



# WE CARE!

Feminist responses to the care crises

A report of the WIDE Annual Conference 2009

**Report of the WIDE Annual Conference 2009 'WE CARE! Feminist responses to the care crises',  
18–20 June 2009, University of Basel, Basel, Switzerland**

The WIDE Annual Conference provides a space for debate. The plenary presentations and parallel sessions during the Annual Conference do not necessarily represent or reflect WIDE's position and may differ from WIDE's perspectives.

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## EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Care and care work must be understood – not as prerequisites to economic growth – but as the centre of human life. This understanding can bring about a political and economic shift in priorities from moneymaking or consuming goods to creating new habits of being and living which are more dignifying and ethical. Rather than assuming that trade liberalisation, growth and increased income will lead to an improvement in caregiving and human welfare, we must take into account the interconnections between the financial, economic and care crises. Governments seem more concerned with bailing out banks and boosting economic institutions than investing in improving the State's capacity to ensure equal access to the provision of care in a way that does not put the burden on women. We need to analyse the impact of the crises on gender relations, equality and women's rights, and of state and global policy responses to the crises. And we need to take action so as to stop deregulation policies – especially of financial services – and stop the liberalisation of basic services, such as education, water and health, which will increase women's unpaid care burden.

WIDE's 2009 Annual Conference, entitled 'WE CARE! Feminist responses to the care crises' (18–20 June 2009 Basel, Switzerland), was concerned with the impact of multiple and interlocking global crises on women's cultural, economic and social rights. In collaboration with WIDE Switzerland, the Conference gathered around 180 participants from all over the world who jointly reflected on the political and policy urgency of re-examining the care economy and care ethics driving our institutions, policies and society as a whole, and on the need to envision alternative concepts of work, livelihoods and well-being in relation to care and care work.

### Redefining and (re)valuing care work

To successfully address the care crises requires us to **question and change existing definitions** of care which define women as natural carers and exempt men from it. We must also challenge the ways that 'care work' is defined, perceived and treated within mainstream economics and political spaces – as something 'external' to economic and market systems and something of limited or no value.

As a first step, we can examine how care is measured by challenging the terminology used in economic

analysis (e.g. domestic work versus person care, paid versus unpaid care work), and proposing and assessing new methods and tools (e.g. time-use survey data versus other figures, such as unpaid care work as a percentage of gross domestic product (GDP)).

As we bring the value of care work into political and economic discourses, we can begin to develop feminist responses and identify policy space for intervention and alternative solutions. This requires a contextual understanding of the crises and recognition that there is **not a 'one-size-fits-all' response**. The best policies give women and men the choice to provide or not provide care, paid or unpaid, and provide care services that are affordable, accessible and of good quality.

### Viewing care through multiple lenses

In defining our approach, it is useful to **increase our understanding of intersectionality** – the ways in which models of oppression, such as those based on race/ethnicity, gender, religion, nationality, sexual orientation, class or disability, interrelate to create a system of oppression involving multiple forms of discrimination. This enables us to push for solutions, such as redistribution of care work, not only along gender lines (between men and women), but also along race, class and geographical lines (i.e. North–South).

An understanding of intersectionality can also help us to find new and powerful allies. The current crises are affecting a wide spectrum of groups, and we can **forge alliances with organisations not traditionally linked to women's issues**, such as trade unions and environmental groups. However, we must also be cognisant of alliances that could perpetuate the very systems feminist organisations are trying to change, such as those which support the existing profit-driven economic model rather than challenge it.

One area where we might find allies, as well as new perspectives and information for understanding the care crises, is **food and agriculture**. The relationship between care and food production and provision is complex, and differs vastly between low-, middle- and high-income countries. Globally, women remain the primary producers and preparers of food, and their abilities to provide care are closely affected by political, economic and trade-related activities at local, national and international levels – from their ability to save

seeds for kitchen gardens which feed their families (as international companies buy up the rights to seeds and other genetic materials), all the way up to international trade agreement negotiations that affect market access.

