

**Women and Globalisation**  
**A Brazilian-German-South African Trade Union Dialogue**

**Documentation of the workshop**

**20.-24.09.1999**

**Hattingen/Germany**

*Mitten in den großen Umwälzungen,  
in denen wir uns befinden,  
werden sich die Frauen vergessen sehen,  
wenn sie selbst an sich zu denken vergessen.*

*In the midst of the radical changes,  
we encounter,  
women will see themselves forgotten,  
if they even forget to think about themselves.*

*Louise Otto Peters, 1849*

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# Index

	Page
Preface	4
Dr. Gisela Notz	
<b>Women's Work under the Conditions of Globalisation</b>	<b>5</b>
Cimissao Nacional sobre a Mulher Trabalhadores der CUT	
<b>The Situation of Brazilian Women against the Background of Globalisation</b>	<b>9</b>
Liesl Orr, James Heintz, Fiona Tregenna	
National Labour and Economic Development Institute	
<b>A Gendered Critique of GEAR (Growth, Employment and Redistribution)</b>	<b>12</b>
Astrid Lipinsky	
<b>The Globalised Maria or Call Girls of the International Market?</b>	<b>16</b>

## Preface

The present documentation results from the workshop "Women and Globalisation", held from September 20 to 24.09.1999 in the Educational Centre of the DGB<sup>1</sup>, Hattingen. The organisers, the DGB Bildungswerk/Nord-Süd-Netzwerk<sup>2</sup> and the Friedrich Ebert Foundation invited female union representatives from Brazil, Germany and South Africa. As part of a series, giving unionists the opportunity to tackle the different aspects of globalisation, women were supposed to be provided with a forum of their own.

The workshop addressed three groups of problems:

- Mostly, globalisation is discussed on a purely economic basis, ignoring gender. Specific interests of women are not focused on.
- The workers affected and their organisations, the trade unions, exercise little influence on the shaping of the public opinion, but also the discussion within the trade unions does not take women into account sufficiently.
- The debate on globalisation as an international phenomenon is not global enough and is basically oriented to its implications for each individual country.

In the run-up to the workshop, the participants worked in preparation groups on the issue of globalisation with regard to its national impact. The purpose of the joint seminar was then to identify to what extent women suffer from the same consequences globally, to work out a common understanding of globalisation from a female point of view and to take a first step in direction of a world-wide women's network.

Aiming at the empowerment of women in the process of globalisation, strategies and concepts were to be developed that allow for the setting up of a network beyond all linguistic and cultural barriers.

The documentation is an element of the **sustained network** and is therefore translated into Portuguese and English. It contains the most important contributions from the countries involved and the results of the joint discussion. It makes them thus available for future use and for women from the three countries that could not take part in the workshop.

The problems discussed in the workshop are, however, of importance beyond the participating countries. Therefore, the documentation, that addresses all those interested in the specific countries and subjects, is meant to be a contribution to an intercultural and gender-oriented approach in the globalisation debate.

1 DGB = German Confederation of Trade Unions.

2 Institute for Further Education and Training/North-South-Network.

**Dr. Gisela Notz**

## **Women's Work under the Conditions of Globalisation**

Globalisation is a colourful and ambiguous term. The catchword globalisation is an invention of American Business schools. It suggests that only those companies preparing themselves in good time and without any reservations will be able to survive (cf. Krätke 1997). Accordingly, the sole ones having a chance of survival are those who become global players, expanding their activities on a global scale, instead of restricting themselves to safeguarding local assets. Globalisation means the expansion of the neo-liberal market economy to the very last corners of our planet (Wichterich 1998). In Germany, the term globalisation has been used mainly since reunification. The phenomenon that describes globalisation is, however, much older. Internationalisation has existed since the beginning of the Industrial Age. But now, the process is promoted and accelerated by the rapid development of information technologies.

Globalisation does not only refer to the economic dimension, but also to communication technologies, ecology, organisation of work, culture and the civil society. There is little consent about the assessment of globalisation. Most discussions and publications ignore the gender-specific aspects of these global transformation processes. However, when taken into consideration, it is argued whether women can "profit" from the economic and technological structural changes taking place due to globalisation, or whether new forms of social and gender-specific inequality will arise, pushing women - and increasingly men - off into the group of the "working poor", without any social security (Young 1998, p. 169).

Daily, we hear news about imminent redundancies, transfers of factories, cutbacks or closures

of undertakings or establishments, cuts in social benefits, growing national debt, increasing unemployment rates, lack of international competitiveness, decrease in exports, destruction of nature, devaluation of qualification potential; about ruined careers and hurt people. Globalisation and the question of industrial location seem to justify any measure of flexibilisation and wage restraint. The influence of trade unions on society is to be undermined, the competition and loss of solidarity among workers to be stirred up.

It is estimated that in the future, 20% of the population capable of working will suffice to produce the world's demand of vital goods in globally active companies. Time and again, politicians point out the opportunities the international division of labour offers. It is barely taken up as an issue that these opportunities are distributed most unequally between the different countries and the sexes.

### ***Globalisation from a female point of view***

Politicians and scientists stress the opportunities of an international division of labour, in order to increase the prosperity of nations and of individuals (Lafontaine 1997, p. 20). Are, however, opportunities distributed equally along gender lines?

In the industrialised countries, the process of globalisation bears a different impact on women than on men. Nevertheless, they are not affected as a group, but in different ways according to their class and ethnicity. More women than men belong to temporary staff, and more men than women to skeleton staff. Those, who drop out

of gainful employment are also predominantly women and, first of all, migrants. The "feminisation of poverty" has been an established expression ever since the Eighties.

Already in the Seventies, the international division of labour was accelerated by transferring labour intensive steps of production of the clothing and electronic industries from the industrial nations of the North to the countries of the South. Thus, costs of wages and additional wage costs were reduced step by step in the highly industrialised countries. This happened already at the expense of jobs for women, as labour intensive production was and still is performed predominantly by the female gender. Often, this is the so-called "remaining work" that could not yet be replaced by machines, at least not more cost-effectively than women do. Women work in "low-wage countries" for a lower wage, as the name already points out. Local companies are lead by these low wages. They are also interested in saving additional wage costs and taxes. And in the "low-wage countries" women work more willingly, because only few of them are union members.

