DRIVER 7 TOOLKIT

HOW TO STRENGTHEN VISIBILITY, COLLECTIVE VOICE AND REPRESENTATION
The United Nations (UN) Secretary-General established the High-Level Panel on Women’s Economic Empowerment in 2016 to bring together leaders from different constituencies—government, civil society, business and international organizations—to launch a shared global agenda that accelerates women’s economic participation and empowerment in support of implementing the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development and its promise that no one will be left behind.

The first report of the High-Level Panel (September 2016) examined the case for women’s economic empowerment and identified seven drivers for addressing systemic barriers to women’s economic empowerment. These seven drivers were further explored by working groups, comprising High-Level Panel members and other stakeholders. Each working group prepared a paper with specific recommendations for transformative change.

The second report of the High Level Panel (March 2017) provided a synthesis of the recommendations of each of the seven working groups within the framework of the essential enabling environment to accelerate and deepen the impact of the seven drivers. In addition to the working group papers, each working group prepared a toolkit, focusing on how to take forward the recommendations of the working group, along with case studies and good practices where relevant.

This toolkit has been prepared by the Working Group for Driver 7—Strengthening visibility, collective voice and representation.

Its companion working group paper is published as a separate document.

High-Level Panel reports and working group papers and toolkits are all available online.

Members of Working Group on Driver 7—Strengthening visibility, collective voice and representation

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While staff of the Bretton Woods institutions reviewed and provided comments on the working papers and toolkits in their respective areas of expertise, they were not members of the working groups.

In regard to the recommendations aimed at international organizations in these documents, the Bretton Woods institutions may endorse or support them to the extent these are consistent with their roles and in accordance with their mandate.
INTRODUCTION

Women's economic empowerment will not happen without their equal and full participation in economic, social, political and cultural life at all levels, including decision-making and leadership. This requires regulations and mechanisms to create space and support for women to build their own collective action and power in the form of strong organizations, collectives and movements.

The right to freedom of association, to peaceful assembly and to organize and bargain collectively lies at the heart of strengthening the visibility, collective voice and representation of all workers, but especially the poorest and most marginalized groups of women: workers in the informal economy, agricultural workers, domestic workers and migrants.

Women workers—whether nationals or migrants, in the public or private sector, in the formal or informal economy, in agriculture, manufacturing, trade or services—organize at all levels: local, national, regional and international and by sectors. Collective organization through trade unions and other membership-based organizations and collectives enhances women's ability and capacity to negotiate their terms and conditions of employment, to access markets and supply chains and to influence policies that may have a direct bearing on their lives.

Governments can play a critical role in guaranteeing human rights and ensuring that marginalized workers—both women and men, including informal, agricultural domestic, migrant and indigenous workers—are included in legal frameworks. A lack of government support hampers women's ability to exercise their fundamental human rights, such as the freedom of association and of assembly, and leaves them without access to remedies when their rights are violated. Without the fulfilment of assembly and association rights, and the right to decent work, women workers have little leverage to change the terms and conditions that entrench poverty, fuel inequality and limit democracy.1

Without being organized into collectives, women producers in agriculture and the informal economy have difficulty accessing markets, domestic and export, on fair terms.

Despite seemingly insurmountable systemic challenges, women are far from powerless to exert their voice, agency and autonomy and transform their living and working circumstances.

KEY RECOMMENDATIONS

1. Ratify and implement the ILO Convention on Freedom of Association and Protection of the Right to Organise, 1948 (No. 87) and the ILO Convention on the Right to Organise and Collective Bargaining, 1949 (No. 98). Governments should guarantee and protect the human rights to freedom of expression and assembly and support international labour standards on violence and harassment against women and men in the world of work.

2. Reform legal frameworks to protect informal workers and promote the formalization of their work in line with the ILO Recommendation Concerning the Transition from the Informal to the Formal Economy, 2015, (No. 204). Governments should provide legal identity and recognition of workers in the informal economy, especially women, and include informal worker representatives in rule-setting and policymaking. They should ratify and implement the ILO Convention on Home Work, 1996 (No. 177) and the Convention on Domestic Workers, 2011 (No. 189), setting labour standards for home workers and domestic workers.

HOW TO GET STARTED?

