the ILO has no mechanisms for enforcement of its labor standards.

UNITED NATIONS UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS

ALL GOVERNMENTS IN THE UNITED NATIONS HAVE AGREED THAT:

- All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights.
- Everyone has the right to life, liberty, and security of person.
- No one shall be held in slavery or servitude.
- No one shall be subjected to torture or cruel, inhuman, or degrading treatment or punishment.

WORKERS' RIGHTS ARE HUMAN RIGHTS AND IT IS THE FUNDAMENTAL RIGHT OF EVERYONE:

- To have just and favorable conditions of work.
- To get equal pay for equal work and suffer no discrimination.
- To get just and favorable pay, giving the worker and his or her family "an existence worthy of dignity."
- To form and join trade unions to protect our interests.
- To rest and leisure, including reasonable limitation of working hours, and periodic holidays with pay.

FACT SHEET: CODES OF CONDUCT

Codes of Conduct are standards some companies adopt to govern how they treat their workers. Codes of Conduct usually apply both to the workers who work directly for a brand and to workers who work for subcontractors for the brand.

HISTORY OF CODES OF CONDUCT

Companies began to adopt Codes of Conduct in the 1990s. At that time, workers' rights and consumer organizations began to organize international campaigns against sweatshop conditions in factories making shoes and clothes for rich, multinational brands like NIKE and GAP. Numerous reports showed women workers in developing countries earning less than a livable wage, working 16 or more hours a day in unsafe and unhealthy situations. Workers who spoke up against this abuse and tried to organize unions were punished severely or fired. International campaigns demanded that brands like NIKE and GAP take responsibility for the labor conditions in the factories that make their products.

WHAT'S IN A CODE OF CONDUCT?

As a result of those campaigns, today almost all brand manufacturers of clothing and shoes have adopted some form of Code of Conduct. The basic provisions are similar to the Core Labor Conventions of the International Labour Organisation, and they include:

- payment of a living wage
- a limit on overtime hours
- a ban on child labor
- a ban on prison labor
- the right to organize unions and bargain collectively
- a ban on sexual harassment and gender discrimination
- provision of healthy and safe conditions in factories and dormitories

CODES OF CONDUCT (CONTINUED)

Usually brands require that contractors post the Code of Conduct in the factories in languages that the workers understand. Often brands also hire staff or consultants to monitor the factories for compliance with their Codes. The problem with all codes is their enforcement and the resolution of disputes. Strong unions are the only reliable institutions to represent the workers.

CODES OF CONDUCT IN CAMPAIGNS

Codes of Conduct have also been adopted by hundreds of universities and local governments because of student and consumer pressure. Many universities also participate in monitoring organizations such as the Worker Rights Consortium and the Fair Labor Association to make sure that brands follow the Codes they adopt.

Codes of Conduct are a result of a growing awareness around the world about unfair labor conditions, and the realization that consumer pressure can hold corporate brands accountable for these labor conditions. However, whether or not the Codes actually help to change working conditions in a factory depends upon how well brands enforce their Codes, and how strategically workers use Codes in union organizing.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS AND CREDITS

This project is a collaborative effort of the AFL-CIO's Solidarity Center, University of California at Berkeley's Center for Labor Research and Education, and dozens of trade unions and federations around the world. More rank-and-file workers and NGO personnel than we have space to thank by name generously participated by sharing their experiences, and later, critiquing our work. Members of our Advisory Committee Linda Delp, Maggie Robbins, and Betty Szudy added to their already overburdened schedules to make invaluable suggestions and cheer us through the rough patches. We drew on the work of *Just Associates* and thank Lisa VeneKlasen for her comments during development.

We are indebted to all for their support and inspired by their example.

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DEFINITIONS (CONTINUED)

- **LABOR FEDERATION:** Unions join together in federations to create greater strength. Federations are often long-lasting organizations through which unions share information and resources to create greater political and economic power for workers.
- **MONITORING GROUP:** A monitoring group refers to an organization that makes sure companies are treating workers according to Codes of Conduct.
- **SOLIDARITY CENTER:** The Solidarity Center refers to the American Center for International Labor Solidarity of the AFL-CIO. Solidarity Center offices in many countries support workers organizing democratic and independent unions and negotiating for union contracts.
- **STRATEGY:** A strategy refers to a systematic plan or main course of action for achieving a goal. For example, a first strategy to improve working conditions in a factory could be to organize a union, followed by a strategy of union protest to draw attention to bad working conditions and pressure management to change them.
- **SUBCONTRACTOR:** A subcontractor is a factory that produces garments or other products for one or many manufacturers, based upon the design and specifications of the manufacturer.
- **UNION CONTRACT:** A union contract is a written, legally-binding agreement between a group of workers and an employer. The contract generally describes how the employer will treat workers, including wages, work hours, and working conditions. The goal of many union organizing campaigns is to negotiate with the employer to get a union contract. A union contract is also called a “collective bargaining agreement.”
- **UNITE:** The Union of Needletrades, Industrial and Textile Employees (UNITE) is a union in the U.S.A. and Canada. Most members of UNITE work in apparel, textile, and related industries. In 2004, UNITE merged with another union and is now known as UNITE-HERE.
- **UNITED STUDENTS AGAINST SWEATSHOPS (USAS):** USAS is a NGO of university students in the U.S.A. USAS supports workers' struggles by advocating that universities adopt Codes of Conduct and then monitor that the Codes are followed.
- **WORKERS RIGHTS CONSORTIUM (WRC):** WRC is a NGO of students, labor rights experts, and university administrators. It enforces university Codes of Conduct which require that factories producing clothing bearing university names will respect the basic rights of workers.

TOOLS FOR ORGANIZERS

IN EXPORT PROCESSING ZONES AND INDUSTRIES

TRAINING MODULES IN THIS SERIES:

SECTION I: ORGANIZING STRONG UNIONS

1. Building Unity
2. Tapping Our Strength
3. Developing Democratic Leadership
4. Building Unions That Last

SECTION II: BUILDING ALLIANCES

5. Allying With Other Unions
6. Linking With Non-Governmental Organizations
7. Mounting International Campaigns

SECTION III: FIGHTING FOR LABOR RIGHTS

8. Negotiating Labor Rights in Export Processing Zones
9. Using Trade Provisions to Organize
10. Stopping Anti-Worker International Financial Institutions Policies

This booklet, **MOUNTING INTERNATIONAL CAMPAIGNS**, is Module 7 of 10 in a series of training modules for working people organizing in Export Processing Zones or other export-oriented industries.

FIGHTING FOR LABOR RIGHTS

Module 8: NEGOTIATING LABOR RIGHTS IN EPZs

TOOLS FOR ORGANIZERS

IN EXPORT PROCESSING ZONES AND INDUSTRIES



NEGOTIATING LABOR RIGHTS IN EPZs

DEFINITIONS

■ **APARTHEID:** An official policy of racial segregation and white supremacy enforced by the white minority government of South Africa between 1948 and 1994. In South Africa it was used to segregate and oppress non-white people and deprive them of their social, economic, and political rights. The damaging long-term effects of apartheid persist to this day.

■ **CAMPAIGN:** A campaign is a series of activities that a group of people, such as members of a union, do together to achieve a goal. Workers may carry out campaigns to organize a union in their workplace. After organizing a union, workers may carry out a contract negotiation campaign to win a legally binding contract that spells out wages, benefits, and working conditions.

■ **CONGRESS OF SOUTH AFRICAN TRADE UNIONS (COSATU):** One of 3 major federations of trade unions in South Africa. Now representing over 2 million workers, COSATU was central in the struggle against apartheid and continues to fight for labor rights. www.cosatu.org.za

■ **CONTRACT NEGOTIATION:** Contract negotiation is the process by which workers in a union bargain with their employer for a union contract. Usually the union will present their proposal, the employer will make a different proposal, and the negotiation proceeds from there. Workers may build support for their proposals by conducting a contract campaign that includes identifying workers' priorities, researching the employer, and pressuring the employer through rallies, strikes, or other kinds of activism.

■ **EXPORT PROCESSING ZONE (EPZ):** EPZs are industrial areas in a country that offer special incentives to foreign investors. These incentives may include low taxes, lax environmental regulations, and low labor costs. Low wages, long hours, and dangerous

and repressive working conditions are the norm in many EPZs. Sometimes organizing unions is banned or restricted. EPZs are also known by other names, such as Special Economic Zones, Industrial Development Zones, etc.

■ **INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT ZONE (IDZ):** Similar to export processing zones. In South Africa, workers won the right to organize unions that can negotiate wages and working conditions in the zones.

■ **LOBBYING:** Activities that are aimed at influencing the policies of public officials, government, business, and other organizations. Lobbying activities include visiting, letter writing, petitioning, or telephoning official representatives.

■ **NATIONAL ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND LABOR COUNCIL (NEDLAC):** A South African institution founded in 1995 that brings together union federations, government, business, and representatives of community organizations. NEDLAC was created by the South African Parliament and receives most of its funding from the Department of Labour. In NEDLAC, labor, business, and the government try to reach agreements on policy matters before they go to Parliament for consideration. For instance, NEDLAC has successfully struggled against some privatization policies. www.nedlac.org.za

■ **NATIONAL LABOR AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT INSTITUTE (NALEDI):** A South African NGO formed in 1993 by COSATU in order to serve the needs of the labor movement. NALEDI provides research, strategy and technical assistance to unions. www.naledi.org.za

■ **NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATION (NGO):** NGOs are organized groups, independent of government, most often working to achieve a social objective such as ending poverty or

NEGOTIATING LABOR RIGHTS IN EPZS

TOOLS FOR ORGANIZERS IN EXPORT PROCESSING ZONES AND INDUSTRIES

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INTRODUCTION TO FIGHTING FOR LABOR RIGHTS

Besides unions at the workplace and alliances with other organizations, local, national, and international labor rights policies and laws are also an important part of worker power. These rights may include organizing rights such as the right to form unions, bargain collectively, and strike. They may also include minimum standards for wages, health and welfare, and safety. The stronger the labor rights laws and policies are, the greater the likelihood that workers will use them to organize for greater power.

Currently, the laws and policies governing the global economy favor corporate investors at the expense of workers. EPZs offer investors low costs for labor, utilities, and rent while often barring workers from organizing unions. Trade agreements contain regulations to protect investors' rights but rarely include enforceable provisions to protect workers. International finance policies offer loans to poor countries but require repayment through economic reform policies that often cause higher unemployment and lower wages.

The rules governing how the global economy works are written and managed by international public institutions, like the World Trade Organization (WTO), the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund (IMF), regional development banks, and the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD). Only the OECD allows labor a formal advisory role (the Trade Union Advisory Committee, consists of labor federations from OECD member countries, headquartered in Paris, France).

In spite of this exclusion, some strong unions have been able to make significant breakthroughs in shaping labor laws and labor rights policies. This section, "Negotiating Labor Rights in EPZs," looks at South Africa to see how unions negotiated with their government for provisions that require foreign investors to recognize unions and adhere to labor laws. "Using Trade Provisions to Organize Unions," examines how unions in Swaziland used language in the Generalized System of Preferences to pressure the government to force employers to recognize unions. Finally, "Stopping Anti-Worker IFI Policies" studies how a coalition of unions and NGOs in Sri Lanka prevented their government from dismantling protections in labor law despite pressure from international financial institutions to do so.

MODULE 8: NEGOTIATING LABOR RIGHTS

WORKSHOP GOALS

INTRODUCTION

Labor laws and policies governing Export Processing Zones vary greatly from country to country. In Bangladesh, EPZ labor law only provides an extremely restricted form of freedom of association. In Saipan, workers were not even allowed to leave the factory premises until recently. Meanwhile in Cambodia, expansion of export quotas is conditioned upon compliance with labor rights. And in South Africa, unions were strong enough to defeat the worst forms of exploitation in export processing zones.

Where there are strong unions and NGO allies to defend labor rights, there is a stronger likelihood that workers will have the political power necessary to negotiate labor rights. Where unions are weak or not allowed, the only recourse for workers may be to rely on the political power of international unions through external pressure.

In South Africa, the labor movement has a long history of struggle, not just for worker rights but also against apartheid, the official system of racial segregation. Even in a country where the current government and the unions fought side-by-side to end apartheid, it is still necessary for unions to negotiate with government for workers' rights and equitable economic development.

Researchers are also helpful to labor movements. NGOs that specialize in research can play an important role in helping unions shape policies that will benefit them.

TEACHING GOALS

- To understand that the terms and conditions of EPZs are not fixed and that they can be negotiated.
- To understand the investors' arguments for EPZs and the unions' arguments against them.
- To strategize about making changes in current EPZ policies.

SKILLS GOALS

- To plan and carry out a policy campaign.
- To practice negotiations.

TRAINER'S NOTES

TIME TO DO THIS WORKSHOP:

The whole workshop will take about **5 hours and 15 minutes** if you do all the exercises as well as the Welcome, Action Planning, and Closing activities. If you want to make it shorter, you can do only one of the exercises or divide the workshop in half and present it over 2 training sessions.



TRAINERS TIP

When a workshop is over 2 hours long or participants are tired, breaks and energizers are important tools to keep participants interested and engaged in the training. Energizers are short, fun activities that let participants move around and take a mental break from the hard work of learning. Be sure to plan time for energizers, especially after lunch and in the evening when participants' energy is lowest. You can even ask a group of participants to form an "Energizer Committee" with the job of calling for a game or energizer whenever they see the participants are getting sleepy or distracted. This committee can then lead the games or ask you to lead them. Energizers can be songs, chants, or any non-competitive game or activity the group can do together.

TRAINER'S NOTES (CONTINUED)

MATERIALS NEEDED FOR THIS WORKSHOP:

- Something to write on that everyone can see: large paper and marking pens, or chalk and chalkboard.
- Copies of cut-out Negotiation Cards found on pages 13-14—enough for one complete set for every 10 participants.
- “Steps to Victory” drawing found on page 21, copied onto large paper, chalkboard, or floor.

BEFORE YOU START:

- Read the whole Workshop Curriculum.
- Plan your agenda for the workshop. Decide how long the workshop will be. Choose which exercises you will do. Plan time for breaks and energizers.
- Collect all the materials you need.
- Set up the room the way you want it.



TRAINERS TIP

Some words and terms in this curriculum may be new for you or for the participants in the workshop. Look on the inside front and back covers for a list of definitions.

HOW THE WORKSHOP WORKS

HOW THE WORKSHOP WORKS

The workshop has 6 sections. In each section you and the participants will be doing a different kind of activity. There is a picture to remind you of the kind of activity you will do in that section. Here are the pictures and what they are reminding you to do:



WELCOME AND
GET STARTED



DISCUSS THE
STORY AND/OR
PICTURES



LEARN ABOUT
OTHER WORKERS'
SUCCESSES



DO EXERCISES
TO LEARN NEW
SKILLS



LEARN BY DOING



EVALUATE AND CLOSE
THE TRAINING



WELCOME AND GET STARTED

TRAINER: In this section, you will tell the group what the workshop is about. Then participants will introduce themselves to each other. The other activities suggested on this page can help people feel welcome, comfortable, and respected during the workshop. When people feel comfortable, they will learn more and the workshop will be more successful.

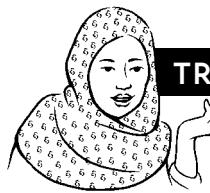
TIME: 30 minutes (or less if there are fewer than 20 people in your group)

ACTIVITIES FOR GETTING STARTED:

First do Activities **1** and **2**, then choose among **A**, **B**, and **C** for one more activity.

- 1.** Tell the participants what the workshop is about.
- 2.** Ask everyone to introduce themselves to the group.

- A.** Ask the participants to take turns saying why they think the workshop is important.
- B.** Ask a volunteer to sing a song, say a prayer, or recite a poem.



TRAINERS TIP

SONGS, PRAYERS AND POEMS let people know that their culture and spirit will be respected in the workshop. Songs, prayers, and poems are also an opportunity to let a participant be the leader.



TRAINERS TIP

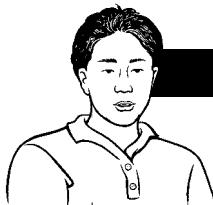
INTRODUCTION QUESTIONS help people use their voices and participate in an easy way for the first time. Then they will be more comfortable to speak later on.

GET STARTED (CONTINUED)

- C. Ask the participants to take turns answering the introduction question in the box. Answering the introduction question can help people to start thinking about the topic of the workshop.