The threshold countries of South-East Asia owe their high growth rates, praised as an economic miracle, to the millions of women that were sucked into the factories of the world market and spit out again, in a global rotation process. Especially young women were hired for dumping wages and laid off again after a few years, when they got married or had a family. This often happened in the German clothing industry as well. Christa Wichterich reports that in South East Asia alone, the number of women employed has risen from 25 to 44% since 1970. In Bangladesh 700,000 new jobs were created in less than 20 years (1997).

On the other hand, 70% of the former 900,000 jobs in the German textile and clothing industry gradually disappeared between 1970 and 1995 - mostly women's jobs. The axing in the former Democratic Republic of Germany was even more severe: from 320,000 jobs in the textile branch of industry only 26,500 were left (ibid).

The new stage of the globalised division of labour is not only marked by the growing velocity in which transfers of production take place and the increasing geographical fragmentation of individual production cycles. Transnational corporations have expanded their activities to the services sector, in which 57% of the female workforce is employed, compared with 51% of the male workforce (Altvater/Mahnkopf 1996, p. 296). Women sit in satellite offices or at home with an online-link to their computer and "earn an extra income" a few hours a day. This saves the extension of public transport and educational infrastructure for the care and education of children. It saves investments in facilities for care and social welfare.

Everywhere in the European Union, the participation rate of women in gainful employment has been on a continued rise. The Federal Republic of Germany, with an employment rate of 42%, ranges about average. The employment rate of women in the "new" German Laender is significantly higher than in the "old" ones. Although the social infrastructure is worsening, the model of the traditional marriage with a male breadwinner is no longer attractive to many women. They are not willing any more to perform domestic and family chores, unpaid social tasks and subsistence labour without remuneration.

First of all, women's jobs have become increasingly flexible and precarious. Workers' rights are dismantled, jobs are divided into ever smaller portions and particularly women are pushed out of the first labour market. A full lifetime employment that secures subsistence is the exception, basically everywhere. The rule are "patchwork careers", disrupted by leaves for education or care, by unemployment, insignificant work or unpaid "voluntary" labour. In all of Europe, flexible structures of gainful employment are considered "female employment patterns", but rub off on men to an increasing degree. Women are just pioneers of this new organisation of labour.

### ***Women perform excellently at small costs***

Performing the same work, women earn only two thirds of male pay throughout Europe. In order to reconcile their household and care chores with their job, they accept insignificant employment or other types of employment without legal protection.

On a European average, the proportion of women working part-time rose from 27.3% (1985) to 31.3% (1995), the male rate from 3.4 to 5.2%. In Germany as well, one third of female employees (3.6% of men) work less than the "normal working hours" (European Commission 1996). Throughout Europe 70 to 90% of all part-time workers are women. Politicians recommend to look abroad, to the United States, to Great Britain and to the Netherlands where new part-time jobs have emerged. In Great Britain, two thirds of the positions created since 1993 are part-time jobs. Nearly half (44.3%) of all employed women work part-time, but just 5.5% of men. In the Netherlands 34.3% of all jobs are part-time jobs. If we have a look at the gender-specific distribution, 67.2% of all employed women hold these kind of positions, but only 16.7% of men. On the other hand, women perform 70% of unpaid labour in the household and community and only 0.66% of all children under the age of three have a place in day nurseries.

Part-time jobs normally cannot provide for a living and often lead to poverty in old age. The regular employment in typically female occupations (cleaning jobs, electronic homework, retail industry) is insignificant. Whoever works in these areas, is poor despite having work (cf. Notz 1998b).

This also holds true for the "**new self-employed**" (women). Politicians praise the establishment of small firms as the answer to unemployment. It belonged to one of the goals of the Employment Summit of Luxembourg 1998 to promote "entrepreneurial spirit". In the time between 1979 and 1990, in 12 of 20 OECD-countries the number of self-employed persons

grew faster than the number of wage and salary earners. In the more profitable lines of business men clearly dominate. Half of the "self-employed" women (East 53%, West 41%) pay themselves less than 1,800 DM a month. Nearly 25% of these women have to live with a monthly net income of less than 1,000 DM. Often self-employment turns out to be **pseudo self-employment** (cf. Notz 1997a).

The back yard and street economy of the **informal sector** that has rapidly spread in the industrial countries, the **subsistence chores** necessary for survival, the labour between market and state in the "**third sector**" and the **personalised services** praised as the growth segment of the labour market are as well women's work to a great extent. It is assumed that the expansion of better paid female employment, linked to more demanding jobs, leads to an increase of vacancies in household-oriented services, as the demand for flexible "simple services" (private child care, cleaning aids, laundry services, shopping aids, etc.) increases. Experts disagree to what extent this will have an effect on employment figures: In Germany, they expect at least one million new jobs in private homes alone (cf Notz 1997b, p. 18ff.).

Unpaid vacancies for women exist throughout Europe in social "**voluntary services**", in self-help organisations or "civic work", recommended for women who return to employment after a family leave and for elderly unemployed (cf. Notz 1998a).

### ***The future of female gainful employment***

For the future, it is necessary to denounce the global social contract with its sexist division of labour. Christa Wichterich (1998) is right in referring to the necessity for an internationalisation and globalisation of women's solidarity, opposition and resistance. This would also mean to strengthen the ability of the marginalised and weak to help themselves and to jointly develop strategies for the struggle aiming at meaningful work that secures subsistence. In

the industrialised countries it seems necessary to radically reduce working hours in the area of full-time employment *and* to reassess the paid, limited labour and the abundant labour performed without remuneration and to redistribute it between more people and among both sexes.

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**The Situation of Brazilian Women  
against the Background of Globalisation**

The indicators of poverty in Brazil reveal horrifying evidence of social inequality. In 1990, according to studies of the CEPAL [*Regional Economic Commission of the UN for Latin America and the Caribbean*], 69.8 Mio. Brazilians lived below the poverty line, 34.8 Mio. of whom were classified as totally poor. 45.8 Mio. of these 69.8 Mio. lived in urban areas. Looking at the per capita income (approximately 75% of the world population live in countries with a per capita income lower than the Brazilian figure), it is not possible to consider Brazil as being a poor country. But due to the extremely inequitable distribution of income, 40% of the Brazilians live in families with a per capita income below the poverty line.<sup>3</sup>

For many years, Brazilians have been led to believe that the absence of a distinct segregation legislation (as it existed in the United States until the 1960s and in South Africa until the 1990s) would make Brazil an "ethnic paradise", i.e. a country without any discrimination on grounds of ethnic origin. In general belief and in the public discourse, the high percentage of mixed-race descendants in the population was considered a justification for these values of harmony. The Black Movement in Brazil, however, pointed out that the "whitening" of the population through the mixing of the races was the clearest evidence of racism, as it was in-

tended to solve the "race problem" by the physical disappearance of the black population (Soares et al., 1995). The role of women in this process of "whitening" the population or regarding the idea of creating a mixed nation was hardly ever mentioned.