The following baseline documents and resources provide an overview of women's visibility, collective voice and representation:

- United Nations Secretary-General’s High-Level Panel on Women’s Economic Empowerment. 2017. Leave No One Behind: Taking Action

Strengthening women's visibility, voice and representation is both an implementation strategy and a key driver of women’s economic empowerment.
The organizations of women workers also galvanize women’s ability to challenge social norms that constrain their time, mobility and access to resources and economic policies that ignore or under-value their economic activities and contributions.
PRIORITY 1. ENSURE AN ENABLING ENVIRONMENT TO ORGANIZE AND STRENGTHEN WOMEN WORKERS’ VISIBILITY, COLLECTIVE VOICE AND REPRESENTATION, AND COLLECTIVE ENTERPRISES

1. Intensify concerted national campaigns for immediate ratification and implementation of the ILO Freedom of Association and Right to Organise Convention, 1948 (No. 87) and Right to Organise and Collective Bargaining Convention, 1949 (No. 98), as well as the Indigenous and Tribal Peoples Convention, 1989 (No. 169), including the right to organize and collectively bargain; and for adoption at the national level of gender-responsive laws and policies that cover all workers.

2. Protect and promote the right to organize and collectively bargain of all women, particularly the poorest and most marginalized; develop innovative strategies to raise awareness and understanding among women workers of their human and labour rights, particularly in agriculture and the informal economy.

3. Integrate decent work, particularly freedom of association issues, in training and advocacy programmes for women in the informal economy, indigenous women, domestic workers, migrant women and those in hard-to-organize sectors.

4. Support international labour standards on violence and harassment against women and men in the world of work, and take measures to ensure that all workplaces are free from discrimination, exploitation, violence, sexual harassment and bullying.

5. Guarantee the freedom of speech, assembly and association of civil society organizations.

6. Intensify efforts for mainstream media and new communication technologies to promote a balanced, nonstereotyped, realistic and positive portrayal of women and their role in economic, social, political and cultural development at all levels.

PRIORITY 2. RECOGNIZE AND SUPPORT ALL FORMS OF WOMEN WORKERS ORGANIZATIONS AT ALL LEVELS

1. Support the leadership, voice and representation of women, particularly the poorest and most marginalized (informal workers, agricultural workers, domestic workers, indigenous women, migrants), and actively support representative organizations to negotiate with local and national government authorities and employers for decent work.

2. Extend support and resources for the formation and strengthening of organizations of women workers, particularly the poorest and most marginalized.

3. Actively promote and strengthen the solidarity of all women workers within and outside of their organizations to achieve decent working conditions and combat inequality and injustice; build partnerships, alliances and coalitions at all levels.

4. Draw attention to the experiences of organizations and collectives of informal workers and cooperatives whose lack of visibility to government and in national statistics inhibits their ability to shape official government policies.

5. Support the scaling up of successful models of organizing informal workers (such as SEWA in India and IDWF) through international sharing and exchanges.

6. Encourage and support women’s participation, leadership and decision-making in trade unions, organizations of informal workers, employer and business organizations, and collectives, including through training, mentoring and affirmative action measures (such as gender parity quotas).

PRIORITY 3. IMPLEMENT ILO RECOMMENDATION NO. 204 (2015) CONCERNING THE TRANSITION FROM THE INFORMAL TO THE FORMAL ECONOMY

1. Campaign to ratify ILO Convention No. 177 (1996) and Convention No. 189 (2011) setting labour standards for homeworkers and domestic workers, respectively.

2. Reform legal frameworks to protect informal workers and their livelihoods as a key pathway to formalization (ILO Recommendation No. 204).

3. Support collective organizations of self-employed women and agricultural workers to enable them to compete on fair terms in domestic markets and global value chains.

4. Encourage governments to provide legal identity and recognition of workers in the informal economy, especially women, and to include informal worker representatives in rule-setting, policy-making, and collective bargaining processes.

5. Recognize and support organizations of women informal workers, both all-women organizations and mixed-membership organizations with women leaders.

“The idea is to create the spaces for young women to come together to discuss their concerns and to plan joint actions in solidarity with each other, as it is only through united effort that they can change the things that hold them back.”
6. Strengthen union coverage and collective bargaining rights for all workers, including informal workers.

GOOD AND PROMISING PRACTICES AND DEVELOPMENTS
Here are examples of actions taken by various organizations under the priority areas.