INTRODUCTION QUESTION:
If you were the head of the government, what would be the first thing you would do to help workers?



TRAINERS TIP

This workshop talks about how workers in South Africa negotiated public policies that protected workers' rights in economic development zones.

Public Policy means all the laws, rules, guidelines, and court and budget decisions by which a society organizes and conducts its affairs.

Participants may not be familiar with that phrase, so take some time to explain and make sure people understand.



DISCUSS THE STORY AND/OR PICTURES

TRAINER: In this section, you can ask someone in the group to read the story out loud or you can read it out loud yourself. If you don't want to use the story, you can just look at the pictures together. Then discuss the story and/or pictures using the questions on the next page.

TIME: 30 minutes

RAVI NAIDOO'S Story:

"It is important for us to do more than react to problems when they have already happened. We need to be involved at all levels in shaping alternatives that support justice for workers. This is especially true when governments and business argue that even very low-paying jobs with bad working conditions are needed because of poverty and unemployment. Governments and businesses often say this about EPZs."

— RAVI NAIDOO, Director, National Labor and Economic Development Institute (NALEDI), South Africa



DISCUSS THE STORY AND/OR PICTURES (CONTINUED)



TRAINER: Ask the participants to discuss the questions below. Allow about 10 minutes for each question. If you want to, you can write what people say on a big piece of paper or a chalkboard as they answer the questions.

If there are more than 20 people, you can divide into small groups of 4 or 5 people for the discussion. If they are in small groups, visit each group while they talk. Make sure that each person in each group has a chance to talk.

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS:

1. What would you want the government to do to improve conditions in EPZs?
2. Why is it important that workers and unions are involved in shaping government policies on trade, jobs, and EPZs?
3. What is happening in the pictures?
4. Why are the workers able to negotiate with the government in the second picture?
5. Have you ever been in a situation like this?



LEARN ABOUT OTHER WORKERS' SUCCESSES

TRAINER: In this section, you can ask for several different people in the group to volunteer to read the different parts of the story out loud or you can read it out loud yourself. Then ask the group to discuss the question at the bottom.

TIME: 30 minutes

RAVI NAIDOO's Story, National Labor and Economic Development Institute (NALEDI)



"In South Africa, after we liberated ourselves from apartheid, EPZs as such never got a foothold. Even so, ideas that resemble EPZs sometimes come up when people talk about the problem of high unemployment. One example of this is the Industrial Development Zone (IDZ). In the IDZs, unions are not banned but the Zones do relax some of our minimum labor standards. I am not saying that IDZs are good. But the fact that we can organize in IDZs is a good thing."

"A recent example shows how we have stayed involved with IDZs to deal with the problems faced by workers there. Some chemical factories owned by Chinese and Taiwanese companies have started to operate in an IDZ. There was a bad fire in one of the plants. Eleven workers were killed. The Southern African Clothing and Textile Workers Union (SACTWU) responded by building public support for the government and the union to start visiting and inspecting factories in the IDZs."

"We have an institution called the National Economic Development and Labor Council (NEDLAC), founded in 1995, that brings together union federations, government, business, and community organizations to share information and come to agreements about vital policy matters before they go to parliament for consideration. Labor unions negotiating in NEDLAC have already had some success in making sure that South Africa's trade agreements will respect workers' rights."

"Our social clause campaign in South Africa, and our involvement in defending workers from irresponsible policies through NEDLAC, has had some good outcomes. If our unions in South Africa were not as strong, the U.S.-South African Customs Union (SACU) [trade] agreement might not feature provisions to protect workers, which are [now] among the best that have been seen in a United States trade agreement."

DISCUSSION QUESTION:

1. What one new thing did you learn from this story?



DO EXERCISES TO LEARN NEW SKILLS

EXERCISE 1:

NEGOTIATING LABOR RIGHTS IN EXPORT PROCESSING ZONES

TRAINER: In this exercise, participants will practice making arguments to include labor rights in EPZs.

TIME: 45 minutes

WHAT TO DO:

1. Divide the participants into 2 groups. Tell one group that they will be **Politicians**. Tell the other group that they will be the **Workers**.
2. Read the Scenario Card on the next page to the group. Make sure the participants understand the scenario.
3. Give each group a copy of the 3 Negotiation Cards on the next pages. They contain arguments for and against allowing labor rights in export processing zones.
4. Tell the groups that they have 20 minutes to read the Negotiation Cards and prepare their own arguments for and against establishing a national policy to protect worker rights in EPZs. First the Workers will present their demands and arguments in support to the politicians for 5 minutes. Then the **Politicians** will present their argument for not including social clauses for 5 minutes. Finally, the **Workers** group will have one last chance to counter the Politician's arguments. Then the Politicians have a few minutes to decide what action they're going to take on the Worker demands.

EXERCISES TO LEARN NEW SKILLS

EXERCISE 1: NEGOTIATING LABOR RIGHTS IN EPZS (CONTINUED)



SCENARIO CARD

Your government is about to sign an agreement with the International Monetary Fund that requires building a new Export Processing Zone. Already many foreign companies have expressed interest in the newly created zone. The government says that this will solve the problems of unemployment and poverty by creating thousands of new jobs. However, the agreement does NOT include any protections for workers in the EPZ. In fact, part of the agreement relaxes labor laws in the EPZ so that companies do not have to obey laws about paying overtime, minimum wage, or allowing workers to organize unions and bargain collectively.

Workers and their unions want to use this occasion to establish a national policy that requires the government to include protection of worker rights in EPZs. That means that foreign companies operating in EPZs would have to obey national labor law and workers would have the right to organize unions and bargain collectively with their employers.



NEGOTIATING CARD

GOVERNMENT: We need jobs to reduce poverty and unemployment. Labor standards will scare away companies that bring us jobs.

WORKERS:

- Without protection of worker rights, jobs in EPZs force workers to accept low wages, no benefits, unsafe conditions, forced overtime, and little training or opportunities for advancement.
- Jobs in EPZs are also extremely unstable since companies often shut down factories and change locations in search of ever cheaper production and labor costs.
- Labor rights policies can also benefit employers and be used to convince companies to keep production in one place over the long term. Research has shown that firms that have unionized workers can be as productive, or even more productive, than firms without a unionized workforce. As a result, factories that have adopted better labor standards still continue to be competitive in the global economy.

EXERCISES TO LEARN NEW SKILLS

EXERCISE 1: NEGOTIATING LABOR RIGHTS IN EPZS (CONTINUED)



NEGOTIATING CARD

GOVERNMENT: We must develop our economy first. We can worry about developing good labor and environmental policies later.

WORKERS:

- Labor and environmental standards are necessary for the development of a strong and stable economy. Bad jobs without labor standards can hurt growth and stability of a national economy, and the bad jobs that EPZs bring do not help to alleviate poverty in the long term. EPZs condemn countries to permanently attracting low-wage jobs that may benefit an elite few, but keep the country and the majority of people in poverty.
- The environmental damage and loss of resources caused by unregulated expansion of EPZs can create long-term negative consequences for countries, as companies can destroy natural resources and then move production elsewhere, leaving the government to deal with the effects.
- High labor and environmental standards contribute to economic development. Labor standards improve the lives of workers and contribute to the growth of a healthy economy. Better paid workers spend money and stimulate the economy. Increased spending by workers also helps to expand public services and infrastructure, health, and education. A stable economy and a developed infrastructure make countries more attractive for foreign investment in the long run.



NEGOTIATING CARD

GOVERNMENT: Globalization is a natural and inevitable process that we can't control. To be anti-globalization is to be afraid of change and against other cultures.

WORKERS:

- Globalization as we are living it is neither natural nor inevitable, but created and governed by the laws, rules, decisions, and agreements of institutions like the World Bank, International Monetary Fund, the World Trade Organization, and Multinational Corporations. These powerful elites shape the process of globalization according to their interests—interests that prioritize profits over people and short-term gain over long-term sustainability.
- Groups that advocate labor and environmental standards are not against global trade, communications, or relations. Rather, they are against the kind of globalization controlled by elites to benefit the rich at the expense of the poor. Most pro-labor groups support globalization as long as it prioritizes sustainable development and people over profits.

EXERCISES TO LEARN NEW SKILLS

EXERCISE 1: NEGOTIATING LABOR RIGHTS IN EPZS (CONTINUED)

WHAT TO DO (CONTINUED)

5. As a large group, ask the participants to discuss the questions below:

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS:

1. Why did the Politicians make the decision they did?
2. What arguments worked the best in favor of labor rights policy? Why?
3. How could researchers and academics be helpful in preparing for negotiations?
4. What else should workers and unions do besides negotiate to win a labor rights policy?

REFLECTION ON THE EXERCISE

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

- Law and regulations about labor rights in EPZs can be changed.
- To negotiate changes in EPZs, unions should be clear about their demands and should understand the arguments that the opposition will make.
- Unions' ability to negotiate favorable labor rights policies is more likely to succeed when unions have greater power.

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



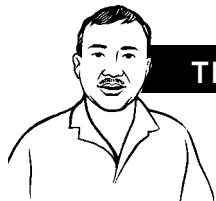
DO EXERCISES TO LEARN NEW SKILLS

EXERCISE 2:

MAPPING ALLIES AND OPPONENTS OF LABOR RIGHTS POLICIES

TRAINER: In this exercise, participants will identify the individuals and organizations that support or oppose labor rights policies and chart how much power and influence they have in this campaign.

TIME: 60 minutes



TRAINERS TIP

The mapping of allies and opponents is not always straightforward. The group may debate who their allies and opponents are as well as how much power they have. The debate is important to deepen our understanding of what motivates our allies and opponents, and to gauge their level of support or opposition.

WHAT TO DO:

1. On a piece of paper, write the goal from Exercise 1:

Goal: To establish a national policy that requires the government to include protection of workers rights in EPZs.

Post it high on a wall or write it at the top of the chalkboard.

2. Beneath it, post 3 large pieces of paper on the wall OR divide a chalkboard or floor space into 3 areas. Label one area **ALLIES**, another **UNCOMMITTED**, and the last **OPPONENTS**.

EXERCISES TO LEARN NEW SKILLS

EXERCISE 2: MAPPING ALLIES AND OPPONENTS (CONTINUED)

WHAT TO DO (CONTINUED):

3. As a large group, ask the participants to discuss the following questions. Write the names of organizations who support the goal under **ALLIES**. Write those who oppose it under **OPPONENTS** and the rest under **UNCOMMITTED**.
 - a. What individuals or organizations support our goal to win labor rights policies?
 - b. What individuals or organizations are opposed to our goal to win labor rights policies?
 - c. What individuals or organizations are not yet committed to our goal?
4. As a large group, review each name on the list and answer the following questions. Write what people say next to the name of each individual or organization.
 - a. Why does this group support or oppose our goal? If they are uncommitted, why have they not taken a position on our goal?
 - b. How much power or influence does this group have to help us win our goal? (For information on how to do a power analysis, see Module 4.)

Use Xs to indicate the amount of POWER a group has. For example, if a group is VERY powerful, write 3 XXXs. If they have less power, write 2 XXs. If they do not have much power, write one X.



TRAINERS TIP

If the group is having difficulty listing organizations with an interest in labor rights policies, consider using the following categories to structure the discussion:

GOVERNMENT /PUBLIC SECTOR	BUSINESS /COMMUNITY	INTERNATIONAL
Legislators	Corporations	Other governments
National government Members of Parliament	Local businesses	NGOs
Local government	Media	UN Committees
	Political parties	ILO
	Labor unions	Labor Unions and Federations
	Community groups	Global Union Organizations
	Religious organizations	Multinational corporations
		International Financial Institutions

EXERCISES TO LEARN NEW SKILLS

EXERCISE 2: MAPPING ALLIES AND OPPONENTS (CONTINUED)

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS:

1. How much combined power do our **ALLIES** have to help us reach our campaign goal?
2. Who are our strongest **OPPONENTS**? How powerful do they have to be to prevent us from reaching our campaign goal?
3. Who in the **UNCOMMITTED** group could we win to our side? How?
4. In what ways can researchers help us reach our campaign goals?



TRAINERS TIP

Researchers can be a very important, but overlooked, ally in campaigns for pro-worker policies. You may want to read the following quotes to emphasize this point.

“The Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) works with its unions to create the labor policy agenda that it will pursue in NEDLAC. COSATU also follows other government policy very carefully making sure that trade and industry issues are brought into NEDLAC to be negotiated.

“After discussions are completed at NEDLAC, COSATU shifts to lobbying members of Parliament. During this whole process, organizations like NALEDI are very important providing research and technical support as well as helping us to make a plan for how to achieve our goals.”

—Tania Van Meelis, COSATU

“Research has an important role in our ability to keep high labor standards throughout our country. We review development policy and planning very carefully to catch sneaky strategies that might lower labor standards and bring about the same bad conditions that exist in EPZs.”

—Ravi Naidoo, director, National Labour and Economic Development Institute (NALEDI)

EXERCISES TO LEARN NEW SKILLS

EXERCISE 2: MAPPING ALLIES AND OPPONENTS (CONTINUED)

REFLECTION ON THE EXCERCISE

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

- When planning a campaign for labor rights policies, it is important to analyze who are your allies and opponents, and who is uncommitted.



DO EXERCISES TO LEARN NEW SKILLS

EXERCISE 3:

DEVELOPING A CAMPAIGN TO WIN LABOR RIGHTS IN EXPORT PROCESSING ZONES

TRAINER: In this exercise, participants will use the scenario from Exercise 1 and the analysis from Exercise 2 to develop a campaign to establish a national labor rights policy for EPZs.

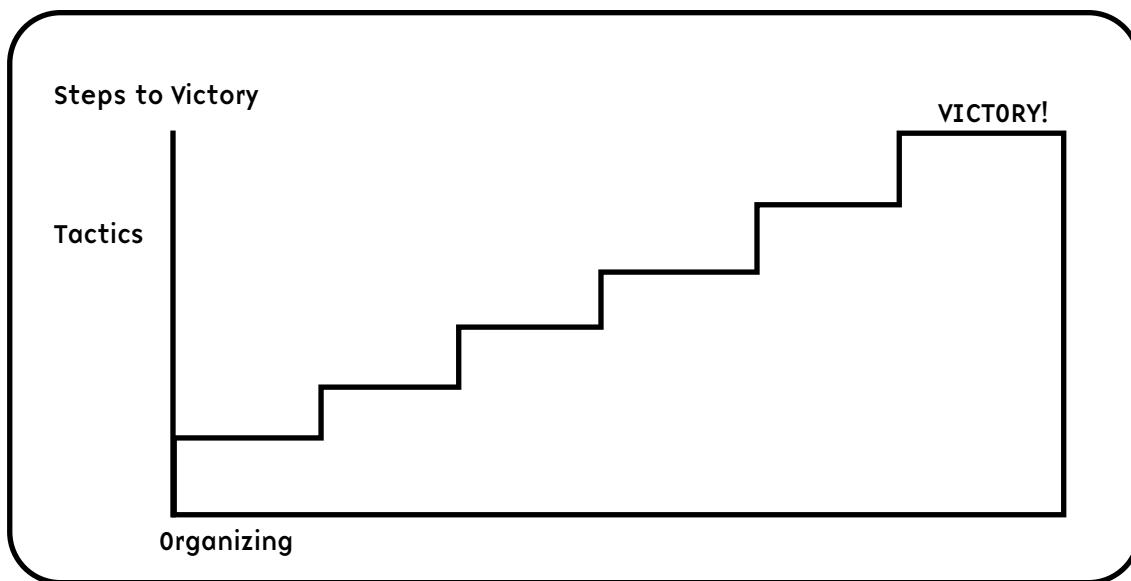
TIME: 60 minutes

WHAT TO DO:

1. Read again the scenario from Exercise 1: Negotiating Labor Rights in EPZs. You or a volunteer can write up the goals from the scenario on a big piece of paper or chalkboard.
2. Ask the group to list tactics they could use to pressure the government to include labor rights in foreign investment policies. Refer back to the discussion in Exercise 1 for ideas. You or a volunteer can write down all of the ideas.
3. Ask the participants to recall the power analysis they did in Exercise 2. Who would support this idea and who would oppose it? What kind of effort will be necessary to increase worker power?
4. Ask volunteers for Action Steps to achieve the goals, based upon the Action Ideas they have come up with from the exercises and the power analysis.
5. Copy the Action Steps onto the “Steps to Victory” (see next page) on a big piece of paper or chalkboard and post it on the wall. You or a volunteer can write Tactic #1 on the first step. Then write all of the tactics in order on the steps.