Numerous economic crises, high rates of inflation, programmes for the stabilisation of the currency carried out in Brazil in the 1980s and 1990s, were intensified by the competition with the world market, high interest rates and elevated exchange rates that overvalued the national currency, the *real*. These factors have led to a shrinkage of the market and, consequently, to a high level of unemployment. Furthermore, the international scenario, characterised by the process of globalisation, by a new world-wide organisation of work and by the restructuring of production, has caused an increase in the number of unemployed and has brought on new forms of labour, normally without legal protection. The loss of jobs in the industrial sector, the increase of precarious working conditions and the growth of the informal sector as a result of these radical economic changes contribute to an aggravation of the local crisis. In this context, women are becoming social, economic and political players of major importance.

Brazil is facing an economic situation with features that often enough resemble the situation of the developed countries. At the same time, though, the country is suffering a perverted social reality with an extreme disparity in the distribution of income, leading to the social exclusion of the majority of the population. This

<sup>3</sup> "The main reason for poverty in Brazil is the high level of inequality and not the low per capita income. An indicator supporting this argument: although the quantity of food-stuffs produced is twice the quantity needed for nourishment, a significant part of the population is starving." (Barros, Camargo, Mendonça, 1996).

inequity results in differences between female and male workers. Women receive lower pay and they are subject to worse working conditions. Single mothers and their families are exposed to the most precarious living conditions.

The country has undergone profound demographic, cultural and social changes, regarding both the age structure and the family structure. In the last two decades the fertility rate has dropped and subsequently the number of children has declined. The growing number of women as head of family, due to the increasing number of widows, divorcees and new forms of cohabitation, have contributed to the trend towards smaller families as well. Simultaneously, the general level of schooling has increased, and in particular the education of women. In this context, new cultural values are emerging, regarding the role of women in the Brazilian society, bearing an important impact on the growing participation of women in the labour market. Nevertheless, this increased participation of women is characterised rather by strengthening than changing the traditional structures.

Between 1985 and 1995, the employment of women increased by 3.68%, compared to a total increase of 2.37%. This figure clearly reveals that the integration of women was more dynamic, especially in the sectors of commerce (9.9%) and public administration (12.98%). Women remain concentrated in a reduced range of occupations: as domestic servants, agricultural workers, saleswomen, nurses, bank clerks, in the health sector and the textile, clothing and electronic industries. Nearly 80% of employed women work in these areas, i.e. they can be found above all in the services sectors. Furthermore, women have been predominantly present in the informal and unprotected segment of the labour market, e.g. in unregistered domestic work, in unpaid work in their own family or in homework. It has to be stressed that domestic work was considered as being economically in-

active, although it kept a lot of women occupied.

In the formal sector, women workers are protected by legislation that safeguards a minimum of important social rights, such as maternity leave, access to nursery-schools, breaks for breast-feeding, etc.. In this setting, inequality between female and male workers can be assessed from two different points of view. On the one hand, the sexual division of the labour market leaves few jobs for women to choose from and handicaps their access to higher ranking or executive positions, and thus to power and good salaries. On the other hand, there is a gap between female and male pay in every position. On average, women's earnings in 1995 were 55% lower than male income.

In this period the profile of the female workforce has changed as well. Whereas at the end of the 1970s, the majority of women workers were young, single and had no children, today they are older on average, married and mothers. The age factor is rather relevant: in 1995, the rate of employment among women between the age of 30 and 39 was highest and accounted for 66%, in the age bracket of 40 to 49 more than 63% are economically active. These figures can be analysed from the perspective of redefining the concept of work.

Nevertheless, women are confronted with a variety of problems in the working environment and labour relations: discrimination (implicit and explicit) against married women and mothers regarding recruitment, e.g. by demanding pregnancy tests as a prerequisite for getting a job; sexual abuse or discrimination by the boss, supervisors or others; sexual harassment; sanctions due to absences or to being late for work resulting from child care duties; adverse environmental or health conditions; repetitive or hard work and so on.

Motherhood constitutes another important aspect, as women continue to be responsible for the household and family. The integration of women into the labour market is hampered by their responsibility for informal education and

4 On average, the female workers in Brazil have a higher level of schooling than men. In 1995, almost 25% of female workers had attended school for 11 years, whereas the rate among men was only 17%.

child health care, especially when the earned income is not sufficient for covering the costs of private institutions. The lack of social facilities, such as nursery schools, makes the burden of motherhood for women workers all the more harder to carry.

The public services that are supposed to guarantee equal opportunities for citizens, are moving into the opposite direction. The precarious health services and the education facilities create even more difficulties for women who are usually responsible for childcare and nursing the sick and elderly. This includes also the field of personal health care. This field is also of importance in this context, as there is an increasing number of problems affecting women specifically, due to a lack of adequate treatment, information and prevention: breast cancer, cancer of the cervix, sexually transmitted diseases, HIV, as well as a high rate of sterilisation and the consequences of illegal abortion.

Despite the increasing number of women entering the labour market, their participation in occupational representation is still very limited: in 1995 women accounted for only 1/3 of the trade union members. The highest rates of female unionisation can be observed in the agricultural sector (18% of the 3.8 Mio. union members) and the so-called social sector (34%). In this last area, teachers and employees in health services have, among others, a significant influence.

Globalisation has placed whole regions of the planet in a terrible situation where social exclusion, unemployment and permanent attacks against social and workers' rights predominate. The discrimination against women is one of the most dramatic consequences of this process. The cuts in public spending for social services on the basis of the structural adjustment programmes have aggravated their exclusion. The situation affects internationally women and men workers directly, due to the changes in production and the flexibilisation of working relations. Nevertheless, the consequences women suffer are more severe. They are forced into the informal labour market, into homework and part-

time labour. Their hours of work are constantly increasing because of the necessity to reconcile paid labour, household duties and child care.