SEWA and the power of women organizing women. The largest union of informal workers in the world, SEWA in India stresses self-reliance, both individual and collective, and promotes organizing around four sources of security: work, income, food and social security. Its 2 million members, poor women in the informal economy, are drawn from multiple trades and occupations and from all religious and caste groups. They include women in agriculture and those owning small businesses. A pioneering leader of the labour, women’s, cooperative and micro-finance movements, SEWA has gained its reputation as the most influential organization of informal workers worldwide, affecting policies, norms and practices at the local, national, regional and international levels.

In August 2016, SEWA and UN Women India hosted a consultation of the High Level Panel (HLP) on Women's Economic Empowerment to give HLP members the opportunity to hear directly from women informal workers themselves about how they define, experience and struggle for economic development. Underpinning all of the field visits, discussions and information sessions was an emphasis on a collective, rather than an individual, approach to empowerment. The panel members were able to observe that SEWA’s dual strategy of struggle and development is meant not only to increase women’s access to resources and services, but also to strengthen their ability—through organizing and advocacy—to exercise collective influence over the policies, laws and norms that shape their work and lives. A collective analysis session at the end of the consultation discussed lessons learned and how these could translate to recommendations for the HLP.

ITUC’s Decisions For Life Campaign: Empowering Young Women. The Decisions for Life Campaign of the ITUC supports and empowers young women to make well-informed decisions about work, career and family; gain access to secure jobs, earnings and social benefits; demand equal opportunities at work; and improve their leadership and negotiation skills. The campaign focuses on young women between the ages of 18 and 35 who are working or looking for work: working women, young mothers who might have left school at a very early age and students who have to take important decisions about their future when they complete their studies. To reach these women, the project deploys a triple approach combining grassroots trade union campaigns at the national level, media web technologies and research activities. Campaign teams are at work in Angola, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Brazil, Egypt, India, Indonesia, Kazakhstan, Mozambique, Panama, South Africa, Ukraine, Zambia and Zimbabwe.

Domestic workers: Organizing for a convention. Despite significant barriers—including isolation, low earnings and restricted mobility—domestic workers have a long history of organizing and struggling for rights and recognition as workers. In a number of cases—Hong Kong, Italy, Philippines, South Africa, and many countries in Latin America—domestic worker organizations had the strong support of trade unions and women's rights and civil society organizations. Improving the conditions of domestic workers has been a concern for the ILO since its early days: as early as 1948, it adopted a resolution on the conditions of employment of domestic workers, and in 1965, it called for normative action in this area. Progress was slow, and it was not until 2006 that domestic workers began to come together at a global level to organize for an international minimum standard for domestic workers’ rights.

With support from WIEGO and the International Union of Food, Agricultural, Hotel, Restaurant, Catering, Tobacco, and Allied Workers'
Associations (IUF), the International Domestic Workers Network (IDWN) was formed and began a vigorous campaign. During this process, WIEGO facilitated sending delegations of domestic workers to three consecutive ILO International Labour Conferences (ILC), which annually convene representatives of government, worker organizations and employer organizations. Ultimately, the efforts of the IDWN and their allies led to the adoption of two international standards, ILO Convention on Domestic Workers, 2011 (No. 189) and Recommendation Concerning Domestic Workers, 2011 (No. 201) at the 100th Session of the ILC in June 2011. Convention No. 189 establishes that domestic workers are unconditionally defined as workers and as such are entitled to the same protections under national labour laws and regulations as all other workers.

Convention No. 189 and Recommendation No. 201 provide domestic workers with a normative framework to promote ratification to national governments. Affiliates of the International Domestic Workers Federation (formerly IDWN) have been engaged in this initiative since Convention 189 was adopted. The strong relationships formed with formal trade unions at international and national levels were critical to the success of the campaign for the Convention. Joining forces with trade unions and other supportive organizations allowed domestic workers to extend their points of influence and leverage, to widely raise awareness and to increase pressure on those with power to influence the outcomes of the negotiations. These partnerships continue to be effective in advancing domestic workers rights (see “A victory for domestic workers through partnership and strategic alliance” below).