EXERCISES TO LEARN NEW SKILLS

EXERCISE 3: DEVELOPING A CAMPAIGN TO WIN (CONTINUED)

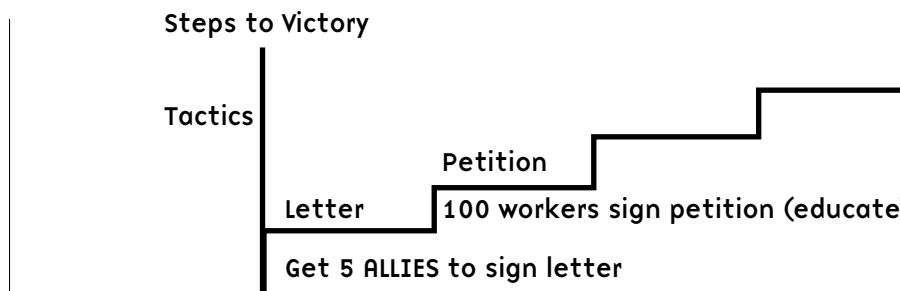


6. Explain to the group that in order to climb the stairs, we have to organize. Go through each tactic and ask what organizing the group would need to do to achieve that tactic. Continue until you reach the last tactic.



TRAINERS TIP

This is an example of how the chart might look as people talk about tactics and organizing steps



EXERCISES TO LEARN NEW SKILLS

EXERCISE 3: DEVELOPING A CAMPAIGN TO WIN (CONTINUED)

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS:

1. What makes a good tactic?
2. Why is organizing important to this campaign?
3. Which allies will be important in this campaign? Why?
4. Why are workers and union members important in this campaign?



TRAINERS TIP

Some examples of tactics are:

- Petitions
- Media, articles in newspapers, radio, etc.
- Marches and rallies
- Releasing research reports in favor of workers' rights
- Press conferences
- Lobbying legislators
- Delegations
- Mass letters to legislators or members of parliament.

Some examples of organizing steps are:

- Meet with researchers to identify labor rights policies in EPZs and other foreign investment programs
- Meet with allies and build coalitions
- Educate workers on the issues
- Recruit worker leaders for the campaign
- Build relationships with legislators and politicians
- Mobilize allies for marches and rallies
- Build institutions in partnership with the government to develop a labor rights public policy.

EXERCISES TO LEARN NEW SKILLS

EXERCISE 3: DEVELOPING A CAMPAIGN TO WIN (CONTINUED)

REFLECTION ON THE EXCERCISE

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

- Being a smart negotiator is important, but the power behind your words comes from the strength of the campaign that you have organized.

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



LEARN BY DOING

TRAINER: In this exercise, participants will make plans for their future work based on what they learned in the workshop, including the Action Ideas from each exercise. They will have a discussion and fill out the Action Plan Worksheet on page 26.

TIME: 30 minutes or more



TRAINERS TIP

An important goal of this workshop is for participants to use their new skills in action. This exercise and the sample worksheet that goes with it are some activities that can help participants move from learning to action.

WHAT TO DO:

1. Make an Action Plan Worksheet like the one on page 26 on a large piece of paper or chalkboard. Explain to the participants that you will fill out this Worksheet together. Ask for a volunteer to take notes if you are writing on a chalkboard so the participants will have a record of their plan.
2. Ask participants to determine the overall goal of their campaign. Write what they say in the section of the Worksheet that says: "Overall Goal of Campaign or Project."

Examples: "Raise minimum wages in EPZs," "Secure the right to organize unions in EPZs," "Pass national policy requiring full labor rights in EPZs."

3. Ask the participants to do a power analysis. Who would support this idea and who would oppose it? What kind of efforts will be necessary to increase worker power?

LEARN BY DOING

4. Ask volunteers for Action Steps to achieve the goal, based upon the Action Ideas they have come up with from the exercises and the power analysis. When the steps are complete, ask the participants to decide when they will do each step in the next year. Write a word or draw a picture representing this Action Idea in the appropriate section of the Action Plan Worksheet.

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

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS:

1. What work do we need to do to organize workers to support this campaign?
2. What allies are important to our campaign?
3. What uncommitted organizations do we need to win to our side?
4. What additional information or research do we need for this campaign?
5. What role do negotiators play in our campaign?

ACTION PLAN WORKSHEET

OVERALL GOAL OF CAMPAIGN OR PROJECT	
ACTION STEPS FOR THE NEXT MONTH: Example: 3 things we will do to identify key allies and what we want them to do.	1. 2. 3.
ACTION STEPS FOR THE NEXT 3 MONTHS: Example: 3 things we will do to win the support of our allies.	1. 2. 3.
ACTION STEPS FOR THE NEXT 6 MONTHS: Example: 3 things we will do to win the support of uncommitted potential allies for our campaign.	1. 2. 3.
ACTION STEPS FOR THE NEXT 9 MONTHS: Example: 3 things we will do to involve our allies in our campaign.	1. 2. 3.
ACTION STEPS FOR THE NEXT 12 MONTHS: Example: 3 things we will do to involve both women and men workers in building relationships with our allies.	1. 2. 3.



EVALUATE AND CLOSE TRAINING

TRAINER: In this section, you will remind the group what the goals of the training were and acknowledge the goals you have accomplished together in the training. You will thank any individuals or groups who helped make the training a success. Then participants will have a chance to evaluate the training and commit to taking action. The closing activities suggested on this page can help people feel successful, hopeful and powerful as they complete the workshop.

TIME: 30 minutes (or less if there are fewer than 20 people in your group)

ACTIVITIES FOR EVALUATION AND CLOSING:

1. Remind the participants of the goals of this training (see page 3). Acknowledge that everyone has worked hard to finish the training and accomplish these goals.
2. Thank any individuals or groups who contributed to the success of the training, including those who contributed meeting space, food, time, etc.
3. As a large group, ask each person to say:
 - One thing she or he learned in the training
 - One thing she or he liked about the training
 - One thing she or he will do to build their union based on what they learned in the training

If you have a large group (more than 20 participants), you can ask for 4 or 5 volunteers to answer the 3 questions or ask each person to answer only one question—rather than asking each person to answer all 3 questions.

4. Lead the group in a closing ritual. This could be a chant, song, dance, poem, or prayer.



TRAINERS TIP

Ask one of the participants to choose the closing ritual and lead the group in a chant, song, poem, prayer, etc. This gives someone in the group a chance to exercise leadership. It also makes clear to the group that what they have accomplished in the workshop belongs to them, not to you as the trainer.

FACT SHEET: MYTHS AND UNION RESPONSES

EPZs are widely accepted as a model for economic development in poor countries. Yet the success of EPZs mostly depends on the exploitation of workers and violations of their basic labor rights. In order to negotiate protections for labor rights in EPZs, workers have to counter arguments used by employers to justify EPZs. Below are examples of common arguments in support of EPZs and answers workers can use to counter misinformation.

- 1. Employers say EPZs will create jobs, especially for impoverished rural workers and women...** but the fact is that the jobs created in EPZs have little or no impact on reducing poverty and unemployment. The International Labour Organization found that EPZs globally have done little to reduce unemployment in EPZ host countries. Some countries, such as Sri Lanka and the Philippines, experienced an *increase* in unemployment in areas around EPZs as impoverished rural men flocked to EPZs looking for work, but were refused due to a preference for women workers.

In addition, EPZs do little to reduce poverty or unemployment because wages are low and the jobs are unstable. In order to attract investment, many EPZs are exempt from paying the national minimum wage, or the law is not enforced, allowing employers to pay poverty wages. Many EPZs have also eliminated full-time employment through practices such as hiring workers on contract, as seasonal workers, or adopting the “hire and fire” practice where workers are fired at the end of the year and then rehired to avoid permanent worker status laws. EPZ jobs are also unstable because companies open and close production in EPZs quickly as they search for the lowest-cost production sites, leaving thousands of workers unemployed.

- 2. Employers say EPZs will bring skills, technology, and export infrastructure (roads, electricity, ports, etc.)...** but the fact is that EPZs create low-skill, low-tech production jobs. These skills do not lead to greater opportunities or advancement in jobs outside the EPZ. Moreover, these low-tech, low-skill production jobs do not increase the technological capacity of a country. Countries dependent on EPZs are put at the bottom of the global production chain and get stuck receiving low-tech, low-skill jobs.

FACT SHEET: MYTHS AND UNION RESPONSES (CONTINUED)

In order to attract companies to EPZs, countries have to offer an array of benefits, such as new factories, telecommunications links, roads, and other infrastructure, even their own satellite systems. Instead of attracting export infrastructure, EPZs divert precious local resources from improving infrastructure to benefit citizens into providing roads, ports, and electricity to benefit companies.

- 3. Employers say that EPZs will bring foreign exchange earnings by increasing the volume of exports...** but the fact is that only a small proportion of the foreign exchange generated by EPZ production actually stays in the country. This is because the materials used to produce EPZ goods are usually imported from abroad, not purchased locally, so that the EPZ host country receives a very small profit from producing and exporting EPZ goods. Furthermore countries eager to compete for EPZ investors often offer generous incentives that allow for the repatriation of profits, which means that the profits generated by the workers are not spent or invested locally, but sent overseas to the factory owners.

- 4. Employers say that EPZs will bring a market for local raw materials and services...** but the fact is that free trade agreements have made it easier for companies to ship materials, components, and supplies all over the world and have eliminated the need to buy local goods and services for production. Free trade agreements, along with globalization, have forced developing countries to offer ever greater economic incentives and cheap labor in order to attract companies to their EPZs. Developing countries no longer have the ability to demand that companies use local suppliers of goods and services. For example, in 1971 Mauritius was one of the first countries to operate EPZs and was able to insist that foreign companies use domestic suppliers. Today, global trade rules and competition have stripped Mauritius of the power to control the terms of business in their EPZs and, like in other countries, they have had to lower wages and offer greater incentives to attract and keep companies.

FACT SHEET: MYTHS AND UNION RESPONSES (CONTINUED)

5. **Employers say that EPZs will provide taxes and other revenues...** but the fact is that EPZs can have a negative impact on local budgets rather than providing much needed tax revenue. In a global economy, companies can demand that EPZ host countries grant special tax breaks along with other public subsidies or they will locate elsewhere. Tax breaks, or “tax holidays,” exempt companies in EPZs from paying any kind of corporate, sales, payroll, or other taxes to the host government for extended amounts of time. Even when the “tax holiday” expires, companies can threaten to move if they don’t get an extension. Sometimes they just reincorporate as a new company to avoid paying taxes. The increasing cost of attracting companies to EPZs diverts resources from providing essential public services like education and health care to citizens and does not result in increased local or national budgets from taxes

6. **Employers say that EPZs will increase gross exports...** but the fact is that while EPZs can boost the total volume of a country’s exports, any increase is often unsustainable and therefore highly misleading. This is because a large percentage of EPZ exports are assembled from products made in short-term, temporary enterprises. These operations are usually not replaced by more permanent local enterprises and therefore the growth in exports lasts only as long as the temporary enterprise that fuels it.

7. **Employers say that EPZs will empower women workers...** but the fact is that EPZ wages paid to women are 20-50% lower than those paid to men, and women are relegated to lower skill and lower wage jobs than men. Additionally, EPZs rarely provide stable, full-time employment, but hire women workers as contract or seasonal workers in order to avoid paying for health benefits or pensions. Women in EPZs suffer more violations of labor rights and dangerous working conditions, including sub-minimum wages and forced overtime. Compulsory overtime is especially burdensome to women who often have to care for their families and households in addition to work. Women workers are also subjected to verbal, physical and sexual abuse in many EPZs and have little recourse to address the

FACT SHEET: MYTHS AND UNION RESPONSES (CONTINUED)

problem, especially since they need to work to support their families. EPZs do not empower women workers; as the majority of the EPZ workforce, the exploitation of women is fundamental to the success of most EPZs.

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DEFINITIONS (CONTINUED)

serving particular groups of people, such as women or workers. NGOs can be small or large. They may be grassroots activist organizations, research centers, educational groups, or policy advocates.

■ **PUBLIC POLICY:** The body of laws, rules, guidelines, court, and budget decisions that determine how an open society organizes and conducts its affairs.

■ **RIGHTS:** Rules that have been developed to protect people from bad treatment. There are workers' rights that protect people from bad treatment at work. Workers' rights may come from laws or through contractual agreements between employers and unions. Each country has a law that sets out what rights workers have such as the rights to a minimum wage, maximum hours of work, a safe working environment and protection from harassment and discrimination on the job, and the right to organize unions.

■ **SOCIAL CLAUSE:** A part of a trade agreement that protects workers' rights.

■ **SOUTHERN AFRICAN CLOTHING AND TEXTILE WORKERS UNION (SACTWU):** A union for garment, textile, and clothing workers in southern Africa. Affiliated with COSATU, SACTWU represents over 100,000 workers and provides such services as collective bargaining, job security, assistance with member complaints, and other member benefits. www.sactwu.org.za

■ **STRATEGY:** A strategy refers to a systematic plan or main course of action for achieving a goal. For example, a first strategy to improve working conditions in a factory could be to organize a union, followed by a strategy of union protest to draw attention to bad working conditions and pressure management to change them.

■ **TACTIC:** The activities in a campaign that make up the strategy and pressure the decision-makers to achieve the campaign goals.

■ **TRIPARTITE INSTITUTION:** An institution, like the ILO, that incorporates representatives of 3 sectors—government, labor and business—in making important public policy and economic development decisions. National Economic Development and Labour Council (NEDLAC) is an example of a tripartite institution.

■ **UNION CONTRACT:** A union contract is a written, legally-binding agreement between a group of workers and an employer. The contract generally describes how the employer will treat workers, including wages, work hours, and working conditions. The goal of many union organizing campaigns is to negotiate with the employer to get a union contract. A union contract is also called a "collective bargaining agreement."

TOOLS FOR ORGANIZERS

IN EXPORT PROCESSING ZONES AND INDUSTRIES

TRAINING MODULES IN THIS SERIES:

SECTION I: ORGANIZING STRONG UNIONS

1. Building Unity
2. Tapping Our Strength
3. Developing Democratic Leadership
4. Building Unions That Last

SECTION II: BUILDING ALLIANCES

5. Allying With Other Unions
6. Linking With Non-Governmental Organizations
7. Mounting International Campaigns

SECTION III: FIGHTING FOR LABOR RIGHTS

8. Negotiating Labor Rights in Export Processing Zones
9. Using Trade Provisions to Organize
10. Stopping Anti-Worker International Financial Institutions Policies

This booklet, **NEGOTIATING LABOR RIGHTS IN EPZs**, is Module 8 of 10 in a series of training modules for working people organizing in Export Processing Zones or other export-oriented industries.