Another area offering new perspectives on care is body politics, which looks at how bodies are regulated by national and, increasingly, international politics; and the ways that regulation shapes our daily lives at work, at home, and in private as well as public relationships. In the area of paid work, body politics reveals how economic systems are dependent upon women's cheap labour, and how this labour marks women's bodies (e.g. women factory workers' stiff fingers and physical exhaustion). Body politics also brings sexuality into public and political discourses, exposing 'heterosexual normativity' as the dominant paradigm underpinning social care policies which marginalise non-heterosexual or unorthodox families and relationships and lock women into the myth of the procreating body. Body politics also enables us to consider the progress made in bringing more men into care work as fathers, as well as the persistence of hegemonic concepts of masculinity that can be harmful to women and increase the care burden.

### A feminist response

Immediate responses are needed, but at the same time we must treat the current period of crisis as an opportunity to shape the feminist vision of an alternative economy (a 'caring economy'), transform care roles and definitions, and propagate a vision of transformation of the dominant neoliberal, profit-driven economic paradigm. We must connect our vision to data and analyses, to make our demands practical rather than just theoretical, and ensure they are heard and acted upon in political spaces nationally and internationally.

At global policy level we need to stop speculative and high-risk trading and practices which gamble our food, pensions, public goods and basic needs on the financial markets. In essence, we must stop the casino capitalism! In the area of trade, we must stop the aggressive trade liberalisation regime and instead promote a fair trade agenda, which integrates social development, human rights and gender equality as its core values.

To achieve these outcomes, we need to **identify the best strategies, instruments, tools and spaces for political and social change**. We can do this at household level, for example, by challenging gender roles and ideologies and the institutions that support them.

We can also take stock of existing agreements, such as **the Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW)** and the Beijing Platform for Action, and demand accountability in relation to care.

Women's organisations must push for **gender-aware stimulus packages**, which, for example:

- channel public-sector spending to activities that employ women;
- reduce the care burden and account for unpaid work by providing a basic social safety net for everyone; and
- invest in social infrastructure.

Such stimulus packages must also include ethnicity/race-sensitive employment and job creation policies. To achieve this, women need equal representation in decision-making on public spending, both within governments and in advisory bodies.

We must push at national level for **greater market regulation**, and for governments to bridge the divide between their economic and social policies. For example, we can demand coherence between human/women's rights legislation and development objectives and social security. We can also work with trade unions to strengthen the bargaining position of workers.

The report features summaries of all plenary presentations and follow-up discussions involving presenters and participants. Throughout the report, readers can find expert analyses of the issues, case studies, examples of successful actions to change existing conditions and systems, suggestions for action at all levels, and lingering questions about this highly complex topic. On WIDE's website you can read the reports of workshops that were held during this Annual Conference, and find PowerPoint™ presentations and pictures: <http://widenetwork.wordpress.com/>

## CHAPTER 1:

# Caring and social provisioning as a starting point for feminist analyses

Caring for others is essential for human well-being all over the world; but the social organisation of care differs from country to country, and even within countries. The way care is organised in a society has a major influence on – and is a reflection of – gender relations and gender equality. Care and care work have been fundamental issues for feminist analysis for more than 30 years.

The current global economic and financial crisis has brought increased attention to the prevailing market-oriented economic system and its failures. However, care is still left off the agenda, even as households and communities around the world rapidly bend under the weight of the added care burden resulting from cuts in public spending and services. The well-being and livelihoods of many women and girls, as the world's primary care givers, are in steep decline.

The United Nations Research Institute for Social Development (UNRISD) study on 'The political and social economy of care' adds a vast amount of data and new findings to the discussion of care, and is also an interesting starting point to discuss theoretical approaches, methods, notions, and concepts from a feminist perspective.

### Key Findings of the UNRISD Study on the Care Economy

#### (Re)thinking Care in a Development Context

*Shahra Razavi, UNRISD, Switzerland*

In a recent presentation, Joan Tronto persuasively argued that understanding care not as a prerequisite to economic growth, but as the centre of human life, would allow us to shift our priorities from 'making money' or 'making stuff', to 'making livable lives' and 'enriching networks of care and relationship'. Within such an alternative world, Tronto went on to argue, the physical, emotional and relational needs of humans would set the limits within which other concerns are addressed.