Indigenous Women: Challenges and Successes. Vinding, D., and E-R Kampbel. 2012. Geneva: International Labour Office, International Labour Standards Department and Bureau for Gender Equality. Indigenous women the world over contribute greatly to their communities and to the world of work. However, they experience discrimination not only because of their sex but also because of their indigenous identity, ethnicity, colour and religion. Over the past decades, the livelihoods of indigenous women have undergone major changes as their people have increasingly lost control over their ancestral lands. More indigenous women are entering the formal and informal labour market as self-employed workers or wage earners, or engaging in trading and small-scale commodity production. Local job opportunities are often limited, however, and for many women, migration to urban areas in search of work remains the only alternative.

For many years, indigenous women have been forming and joining organizations and building coalitions and alliances—with trade unions and women’s and labour rights organizations at all levels—to promote their human and labour rights. Their collective voice is strong in the trade union and indigenous peoples movements (as in Bolivia, Canada, Honduras, Peru and New Zealand).

The ILO’s Decent Work Agenda, with gender equality and nondiscrimination as a cross-cutting concern, serves as a framework for indigenous and tribal peoples’ empowerment. Access to decent work enables indigenous women and men to harness their potential as change agents in poverty reduction, sustainable development and climate change action.

Home-based workers organizing for rights, access to markets and basic infrastructure services. Home-based workers—self-employed workers and subcontracted workers (called home workers)—face low earnings and a lack of legal and social protections. For home workers (who contribute to domestic and global supply chains), organizing is critical to bargaining for higher piece rates and improved working conditions and to gaining market access on favourable terms. For home-based workers, organizing is critical to bargaining for housing tenure and basic infrastructure services to improve and secure the workplace—their homes.

Since ILO Convention on Home Work (No. 177) was adopted in 1997, regional networks of home workers—HomeNet South Asia, HomeNet Southeast Asia and HomeNet Eastern Europe—have formed, and the number of affiliated local organizations has grown. In addition to continued advocacy for national ratifications of Convention No. 177 and domestic policies for home-based workers (like Thailand’s Homeworker Protection Act), home-based workers, through organizing, have made gains in securing housing tenure, infrastructure and market access. For example, HomeNet South Asia and SEWA launched the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) Business Association of Home-Based Workers (SABAH) project in 2008—which organized home-based workers into business associations that were subsequently provided with training and support. SABAH has become a strong, well-recognized brand, and SABAH products are positioned and marketed in the region (and globally) under the banner “made in SAARC.”

Women bee-keepers in Ethiopia: Lobbying for political change. Oxfam’s programme supporting collective action by women bee-keepers in Ethiopia found that political change was required to
overcome structural barriers to women’s participation in producer cooperatives. With the support of Oxfam, the honey groups successfully lobbied district offices of the Cooperative Promotion Agency to amend the Cooperative Law to provide for dual membership of husbands and wives in groups, so married women became members of cooperatives in their own right. Following this reform, the number of women members of the Agunta Cooperative grew from just one in 2006 to 197 in 2007, and thousands more joined such groups, constituting up to 49 percent of the membership in some cooperatives. (Source: “Collective Enterprises of Women Informal Producers: Key Pathway for Linking to Markets and Supply Chains,” paper submitted by Oxfam, SEWA and WIEGO to the High-Level Panel on Women’s Economic Empowerment, July 2016.)

**ILO Recommendation Concerning the Transition from the Informal to the Formal Economy, 2015 (No. 204).** Over the years, there has been a growing consensus among governments, workers and employers that moving people from informal to formal employment is the right thing to do. A groundbreaking step in the international normative framework on labour and economic rights for workers in the informal economy was the adoption in 2015 of the Transition from the Informal to the Formal Economy Recommendation (No. 204) by the International Labour Conference. Adopted with a near unanimous vote, Recommendation 204 is based on strong tripartite consensus of government, worker and employer organizations, following a two-year process of consultations, including organizations of informal workers. It provides strategies and practical guidance for member states to facilitate the transition of workers and economic units from the informal to the formal economy, while respecting workers’ fundamental rights and ensuring opportunities for income security, livelihoods and entrepreneurship; to promote the creation, preservation and sustainability of enterprises and decent jobs in the formal economy and the coherence of macroeconomic, employment, social protection and other social policies; and to promote regulated access by informal workers to public space and natural resources, and prevent the informalization of formal economy jobs.