FIGHTING FOR LABOR RIGHTS

Module 9: USING TRADE PROVISIONS TO ORGANIZE

TOOLS FOR ORGANIZERS

IN EXPORT PROCESSING ZONES AND INDUSTRIES



USING TRADE PROVISIONS TO ORGANIZE

DEFINITIONS

- **AFL-CIO:** The American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations is the largest national labor federation in the U.S.A.
- **BRAND:** A brand is the unique name that a company uses to sell its products. Sometimes the brand name is the same as the company name.
- **CAMPAIGN:** A campaign is a series of activities that a group of people, such as members of a union, do together to achieve a goal. Workers may carry out campaigns to organize a union in their workplace. After organizing a union, workers may carry out a contract negotiation campaign to win a legally-binding contract that spells out wages, benefits, and working conditions.
- **CONGRESS OF SOUTH AFRICAN TRADE UNIONS (COSATU):** One of 3 major federations of trade unions in South Africa. Now representing over 2 million workers, COSATU was central in the struggle against apartheid and continues to fight for labor rights. www.cosatu.org.za
- **CONTRACT NEGOTIATION:** Contract negotiation is the process by which workers in a union bargain with their employer for a union contract. Usually the union will present their proposal, the employer will make a different proposal, and the negotiation proceeds from there. Workers may build support for their proposals by conducting a contract campaign that includes identifying workers' priorities, researching the employer, and pressuring the employer through rallies, strikes, or other kinds of activism.
- **CORPORATE RESEARCH:** Investigation about a corporation, industry, or industrial sector to find information that may be useful for workers in an organizing or contract negotiations campaign.
- **EXPORT PROCESSING ZONE (EPZ):** EPZs are industrial areas in a country that offer special incentives to foreign investors. These incentives may include low taxes, lax environmental regulations, and low labor costs. Low wages, long hours, and dangerous and repressive working conditions are the norm in many EPZs. Sometimes organizing unions is banned or restricted. EPZs are also known by other names, such as Special Economic Zones, Industrial Development Zones, etc.
- **GENERALIZED SYSTEM OF PREFERENCES (GSP):** A trade program established by the U.S. government that allows certain countries to export their products to the U.S. at lower tariffs than those established by the World Trade Organization. The GSP contains a labor rights clause requiring countries to meet some minimum human and labor rights standards in order to qualify for the program.
- **INTERNATIONAL CONFEDERATION OF FREE TRADE UNIONS (ICFTU):** A former confederation of 233 trade union federations and other organizations from 154 countries and territories around the world. Representing over 135 millions workers, the ICFTU organized and directed international campaigns on issues important to working people. The ICFTU and the World Confederation of Labor (WCL) merged in 2006 to become the International Trade Union Confederation (ITUC). The ITUC has 304 national affiliates in 153 countries representing over 168 million workers.
- **INTERNATIONAL LABOR ORGANIZATION (ILO):** The ILO is a part of the United Nations that promotes workers rights and human rights. The ILO sets international labor standards to protect basic rights such as the right to organize, collective bargaining, abolition of forced labor, equality of opportunity and treatment, and other conditions at work. Workers, employers, and

continued on inside back cover

USING TRADE PROVISIONS TO ORGANIZE

TOOLS FOR ORGANIZERS IN EXPORT PROCESSING ZONES AND INDUSTRIES

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INTRODUCTION TO FIGHTING FOR LABOR RIGHTS

Besides unions at the workplace and alliances with other organizations, local, national, and international labor rights policies and laws are also an important part of worker power. These rights may include organizing rights such as the right to form unions, bargain collectively, and strike. They may also include minimum standards for wages, health and welfare, and safety. The stronger the labor rights laws and policies are, the greater the likelihood that workers will use them to organize for greater power.

Currently, the laws and policies governing the global economy favor corporate investors at the expense of workers. EPZs offer investors low costs for labor, utilities, and rent while often barring workers from organizing unions. Trade agreements contain regulations to protect investors' rights but rarely include enforceable provisions to protect workers. International finance policies offer loans to poor countries but require repayment through economic reform policies that often cause higher unemployment and lower wages.

The rules governing how the global economy works are written and managed by international public institutions, like the World Trade Organization (WTO), the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund (IMF), regional development banks, and the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD). Only the OECD allows labor a formal advisory role (the Trade Union Advisory Committee, consists of labor federations from OECD member countries, headquartered in Paris, France).

In spite of this exclusion, some strong unions have been able to make significant breakthroughs in shaping labor laws and labor rights policies. This section, "Negotiating Labor Rights in EPZs," looks at South Africa to see how unions negotiated with their government for provisions that require foreign investors to recognize unions and adhere to labor laws. "Using Trade Provisions to Organize Unions," examines how unions in Swaziland used language in the Generalized System of Preferences to pressure the government to force employers to recognize unions. Finally, "Stopping Anti-Worker IFI Policies" studies how a coalition of unions and NGOs in Sri Lanka prevented their government from dismantling protections in labor law despite pressure from international financial institutions to do so.

MODULE 9: USING TRADE PROVISIONS TO ORGANIZE

WORKSHOP GOALS

INTRODUCTION

In the massive demonstrations held against the World Trade Organization during the past few years, union federations and other advocacy organizations have demanded the inclusion of labor rights as an integral part of trade agreements. They argue that the rights given to multinational corporations must be balanced by rights that protect workers. If not, then these corporations have almost unlimited power, whereas workers have none.

Union organizers often wonder what concrete relationship international trade policies have to organizing in their factories. One way to understand this is to see how trade policies with labor rights provisions have actually helped union organizing.

In Swaziland, a group of foreign employers refused to allow workers to form unions. Through a series of international connections, the Swaziland Federation of Trade Unions joined with the AFL-CIO to file a complaint under the U.S. Generalized System of Preferences, which provides that countries should uphold labor rights or certain trade privileges provided by the U.S. can be taken away. This was the leverage that the Swazi labor movement needed to pressure their government to force these foreign employers to recognize the unions in their plants.

TEACHING GOALS

- To understand what internationally-recognized core labor standards are.
- To understand how core labor standards in trade agreements can help union organizing.
- To understand various forms of trade agreements, including the Generalized System of Preferences.

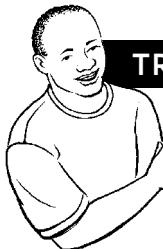
SKILLS GOALS

- To understand how trade policy can be used in organizing.
- To map the flow of a campaign.
- To create policies that would help organizing.
- To research existing labor rights policies.

TRAINER'S NOTES

TIME TO DO THIS WORKSHOP:

The whole workshop will take about **4 hours** if you do all the exercises as well as the Welcome, Action Planning, and Closing activities. If you want to make it shorter, you can do only one of the exercises or divide the workshop in half and present it over 2 training sessions.



TRAINERS TIP

When a workshop is over 2 hours long or participants are tired, breaks and energizers are important tools to keep participants interested and engaged in the training.

Energizers are short, fun activities that let participants move around and take a mental break from the hard work of learning. Be sure to plan time for energizers, especially after lunch and in the evening when participants' energy is lowest. You can even ask a group of participants to form an "Energizer Committee" with the job of calling for a game or energizer whenever they see the participants are getting sleepy or distracted. This committee can then lead the games or ask you to lead them. Energizers can be songs, chants, or any non-competitive game or activity the group can do together.

TRAINER'S NOTES (CONTINUED)

MATERIALS NEEDED FOR THIS WORKSHOP:

- Something to write on that everyone can see: large paper and marking pens, or chalk and chalkboard.
- Some materials for drawing (Exercise 1 only): paper and pens, pencils, markers or crayons, chalk and chalkboard, cardboard, charcoal, or anything else you can find for drawing. In some places, people use sticks and make their drawings in the sand or dirt. In other places, people use scissors and cloth to make pictures.

OPTIONAL: Trade agreement language on worker rights from an agreement that your country is part of (Exercise 3 only). See the Trainer's Tip for Exercise 3 on page 21.

BEFORE YOU START:

- Read the whole Workshop Curriculum.
- Plan your agenda for the workshop. Decide how long the workshop will be. Choose which exercises you will do. Plan time for breaks and energizers.
- Collect all the materials you need.
- Set up the room the way you want it.



TRAINERS TIP

Some words and terms in this curriculum may be new for you or for the participants in the workshop. Look on the inside front and back covers for a list of definitions.

HOW THE WORKSHOP WORKS

HOW THE WORKSHOP WORKS

The workshop has 6 sections. In each section you and the participants will be doing a different kind of activity. There is a picture to remind you of the kind of activity you will do in that section. Here are the pictures and what they are reminding you to do:



WELCOME AND
GET STARTED



DISCUSS THE
STORY AND/OR
PICTURE



LEARN ABOUT
OTHER WORKERS'
SUCCESSES



DO EXERCISES
TO LEARN NEW
SKILLS



LEARN BY DOING



EVALUATE AND CLOSE
THE TRAINING



WELCOME AND GET STARTED

TRAINER: In this section, you will tell the group what the workshop is about. Then participants will introduce themselves to each other. The other activities suggested on this page can help people feel welcome, comfortable, and respected during the workshop. When people feel comfortable, they will learn more and the workshop will be more successful.

TIME: 30 minutes (or less if there are fewer than 20 people in your group)

ACTIVITIES FOR GETTING STARTED:

First do Activities **1** and **2**, then choose among **A**, **B**, and **C** for one more activity.

- 1.** Tell the participants what the workshop is about.
- 2.** Ask everyone to introduce themselves to the group.

A. Ask everyone to take turns saying why they think the workshop is important.

B. Ask a volunteer to sing a song, say a prayer, or recite a poem.

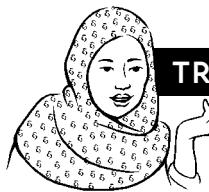
C. Ask everyone to take turns answering the introduction question in the box.

Answering the introduction question can help people to start thinking about the topic of the workshop.



INTRODUCTION QUESTION:

If you had the power to make one new law for your country, what would it be?



TRAINERS TIP

SONGS, PRAYERS, AND POEMS let people know that their culture and spirit will be respected in the workshop. Songs, prayers, and poems are also an opportunity to let a participant be the leader.



TRAINERS TIP

INTRODUCTION QUESTIONS help people use their voices and participate in an easy way for the first time. Then they will be more comfortable to speak later on.



DISCUSS THE STORY AND/OR PICTURE

TRAINER: In this section, you can ask someone in the group to read the story out loud or you can read it out loud yourself. If you don't want to use the story, you can just look at the picture together. Then discuss the story and/or picture using the questions on the next page.

TIME: 30 minutes

MIKE TSABEDZE's Story:

"It was very challenging at first. When we would talk about labor laws and our right to join a union, the management would complain to the government and try to avoid the labor laws. The managers would just say to us, 'Remember, you are a worker! I didn't employ you to speak for people here, to talk for the workers.'"

— MIKE TSABEDZE, SMAWU Shop Steward,
Zheng Yong Factory, Swaziland



DISCUSS THE STORY AND/OR PICTURE (CONTINUED)

TRAINER: Ask the participants to discuss the questions below. Allow about 10 minutes for each question. If you want to, you can write what people say on a big piece of paper or a chalkboard as they answer the questions.

If there are more than 20 people in the room, you can divide into small groups of 4 or 5 people for the discussion. If they are in small groups, visit each group while they talk. Make sure that each person in each group has a chance to talk.

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS:

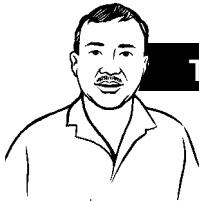
- 1.** What is happening in this story and picture?
- 2.** What legal rights do you know for sure that you have on the job?
- 3.** In your experience, what are the differences between the legal rights workers are supposed to have on the job and the way that employers actually treat workers?



LEARN ABOUT OTHER WORKERS' SUCCESSES

TRAINER: In this section, you can ask for several different people in the group to volunteer to read the different parts of the story out loud or you can read it out loud yourself. Then ask the group to discuss the question at the bottom.

TIME: 15 minutes



TRAINERS TIP

The trade union movement in Swaziland has led the struggle for justice, democracy, and workers' rights in the country since 1973, when the King of Swaziland issued a decree claiming absolute power and taking away many basic rights, including worker rights such as the right to join a labor union.



JAN SITHOLE's Story, General Secretary, Swaziland Federation of Trade Unions (SFTU)

"People were suffering under the undemocratic political conditions imposed by the King. The government refused to change. But we didn't give up. We organized national general strikes in 1994, 1995, 1996, and 1997. Shops stayed closed, transport didn't move, and water and electricity service were cut off. It was a complete standstill and everybody was affected. In 1997, COSATU, a South African union federation, helped us to stop all trucks from entering or leaving Swaziland... This had a big impact on the government because many products cross our borders by truck every day.

"The government tried to stop us...by creating a law just 2 days before our national strike in 1996 that made it illegal to participate in union activity. On the first day of the strike, some of us were arrested and charged in court. At the same time, the government tried to crush the protests, and the army shot many protesters with live bullets. A 16-year-old girl was shot dead.

"The International Labor Organization (ILO) spoke out against the government of Swaziland and sent some inspectors to Swaziland to see how bad the situation was.

story continued on page 11

LEARN ABOUT OTHER WORKERS' SUCCESSES (CONTINUED)

JAN SITHOLE's Story, CONTINUED:

After this visit, the ILO came out with a report that supported the complaints of the workers.

"Through the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) we heard that the AFL-CIO, a U.S. labor federation, might be able to help us put pressure on our government to improve the treatment of workers in Swaziland. We explained the problems we were facing in Swaziland to the AFL-CIO. The AFL-CIO also saw the reports made by the ILO about the situation for workers in Swaziland.

"The AFL-CIO has an agreement with the U.S. government that countries trading with the U.S.A. must meet certain standards and conditions for how they treat their workers and respect human rights. The U.S. government has a program called the Generalized System of Preferences (GSP), which allows certain countries to export their products to the United States at lower [tariffs]. But in order to be part of the GSP program, a country must meet the standard of respecting human rights and respecting the ILO conventions. The AFL-CIO can submit reports called petitions to the U.S. government if it feels that a country does not respect human rights or workers' rights. The U.S. government can then take the country out of the GSP program.

"The AFL-CIO supported us by pressuring the U.S. government to remove Swaziland from the GSP program. The U.S. government checked with the ILO and found information that supported the AFL-CIO's petition about the bad treatment of workers in Swaziland. The U.S. government began to say to Swaziland, 'If you do not start respecting your people's rights, you will not be able to trade with the United States.'

"Garment companies come to Swaziland because they can sell their products cheaply in the United States through the GSP program. When garment businesses learned that Swaziland might be kicked out of the GSP program, they told the government: 'The reason we have our businesses here is because of the GSP benefit. If that benefit goes, we will relocate.'

"The government was now pressured from employers, the market, and workers. This was very powerful. We learned that the strategy of forcing the government to change in order to defend its business with the United States was very effective. Even though the

story continued on page 12

LEARN ABOUT OTHER WORKERS' SUCCESSES (CONTINUED)

JAN SITHOLE's Story, CONTINUED:

"ILO was involved, words alone did not make the government change their attitude. Real change only started to happen when the AFL-CIO convinced the U.S. government that worker rights were being violated in Swaziland. The U.S. government set a deadline for Swaziland to change its laws and improve its treatment of workers, or it would be removed from the GSP.

"The end result of all of this was that the government conceded to our demands in the year 2000. We now have a labor law that enables us to engage in peaceful protest action without interference from government. We can publicly make demands for our members and for the society as a whole. In one recent protest in March 2003, 7,000 garment workers participated."

DISCUSSION QUESTION:

1. What one new thing did you learn from this story?

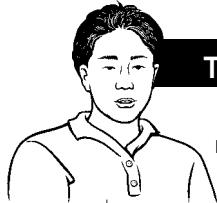


DO EXERCISES TO LEARN NEW SKILLS

EXERCISE 1: ANALYZE HOW WORKER POWER FORCED THE GOVERNMENT TO RESPECT AN INTERNATIONAL AGREEMENT ON WORKERS' RIGHTS

TRAINER: In this exercise, participants will brainstorm a list of different kinds of power workers had in the Swaziland story. They will draw a picture showing how workers used their power to put pressure on the Swazi government to respect worker rights. Finally, they will have a discussion about their picture and the story.

TIME: 60 minutes



TRAINERS TIP

- The U.S. GSP PROGRAM WORKER RIGHTS PROTECTIONS are rules for workers' rights that countries must follow in order to export at lower costs to the United States.
- The ILO CORE CONVENTIONS are rules for workers' rights that are a model for all countries. They are very similar to the protections under the U.S. GSP Program, however there is no provision for enforcement. For more information about the ILO and ILO Core Conventions, as well as the UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights, see the Fact Sheet on page 29 of Mounting International Campaigns (Module 7).

WHAT TO DO:

1. As a large group, ask the participants to answer the brainstorm question on the next page. You or a volunteer can write down what people say on a big piece of paper or a chalkboard.

EXERCISES TO LEARN NEW SKILLS

EXERCISE 1: ANALYZE WORKER POWER (CONTINUED)

WHAT TO DO (CONTINUED)

BRAINSTORM QUESTION:

In the story from Swaziland, the Swazi king and government refused to recognize worker rights in national law or in international trade agreements. What sources of power did the Swazi unions have to pressure the government to change?



TRAINERS TIP

Towards the end of this discussion, you can add the following kinds of power to the list if the participants have not thought of them already.