To our minds, this situation reveals similarities between Brazil, Germany and Africa, especially with regard to the following aspects:

- Different pay in comparison with men
- Double burden on women
- Affirmative action (in German law and Brazilian legislation)
- Sexual division of labour: female and male occupations, with the work performed by men and by women enjoying a different social status
- Discrimination against women restricting the access to jobs and positions, especially to those with a higher degree of responsibility and decision-making power, better remuneration and career prospects

Nonetheless, we believe that the following differences exist:

- Observance of legislation that is intended to guarantee equal opportunities
- In Germany, women have better possibilities of safeguarding their civil rights than in Brazil, and, to our minds, in Africa as well.

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## **A Gendered Critique of GEAR (Growth, Employment and Redistribution)<sup>5</sup>**

Nearly two years since the implementation of GEAR, the government is far from meeting the targets it has set itself, and poverty, inequality and unemployment are worsening. The GEAR framework is not only class-biased (in favour of capital's interests) but is also gender-blind.

Most economic policies are gender-biased and are often blind to the roles that women perform in the economy. The concept of GDP (gross domestic product) reflects this bias: unpaid labour is excluded from the figures, and the role of the informal sector cannot be accurately captured. GEAR relies heavily on GDP as an indicator of economic growth - this has serious implications for women since the valuable roles they perform in the economy are made invisible.

This article will highlight the roles that women play in the economy in terms of reproductive labour and in the formal and informal sectors. In order to understand the relationship between gender and the economy we need to understand where women are located in the economy and how their experiences differ from those of men, which leads to economic policies having a different impact on women.

### ***Reproductive Labour***

Women (particularly black women) perform the vast majority of reproductive labour in South

Africa. Examples of reproductive labour include childcare, household production and maintenance, informal education, home health care and looking after the sick and elderly. Reproductive labour tends to be unpaid, invisible, and unrewarded, yet the economy and our society rely heavily on this work being undertaken.

Important economic outcomes arise from the fact that women are largely responsible for performing unpaid, reproductive labour. Because the work is unpaid, women are dependent on another source of income in order to live. Often this is a man who works in the formal economy for a wage, although old age pensions and child maintenance grants can supplement other income flows. This dependence on transfers of income from other sources places women at high risk. If these transfers are interrupted, many women would face an economic disaster. The threat of poverty can keep women in highly abusive and dangerous relationships in order to sustain an income source. With the dramatically high level of domestic violence in South Africa, these economic realities are of critical concern.

GEAR is premised on an underlying logic of rolling back the state through cutting back the public sector and privatisation. The result of this is that services are available for those that can afford to pay for them and the poor are not subsidised through the state. Far from unpaid reproductive labour being incidental, the "success" of GEAR depends on an *increase* in unpaid labour, thus transferring additional social costs and responsibilities from the state to women.

<sup>5</sup> This article is a summary of a NALEDI Discussion Document of the same title. This article will focus on key issues regarding the gender-blindness of GEAR, while the discussion document goes into more details on developing a gender critique and alternative approaches.

Employers also escape paying higher wages to cover the cost of a family through the patriarchal capitalist system which ensures that child-care and domestic labour remain a private responsibility which is unpaid and unrecognised.

Although reproductive labour is largely unpaid it is actually very costly - costs which fall primarily on women. There are several aspects of GEAR that will increase these costs associated with reproductive labour. For example, high interest rates raise the costs of credit-financed purchases, particularly housing, thus squeezing household resources which leaves less money over for the costs of reproductive labour. Furthermore, cutbacks in state expenditure on social welfare and services clearly lead to poor families having to bear additional costs of living. Thus, for example the limited availability of government resources as a result of GEAR's budget deficit targets means that women will continue to perform additional labour fetching wood and water as a result of not having access to water and electricity.

### ***Informal Sector***

Women make up a disproportionate number of people who work in the informal sector. In South Africa, over 70% of workers in the informal sector are women'. The informal sector is characterised by high risk, unstable employment, low pay, a lack of regulation, and poor levels of organisation. Furthermore, women have little or no access to education, training, and financial resources.

Despite the importance of the informal economy for women, GEAR says little about this sector. While GEAR engages in highly technical exercises to develop economic models on the formal sector of the economy, there is no attempt to rigorously analyse the impact of its policies on the informal sector. The GEAR framework, by contributing to the invisibility

of this sector, contributes to the economic oppression of women.

One of GEAR's main pillars is job creation. If women in the informal sector can find well-paying jobs in the formal sector, their welfare could be improved. GEAR's employment creation record, however, has been a complete disaster. In 1996 and 1997, jobs have actually disappeared from the formal sector of the economy. The elimination of jobs from the formal sector will tend to push more women into the informal sector, increasing the level of competition and economic risk as the ranks of those informally employed swells.

### ***The formal sector***

Women are marginalised in the formal labour market. They face wage discrimination, receiving lower pay than men for equivalent work. Women also face substantial labour market segmentation, meaning they are often confined to jobs that are lower-paying, less secure, and characterised by poor working conditions. Finally, the rate of unemployment is far higher for women. While the over-all level of unemployment in South Africa is estimated to be 29%, the unemployment rate for women is 38% and 22% for men, and over 50% of African women are unemployed.

The GEAR policy is gender-blind, and it will have a gendered impact due to the disadvantaged structural position of women in the economy. GEAR's export-oriented focus will lead to an emphasis on sectors where men predominate. Trade policies and tariff reductions have negatively affected the clothing and textile industry, where women predominate. GEAR promised to create jobs, but has in fact led to jobless growth - this has a particular impact on women, who face a higher rate of unemployment. GEAR argues for labour market flexibility, this will affect women particularly because of their vulnerable position in the labour market. Furthermore, cutbacks in public sector employment will mean massive job losses for women.

6 October Household Survey 1995. It should be noted that it is difficult to obtain accurate statistics on the informal sector, and this percentage includes domestic workers.

In conclusion, the GEAR policy does not take account of gender and will effectively perpetuate and entrench the gender division of labour and women's disadvantaged position in the economy. The challenge is to develop a gendered economic analysis and gender-sensitive economic policies, which make women visible and value their contribution to the economy and ensure an extension and deepening of services to address the needs of women.

### ***Alternative Approaches***

#### **An integrated policy development approach**

In developing gender sensitive policies it is most critical that a holistic and integrated approach be adopted, since it is women's position in society and structural inequalities in the economy that disadvantage them. Thus, strategies that simply try to alleviate the position of women, without fundamentally challenging the source of their oppression are bound to fail.