**Partnerships for action and results on the ground**

Alliances that enable women from all walks of life and with multiple and intersecting identities to consolidate power within their movements and to nurture collective power with other social movements point the way forward for a transformative agenda on women’s economic empowerment. Alliances between trade unions and organizations of informal economy workers, for example, led to the adoption of the ILO Recommendation Concerning Transitioning from the Informal to the Formal Economy, 2015 (No. 204). The powerful alliance of organizations of women informal workers in the WIEGO network has led to positive changes in laws, policies and regulations in support of domestic workers as well as home-based workers, street vendors and waste pickers around the world. See cases of informal workers organizing here.

A victory for domestic workers through partnership and strategic alliance. Following the historic adoption of the ILO Convention on Decent Work for Domestic Workers (No. 189) in June 2011 (see “Domestic workers: Organizing for a convention” above), the International Domestic Workers Network (IDWN) and their allies seized the momentum to push for its ratification by ILO member states. On 12 December 2011, the ITUC launched the 12 by 12 campaign in partnership with the IDWN and the IUF. The campaign set ambitious goals: 12 ratifications of Convention No. 189 by the end of 2012, organizing, building and strengthening unions of domestic workers; and achieving reforms to national labour laws to extend labour and social protection to domestic workers.

This campaign joined hands with a social movement comprising trade unions, domestic worker associations, and human rights, women’s rights and migrant rights organizations. It inspired thousands of domestic workers to speak up, join and build unions and added significant strength to the national advocacy and organizing campaigns in more than 90 countries. It sponsored high-profile public events, formal and informal meetings with parliamentarians and labour ministries, and tripartite meetings and persuaded high-profile figures to champion the cause.

Since the campaign—and the foundation of the International Domestic Workers Federation in 2013—an estimated 15 million domestic workers have won the right to organize, form trade unions and engage in collective bargaining and have seen their rights in law improved thanks to labour reforms in 50 countries, 23 ratifications of ILO Convention No. 189 by 2016 and stronger unions of domestic workers (over 100,000 joined a union, and new unions have been created in many countries including Angola, Brazil, Colombia, Costa
An effective route to empowerment is through support for women organising at global and national level. Allies can be found in the private sector and within donor agencies.” (OECD)

Rica, Dominican Republic, Egypt, Ghana, Guatemala, Lebanon, Lesotho, Pakistan, Paraguay, Sri Lanka and Swaziland).

**Fight Inequality Alliance: A global movement to fight inequality.** The Fight Inequality Alliance is a new and growing group of leading international and national nonprofit organizations, human rights campaigners, women’s rights groups, environmental groups, faith-based organizations, trade unions, social movements and other civil society organizations that have come together to fight the growing crisis of inequality. The alliance was formed to ensure a more concerted and effective response to this crisis, which undermines global efforts to end poverty, discrimination and marginalization; advance women’s rights; defend the environment; protect human rights and democracy; prevent conflict; and promote fair and dignified employment.

The alliance seeks to have a greater impact by working together and by taking joint action where appropriate. It is united in the belief that only a fully inclusive global movement can succeed, built from and supporting the ongoing work of affected communities, activists and existing movements—and responding to the local realities of the inequalities people are experiencing. It is convinced that the fight against inequality will be won by deepening people’s collective power and by practical actions that challenge and change the status quo and shift power. Helping to guide a process of growth in this foundational period are ActionAid, ACT Alliance, Asia People’s Movement on Debt and Development, CIVICUS, FEMNET, Focus on the Global South, Greenpeace International, International Trade Union Confederation (ITUC) and Oxfam. The structure and governance of the alliance, to be decided collectively, will be based on principles of diversity, inclusion and shared values.

**MOVING FORWARD TO 2030: ONGOING COMMITMENTS AND NEW INITIATIVES OF PANEL MEMBERS**

**ILO.** Standard-setting process on violence and harassment against women and men in the world of work—Women at Work Centenary Initiative; promotion of the ratification and implementation of the ILO Convention on Freedom of Association and Protection of the Right to Organise, 1948 (No. 87) and the ILO Convention on the Right to Organise and Collective Bargaining, 1949 (No. 98); research on legal and administrative barriers to freedom of association and collective bargaining in domestic work, as a basis to develop tools to support worker and employer organizations to organize and participate in collective bargaining in a number of countries; development of training and training material on collective bargaining and the promotion of equality; support for young women unionists on leadership skills; implementation of the strategy on decent work for domestic workers; support for women in business and management, including a handbook for national employer organizations and the dissemination of good company practices; bringing together of multinational enterprises, employer organizations and corporate foundations through the “Global Business Network for Social Protection Floors” to support the promotion and establishment of social protection floors worldwide.