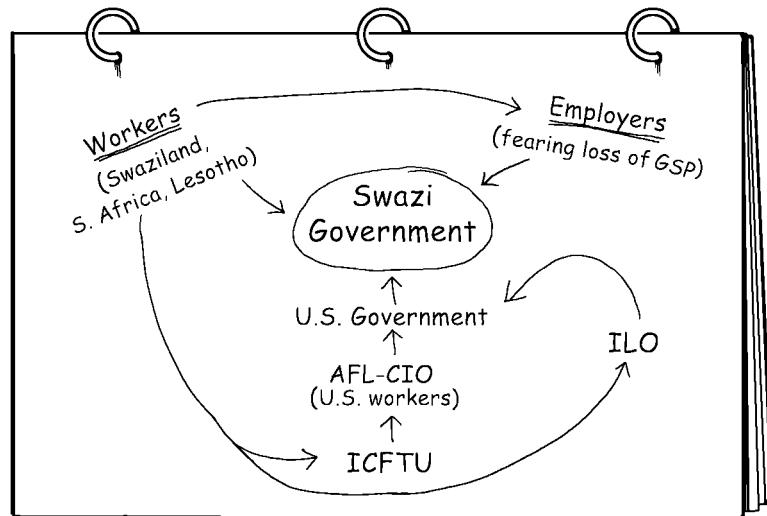
- Local power “at the base” of workers organizing in factories
- National power of organized national federation of unions
- Power to influence the nation’s day-to-day life, economy and business through national strikes (transport, utilities, shops, etc.)
- International power of cooperative relationships with union federations outside Swaziland (especially COSATU in South Africa, the AFL-CIO in the U.S. and the ICFTU international labor federation)
- Power of existing international standards for worker rights
- Power of existing standards for worker rights in the GSP agreement between Swaziland and the United States
- Power of businesses to threaten Swazi government with moving to another country

EXERCISES TO LEARN NEW SKILLS

EXERCISE 1: ANALYZE WORKER POWER (CONTINUED)

WHAT TO DO (CONTINUED)

2. Ask participants to sit in groups of 4 or 5 people. Give each group materials for drawing. Ask each group to draw a picture showing how the Swazi unions in solidarity with unions outside Swaziland used these different kinds of power to pressure the Swazi government to recognize worker rights. Encourage the groups to think about each step that the Swazi unions took in the story you read together. The picture might look something like the picture below. Give them about 20 minutes to draw their picture.



3. After about 20 minutes, ask the participants to return to the large group. Ask each small group to show their picture to the others and describe what they have drawn and why.
4. As a large group, ask the participants to answer the discussion questions on the next page.

EXERCISES TO LEARN NEW SKILLS

EXERCISE 1: ANALYZE WORKER POWER (CONTINUED)

WHAT TO DO (CONTINUED)

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS:

- 1.** What is the same and what is different among the pictures that the small groups drew?
- 2.** What were the different ways that Swazi unions put pressure on employers in this story? What was the result?
- 3.** Which set of labor standards could be used effectively as a tool for workers to organize: the ILO Core Conventions or the U.S. GSP program? Why?

REFLECTION ON THE EXERCISE

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

- The Swazi unions had an ongoing history of fighting for labor rights.
- When foreign investors refused to recognize unions, the labor movement used the GSP labor rights language to force the government to persuade these investors to recognize unions.

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



DO EXERCISES TO LEARN NEW SKILLS

EXERCISE 2:

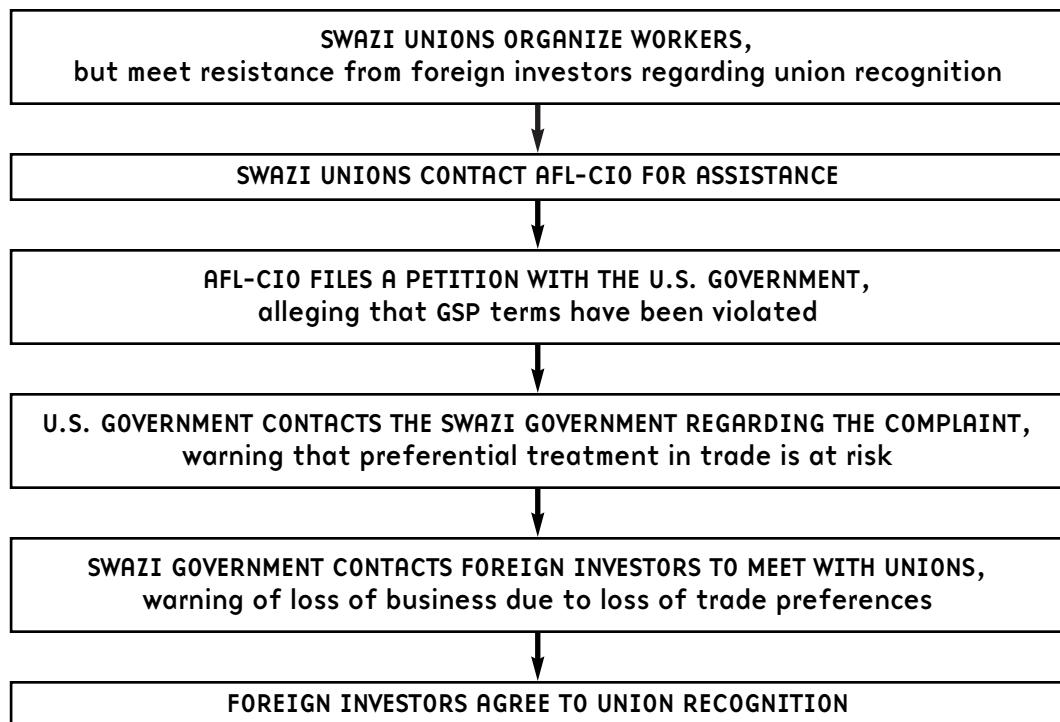
UNDERSTANDING THE STEPS IN FILING A GSP COMPLAINT

TRAINER: In this exercise, participants will sharpen their understanding of how to file a GSP complaint and use that process for organizing.

TIME: 30 minutes

WHAT TO DO:

1. As a large group, ask the participants to name the steps, in order, that were used to file the GSP complaint and win union recognition. Put these steps in a diagram from top to bottom and draw arrows to indicate the flow of effort:



EXERCISES TO LEARN NEW SKILLS

EXERCISE 2: UNDERSTANDING THE STEPS (CONTINUED)

WHAT TO DO (CONTINUED):

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS:

- 1.** In what way was the GSP labor rights language used as a “tool” for organizing?
- 2.** What conditions were necessary to make use of this tool?
- 3.** In this framework, who is responsible for ensuring worker rights: the employer, the government, or both?
- 4.** Have you ever used laws, regulations, or other policies as tools for organizing? If so, how?

REFLECTION ON THE EXCERCISE

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

- GSP petitions, because of their labor standards language, can be tools for workers to achieve worker rights.
- Unions must have a strong base of organized workers in order to use policy tools successfully.
- Unions must connect with a U.S. entity, such as the AFL-CIO, in order to file a GSP petition.
- Trade agreements give investors rights, but when they make investors rights conditional upon labor rights, this may be a valuable tool for unions.

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



DO EXERCISES TO LEARN NEW SKILLS

EXERCISE 3: MODEL A GSP PETITION EFFORT

TRAINER: In this exercise, participants will take what they have learned from the Swaziland example and chart a similar GSP effort with their own issues. Alternatively, they may choose to chart a campaign to insert labor rights language in another trade agreement.

TIME: 45 minutes

WHAT TO DO:

1. As a large group, ask the participants to name the worker rights goals that they are struggling for as a labor movement in their country or in their factory. Write the goals they name on a big piece of paper or a chalkboard.



TRAINERS TIP

Here are some examples of goals that participants might choose for this exercise:

- Be able to organize a union and bargain for a union contract legally.
- Be able to organize a union and bargain for a union contract without harassment or retaliation from employers or the government.
- Have a safe and healthy work environment for all workers.
- Women receive equal pay for equal work and not be discriminated against or harassed for pregnancy.

EXERCISES TO LEARN NEW SKILLS

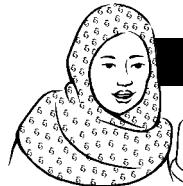
EXERCISE 3: MODEL A GSP PETITION EFFORT (CONTINUED)

WHAT TO DO (CONTINUED):

2. Write the ILO fundamental worker rights (see fact sheet, page 30) on large sheets of paper or on the chalkboard, and ask the group to see where their employers or their government are violating the ILO conventions and thereby preventing them from achieving their goals.
3. In small groups of 5 to 7 people, ask the participants to chart the steps necessary to bring a GSP complaint on their country's violations.
4. Then ask each small group to prepare a skit of not more than 10 minutes where the arguments for the GSP petition are made from one level to the next:
 - The union
 - The AFL-CIO
 - The U.S. government
 - The government of the participants
 - The employers
5. If you have time, the skit can be performed for the whole group. Otherwise, the skit can either be enacted in front of one other small group, or the skit can be done within the small group itself.

EXERCISES TO LEARN NEW SKILLS

EXERCISE 3: MODEL A GSP PETITION EFFORT (CONTINUED)



TRAINERS TIP

Another way you can do this exercise is to compare the list participants brainstormed in Step 2 to the language in a different trade agreement that your country has with some other nation or nations. Many countries around the world participate in the GSP program with the United States, but not all do. Also, your country may participate in other trade agreements that are more important politically and economically for your country than the GSP.

If you want to use a different trade agreement for this exercise:

1. Find out what trade agreements your country participates in.
2. Find the actual language of that agreement.
3. Read it.
4. If there are worker rights provisions in it, re-write the sections on worker rights to make the language easy for everybody to understand when you talk about it in the workshop.
5. Make a poster showing these worker rights using pictures or words. If you don't have paper for a poster, write or draw these workers rights on a chalkboard or some other place everybody can see them.
6. After the participants brainstorm their own list in Step 2, ask them to look at your poster.
7. Compare their list to the worker rights on the poster as in Step 3.

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS:

1. What are the limitations of using GSP and other policies as a tool for organizing?
2. Why can't policy maneuvers such as GSP petitions be successful without grassroots campaigns?
3. What is the use of labor standards in trade agreements without strong unions?

EXERCISES TO LEARN NEW SKILLS

EXERCISE 3: MODEL A GSP PETITION EFFORT (CONTINUED)

REFLECTION ON THE EXCERCISE

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

- GSP and other trade provisions are potentially an important tool for worker organizing.
- GSP and other trade provisions are only “tools,” and can not substitute for efforts to build strong unions and make important alliances.

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



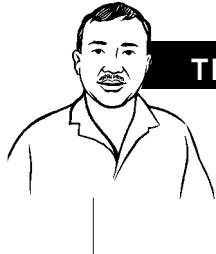
LEARN BY DOING

TRAINER: In this exercise, participants will make plans for future work together based on what they learned in the workshop, including the Action Ideas from each exercise. They will have a discussion and fill out the Action Plan Worksheet on page 25.

TIME: 30 minutes or more

WHAT TO DO:

1. Make an Action Plan Worksheet like the one on page 25 on a large piece of paper or chalkboard. Explain to the participants that you will fill out this Worksheet together. Ask for a volunteer to take notes if you are writing on a chalkboard so the participants will have a record of their plan.
2. Ask participants to name the overall goal of their campaign. Write what they say in the section of the Worksheet that says: "Overall Goal of Campaign or Project." **Examples:** "Win labor rights language in the upcoming trade agreement," or "Mobilize national unions to fight for labor rights language in regional trade agreements."
3. Ask the participants to do a power analysis. Who would support this idea and who would oppose it? What kind of effort will be necessary to increase worker power?



TRAINERS TIP

An important goal of this workshop is for participants to put their new skills in action. This exercise and the sample worksheets can help participants move from learning to action.

LEARN BY DOING (CONTINUED)

WHAT TO DO (CONTINUED):

4. Ask volunteers for Action Steps to achieve the goals based upon the Action Ideas they have come up with from the exercises and the power analysis. When the steps are complete, ask the participants to decide when they will do each step in the next year. Write a word or draw a picture representing this Action Idea in the appropriate section of the Action Plan Worksheet.

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

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS:

1. What trade agreements does our country already participate in?
2. How can we find out more about these and other trade agreements that we could use to improve conditions for working people in our country?
3. To use these trade agreements in the workers' interest, what kinds of power will we need?
4. How will we build this power among our own members and in our alliances with other unions?
5. What changes in the trade agreements our country participates in are most important for us as a union?

As the participants name new Action Ideas during this discussion, ask them when they will do these actions in the next year. Write a word or draw a picture representing these new Action Ideas in the appropriate section of the Action Plan Worksheet as in Step #3 above.

ACTION PLAN WORKSHEET

OVERALL GOAL OF CAMPAIGN OR PROJECT	
ACTION STEPS FOR THE NEXT MONTH: Example: 3 things we will do to identify specific goals we hope to accomplish using the power of language in trade or international agreements.	1. 2. 3.
ACTION STEPS FOR THE NEXT 3 MONTHS: Example: 3 things we will do to learn about our country's trade and international agreements.	1. 2. 3.
ACTION STEPS FOR THE NEXT 6 MONTHS: Example: 3 things we will do to develop a strategy to use these agreements to achieve our goal.	1. 2. 3.
ACTION STEPS FOR THE NEXT 9 MONTHS: Example: 3 things we will do to build power among workers and others in our community to achieve our goal.	1. 2. 3.
ACTION STEPS FOR THE NEXT 12 MONTHS: Example: 3 things we will do to build power to achieve our goal through alliances with other unions.	1. 2. 3.



EVALUATE AND CLOSE TRAINING

TRAINER: In this section, you will remind the group what the goals of the training were and acknowledge the goals you have accomplished together. You will thank any individuals or groups who helped make the training a success. Then participants will have a chance to evaluate the training and commit to taking action. The closing activities suggested on this page can help people feel successful, hopeful, and powerful as they complete the workshop.

TIME: 30 minutes (or less if there are fewer than 20 people in your group)

ACTIVITIES FOR EVALUATION AND CLOSING:

1. Remind the participants of the goals of this training (see page 3). Acknowledge that everyone has worked hard to finish the training and accomplish these goals.
2. Thank any individuals or groups who contributed to the success of the training, including those who contributed meeting space, food, time, etc.



TRAINERS TIP

Ask one of the participants to choose the closing ritual and lead the group in a chant, song, poem, prayer, etc. This gives someone in the group a chance to exercise leadership. It also makes clear to the group that what they have accomplished in the workshop belongs to them, not to you as the trainer.

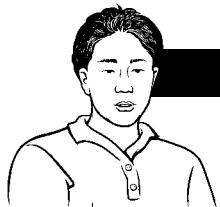
EVALUATE AND CLOSE TRAINING (CONTINUED)

3. As a large group, ask each person to say:

- One thing she or he learned in the training
- One thing she or he liked about the training
- One thing she or he will do to build their union based on what she/he learned in the training.

Options for this step: If you have a large group (more than 20 participants), you can ask for about 4 or 5 volunteers to answer the 3 questions or ask each person to answer only one question—rather than asking each person to answer all 3 questions.

4. Lead the group in a closing ritual. This could be a chant, song, dance, poem, or prayer.



TRAINERS TIP

You may want to spend more time evaluating the workshop with the participants if:

- you're working on improving your own training skills and you want to know how you can improve your facilitation;
- you're unsure of whether the content of the workshop was too easy, too hard, or just right for your participants;
- you're trying to decide whether to use this workshop again as part of your union's education program.

FACT SHEET: LABOR RIGHTS IN TRADE AGREEMENTS

Workers in Swaziland were able to use their trade agreement with the United States as a tool to improve worker rights in their country. One of the requirements a country must meet in order to be eligible under the GSP program is to ensure “internationally recognized worker rights.” The Swazi unions that were part of this struggle had the power to use the worker rights language in the GSP program because of their strong organizing in their factories and their alliances with unions in other countries.



TRAINERS TIP

“I started my trade union activity 20 years ago, when I was a worker in a food processing factory. Many factories now move to Swaziland because they can export their products to the United States very cheaply. With our very strong political actions and the help of many international allies, unions in Swaziland convinced the United States not to trade with Swaziland if it didn’t start treating its workers better and respecting their rights. Because the government wants to protect its business with the United States, it has now begun to pressure employers to respect workers’ rights.

I am very happy to share this story with other workers around the world, so that they can learn from our experience here in Swaziland.”

—JAN SITHOLE, General Secretary,
Swaziland Federation of Trade Unions (SFTU)

TYPES OF TRADE AGREEMENTS

There are 5 main types of trade agreements that countries enter into:

- Bilateral: between 2 countries. For example, the U.S.-Morocco Free Trade Agreement.
- Regional: between more than 2 countries in a geographic region. For example, the North American Free Trade Agreement or the African Growth and Opportunity Act.

LABOR RIGHTS IN TRADE AGREEMENTS (CONTINUED)

- Multi-regional: multiple countries in two or more regions. For example, the proposed agreements between North, Central and South America Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA).
- Global: including most of the countries in the world. For example, the former General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT).
- Sectoral: between any number of countries, but limited to a specific industrial sector such as textiles. For example, the Multi-Fiber Arrangement (which expired at the end of 2004).