#### **Gender sensitive macro-economic and industrial policies**

All policy should be sensitive to the bias in 'gender-blind' policies. These are policies that do not openly discriminate against women, but have a different impact on women and men because of their different structural positions in the economy and in society. Thus, government should assess the impact of particular policies on women, for example the effect of rapid trade liberalisation, which has led to massive job losses for women.

#### **Targeted employment creation for women**

Women should be actively targeted for job creation. Employment creation schemes must take into account the position of women in the economy, their reproductive role and the need to combine employment opportunities with training and skilling for future employment.

#### **Deepening and extending the provision of social services by the state**

The present trend of privatisation and public sector cutbacks as envisaged in the GEAR

framework goes against the vision of the RDP, which bases economic development on the meeting of basic needs. The state needs to provide these services to poor people and women in particular as a means of redistribution, which will lead to economic growth and development.

#### **Socialising reproductive labour**

The long term goal is to transfer the responsibility for reproductive labour from women to the society as a whole. This involves the state providing social support, facilities and social services such as education, healthcare, housing transport and other basic infrastructure (water, electricity etc.). Secondly, employers should also take responsibility for childcare facilities and parental rights such as maternity pay and parental leave. Thirdly, there should be equal sharing of family responsibilities.

#### **Strategies to eliminate discrimination and segmentation in the workplace**

Employment equity legislation and affirmative action measures can help to break down the occupational segregation in the labour market. Unions must monitor and play an active role in implementing this legislation and take up strong campaigns around giving women access to 'traditional male' occupations and eliminating wage discrimination.

#### **Protective and Regulatory Legislation**

Contrary to the global trends and the GEAR framework, which pushes for increased labour market flexibility, there is a need for legislation which protects women, since they are subjected to high levels of insecurity and vulnerability in the labour market. Furthermore, there are increasing trends of casualisation, part-time and home-based work which are unregulated and erode the gains that have been made in worker right and benefits.

#### **Access to productive resources for women**

Government should develop strategies to ensure that women gain access to land, natural re-

sources, credit, capital, infrastructure, technology and skills.

**Empowerment of women in decision-making**

A central element of an integrated strategy is the empowerment of women to participate in decision-making and policy development at all levels.

**Astrid Lipinsky**

## **The Globalised Maria or Call Girls of the International Market?**

### ***Results of an intercultural dialogue between trade union women***

All over the world, parents call their daughters "Maria". Names like this one are international. They are used all over the world, but nevertheless, nobody would come up with the idea of referring to the individual Maria as being "globalised". The name is global, but naturally the christened person is not.

Globalisation is a phenomenon that does not want to be subject to any kind of individualisation and claims to be an abstract and general term. However, there are individuals behind this concept. Globalisation affects them directly: by losing their job, by being forced to accept informal, precarious employment, homework, mini salaries and poverty, but at the same time, it opens up new opportunities and new forms of labour.

The more global world production becomes, the more difficult it turns for the affected persons to establish an international network: the poor individual, whose job is constantly threatened to be erased, does not have any energy left for networking, be it on a national or an international level. Whoever profits from globalisation, can be put very easily on the dock by those suffering the negative consequences.

Nevertheless, it is of utmost importance, especially at this point of time, to strengthen our own position through world-wide solidarity. The companies demonstrated how: 500 German companies are active in South Africa, more than one thousand in Brazil. The contact for Brazilian workers is possibly located in Germany. Contacts cannot be restricted to the man-

agement of undertakings, they have to include workers, and women above all.

Women can be and must be more than heterogeneous "call girls", more than a reserve work force, available on call for low-paid, precarious and unstable work, lacking the protection of a collective agreement. Women can internationally defend their common interests by demanding employment contracts, minimum wages that provide for a living, periods of notice, child care and social security, as well as the prohibition of pseudo self-employment, i.e. the acceptance of all entrepreneurial risks by the employee.

Women differ according to their national origin. In a global context, however, these national peculiarities gradually become the background against which joint matters of cross-border concern can be defined. Thanks to the globalisation of media, it is easier to take the first step and exchange views about these national peculiarities in the background - and in every woman's everyday life.

Women can oppose the trend accompanying globalisation, i.e. to discuss matters from a nationalist point of view.

### ***My home country or the non- globalisation of the homestead***

In discussing "women and globalisation", one is bound to discover, first of all, that these terms are not really compatible. "Women" are no homogenous group, they are individuals with specific concerns according to their origin, education and age. Nevertheless, it is possible to summarise the interests of one age bracket across borders, i.e. globally. Globalisation, on the con-



trary, means the world-wide standardisation of interests: on behalf of the companies, the employees and women. In this respect, the discus-

sion on globalisation is an opportunity to analyse the individual interests of women regarding their internationality.

Brazil	Germany	South Africa
Brazilian women see their country as a unity without any regional or historic-political peculiarities. The population, and women, are migrating from the rural to the urban areas, to the booming region around São Paulo.	German trade union women are versed in local history. Part of general education is the knowledge about and pride in local traditions. Globalisation is not (yet) embedded in local awareness.	In the minds of the South African women there is a political map, marked by the struggle against apartheid. They travel along the escape routes of former dissidents, past the locations of the apartheid government's torture chambers and of the massacres committed against the black population. Their map is not gender but race-specific.

That women's biographies and interests bear analogies, even coincide, world-wide, is a long accepted fact. In the face of globalisation, it is necessary to maintain a permanent exchange on the respective concerns and to continuously define own, global women's issues. Whereas companies are acting globally, employed women still lack the institutionalisation of this global network. Apart from the setting-up of such a network, it is vital to describe its contents. This includes the world-wide exchange of information on effective forms of action and on alli-

ances among workers, as well as the mutual support of national action.

**Women, trade unions and globalisation**

How much decision-making power do women retain in a globalised context? Besides determining common interests and establishing solidarity on a global level, it is crucial to establish effective channels of influence. The trade unions are such a channel.