**ITUC.** Campaigning for the ILO convention on violence against women and men at the workplace; continuing the commitment to increasing women’s voice, participation and representation in leadership positions within trade unions, achieving at least 30 percent representation of women in leadership positions in 80 percent of ITUC affiliates by 2018 as part of the ongoing Count Us In! campaign; strengthening strategic alliances with other social movements; promoting UN-endorsed wage floor and universal, gender-sensitive social protection; regulating working conditions in global supply chains and the on-demand economy; focusing on women’s share of income to bridge the inequality gap and regions of inequality.

**SEWA.** Ongoing mobilization of and support to women members of SEWA; ongoing promotion of representation of SEWA members in relevant rule-setting, policymaking and collective bargaining processes; ongoing work to develop scalable models for child care, financial services, business development services, collective enterprises and related activities; promoting platforms for dialogue and negotiations between organizations of informal workers and cities/urban planners; organizing exposure dialogues involving lawyers and legal scholars on legal barriers facing women informal workers.

**WIEGO.** Ongoing support to build and strengthen organizations and networks of women informal workers in four sectors—domestic workers, home-based producers, street vendors and waste pickers—and promoting the representation of worker leaders from these organizations in relevant rule-setting, policymaking and collective
bargaining processes (local, national, regional and global); ongoing collaboration with the ILO, the UN Statistical Commission, the UN Statistical Division and national statistical offices to further improve labour force and other economic data on women informal workers.

**Oxfam.** Supporting campaigns to address inequalities for women producers and workers in agriculture value chains; advocating for gender-sensitive government policies to promote women’s economic opportunities, women’s land rights, food company and sector policies that address women’s equality in areas such as living wages, labour rights and the recognition, reduction and redistribution of unpaid care work; supporting women’s collective enterprises to engage in policy dialogues on sector reform or national policies; ensuring women’s political voice and agency in national processes.

**UN Women.** Advancing women’s political empowerment and leadership through the Women’s Political and Leadership Flagship Programme Initiative, focusing on four priority areas requiring actions by a coalition of partners: supporting development and implementation of robust legal frameworks and administrative arrangements; expanding and diversifying the pool of qualified and capable women to run for elections; transforming gender norms so that women are accepted as legitimate and effective leaders, including campaigns that sensitize the media and electorate and working with men and male champions; supporting women leaders in gender-sensitive political institutions, including parliament, political parties and election management bodies.

**SPECIFIC COMMITMENTS BY GOVERNMENTS TO MEET THE RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE HIGH-LEVEL PANEL ON WOMEN’S ECONOMIC EMPOWERMENT**

- **Tanzania.** Pursuing the goal to have 50:50 gender balance in leadership and decision-making by 2020 (Tanzania Women Cross-Party Platform and Coalition for Women and Constitution).
- **Jamaica.** Ensuring the welfare of all domestic workers within the framework of promoting decent work for all; ratification of Convention No. 189.
- **Norway.** Stepping up efforts to advance Sustainable Development Goal 5 on gender equality and empowering all women and girls under a new Gender Equality for Development programme (LIKE), which will share experiences and competence in the field of gender equality with committed partner countries.

**ADDITIONAL RESOURCES**

These resources can help individuals and organizations become active in accelerating women’s economic empowerment through Driver 7:

- **ILO Recommendation Concerning the Transition from the Informal to the Formal Economy,** 2015 (No. 204).
- **Empowering Rural Women, Ensuring Food Security and Ending Poverty.** New York: UN Women.
- **The Only School We Have: Learning from Organizing Experiences Across the Informal Economy.** Bonner, C., and D. Spooner, 2012, Cambridge, MA: WIEGO (Women in Informal Employment: Globalizing and Organizing). (Six booklets on organizing in the informal economy.)
- **“Feminist Economics Toolbox.”** Association for Women’s Rights in Development (AWID), 2013.
- **“Domestic Workers’ Organizing Toolbox.”** National Domestic Workers’ Alliance (NDWA).
- **“ITF Women’s Development Pack.”** International Transport Workers Federation (ITF).

NOTE