Workers should investigate the type of agreements that their countries are involved in and the rules regarding worker rights that are included within the agreements (see box below). Some trade agreements can benefit workers while others can harm worker rights and their overall situation.

As they did in Swaziland, unions can use language in trade and other international agreements as leverage to pressure their governments and employers to respect worker rights. If a country's trade agreements do not already include worker rights language or if they are harmful to workers, unions can launch campaigns to change this.

RESEARCH WORKER RIGHTS IN TRADE AGREEMENTS

- Check websites of the WTO to see if your country is a member and which agreements your country has signed. www.wto.org
- Check to see if your country is part of a regional trade organization (e.g. NAFTA, CAFTA, etc.) and read the documents on their website.
- Use a search engine to search for your country and "worker rights" (or labor rights), "trade agreement," etc.

ASK OTHER UNIONS, A NGO, OR UNIVERSITY STUDENTS FOR HELP IN RESEARCHING AND UNDERSTANDING WHAT YOU FIND.

LABOR RIGHTS IN TRADE AGREEMENTS (CONTINUED)

WHY SHOULD WORKER RIGHTS LANGUAGE BE INCLUDED IN TRADE AGREEMENTS?

Because working people make the clothes, toys, electronics, foods, and other products that are traded between countries, worker rights should be in every trade agreement that governments sign. The language used to describe worker rights in trade agreements can take different forms, so workers need to fight for the strongest versions of these provisions.

Most importantly, trade agreements should protect the fundamental worker rights named by the International Labor Organization (ILO):

- Freedom of association, including the right to strike.
- The right to organize and bargain collectively.
- No forced or bonded labor.
- No child labor.
- No discrimination in the workplace.
- Equal pay for equal work.

Trade agreements can also include other specific language that protects workers such as:

- Acceptable conditions of work, including a living wage, reasonable work hours, health and safety rights, regulated overtime, and overtime pay.
- No forced overtime.
- Health insurance.
- Specific protections for women workers (maternity protection provisions).

Ideally, unions should also try to make sure that trade agreements include a process for handling any violations of worker rights, including a way to make complaints when worker rights violations happen and a method for enforcing the rights in the

LABOR RIGHTS IN TRADE AGREEMENTS (CONTINUED)

agreement. The best process would allow workers or unions themselves to make complaints about labor violations directly and easily to an enforcement organization.

If national laws in every country protected worker rights and if these laws were always enforced, then there would be little reason for workers to use trade agreements to protect their rights. However, labor laws are weak or not enforced in many countries and especially in export processing zones. By including worker rights in trade agreements, unions gain an additional tool to protect their members' rights.



TRAINERS TIP

Another example of a trade agreement that includes worker rights is the 1999 U.S.-Cambodia Bilateral Textile Agreement which links trade with labor rights. Under the agreement, trade increases are directly linked to the Cambodian government's progress in creating and enforcing labor laws. If conditions for workers improve, Cambodia's yearly export quota increases.

With garment manufacturing playing a dominant role in the Cambodian economy, the trade agreement gave the government an incentive to create and enforce labor law and to hold companies accountable. The agreement also gives workers a mechanism to bring complaints against employers. International labor institutions can also put pressure on the U.S. government to enforce the terms of the agreement.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS AND CREDITS

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DEFINITIONS (CONTINUED)

governments all participate in the ILO. The annual International Labor Conference of the ILO is an important forum for unions seeking to pressure governments and employers.

■ **LABOR UNION:** A labor union is an organization of workers who build collective power in their workplace in order to protect worker rights and improve working conditions, such as wages, hours and benefits. Often the union negotiates a collective bargaining agreement (or contract) with the employer to define and secure the rights of their members.

■ **SOLIDARITY:** Solidarity is the support people can give each other in working toward common goals. In a particular workplace, it could mean people making decisions together and working as a united group. International solidarity describes support among people or organizations from different countries. Solidarity between unions increases the strength of those unions to fight for their members' rights.

■ **STRATEGY:** A strategy refers to a systematic plan or main course of action for achieving a goal. For example, a first strategy to improve working conditions in a factory could be to organize a union, followed by a strategy of union protest to draw attention to bad

working conditions and pressure management to change them.

■ **SWAZILAND FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS (SFTU):**

A national union federation in Swaziland. The SFTU includes 21 Swazi unions representing a total of about 83,000 members in different industries.

■ **SWAZILAND MANUFACTURING AND ALLIED WORKERS UNION (SMAWU):**

A union in Swaziland that has organized Swazi garment workers in a number of factories, including those at the Zheng Yong factory.

■ **TRADE AGREEMENT:** A legally binding

agreement between 2 or more countries that describes the terms under which people and businesses in the two countries can buy and sell products to each other. Trade agreements control the flow of goods between countries. One way they do this is by regulating the taxes (tariffs) countries impose on goods from other countries. Trade agreements can also include protections for worker rights, human rights, the environment, and natural resources.

■ **ZHENG YONG:** The Zheng Yong factory is a

clothing factory in Swaziland, Southern Africa, where workers organized with the SMAWU.

TOOLS FOR ORGANIZERS

IN EXPORT PROCESSING ZONES AND INDUSTRIES

TRAINING MODULES IN THIS SERIES:

SECTION I: ORGANIZING STRONG UNIONS

1. Building Unity
2. Tapping Our Strength
3. Developing Democratic Leadership
4. Building Unions That Last

SECTION II: BUILDING ALLIANCES

5. Allying With Other Unions
6. Linking With Non-Governmental Organizations
7. Mounting International Campaigns

SECTION III: FIGHTING FOR LABOR RIGHTS

8. Negotiating Labor Rights in Export Processing Zones
9. Using Trade Provisions to Organize
10. Stopping Anti-Worker International Financial Institutions Policies

This booklet, **USING TRADE PROVISIONS TO ORGANIZE**, is Module 9 of 10 in a series of training modules for working people organizing in Export Processing Zones or other export-oriented industries.

FIGHTING FOR LABOR RIGHTS

Module 10: STOPPING ANTI-WORKER IFI POLICIES

TOOLS FOR ORGANIZERS

IN EXPORT PROCESSING ZONES AND INDUSTRIES



STOPPING ANTI-WORKER INTERNATIONAL FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS POLICIES

DEFINITIONS

■ **ALLIANCE FOR PROTECTION OF NATIONAL RESOURCES AND HUMAN RIGHTS:** An NGO in Sri Lanka that works to maintain national control over the country's resources and human rights agenda, especially regarding privatization and labor law reform.

■ **BRANDS:** A brand is the unique name that a company uses to sell its products. The brand name is often the same as the company name.

■ **CAMPAIGN:** A campaign is a series of activities that a group of people, such as members of a union, do together to achieve a goal. Workers may carry out campaigns to organize a union in their workplace. After organizing a union, workers may carry out a contract negotiation campaign to win a legally-binding contract that spells out wages, benefits, and working conditions.

■ **EXPORT PROCESSING ZONES (EPZS):** EPZs are industrial areas in a country that offer special incentives to foreign investors. These incentives may include low taxes, lax environmental regulations, and low labor costs. Low wages, long hours, and dangerous and repressive working conditions are the norm in many EPZs. Sometimes organizing unions is banned or restricted. EPZs are also known by other names, such as Special Economic Zones, Industrial Development Zones, etc.

■ **INTERNATIONAL FINANCE CORPORATION (IFC):** The IFC is the private lending sector arm of the World Bank. Its president is also the World Bank president. Thanks to continuing pressure from the global labor movement, the IFC now conditions its loans to companies on their respect for core international labor standards, like the right of workers to organize into unions. However, this win for workers must be monitored regularly.

■ **INTERNATIONAL FINANCIAL INSTITUTION (IFI):** Generic name given to financial institutions operating on an international level, ranging from development banks such as The World Bank and Asian Development Bank (ADB) to monetary authorities such as the IMF.

■ **INTERNATIONAL MONETARY FUND (IMF):** One of the 2 major international financial institutions that provides loans to developing countries. Controlled by the rich countries, the IMF usually requires that to qualify for short or medium-term loans, the recipient country must adopt a set of economic policies that often include high interest rates, privatization of public enterprises, and deregulation of trade and labor policies. Although the IMF claims that adoption of these policies increases economic efficiency, critics of the IMF argue that the policies hurt workers, damage the environment, and increase poverty and inequality.

■ **LABOR UNION:** A labor union is an organization of workers who build collective power in their workplace in order to protect worker rights and improve working conditions, such as wages, hours, and benefits. Often the union negotiates a collective bargaining agreement (or contract) with the employer to define and secure the rights of their members.

■ **NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATION (NGO):** NGOs are organized groups, independent of government, most often working to achieve a social objective such as ending poverty or serving particular groups of people, such as women or workers. NGOs can be small or large. They may be grassroots activist organizations, research centers, educational groups, or policy advocates.

STOPPING ANTI-WORKER INTERNATIONAL FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS POLICIES

TOOLS FOR ORGANIZERS

IN EXPORT PROCESSING ZONES AND INDUSTRIES

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INTRODUCTION TO FIGHTING FOR LABOR RIGHTS

Besides unions at the workplace and alliances with other organizations, local, national, and international labor rights policies and laws are also an important part of worker power. These rights may include organizing rights such as the right to form unions, bargain collectively, and strike. They may also include minimum standards for wages, health and welfare, and safety. The stronger the labor rights laws and policies are, the greater the likelihood that workers will use them to organize for greater power.

Currently, the laws and policies governing the global economy favor corporate investors at the expense of workers. EPZs offer investors low costs for labor, utilities, and rent while often barring workers from organizing unions. Trade agreements contain regulations to protect investors' rights but rarely include enforceable provisions to protect workers. International finance policies offer loans to poor countries but require repayment through economic reform policies that often cause higher unemployment and lower wages.

The rules governing how the global economy works are written and managed by international public institutions, like the World Trade Organization (WTO), the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund (IMF), regional development banks, and the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD). Only the OECD allows labor a formal advisory role (the Trade Union Advisory Committee, consists of labor federations from OECD member countries, headquartered in Paris, France).

In spite of this exclusion, some strong unions have been able to make significant breakthroughs in shaping labor laws and labor rights policies. This section, "Negotiating Labor Rights in EPZs," looks at South Africa to see how unions negotiated with their government for provisions that require foreign investors to recognize unions and adhere to labor laws. "Using Trade Provisions to Organize Unions," examines how unions in Swaziland used language in the Generalized System of Preferences to pressure the government to force employers to recognize unions. Finally, "Stopping Anti-Worker IFI Policies" studies how a coalition of unions and NGOs in Sri Lanka prevented their government from dismantling protections in labor law despite pressure from international financial institutions to do so.

MODULE 10: STOPPING ANTI-WORKER IFI POLICIES

WORKSHOP GOALS

INTRODUCTION

As countries struggle to develop their economies, they often need to borrow money. The World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) – also called International Financial Institutions or IFIs will lend money to countries, but only if the borrowing country adopts a set of economic reform policies. Typically, the reforms call for privatizing public services, lowering labor standards, expanding exports and reducing government programs like subsidies and services to the poor. Workers are affected directly by the widespread layoffs, lowering of labor standards and elimination of services. These economic reform policies have broadly failed to reduce poverty. New IFI programs require in-country consultations with unions and other civil society actors but significant changes in IFI policy are not yet widespread. An exception is the IFC's recent move to condition its loans on labor rights and environmental standards.

Unions can be overwhelmed by these challenges. These policies are set at a global level where most unions are not engaged. How can unions shape the powerful forces of the IFIs and globalization?

In Sri Lanka, unions built an alliance with NGOs, social movements, and members of the major political parties in order to mount a national campaign to oppose IMF demands for changes in labor laws that would reduce labor standards and worker rights. The strength of their coalition and the vast numbers of protestors they brought into the streets produced the pressure necessary for the government to consider the unions' demands.

TEACHING GOALS

- To understand what the IFIs and SAPs (and their successors) are and how they affect workers.
- To show that global policies can be fought and won at a local level.
- To create a strategy to respond to IFI policies.

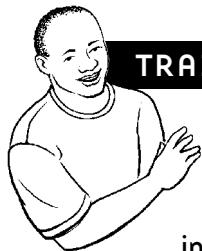
SKILLS GOALS

- To identify allies.
- To plan action using a timeline model.

TRAINER'S NOTES

TIME TO DO THIS WORKSHOP:

The whole workshop will take about **5 hours and 30 minutes** if you do all the exercises as well as the Welcome, Action Planning, and Closing activities. If you want to make it shorter, you can do only one of the exercises or present the workshop over 2 training sessions.



TRAINERS TIP

When a workshop is over 2 hours long or participants are tired, breaks and energizers are important tools to keep participants interested and engaged in the training.

Energizers are short, fun activities that let participants move around and take a mental break from the hard work of learning. Be sure to plan time for energizers, especially after lunch and in the evening when participants' energy is lowest. You can even ask a group of participants to form an "Energizer Committee" with the job of calling for a game or energizer whenever they see the participants are getting sleepy or distracted. This committee can then lead the games or ask you to lead them. Energizers can be songs, chants, or any non-competitive game or activity the group can do together.

TRAINER'S NOTES (CONTINUED)

MATERIALS NEEDED FOR THIS WORKSHOP:

- Something to write on that everyone can see: large paper and marking pens, or chalk and chalkboard.
- Copies of cards (Exercise 1 only): copies of the cards on pages 15-16, cut out ahead of time. You can make just one copy of each of the 4 cards, or if you have access to a photocopier, you can make copies for each participant.
- Copies of cards and tape or pins (Exercise 2 only): copies of the cards on page 19, cut out ahead of time, and tape or pins to attach the cards to the large paper or chalkboard.

BEFORE YOU START:

- Read the whole Workshop Curriculum.
- Plan your agenda for the workshop. Decide how long the workshop will be. Choose which exercises you will do. Plan time for breaks and energizers.
- Collect all the materials you need.
- Set up the room the way you want it.



TRAINERS TIP

Some words and terms in this curriculum may be new for you or for the participants in the workshop. Look on the inside front and back covers for a list of definitions.

HOW THE WORKSHOP WORKS

HOW THE WORKSHOP WORKS

The workshop has 6 sections. In each section you and the participants will be doing a different kind of activity. There is a picture to remind you of the kind of activity you will do in that section. Here are the pictures and what they are reminding you to do:



WELCOME AND
GET STARTED



DISCUSS THE
STORY AND/OR
PICTURE



LEARN ABOUT
OTHER WORKERS'
SUCCESSES



DO EXERCISES
TO LEARN NEW
SKILLS



LEARN BY DOING



EVALUATE AND CLOSE
THE TRAINING



WELCOME AND GET STARTED

TRAINER: In this section, you will tell the group what the workshop is about. Then participants will introduce themselves to each other. The other activities suggested on this page can help people feel welcome, comfortable, and respected during the workshop. When people feel comfortable, they will learn more and the workshop will be more successful.

TIME: 30 minutes (or less if there are fewer than 20 people in your group)

ACTIVITIES FOR GETTING STARTED:

First do Activities **1** and **2**, then choose among **A**, **B**, and **C** for one more activity.

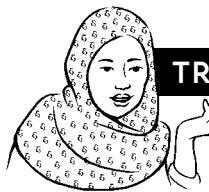
- 1.** Tell the participants what the workshop is about.
- 2.** Ask everyone to introduce themselves to the group.

- A.** Ask everyone to take turns saying why they think the workshop is important.
- B.** Ask a volunteer to sing a song, say a prayer, or recite a poem.
- C.** Ask everyone to take turns answering the introduction question in the box.
Answering the introduction question can help people to start thinking about the topic of the workshop.



INTRODUCTION QUESTION:

What gives you courage to continue struggling when a challenge you face seems very large?



TRAINERS TIP

SONGS, PRAYERS, AND POEMS let people know that their culture and spirit will be respected in the workshop. Songs, prayers, and poems are also an opportunity to let a participant be the leader.



TRAINERS TIP

INTRODUCTION QUESTIONS help people use their voices and participate in an easy way for the first time. Then they will be more comfortable to speak later on.



DISCUSS THE STORY AND/OR PICTURE

TRAINER: In this section, you can ask someone in the group to read the story out loud or you can read it out loud yourself. If you don't want to use the story, you can just look at the pictures together. Then discuss the story and/or pictures using the questions on the next page.