We should hold on to this vision proposed by Tronto, and find ways of connecting it to current discourses and care arrangements to envision change. The analy-

ses that have been done through the UNRISD country studies provide a good entry point for this. A starting point is to grasp the differences in the realities across different contexts, which impose different sets of constraints on us in making the shift.

There has been growing academic and policy interest in the migration of Southern women to the global North, to work as care workers, and this literature powerfully exposes the unequalising tendencies of policies associated with neoliberal globalisation. Like much feminist literature on welfare states, however, its empirical focus has been largely on the global North. Care arrangements and institutions in low- and middle-income countries have not received the same level of scrutiny. Addressing this gap was the main impetus behind the UNRISD project.

Many feminists rightly claimed that the first round of welfare regime literature was blind to families and to gender stratifications. Thus it is useful to examine whether something similar is happening now within the largely Northern feminist literature on care, and if the insights gained from research on care issues in less-developed country contexts could add something new to the feminist debates on care.

Feminist research on care in developing countries is not yet at a stage to make any strong claims in terms of new or different care regime typologies. However, the existing studies, including the UNRISD project outcomes, suggest some key insights, which fall under four questions/headings:

1. Care as a lens
2. The care economy and whatever happened to domestic work?
3. The care diamond – multiple institutions to highlight the role of public policies and collective provision of care services
4. The care diamond and the 'welfare mix'.

#### Care as a lens

Many welfare programmes provide care, either directly, such as through health and education programmes, or indirectly by facilitating care-giving through, for example, pensions, child and family allowances and parental leave programmes. Many of these pro-

grammes have been central to welfare states; yet, apart from pensions, they have tended to be treated as secondary programmes.

Thinking about care as a perspective or a lens, rather than a sector or particular set of responsibilities and activities, allows us to interrogate broader policies and structures that facilitate or hamper care-giving. And this is particularly, though not exclusively, important in developing-country contexts because so many of the pre-conditions, resources, time and skills for care-giving cannot be taken for granted.

Much of the feminist literature on care has raised the important issue of 'time-poverty', something that mainstream approaches to well-being have ignored. Time-poverty, however, cannot be considered without the dimension of material-poverty. It is one thing to be time-poor and income-rich, but another thing to be time-poor and income-poor (e.g. what Indian time-use surveys suggest is the case for many low-income men and women). It is quite another thing to be time-rich and income-poor, because you are forced into idleness since the development path cannot generate sufficient paid employment opportunities. This is a severe problem in the 'labour reserve' economies of southern Africa, where capital no longer needs the labour that it pulled from rural households over so many generations and where unemployment rates are around 32 per cent.

We need a care lens to look at the process of capital accumulation and what happens in the process of development, rather than *assuming a priori* that development/growth will lead to an improvement in care-giving and human welfare.

Looking at macro-economic policies through a care lens would mean asking what happens to care-giving and well-being in the process of development: does capital accumulation, which is a necessity for developing countries, facilitate care-giving and enhance human well-being? Or does it come at the expense of both? The process of development has often meant increasing agricultural productivity and diversifying the productive base by nurturing manufacturing industries, typically by increasing outputs of items produced for pay by women. Evidence suggests that capital accumulation which relies on increases in women's paid work to produce exports is not matched by a compensating reduction in the amount of unpaid care work that women and girls have to do to meet their social obligations. As Diane Elson argues, it is very likely that in these contexts the outcome has been an extension of total time spent by

women on paid and unpaid work, as well as a reduction in the quality of the output produced by unpaid work, especially through a 'squeeze on time for care'.

It is crucial to look at what happens to jobs and incomes along gendered lines during crisis periods, which liberalised economies are so prone to experiencing. It is also important in the context of crises to look at the unpaid economy of care and reproduction: very often an inability to access public services (e.g. health) or purchase consumption items (e.g. new clothes, processed food ingredients) intensifies the burden of unpaid work that women and girls have to carry.