The significance of trade unions in women's everyday life <sup>1)</sup>		
Brazil	Germany	South Africa
All participating Brazilian union women are members of the umbrella organisation CUT <sup>2)</sup> . More than 20% of trade union members are women. In the services sector (education, health) women account for 34% of union members, in the rural workers' union for 18%.	Represented are ÖTV <sup>1)</sup> (45,9% women °), HBV <sup>1)</sup> (66,5% women), DGB <sup>6)</sup> (30,5% women) and IG Metall <sup>1)</sup> (19,4% women). There are complaints about the trade union strategy, trying to conceal the decline in membership by merging to large trade unions. Women fear that especially their concerns and gender-specific areas of action will be dropped in this process. Trade unions should represent women and marginal jobs to a larger extent, they have to show solidarity with women's concerns. The necessity of an autonomous women's trade union is discussed.	Represented are the largest trade union confederation COSATU (Congress of South African Trade Unions), founded in 1985, with about 1.8 Mio. members from 19 affiliated trade unions (1999), NACTU, (National Council of Trade Unions), founded in 1986, merger of 22 individual unions with 220,000 members (1998) and FEDUSA (Federation of Unions of South Africa) with 555,500 members (1999). In total, 248 registered trade unions with 3.4 Mio. members, and 54 unregistered unions with 260,000 members existed in 1997.

<b>The significance of trade unions in women's everyday life<sup>1)</sup></b>		
<b>Brazil</b>	<b>Germany</b>	<b>South Africa</b>
The trade union is seen as a forum for all women. Through the union it is possible to integrate and show solidarity with all different groups of women, from teachers to rural workers, from hawkers to unskilled workers. Nevertheless, parts of the immense informal sector haven't yet been integrated effectively (street girls).	Most important problem in women's life is the compatibility of family and occupation and the burden of household chores that is carried exclusively by women. The trade unions play no part in this "private" problem all women share. The German union women lament the lack of political interest and commitment of women in Germany.	In the South African unions, women have risen to top executive positions. Nevertheless, in the general debate "women's issues", such as maternity, child care and sexual harassment, are often considered irrelevant.
<b>Men:</b> Men play no part in women's everyday life in trade unions. The female unionists consider the unions as being their very own domain. There are conflicts with male members, but they don't constitute a major problem.	<b>Men:</b> Men do not share in homemaking and caregiving, but rather, from the women's point of view, celebrate the traditional family patriarch. Despite of verbal commitments neither laws nor campaigns have changed men's actual behaviour.	<b>Men:</b> They cannot accept the rise of women to top positions, they sabotage and defame their work. Under the slogan "sharing the load", trade unions officially declare their commitment to men taking up their share of the household chores. The union women trust that the campaign will manage to achieve a change of behaviour.
<b>Influence:</b> Women in trade unions are more important than in Germany. The trade unions commit themselves to discuss gender topics on a regular basis. Since 1993, the CUT has had a quota of 30% for women in all positions. Before this quota was introduced, women didn't even account for 10%. The quota has changed completely the CUT's culture.	<b>Influence:</b> There is an increasing lack of interest for women's work at the basis of German unions. Trade unions play a very minor role in women's everyday life. The service orientation of unions is considered to be very poor. Requests of interested women are either not examined or continuously passed on to the position supposedly responsible.	<b>Influence:</b> Women in trade unions are more important than in Germany. The unions commit themselves to discuss gender topics on a regular basis. Some sector unions have adopted a quota for women. Apart from that, gender policy is performed through the gender desks on a national, regional and local level.
<b>Top executive positions:</b> In all three countries top executive positions are occupied by men, even in unions that have a majority of female members. Likewise the quota (CUT) cannot prevent that all decisive positions are taken by men.		

- 1) Based on scenes represented by the participants, in which they were supposed to show typical aspects of women's everyday life in their country.
- 2) CUT = Central Única de Trabalhadores
- 3) ÖTV = Gewerkschaft Öffentliche Dienste, Transport und Verkehr *Public Service, Transport and Communication Workers' Union*
- 4) Women as % of total number of members. All figures from 1998.
- 5) HBV = Handel, Banken und Versicherungen *Commerce, Bank and Insurance Workers' Union*
- 6) DGB = Deutscher Gewerkschaftsbund *German Confederation of Trade Unions*
- 7) IG Metall = Industriegewerkschaft Metall *Metal Workers' Union*

**Globalisation: Opportunity or risk?**

Women in Germany, protesting against the loss of their jobs and the exodus of companies and undertakings to foreign countries, are often accused of lacking solidarity. After all, the low-

paid working women in the South would benefit from the extinction of their jobs, as new jobs would have been created for them. Even though loss and profit are distributed unevenly in this case, globalisation really brings along both global advantages and disadvantages:

Positive aspects of globalisation	Negative aspects of globalisation
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Access for everyone to a large variety of goods produced all over the world,</li> <li>- prices drop due to world-wide competition,</li>   <li>- enhances world-wide communication through new media and the internet,</li> <li>- increases possibilities of transnational exchange,</li> <li>- internationalisation of companies leads to a growing international network among trade unions and women,</li> <li>- global activities of companies make their standards comparable, the compliance with national standards can be claimed elsewhere,</li> <li>- accelerates the dissemination of technical progress,</li>   <li>- financial funds and credits are available and comparable world-wide,</li> <li>- opens new personal horizons and perspectives,</li>                     <li>- increase of corporate profits,</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Destroys jobs, women's jobs as well,</li>   <li>- increase of informal low-paid work,</li> <li>- due to world-wide competition earnings decline and poverty increases. Those who are poor, cannot afford even low prices,</li> <li>- leads to impoverishment of women, above all,</li> <li>- strengthens the market that has always placed women at a disadvantage,</li> <li>- weakens the social state and social security legislation which protects women and children,</li> <li>- gives rise to insecurity in private and family life, due to shorter terms and devaluation of traditional ways of further education,</li> <li>- devaluates training not necessarily leading to a good job anymore,</li> <li>- destroys local, domestic production that cannot be protected from global competition,</li> <li>- dependence on imports,</li> <li>- financial transactions, flow of capital and goods are beyond the influence of national policies and are no longer controllable,</li> <li>- commercialisation of society; trend towards purchases of luxury goods and towards a throw-away society,</li> <li>- weakens trade unions, makes them subject to extortion (international comparison of salaries and wages),</li> <li>- increases the dependence of developing countries on industrialised nations,</li> <li>- widens the gap between employers and employees and reduces their sphere of influence,</li> <li>- creates fear and stress resulting in loss of motivation and loss of self-confidence,</li> <li>- privatisation of public property costs jobs,</li> <li>- privatisation of public services eliminates guaranteed services for the weak,</li> <li>- new technologies force workers to get accustomed to them and create new forms of alienation,</li> <li>- elite alliances to the detriment of smaller companies,</li> <li>- loss of sovereignty for individuals and for the civil society regarding the global economy,</li> <li>- creates a world society of risk,</li> <li>- widens the gap between rich and poor,</li> <li>- goes along with re-privatisation or re-familiarisation, i.e. unpaid household and family work of women is maximised,</li> <li>- devaluation of the qualification potential inherent in homework,</li> </ul>