TIME: 30 minutes

ANTON MARCUS's Story:

"We formed the Alliance to face the challenge of privatization and labor law reform. The main goal of the Alliance is to see that Sri Lanka is not going to be under any world authorities. We want to maintain our independence. We want to make sure that our resources will be protected and the rights of workers should be respected. We should have the same rights as people in the developed world. But people's basic rights are under threat throughout the world."

– ANTON MARCUS, Free Trade Zones and General Services Employees Union
and the Alliance for Protection of National Resources and Human Rights, Sri Lanka



DISCUSS THE STORY AND/OR PICTURE (CONTINUED)

TRAINER: Ask the participants to discuss the questions below. Allow about 10 minutes for each question. If you want to, you can write what people say on a big piece of paper or a chalkboard as they answer the questions.

If there are more than 20 people in the room, you can divide into small groups of 4 or 5 people for the discussion. If they are in small groups, visit each group while they talk. Make sure that each person in each group has a chance to talk.

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS:

- 1.** What is happening in this picture and story?
- 2.** Do you agree with Anton's statement that workers have the same rights in poorer countries as in richer countries? Why or why not?
- 3.** What policies of IFIs are affecting workers in our country and in our union?
- 4.** In what circumstances have workers in our country protested against actions of the parliament or national government? What happened as a result of those protests?



LEARN ABOUT OTHER WORKERS' SUCCESSES



TRAINERS TIP

To "amend" a law means to change it.
In many countries, a change in law
has to be approved by the parliament
or congress.

TRAINER: In this section, you can ask for several different people in the group to volunteer to read the different parts of the story out loud or you can read it out loud yourself. Then ask the group to discuss the question at the bottom.

TIME: 15 minutes



ANTON MARCUS's Story, Free Trade Zones and General Services Employees Union, Sri Lanka

"The Alliance for Protection of National Resources and Human Rights is now made up of 125 organizations. Our campaign against privatization began in 2001 when 3 trade unions in the Free Trade Zones held a rally. We organized a campaign with other unions against the labor reforms. On May Day 2002, we held a joint rally with other unions – 18 unions participated, with 10,000 people, whereas the previous rally was only 3 unions.

"At the same time, the agricultural sector was facing lots of reforms under the IMF. One IMF proposal was to privatize water, so major NGOs were fighting that proposal. The NGOs and the trade unions came together after May Day. We formed the Alliance for Protection of National Resources and Human Rights. In October 2003 we had a rally with 20,000 people to protest the privatization of banks, insurance, and other public sector services, as well as the labor law reforms and the agricultural sector reforms. It was the largest rally since 1980.

"In January 2003, the government came out with the 3 major amendments to national labor law. The Prime Minister brought these amendments to Parliament on January 7.

story continued on page 11

LEARN ABOUT OTHER WORKERS' SUCCESSES (CONTINUED)

ANTON MARCUS's Story, CONTINUED:

"The Alliance called a protest for the same day. All over the country, workers came out at lunch and had a picket. The same day the reforms were being debated in Parliament, the Prime Minister called an emergency meeting with trade unions because of the protests. The Prime Minister tried to say, 'Let's just agree today because of the World Bank and the IMF, and then tomorrow we can change it.' In the end, the laws were passed but with major changes. The government got rid of the bad clauses because of public pressure. Workers got a lot of strength because of this action.

"These were the 3 major amendments to the labor law that the government proposed:

- If workers were unlawfully fired, employers would be allowed to provide them with back wages but not reinstate them. The Alliance's campaign forced the Prime Minister to agree that if the Labor Commission finds that an employer acted unlawfully, the worker would be reinstated with back pay.
- The system of hearing labor cases would be altered, supposedly to speed up the process. The Alliance opposed this, arguing that without a corresponding increase in staff and resources, cases could not be sped up without harming workers.
- The number of allowable hours of overtime worked per month would be vastly increased. Under previous law, only 100 hours of overtime per year were allowed, and only with the consent of the worker. The Prime Minister wanted to change the overtime law to allow 100 hours per **month** without the worker's consent. The Alliance was able to lower the limit to 60 hours per month, unfortunately still without consent.

"We were successful because the campaign was very much independent, not only from the government but from the political parties. That's why we were able to mobilize the rank and file and grassroots people.

"It's a very difficult task to keep the unions together with NGOs. Unity is very essential. One of the major challenges is to convince the traditional organizations of the importance of the role of women. Women are the most important force, but it's not reflected even in our alliance.

story continued on page 12

LEARN ABOUT OTHER WORKERS' SUCCESSES (CONTINUED)

ANTON MARCUS's Story, CONTINUED:

"We got so many people at the protests because we are organized at the district level. There are 9 districts in Sri Lanka, and any decision has to go to the district level for them to discuss. Trade unions in the public sector were very helpful. Everywhere there is a post office and a bank. Immediately we can send messages to those centers. Because these unions are already very strong, they have facilities to have meetings, and they can use these facilities throughout the whole country.

"We also have separate cultural groups – drama groups and musical groups – for women working in the Free Trade Zones. Every evening we have cultural activities. We have expanded these activities to other unions. Any demonstration and rally has street drama. Nowadays, young people are fed up with meetings and talking; we have to address them in other ways.

"If you really want to challenge the development model of the IMF, you must have a holistic approach."

DISCUSSION QUESTION:

1. What one new thing did you learn from this story?



DO EXERCISES TO LEARN NEW SKILLS

EXERCISE 1:

LEARN AND TEACH ABOUT IFIS THROUGH SONGS OR SKITS

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

TIME: 80 minutes

WHAT TO DO:

1. Before the training, make one copy of the cards on pages 15-16. If you have access to a photocopier, make copies for all participants to read later.
2. Ask the participants to sit together in 4 groups. Give one card to each of the groups and ask for a volunteer to read the card out loud. In the small group, ask the participants to discuss the questions below. Give the small groups about 25 minutes for discussion.

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS:

1. What institutions or groups are involved in the situation described on the card?
2. How are workers in export processing zones affected by this situation?
3. In our own experience, what examples can we think of that help explain or describe this situation?
3. Ask participants to make a song or a skit to teach the information on the card to the other participants. Ask them to imagine that they are not only teaching the information, but that they are also motivating other workers with their song or skit to join a rally against the policies of the IFIs that hurt workers.

EXERCISES TO LEARN NEW SKILLS

EXERCISE 1: LEARN AND TEACH ABOUT IFIS (CONTINUED)

WHAT TO DO (CONTINUED)

4. After about 10 minutes to allow for planning the songs or skits, ask the participants to return to the large group. Ask each small group to show their song or skit to the large group.

5. Ask participants to answer the following discussion questions as a large group.

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS:

1. What did we learn in these skits and songs?
2. What information on the cards surprised us? In what ways?
3. How could this information help workers in our union to change economic policies in our country?

REFLECTION ON THE EXERCISE

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

- The IFI's directly affect workers through legislation and policies that their countries must adopt in order to get loans.
- Workers can shape IFI policies through organized campaigns, and where necessary, can block harmful policies.

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



WHAT IS THE IMF?

The International Monetary Fund (IMF) is a major international financial institution set up by wealthy countries after World War 2. The original purpose of the IMF was to make trade relations smoother and keep national currencies (the money printed in each country) more stable. The IMF claims that its policies allow developing countries to prevent inflation and generate more wealth.

The IMF provides short-term loans with "strings attached" to poor countries. The "strings attached" were originally called Structural Adjustment Programs, or SAPs, where the country receiving the loan must promise to make changes to its economy in ways that benefit export producers, many of which are multinational companies.

One of the main reasons developing countries seek IMF loans is that they need to make payments on large debts they owe to international lenders. In other words, developing countries borrow money to pay interest on money they already borrowed. Since the value of their exports is often less than the cost of goods they import, developing countries use loans to pay their debts. You can see how this process does not help poor countries get out of debt! Without debt relief, forgiving the debts of poor countries that can never be repaid, some countries may never escape the burden of international debt.

Although 185 countries are members of the IMF, it is controlled by the wealthiest countries in the world. Only the U.S. has the power to veto IMF policy.



HOW DO IFI POLICIES AFFECT WORKERS IN EPZS?

Workers in EPZs are affected by IFI policies in at least 2 ways:

- They are affected at their jobs.
- They are affected in their communities.

IFI policies affect EPZ workers at work by influencing labor laws and affecting the kinds of jobs that are available. Often IFIs pressure governments to make changes in labor law that make union organizing more difficult. In Sri Lanka, the IMF demanded increased overtime and less protection for workers who are unfairly fired from their jobs. When IFI privatization policies force the government to lay off public sector workers, there is more competition for jobs in the EPZs, which drives wages even lower than they already are.

IFI policies affect EPZ workers at home, in their communities. Some SAPs enforced by IFIs require governments to reduce the number of public employees, including teachers, health care workers, and postal workers. This means that her children might attend severely overcrowded schools, or go to a hospital with hardly any nurses. IFIs often demand privatization of services like water and electricity. That raises their cost and EPZ workers would have to pay much more to receive basic services. Also, IFIs often demand that a government reduce subsidies on basic goods, like rice, corn or wheat, making those foods cost more.



WHAT IS THE ROLE OF IFIS IN THE HISTORY OF EPZS?

The first EPZ was set up in 1959 in Ireland at the Shannon Airport. In many ways, this EPZ was a success for workers and employers both. Good jobs were created quickly and, after 10 years, the Shannon Free Zone employed more than 4,700 people.

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

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

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



WHAT IS A STRUCTURAL ADJUSTMENT PROGRAM (SAP)?

A structural adjustment program or SAP [later renamed Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper or PRSP] is an agreement between an IFI and a developing country that needs a loan. In a SAP, the IFI promises to provide the country with loans in exchange for economic changes within the country. These economic changes usually include:

- Privatization of government-owned resources, industries, and services;
- Labor law reforms that benefit employers; and
- Expansion of EPZs.

Additional conditions that the IFI includes in the SAP plan include changes in taxes or laws related to trade.

IFIs say that a SAP will make the borrowing nation's economy more efficient—but efficient for whom? Certainly large Multinational Corporations have benefited from the new "efficiency," as the SAP makes it easier to take profits out of the country and to pay workers less.

Even though SAPs were supposed to help countries get out of debt, many countries are even more in debt now than when they first asked for help from the IFIs. The extreme measures imposed by the IFIs have made life harder for most workers and their families. Because of this, many unions are demanding debt relief for poor nations. Debt relief would cancel the debts of poorer nations and allow them to invest more of their nation's resources in its people.



DO EXERCISES TO LEARN NEW SKILLS

EXERCISE 2:

CREATE A TIMELINE OF A UNION CAMPAIGN TO RESIST ANTI-WORKER POLICIES

TRAINER: In this exercise, participants will create a timeline for a union campaign, based on Anton Marcus' story from Sri Lanka. Participants will then be invited to add to the timeline additional steps that they think would be necessary in their own situation. Participants will then have a discussion about the completed timeline.

TIME: 45 minutes

WHAT TO DO:

1. Draw a “timeline” on a big piece of paper or a chalkboard by drawing a long horizontal line. If you don’t have a paper or chalkboard, you can draw a long line on the ground.
2. Ask the participants to sit together in small groups of 4 or 5 persons.
3. Divide the cards on page 19 among the small groups.
4. Ask each small group to discuss the following question:

DISCUSSION QUESTION:

Remembering Anton Marcus’ story, at what point in his campaign did each of the events happen that are described on your cards?

5. Ask each small group to come up to the “timeline” and tape, pin, or place their cards along the line, showing when the events happened, before or after other events. Check with the participants to see if all groups are in agreement with the order of events shown. Some events may have happened more than once.

EXERCISES TO LEARN NEW SKILLS

EXERCISE 2: CREATE A TIMELINE (CONTINUED)

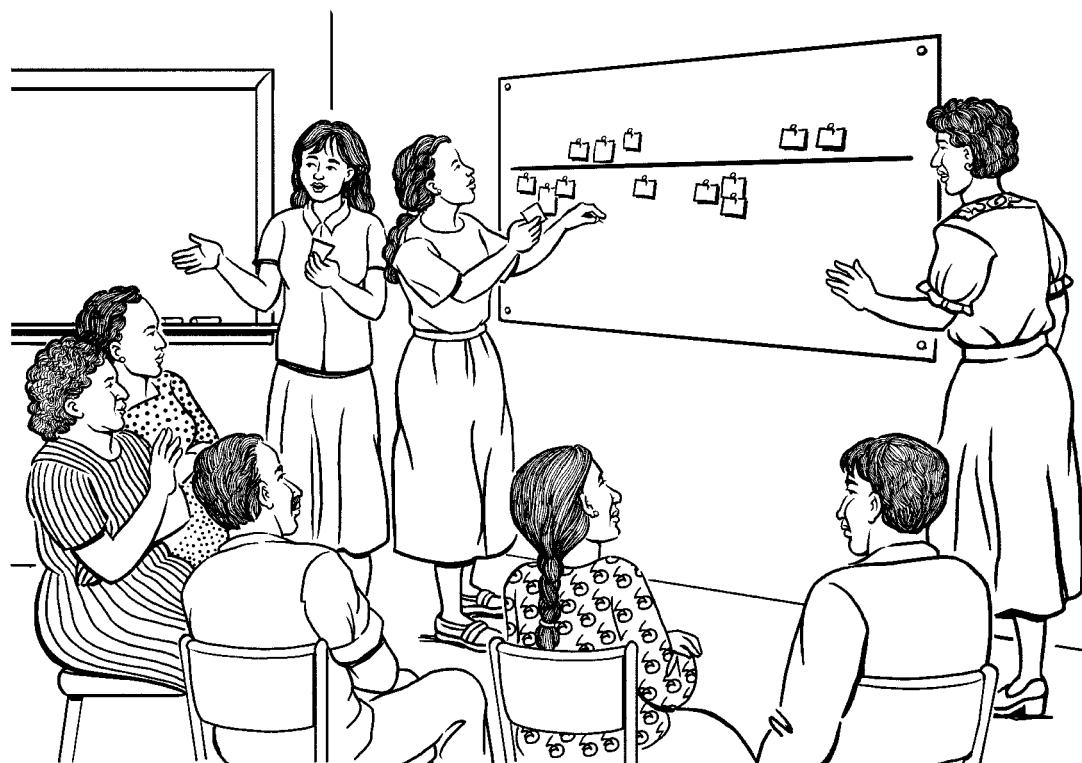
WHAT TO DO (CONTINUED):

6. Ask for a volunteer to retell briefly the story of the campaign in Sri Lanka using the timeline.

ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS:

Ask the participants to discuss the following questions as a large group. You may want to take notes on the timeline itself or on another paper during the discussion.

1. What additional organizing steps would you want to add to a timeline like this if the campaign were in your own country?
2. What do you think made the campaign in Anton's story so successful?
3. What do you think would help trade unions in your own country to change the IFI policies that hurt workers?



EXERCISES TO LEARN NEW SKILLS

EXERCISE 2: CREATE A TIMELINE (CONTINUED)

CARDS FOR THE TIMELINE EXERCISE



Hold union meetings.	Meet with NGOs that are also affected by the IFI policies.	Do skits, sing songs, or have other cultural events to encourage participation in the union.
Consult with trade union and community groups in different regions of the country.	Hold a rally or protest march.	Make banners and signs.
Ask the Prime Minister or Minister of Labor for a meeting.	Make a strategy and plan actions.	Talk to union leaders and NGO leaders about how they can work together.
Put announcements on the radio or in the newspapers about how the IMF rules are affecting workers.	Organize workers in free trade zones (EPZs) to defend their rights.	Defend workers who are dismissed unfairly for their participation in the union.
Make posters that educate the public about the lives of workers, especially women workers, in the EPZs.	Analyze the targets of the protest, identifying who in the government should be pressured.	Build a strong alliance with many unions and other organizations (NGOs).
Research the proposals of the IMF and the SAP plan for our country.	Train workers about their rights under current labor law and any proposed changes to labor laws.	Find examples of how workers in other countries have campaigned to change SAP plans.
Evaluate the results of the campaign.	Get support from international trade unions and organizations.	Maintain independence from traditional political parties if that will help mobilize supporters.

EXERCISES TO LEARN NEW SKILLS

EXERCISE 2: CREATE A TIMELINE (CONTINUED)

REFLECTION ON THE EXCERCISE

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

- The main way that IFI policies were defeated was by carrying out a big organizing campaign.