*"We need a care lens to look at the process of capital accumulation and what happens in the process of development, rather than assuming a priori that development/growth will lead to an improvement in care-giving and human welfare."*

Shara Razavi

### **The care economy and whatever happened to domestic work?**

In much of the literature on care in the developed world, domestic work is not included in definitions of care. Care work is defined as the person-to-person relational and emotional interactions that enhance the capabilities of care recipients. Feeding a child or reading a book to them is care, but preparing their food is not; bathing an elderly person is care, but washing their clothes and sheets is not. Listening to an adult and emotionally interacting with them is care, but shopping and preparing a meal for the family is not.

The exclusion of domestic work introduces class and income biases. Domestic work continues to absorb a significant proportion of women's time among low-income households throughout the world, including in middle- and high-income countries. These women cannot hire domestic workers or buy ready-made market substitutes. It is also not conceptually very clear-cut: why is preparing a meal not caring work, while feeding the person is?

We know that as countries become richer the proportion of unpaid work time devoted to domestic work declines, while the proportion that goes to direct care or person care seems to increase. So excluding what is often called 'domestic work' from care work carries a class and development bias.

UNRISD constructed a 'care dependency ratio'<sup>1</sup> to capture the burden of care-giving in simple demographic

<sup>1</sup> A dependency ratio is a measure of the number of dependents (people aged 0–14 and over the age of 65) compared to the total working-age population (aged 15–64). It is calculated by dividing the total number of people of working age by the total number of dependents in a society or community.



terms. Among the countries covered in the study of time use which was coordinated by Debbie Budlender, the care dependency ratio was found to be lowest in Korea, followed by Argentina. The highest ratio was for Tanzania, which reflects its relatively larger population of children under six years old. The figures obtained suggest that a caregiver in Korea would, on average, share the responsibility for caring for a single person with at least five other people, while a caregiver in Tanzania would be responsible for more than half of all the care needed by another person.

Interestingly, the apparent need for care calculated on the basis of demographic variables does not correlate in a simple way with the amount of time that is actually spent on person care. For example, while the demographic structures would suggest a lower care burden in Korea and Argentina, women in these two countries allocate relatively more time to person care than women in Tanzania, India and South Africa, which may be facing a 'care deficit'.

One of the factors that may explain why the wealthy spend more time on 'person care' could be the 'contracting out' of time-consuming housework by employing others to do this work (as well as smaller households among the wealthy, meaning that children are more likely to be cared for separately with fewer economies of scale and less possibility of children caring for each other).

For poor people in poor countries the drudgery of unpaid care work – fetching water, processing ingredients and preparing food – absorbs a huge amount of

*"We need to make sure we create a world where there is solidarity. Yet this objective is so antithetical to the current economic model of competitive individualism."*

*Kathleen Lynch*

'person care': reading a book to a child is caring for them, but preparing a meal for them or cleaning their clothes is also an expression of care.

### **The care diamond – multiple institutions to highlight the role of public policies and collective provision of care services**

In addition to using care as a 'lens' through which to interrogate the broader economic, social and political structures, the UNRISD study has for the most part used care in a narrower sense, focusing on the so-

called 'care diamond' (also sometimes referred to as the 'care sector' – for example, by Folbre).

The institutions involved in the provision of care are thus conceptualised as a care diamond, to include the family/household, markets, the public sector and the not-for-profit sector. Of course, this is an oversimplified picture, as the institutions providing care often work in a more complex manner and the boundaries between them are neither clear-cut nor static. The concept of the care diamond, however, emphasises the multiplicity of sites offering care, the role of public policy and collective responsibility, and the decisions taken by society to favour some forms of provision over others.

This framework allowed UNRISD to combine a micro-level analysis of unpaid care, which largely takes place through kinship relations, with other forms of care: mediated by market relations or through collective forms of provision. Why this emphasis on diversity of sites and institutional configurations?