Positive aspects of globalisation	Negative aspects of globalisation
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- creates a world society,</li> <li>- dissolves traditional class clashes.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- perverts traditional women's claims, i.e. for child care, in redefining it as necessary for the "flexibilisation" of occupational work,</li> <li>- does not question the basic model of the three-class working society (full-time employees, fixed-term and part-time jobs, informal sector).</li> </ul>

**Collective bargaining, working hours and informal sector**

Brazil	Germany	South Africa
<b>Collective bargaining</b>		
<p>Industry-wide* on the level of the federal states. At the level of the states, but not of every individual enterprise: their counterparts in the negotiations are the government, with whom social and healthcare benefits are negotiated, and the employers' association. As yet, women have not been well represented in the bargaining process. The women's assembly of CUT, however, has now nominated a woman to sit on the bargaining commission. Pay standards differ from state to state and are the highest in Sao Paolo. Women are always graded in the low wage grade of "unskilled labour". Their minimum pay is equivalent to 2/3 of men's wages. The women's assembly of the CUT nominated, however, a women for the bargaining commission. Wage standards differ from federal state to federal state. Standards are the highest in São Paulo. Women are always classified in the lower wage group of the "unskilled worker". Their minimum wage accounts for 2/3 of male pay.</p>	<p>Industry-wide. Every 12 to 24 months, spearheaded by the IG Metall, whose agreements serve as an orientation for the other trade unions. The level of claims results from an opinion poll raised at factory level.</p>	<p>Linked to the company, only in large companies with nation-wide activities on a national level.</p>
<b>Working hours</b>		
<p>44 hours weekly. At company level, the trade unions pushed through the 35-hour-working week. However, the company is presently filing a lawsuit against this agreement. Part-time jobs are offered with a six-hour-working day.</p>	<p>Newly admitted workers normally are given contracts with a fixed term of 6 months to 2 years. In case the worker falls ill, the contract can be easily annulled. From 35 weekly hours (IG Metall), 38.5 weekly hours (ÖTV) to a 40-hour-week (not covered by collective agreements). More and more companies drop out of the collective agreements. For women there is a great number of casual work opportunities (630-DEM-jobs). Increasing flexibilisation of working hours is geared to the interests of the employer. This does not comply with women's wish for working hours, that are compatible with their family work and allow for long-term planning.</p>	<p>Private sector of the economy: 45-hour-working week and 8-hour-day. Union campaign for the 40-hour-working week.</p>

Brazil	Germany	South Africa
Domestic work		
Domestic work is seen as a female affair and is either performed or paid by women. But, if women's jobs pay small earnings, earnings of domestic aids are even smaller. Women force other women to accept low wages.	The issue of domestic servants is disputed among feminists. It is clear that the burden of domestic work cannot be dumped on the allegedly "unskilled" migrants. The voucher model includes social security of domestic aids.	30% of gainfully employed women in South Africa work as domestic servants. Statistics often do not take them into account.
Social benefits		
According to the region, everybody who has been employed for a period of at least 12 months is entitled to unemployment benefit for 4 to 5 months. Finding a new job, however, normally takes 1 to 2 years. A minimal pension often supports a number of families. There are no public benefits for single parents or unmarried mothers.	Women are habitually unemployed for a longer period than men. Their income often cannot provide for a living, their social security depends on the husband as the main breadwinner.	Women over the age of 50 receive the so-called blue card money from the contributions previously deducted from their salaries. Unemployed under the age of 50 are not entitled to benefits. Pensions and social assistance payments are small.

\* Brazilian women define collective bargaining as pay settlements and agreements on general working conditions negotiated between private employers and trade unions or, in the case of the public sector, between the government and unions. There are in addition more extensive negotiations with the government on social rights and social legislation. Pay and working conditions are negotiated with private employers for the workforce of all enterprises in the region/ the state whom the trade union is representing. Works councils may also negotiate separately at the level of individual enterprises with the aim of supplementing the issues negotiated by the union.

**Digression: Women in agriculture**

Agricultural workers in Brazil and South Africa, contrary to the situation in Germany, are unionised and part of the working class. In the economy of both countries, the rural workers, and the agricultural sector, play a more important role than in Germany. The Brazilian and South African unions would correspond to the Deutsche Bauernverband (German Association of Farmers) and its sister organisation, the Landfrauenverband (German Association of Rural Women). In Germany, with a majority of owner-occupied farm holdings (with additional tenancy), the problem of the landless agricultural workers does not exist.

The **Brazilian** agriculture is a domain of men and old people. The majority of women migrate to the cities where they find work more easily than men. Female agricultural workers get only half the pay of their male colleagues. Whenever women run their own farm as head of the household, they are not considered as farmers but as

housewives, which has a negative impact on their entitlement to old-age pensions. Social security for family-run farms is negotiated with the government on a national level. Collective bargaining for the landless agricultural workers is conducted at farm level.

The Agricultural Workers' Union does not only represent the landless (often equated with the movement of the landless), but also those who run their own farms.

Apart from the Agricultural Workers' Union, founded in 1963, the churches organise autonomous women's groups at the rural grass roots. In the trade unions women have struggled for women's issues at a local level since 1979. In 1985, the first demonstration of female agricultural workers took place, with the farming women claiming to be recognised (instead of being classified as mere housewives). Today, nearly half of the executive positions in the union are occupied by women. The nomination of a female president has remained a single ex-

ception. Local unionisation of women is difficult, due to the large distances and women rather organise in groups offered by the church.

In **South Africa** the union organisation of female rural labourers is confronted with white

landowners prohibiting trade union activities. Unions are not allowed to set their foot on the farm land. Unionisation is only feasible in the export-oriented agro-industrial farms and undertakings.