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



DO EXERCISES TO LEARN NEW SKILLS

EXERCISE 3:

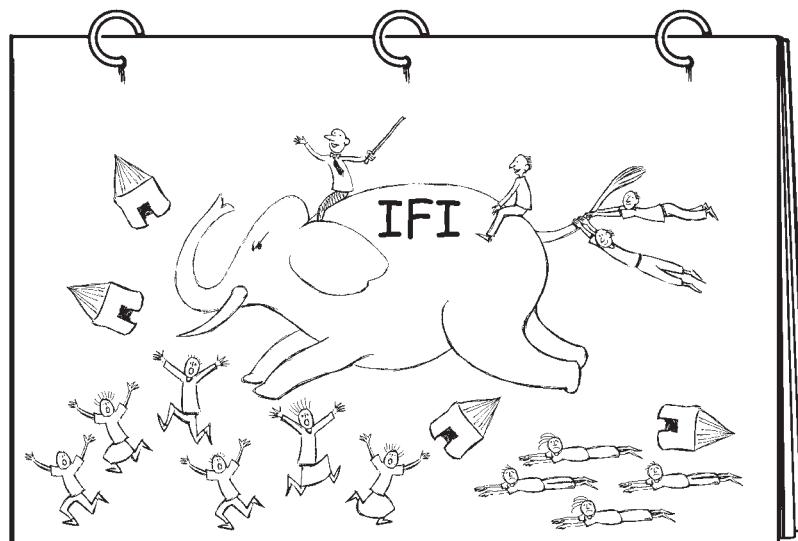
DRAW A DIAGRAM OF HOW DIFFERENT GROUPS ARE AFFECTED BY IFI POLICIES

TRAINER: In this exercise, participants will draw a diagram of an elephant, which represents IFIs, and brainstorm a list of groups of people who are affected by the “elephant” running through their community. Participants will then have a discussion about the completed diagram in relation to their ideas for building alliances and strategy.

TIME: 60 minutes

WHAT TO DO:

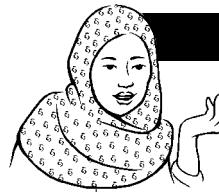
1. Ask the participants to sit together in a large group. Draw a “map” or diagram like the one below, showing an elephant labeled IFI, a person riding the elephant, one or 2 persons holding onto the tail and getting a ride as the elephant runs, and many people running from the elephant. You may also want to show small houses, either scattered or crushed by the elephant, to emphasize the destructive potential of the elephant.



EXERCISES TO LEARN NEW SKILLS

EXERCISE 3: DRAW A DIAGRAM (CONTINUED)

2. Tell the participants that the elephant in the picture represents IFIs. Ask the participants to discuss the following questions. During the discussion, label the parts of the diagram that are named by the participants.



TRAINERS TIP

If you prefer, you could draw a tiger, a bear, or some other large, strong animal instead of an elephant.

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS:

1. Who is riding the elephant? That is, who is controlling the IFIs?
2. Who are the individuals or groups within your country that are benefiting from IFI policies? That is to say, who are the people who are holding onto the tail of the elephant and getting carried along?
3. What groups of people in our country are hurt by the actions of the IFIs? If the IFIs are an elephant running through the community, who is at risk of being stepped on?



TRAINERS TIP: WOMEN WORKERS IN THE EPZs

In the campaigns in Sri Lanka, the union has had to confront the stigma against women who work in the EPZs. As one woman organizer, Chandrawathi S.A., says, "Some women can't go back to their villages... They can't marry because of the low social status of EPZ working women. So we've become enslaved to the free trade zones."

To help combat this stigma, the union created posters with slogans like, "Juki is not my name – I also have a name like you." Juki is the name of the machine the garment workers use.

Many women have become organizers in the union and in the Alliance for the Protection of National Resources and Human Rights. As Chandrawathi explains, "Nobody told us about laws and rights at the beginning. Then we learned and formed our unions, now we've come to a better stage. It's our duty to protect these laws and our rights."

EXERCISES TO LEARN NEW SKILLS

EXERCISE 3: DRAW A DIAGRAM (CONTINUED)

WHAT TO DO (CONTINUED):

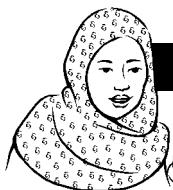
3. After all the parts of the diagram are labeled, ask the participants to sit in groups of 4 to 8 people and discuss the following questions:

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS:

1. What do you think **unions** in your country could do to change the anti-worker policies of the IFIs? Where would you draw unions on the elephant map?
 2. Which of the groups of people named on the diagram might want to join you in the task of fencing in this elephant? That is, which groups might join you in a **coalition** to stop the IFI policies that undermine workers' rights?
 3. What groups or individuals within the **government** of your country do you need to pressure in order to slow down the elephant (the IFIs)? Why?
 4. What could you do to talk to **other workers** inside your factory to support a campaign to change anti-worker policies?
-
4. Ask the participants to come back together as a large group. Ask each small group to share one strategy or action that they discussed. You or a volunteer can write down what people say on a big piece of paper or a chalkboard.

EXERCISES TO LEARN NEW SKILLS

EXERCISE 3: DRAW A DIAGRAM (CONTINUED)



TRAINERS TIP

Here are some examples of labels that participants could choose for the “elephant map” – or they may think of their own.

Riding on top of the elephant:

- Rich countries like the U.S., the U.K., and others
- Multinational Corporations

Holding onto the tail of the elephant:

- Factory owners and subcontractors in your country
- National government leaders
- Supervisors at your workplace

People getting hurt by the elephant:

- Workers
- Unions
- Farmers
- Poor families
- Women
- Children

REFLECTION ON THE EXCERCISE

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

- The coalition of groups needed to fight against IFI policies was very broad, and even included politicians.
- Special attention must be paid to organizing certain groups, such as women factory workers.

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



LEARN BY DOING

TRAINER: In this exercise, participants will make plans for future work together based on what they learned in the workshop, including the Action Ideas from each exercise. They will have a discussion and fill out the Action Plan Worksheet on page 27.

TIME: 30 minutes or more



TRAINERS TIP

An important goal of this workshop is for participants to put their new skills in action. This exercise and the sample worksheets can help participants move from learning to action.

WHAT TO DO:

1. Make an Action Plan Worksheet like the one on page 27 on a large piece of paper or chalkboard. Explain to the participants that you will fill out this Worksheet together. Ask for a volunteer to take notes if you are writing on a chalkboard so the participants will have a record of their plan.
2. Ask participants to decide the overall goal of their campaign. Write what they say in the section of the Worksheet that says: "Overall Goal of Campaign or Project." **Examples:** "Win recognition of the union at our factory." "Negotiate a contract." "Pressure the government to make better laws for EPZs."
3. Ask the participants to do a power analysis. Who would support this idea and who would oppose it? What kind of efforts will be necessary to increase worker power?
4. Ask volunteers for Action Steps to achieve the goal, based upon the Action Ideas they have come up with from the exercises and the power analysis. When the steps are complete, ask the participants to decide when they will do each step in the next year. Write a word or draw a picture representing this Action Idea in the appropriate section of the Action Plan Worksheet.

LEARN BY DOING (CONTINUED)

WHAT TO DO (CONTINUED):

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

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS:

1. What do we need to learn about how specific policies of the IFIs affect the workers in our union?
 2. What other workers and communities in our country are affected by these policies of the IFIs?
 3. In what ways do IFI policies affect women differently than men?
 4. What could an alliance of trade unions and other groups do to stop IFI policies that hurt workers and communities?
 5. How can we involve women workers as well as men in this campaign?
 6. Who in our government should be the focus or target of this campaign?
 7. What disagreements about economic policy, if any, exist within our government that we can use to our advantage?
-
6. As the participants develop new Action Ideas during this discussion, ask them when they will do these actions in the next year. Write a word or draw a picture representing these new Action Ideas in the appropriate section of the Action Plan Worksheet as in Step #3 above.



ACTION PLAN WORKSHEET

OVERALL GOAL OF CAMPAIGN OR PROJECT	
ACTION STEPS FOR THE NEXT MONTH: Example: 3 things we will do to educate and mobilize members of our union about the effects of IFI policies on workers.	1. 2. 3.
ACTION STEPS FOR THE NEXT 3 MONTHS: Example: 3 things we will do to identify other unions and NGOs to work with on this campaign.	1. 2. 3.
ACTION STEPS FOR THE NEXT 6 MONTHS: Example: 3 things we will do to begin working with other unions and NGOs on this campaign.	1. 2. 3.
ACTION STEPS FOR THE NEXT 9 MONTHS: Example: 3 things we will do to make sure that our campaign actively involves women and other workers who have less power.	1. 2. 3.
ACTION STEPS FOR THE NEXT 12 MONTHS: Example: 3 things we will do to strengthen our strategy for defending workers from the policies of the IFIs.	1. 2. 3.



EVALUATE AND CLOSE TRAINING

TRAINER: In this section, you will remind the group what the goals of the training were and acknowledge the goals you have accomplished together. You will thank any individuals or groups who helped make the training a success. Then participants will have a chance to evaluate the training and commit to taking action. The closing activities suggested on this page can help people feel successful, hopeful, and powerful as they complete the workshop

TIME: 30 minutes (or less if there are fewer than 20 people in your group)

ACTIVITIES FOR EVALUATION AND CLOSING:

1. Remind the participants of the goals of this training (see page 3). Acknowledge that everyone has worked hard to finish the training and accomplish these goals.
2. Thank any individuals or groups who contributed to the success of the training, including those who contributed meeting space, food, time, etc.



TRAINERS TIP

Ask one of the participants to choose the closing ritual and lead the group in a chant, song, poem, prayer, etc. This gives someone in the group a chance to exercise leadership. It also makes clear to the group that what they have accomplished in the workshop belongs to them, not to you as the trainer.

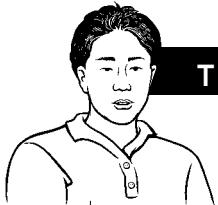
EVALUATE AND CLOSE TRAINING (CONTINUED)

3. As a large group, ask each person to say:

- One thing she or he learned in the training
- One thing she or he liked about the training
- One thing she or he will do to build their union based on what they learned in the training.

Options for this step: If you have a large group (more than 20 participants), you can ask for about 4 or 5 volunteers to answer the 3 questions or ask each person to answer only one question—rather than asking each person to answer all 3 questions.

4. Lead the group in a closing ritual. This could be a chant, song, dance, poem, or prayer.



TRAINERS TIP

You may want to spend more time evaluating the workshop with the participants if:

- you're working on improving your own training skills and you want to know how you can improve your facilitation;
- you're unsure of whether the content of the workshop was too easy, too hard, or just right for your participants;
- you're trying to decide whether to use this workshop again as part of your union's education program.

FACT SHEET: THE WORLD BANK AND THE IMF

(adapted from an AFL-CIO worksheet, copyright © 2004, AFL-CIO)

WHAT ARE THE WORLD BANK AND THE INTERNATIONAL MONETARY FUND?

At a 1945 conference in the United States, British and American negotiators created the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) as specialized agencies of the United Nations. The World Bank and the IMF play major roles in shaping the global economy. They set, implement and enforce rules governing international trade, investment, aid, and loans. These rules have often benefited multinational corporations and rich countries at the expense of poor countries, workers, and the environment.

WHAT IS THE MISSION OF THE IMF AND WORLD BANK?

Since the 1960s, the World Bank and the IMF have provided assistance to poor countries for development programs and the promotion of economic stability. Since the 1980s, they have attached conditions to their loans that have dramatically changed the structure of developing countries' economies. These conditions, called Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs), often "reform" countries in the wrong direction by tearing down trade and investment barriers, privatizing public services, weakening labor laws, and cutting social programs.

Workers have no formal role in the development of World Bank and IMF programs. The IMF places the same kinds of anti-worker conditions on their loans regardless of the local context, and has failed to ensure that fundamental workers' rights are respected. These policies do benefit big business, however, which takes advantage of newly deregulated economies and weakened workers' rights to make big profits.

THE WORLD BANK AND THE IMF (CONTINUED)

EXAMPLES OF HOW IMF AND WORLD BANK POLICIES AFFECT WORKERS:

Roll back worker rights

In Argentina, the IMF and World Bank required collective bargaining laws to be changed so workers could only bargain factory by factory, and not at a sector level where unions have more leverage or power. Now the World Bank is recommending the same type of “reform” for Mexico, and wants to get rid of severance pay and seniority-based promotions as well.

Reduce real wages

In Nigeria, the IMF required wage freezes and wage cuts to force workers to take non-union jobs with lower pay and no benefits. Working women have been especially hurt by these policies. The reduction of wages has resulted in less income, which also makes it more difficult for people to buy local goods and textiles produced by women workers.

Privatize and deregulate public services

In 2001, following World Bank and IMF privatization advice, fees for water service almost doubled in Ghana. A family making minimum wage had to spend almost half of its daily income for just three buckets of water. As a result, many families could not afford clean drinking water, and women and children bore the burden of collecting water from polluted streams and rivers.

Trap poor countries in debt

Poor countries – especially in Africa – owe more debt to the IMF and World Bank than to any other single institution. This money could be better used to invest in schools and hospitals, and to stimulate broad-based economic development. Instead, to raise the dollars needed to pay these debts, countries take out more IMF and World Bank loans. They are forced to accept further anti-worker conditions, slashing wages and worsening working conditions to try and export more and cheaper goods overseas.

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DEFINITIONS (CONTINUED)

- **PRIVATIZATION:** The process by which publicly-owned or managed industries, resources, or services are transferred to the private sector. In theory, privatization encourages competition and free markets but in practice privatization causes the cost of services to rise as companies drive down their own costs to increase their profits. Privatization leaves workers in public-sector unions especially vulnerable, as their union may not be recognized by the new private owners. Thus privatization hurts workers both as employees and as citizens who need services. Privatization is often one of the economic policies that International Financial Institutions require to receive loans.
- **STRATEGY:** A strategy refers to a systematic plan or main course of action for achieving a goal. For example, a first strategy to improve working conditions in a factory could be to organize a union, followed by a strategy of union protest to draw attention to bad working conditions and pressure management to change them.
- **STRUCTURAL ADJUSTMENT PROGRAM (SAP):** A set of economic changes that an IFI may demand when it makes a loan to a developing country. A SAP requires a country to change its economic and labor laws to make it easier for international companies to do business in the country. Although IFIs claim these policies increase economic efficiency, SAPs usually result in more overtime and less protection for workers and the privatization of their country's resources. Because SAPs have generated so much opposition, in 1999 the World Bank and the IMF dropped the name

"Structural Adjustment Program (SAP)" but kept many of the most controversial policies in new lending programs characterized as "poverty reduction programs".

- **UNION CONTRACT:** A union contract is a written, legally-binding agreement between a group of workers and an employer. The contract generally describes how the employer will treat workers, including wages, work hours, and working conditions. The goal of many union organizing campaigns is to negotiate with the employer to get a union contract. A union contract is also called a "collective bargaining agreement."

- **WORLD BANK:** One of the 2 major international financial institutions the World Bank provides loans to developing countries. Controlled by the rich countries, the World Bank usually requires that to qualify for a loan, the recipient country must adopt a set of economic policies once called a Structural Adjustment Program (SAP), now known as a PRGF. SAP policies may include high interest rates, reduced access to credit, privatization of public enterprises, and deregulation of trade and labor policies. Although the World Bank claims that SAPs increase economic efficiency, these policies often hurt workers, damage the environment, and increase poverty, while benefiting the wealthy corporations and countries that control the World Bank. In contrast with the IMF, which provides short- and medium-term loans, the World Bank roads makes long-term loans (up to 40 years), that may be used to support both economic policy reforms (i.e. SAPs) and projects such as dam or road construction and education projects.

TOOLS FOR ORGANIZERS

IN EXPORT PROCESSING ZONES AND INDUSTRIES

TRAINING MODULES IN THIS SERIES:

SECTION I: ORGANIZING STRONG UNIONS

1. Building Unity
2. Tapping Our Strength
3. Developing Democratic Leadership
4. Building Unions That Last

SECTION II: BUILDING ALLIANCES

5. Allying With Other Unions
6. Linking With Non-Governmental Organizations
7. Mounting International Campaigns

SECTION III: FIGHTING FOR LABOR RIGHTS

8. Negotiating Labor Rights in Export Processing Zones
9. Using Trade Provisions to Organize
10. Stopping Anti-Worker International Financial Institutions Policies

This booklet, **STOPPING ANTI-WORKER INTERNATIONAL FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS POLICIES**, is Module 10 of 10 in a series of training modules for working people organizing in Export Processing Zones or other export-oriented industries.