First, there is a view deeply entrenched in the modernisation narrative of a linear path along which all countries move with an inevitable shift from 'private' provision of care, especially family and voluntary, to public provision by the state and market. The assumption is that developing countries cluster into so-called highly 'familialistic regimes', where both welfare and care are assured through informal family networks and relations. While not wanting to deny the important role played by families, and by unpaid female work within families, in providing care, focusing exclusively on families and households can also be misleading.

There is great diversity among developing countries, evident in the small cluster of countries that have been studied, which were purposefully chosen to reflect this diversity. Some of these countries are relatively high-capacity states, both fiscally and administratively, which have been involved in the provisioning of social and care services and social protection measures historically – for example, Argentina and South Africa, as well as Korea, which is already an OECD member country.

Today many other developing countries are also experimenting with social policies, using the labels 'human capabilities', 'anti-poverty' or 'social protection'. These policies directly or indirectly impact care-giving, for better or for worse as far as gender equality is concerned. These needed to be interrogated, in addition to the more explicitly care-oriented policies which resemble developed-country policies, such as pre-school care and education.

Second, it is important to focus on state social policies and on collective forms of care, despite some of their well-known shortcomings, such as care-giving being badly paid and feminised even if in the public sector. This would get us away from an agenda that is exclusively focused on micro-level interventions aimed at getting more men involved in care-giving, as we see in some multilateral policy institutions. In many developing countries, much more needs to be done in terms of putting in place the policies, programmes and structural changes that can help redistribute the costs of care-giving across social class and also make it more viable for women to re-negotiate their care responsibilities. The limitations of ‘sharing of responsibilities between women and men’ are particularly striking in contexts where a large proportion of households with children are maintained primarily by women without the presence or financial contributions of the fathers of those children.

#### **The care diamond and the ‘welfare mix’**

In theory, governments can orchestrate care diamonds with a mix of public and private provision that is not exclusionary, that provides accessible services for everyone, and that provides good working conditions for care workers. But this requires states with both fiscal and regulatory capacities to regulate non-state care providers and to underwrite some of the cost of service provision for low-income users. It also requires a willingness to invest in basic public health and education services and appropriate infrastructure as the bedrock of social provisioning, to help reduce the unpaid care burden on families and households. However, governments often pursue ‘private–public’ partnerships to save costs, especially on staff, so it is important to assess the kind of work these mixes offer their workforce.

Pluralism<sup>2</sup> in the provisioning of social and care services can have unequalising, if not exclusionary, outcomes if the state fails to play this leadership role. In historically more unequal societies, pluralism in welfare and care provision easily slips into fragmentation as gaps are filled by providers that offer services of varying quality which cater and are accessible to different segments of the population.

It seems that to change priorities requires not only political alignments and the strength and visibility of social movements that champion the priority of better

care along with gender equality. It also depends on states that are willing to put in place measures to reduce care burdens and equalise opportunities, a country’s place in the larger global economy, and whether the state/society has any room for manoeuvre in terms of fiscal and policy space.

Project countries and research reports are available on the UNRISD website – [www.unrisd.org/research/gd/care](http://www.unrisd.org/research/gd/care).

### **Affective Equality: Care, Equality and Citizenship**

*Kathleen Lynch, Equality Studies Centre, School of Social Justice, University College Dublin, Ireland*

The equality debates globally, politically and legally are almost completely male-dominated. One major debate has been about defining equality as a problem of redistribution – a problem of distributing economic resources. Another major debate, has centred around what some people might call the ‘identity movements’ – for example, gay/lesbian movements, disability movements, and the women’s movement – which is called the problem of recognition. Axel Honneth is a major proponent of the view that the equality problem is a recognition problem. Nancy Fraser has written very eloquently about those two axes of the justice debate, arguing that both are key dimensions of injustice and also highlighting the issue of power and representation as equality considerations.

There is a debate about power, stemming from the work of Foucault, which defines power as an equality problem, although the focus is not on sovereign power but power as it circulates and as it is institutionalised. However, the key equality debates are centred on redistribution (economic inequalities) and recognition (socio-cultural inequalities).