***Effects of globalisation on the different sectors***

Agriculture	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Destruction of local markets and domestic production due to exports subsidised by industrial nations,</li> <li>- destruction of the environment due to export-oriented production (monocultures),</li> <li>- risks and new dependencies due to genetically modified crops,</li> <li>- impoverishment due to the necessity to export commodities,</li> <li>- (+) opportunity for a global partnership of NGOs, trade unions and churches (i.e. TransFair),</li> <li>- (+) global awareness of organic agriculture,</li> <li>- (+) global awareness of the necessity of fair prices.</li> </ul>
Metal industry	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Outsourcing, "lean production",</li> <li>- corporate strategy: to weaken trade unions, e.g. by transferring production to foreign countries,</li> <li>- elimination of solidarity among workers,</li> <li>- non-observance of social rights,</li> <li>- companies receive subsidies, but pay nearly no taxes at all,</li> <li>- public expenditure for subsidies,</li> <li>- government funded research serves mainly the interests of the companies,</li> <li>- change in corporate culture, regarding language, slogans and concepts, i.e. "client-oriented",</li> <li>- high geographical mobility of companies,</li> <li>- pressure on workers to increase quality and productivity,</li> <li>- increased competition between companies,</li> <li>- debate on industrial location in every country,</li> <li>- cuts in public spending in the areas of social infrastructure and education.</li> </ul>
Private sector	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Introduction of global technologies (scanner, data processing, electronic networks),</li> <li>- rationalisation, out-sourcing,</li> <li>- erosion of companies through franchising,</li> <li>- loss of product identity,</li> <li>- freezing of salaries/wages and promotions,</li> <li>- further education and training only in leisure time, on one's own initiative and costs,</li> <li>- workers are forced to be "fit for the labour market".</li> </ul>
Public service	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Dismantling of public services,</li> <li>- privatisation and out-sourcing of public services,</li> <li>- informalisation of public services,</li> <li>- redundancies and wage cuts,</li> <li>- increase of pensionable age with pension benefits decreasing,</li> <li>- deprofessionalisation of public services, i.e. with voluntary services.</li> </ul>

**Strategies in a globalised environment (for the different sectors)**

Agriculture	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Networking with and supporting women demanding a land reform in the affected countries,</li> <li>- exchange of information and establishment of networks as a strategy to combat women's feeling that they are isolated and lone fighters,</li> <li>- exchange of experiences on the organisation of family-run farms into co-operations,</li> <li>- exchange on education and training for women in rural areas,</li> <li>- reports on women, in order to make them more visible in their own society,</li> <li>- procuring further funding for networks; world-wide fundraising for women's projects,</li> <li>- exchange of views on radio programmes and shops for the distribution of products from and by rural women,</li> <li>- networking with regard to rural tourism and volunteer programmes.</li> </ul>
Metal industry	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Conveying the model of the European Works Councils,</li> <li>- improvement of world-wide communication: establishment of an e-mail network,</li> <li>- exchange on unionisation of women, including quotas,</li> <li>- exchange on plant agreements concerning women,</li> <li>- bilateral meetings, also at private level,</li> <li>- annual renewal of networks on the occasion of anniversaries, i.e. Happy-New-Year e-mail.</li> </ul>
Private sector	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Networking activities and their documentation,</li> <li>- organisation of follow-up activities and structures,</li> <li>- sector-specific networks and exchange,</li> <li>- sharing information,</li> <li>- creating solidarity and planning solidarity actions,</li> <li>- exchange of views,</li> <li>- dissemination of information, also outside the own sector,</li> <li>- establishing a list of contacts and experts.</li> </ul>
Public service	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Structured exchange of information within branches (i.e. the police), open to every upcoming question,</li> <li>- structure = workshops and seminars,</li> <li>- mutual support of women in decision-making positions,</li> <li>- setting up a visitor-network by mutual visits to the workplace, internships of 2 to 3 weeks and by providing guidance for interested women visiting,</li> <li>- promotion of the personal exchange between individual women.</li> </ul>
General strategies	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Introduce women's issues into political groups, parties and working groups,</li> <li>- designate national co-ordinators of the network,</li> <li>- women's seminars and workshops, as they empower women and ensure that they claim more attention.</li> </ul>

**Résumé:****Learning from each other- Women in trade unions between setting out and frustration**

In Brazil and South Africa, trade-union membership is growing, also with regard to women

who are actively recruited. In Germany, the number of union members is declining. Especially for younger women, union commitment does not seem to be attractive. In Brazil, the informal sector is habitually integrated into trade union activities. While this has already been put to practice with hawkers, attempts are made

with street girls, mobilising these women for trade union activities. In South Africa, the problem of a growing informal labour market without any union organisation has been recognised. This applies to Germany similarly, where the question is given consideration how women, engaged in temporary, informal and insignificant working conditions, can effectively be represented by trade unions.

Trade unions in Brazil and South Africa constitute an important element and stabilising factor of the evolving civil society. In Germany, exactly this civil society seems to turn away from the established structures of the trade unions. New possibilities for trade-union gender activities, as for instance the founding of a "women's trade union" are being repeatedly discussed. The old, institutionalised structures, such as the women's delegates and equal opportunities officers or the regular women's conference of the DGB are perceived as being powerless instruments.

Trade unions lay stress on different aspects. This is where countries can profit from an exchange. In Brazil trade-union contact with the government follows a socio-political motivation. Apart from that, the orientation of trade union women is basically an economic one, with a well developed awareness of the globalisation of all economic areas.

The South African unions are political trade unions with close links to the government and the political parties. There are persons holding positions in both. The political influence of trade unions promotes the institutionalisation and soundness of gender structures within and outside the trade unions. Brazilian and South African women especially admire the comprehensive education, training offers and the rich experience of German trade union work. Simultaneously, they demand the status of gender initiatives be enhanced in the context of trade-union action.

### ***Networking and visions***

Confronting the traditional "old boys' alliances", existing all over the world, with "female networks" is one thing. However, parallel to the institutionalisation of networks and networking processes, contents and demands have to be defined. The traditional working society and the model of the family supported by the sole male breadwinner will not hold for the future. Instead of claiming half of the "mouldy pie" (according to Dr. G. Notz), women should develop a recipe for a different pie - and bake it. This means to demand not just paid work, but meaningful work that secures subsistence, and to talk about working conditions, instead of working hours. The increased intensity and velocity of work have lead throughout the world to a new "female illness", a women-specific burn-out syndrome. There is not enough research carried out, on the effects new, world-wide applied management techniques bear on women and children and on their being treated on equal or different terms.

As a short-term measure, women can unite world-wide in their demand for social minimum standards. In medium-term, they should make use of the opportunities networking offers, in order to develop visions that take into account the interests of all countries and thus prevent that they be taken advantage of, by putting up countries and regions against each other. Women have to retain the power of definition, within and outside the unions - regarding the value of different occupations and the equal distribution of paid labour among the sexes.