Following from our work in *Equality: From Theory to Action* (Baker, Lynch et al. 2004) and *Affective Equality* (Lynch, Baker and Lyons 2009) I will argue that the problem of equality is not simply about redistribution, recognition or representation. There is a care sphere of life in which equality is a key problem, and that is what we call ‘affective equality’.

<sup>2</sup> Pluralism is the policy or theory that minority groups within a society should maintain cultural differences but share overall political and economic power.

### Affective equality

We need to take the intellectual space from the male-dominated discourses of egalitarian political theory that so controlled public discourse about this issue, and put care at the heart of the debate about equality. This comes from a different premise from that underpinning male-led theory – one that recognises our relationality. (For more information, see the book *Love's Labour: Essays on Women, Equality and Dependency* by Eva Feder Kittay.) Affective equality treats care as an equality and human rights issue; without care and love people cannot develop as emotionally and socially sustained human beings; without solidarity we will have no community in society.

Affective equality recognises the relational character of human beings. It is based on the premise that we live in profound states of interdependence – economically, politically, culturally and socially, as well as environmentally. And, of course, our human vulnerability makes care essential; we are all, at some time in our lives, deeply dependent. Affective equality integrates a concept of dependency and interdependency into our understanding of equality, human rights and citizenship.

### Affective inequality

Affective inequality occurs directly when:

- people are deprived of the love, care and solidarity they need to survive and develop as human beings;
- the burdens and pleasures of care and love work are unequally distributed in society, between women and men particularly; and/or
- those doing love and care work are not recognised economically, politically and/or socially for that work.

Affective inequality occurs indirectly when, for example, we are not educated on the theory and practice of love, care and solidarity work in education programmes, and when love, care and solidarity work is trivialised by omission from public discourse. There is no education for citizens as carers, and we generally do not think about this in formal education.

We need to make sure we create a world where there is solidarity. This is so antithetical to the current economic model of competitive individualism.

### Definitions of citizenship: a problem for carers

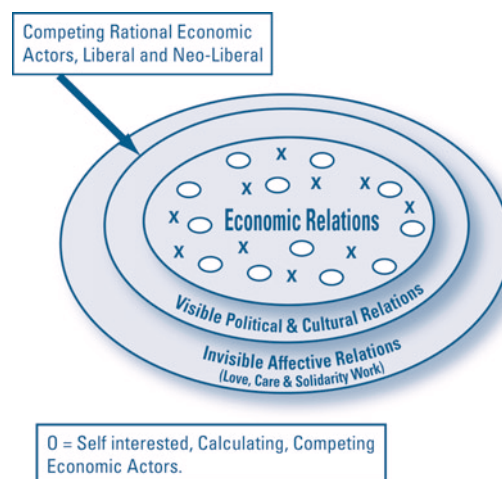
The way that citizenship is defined on a global level poses problems for carers. The **liberal perspective** values citizens as paid workers and/or public figures. In fact, most of the protections we have are related to our identity as 'paid workers'. This perspective largely

ignores the way race, gender, ethnicity, age, disability etc. influence citizenship status. It is silent on the reality of dependency and interdependency as central to human existence. The liberal view largely treats loving and caring as private matters and solidarity work as an option within civil society.

The prevailing **neoliberal perspective** draws on the earlier concept of the citizen as paid worker emanating from classical liberalism, although it refocuses citizenship on people's relationship to the market. A citizen is defined as either a 'consumer' or a 'client' with the capacity to buy and sell services/products. Caring is only valued on the market. Citizens are also defined as autonomous, privatised persons, with a focus on caring for themselves. In this context, the individual is responsible for his or her own well-being. That is the direction in which we are moving.

This is hugely problematic for public care provided by the state, because the whole project of neoliberal capitalism is to undermine the cost (to capital) of the services provided by the public sector – reducing costs is its core project. And if it does, it will undermine funding for health, welfare, education and care work, and indeed state supports for child care, family care etc. The state's role in public service provision and in state subvention is being seriously and directly circumscribed in a very direct and deliberate way, which adversely affects women both as carers and as paid workers.

Figure 1 shows the type of model of the citizen we have right now. Economic relations are at the centre, representing the self-interested, calculated, competing economic actors. Under that we have the visible political and cultural relations, the power structures, the cultural and public spheres. And under that we have the love, care and solidarity work, which is placed at the bottom because the two other sets of institutions are generally free riders on an awful lot of this (care) work.



The model we are confronted by is a **'care-less' model of global citizenship**, where the market has become the primary producer of cultural logic and cultural value. The emotional labour – and, in fact, the practical labour – involved in caring and loving has been discredited and denied. My argument is that care should be an intrinsic element in the definition of global citizenship. The citizen is not just a political, economic or cultural actor on the state of life; she is also a care actor, involved in relations of dependency and interdependency that are care-led, particularly at times of vulnerability.

We need to enable care discourses to redefine public discourse, policies and politics so that caring can be valorised economically, politically and culturally without being romanticised or commercialised. We need to take care discourses out of that private space and put them into the public space. We need to make solidarity the global principle of global organisation and recognise care as a core principle of everyday life, including paid work. We know from research on employment and the appointment of senior managers that increasingly people have no time even to listen to one another within paid employment. The intensification of work has been a major by-product of neoliberal capitalism, and this often precludes us from having time to do care work on our terms, even care work of maintaining our own health and well-being, which, in turn, is intimately bound up with our relations to others.

### Problematising masculinity

When we talk about the problem of justice, we forget that we must look at masculinity and how it is defined as care-less. One of the micro-studies we undertook for our studies for *Affective Equality* (2009) was a study by Niall Hanlon on men's view of caring. It is fascinating that masculinity is not equated with care and that, as feminists, we often do not problematise masculinity. Part of the problem of addressing the care problem for women, is that:

- feminine identities are assumed to be 'care-full' (moral imperative on women to care);
- masculine identities are equated with dominance (RW Connell 1995, 2003);
- men are assumed to be care-less (men see bread-winning as caring and, therefore, do not do hands-on care work) (Lynch, Baker and Lyons, *Affective Equality: Love, Care and Injustice*, 2009); and
- women are care's foot soldiers, while men are 'care commanders' – that is to say, men can assign intimate care work (love labouring) to others with impunity, but women cannot.

Increasingly, the idealised person in the global order is

a man – a care-free person. This is someone who has no ties or care responsibilities. The idealised worker is someone who is free to migrate or move. The devaluation of caring is at the heart of capitalism. We see it daily in the way the care identity of the citizen who migrates is seen as irrelevant. They are not allowed to bring their families to the destiny of migration; their care relationships are not defined as being of value. They are simply seen as human capital, an economic resource.

### Time and love labouring

Many would argue that you cannot have quality time without quantity time in care terms. Love labour time is not infinitely condensable; you cannot do it in less and less time (Folbre 2004). It is not possible to produce 'fast care' like fast food in standardised packages. If we go the 'McWorld' route in caring, we will not get care, but 'pre-packaged units of supervision', attending without intimacy or personal interest in the welfare of others (Badgett and Folbre 1999).

The rationality of caring is different from, and to some degree contradicts, scientific and bureaucratic rationality. There is no hierarchy or career structure to relations of love labouring; they cannot be supplied to order.

### Relational realities – a care-full model of citizenship

The challenge for carers is that love labour (caring intimately for others) is inalienable and non-commodifiable. You cannot pay someone else to build or maintain your own relationship with intimate others; mutuality, commitment and feelings for others (and the human effort that goes with expressing these) cannot be provided for hire, as they are voluntary in nature. There needs to be recognition of the primacy of caring for citizens but not only at the intimate personal level. Care and solidarity also need to become public values that govern our relations with others.

We need to recognise the importance of tertiary care, caring in the form of social solidarity. We would also argue that tertiary care occurs where taxation is seen as a care issue, not an imposition on you; because you are taxed to supply solidarity to society. This is an example of looking at the work through the care lens.

*"Love is not about sentimentality, it is about love labour, the work of nurturing others through care. The reason I use of the word 'love' in the context of caring and the care economy is because much of what gives people meaning in life is care from others; and producing that care involves work.*

*Kathleen Lynch*



## Conclusion

There are three main points in conclusion:

**1. Care-full citizenship:** Caring occupies a similar structural role in relation to emotional life that material labour occupies in relation to economic life. Caring (in the love labouring sense) has to be done – due to human vulnerability and developmental needs. We need to make caring central to the definition of citizenship, and education about citizenship must include education about loving, caring and solidarity.

**2. Challenging the way masculinity and femininity are defined:** In the prevailing definitions, women are morally impelled to care, while men are defined as dominant and care-less. The major challenge is to alter definitions of masculinity as well as definitions of femininity.

**3. Creating an egalitarian and socially just world:** There are four key contexts for the promotion of social justice, including care (J Baker, K Lynch, S Cantillon and J Walsh (2004) *Equality: From Theory to Action*):

- *Economic context* – in economic relations, e.g. incomes/wages, wealth etc. – the goal is equality of resources; there is no meaningful equality of opportunity without equality of economic condition.
- *Socio-cultural context* – in cultural relations, e.g. in systems of representation, interpretation, communication (in media, education etc.) – the goal is equality of respect and recognition.
- *Political context* – power relations, e.g. in formal politics, on boards, committees, in paid work and family/personal relations – the goal is equality of power in public and private institutions.
- *Affective context* (care relations) – wherever relations of love, care, and solidarity operate, e.g. personal relationships, paid work relations, community and associational relations – the goal is equality in the doing of care work and equality in the receiving of care.

*“It is important to name the fact that people have relational identities as well racial, gender or aged identities. Redistribution, recognition and representational accounts of injustice have ignored the relational, affective character of the human condition.”*

*Kathleen Lynch*

question: what sort of love are we talking about? For example, there is so-called love for sale on the Internet. It was pointed out that love is often a misused term, and while it can be very brave to talk about it, unfortunately

in gender and development it gets mixed up with other conceptions of love, such as sexuality and pleasure. Feminists need to reclaim the language of love as it is experienced and lived by women as work and nurturing.

Black American feminist Bell Hooks has written a lot about how love is constructed, and argues that it is not understood at all. Love, in fact, has little to do with sexuality and sexual relationships, which are primarily self-interested. Lynch and her colleagues used the term ‘love labour’ because love is work. Also, there is a myth that love labour is a one-way street. The use of the word ‘love’ in the context of caring and the care economy refers to the fact that a lot of what gives people meaning is care from others. Also, it is used to encompass the fact that people have relational identities: those who are cared for identify themselves as someone who is cared for. Identity politics, Lynch argued, have ignored the relational nature of humanity. (*Lynch*)

## How ‘care’ is measured

There was significant discussion about Razavi’s comment that care is defined as separate from domestic work. However, she pointed out that, in fact, this was something she and other researchers queried. Often the more technical data on time use makes this distinction between care work and domestic work. From a developing-country perspective, there is a North/South and class bias involved with this dichotomy. The concept of domestic work being totally shut away from discussions of care in time-use definitions is artificial, and it can have a major impact on how care work is valued. The UNRISD study focuses both on domestic and person care. (*Razavi*)

Also, general household surveys conflate family, neighbours and community, which leads to a loss of the distinction between these different groups. Time-use surveys are, in a sense, better because they enable researchers to focus more on specific care work. However, community care can sometimes be misinterpreted. In the South African time-use survey, for example, men were shown to spend much more time on community care than women, but to the men ‘building social capital’ meant spending time in bars. This is something that could easily be improved in survey work. (*Lund*)

## DISCUSSION

### ‘Love’ vs sex, sexuality and pleasure in the development discourse

The presentation about love prompted the question:

### Gendered definitions of care

The idea that ‘men see breadwinning as caring’ prompted a detailed discussion about how we define caring compared to people using time-use surveys. Are there ways in which we are not doing justice to how men would define caring?

In fact, many women are breadwinners, too, which is something that should not be dismissed. At some level, there is love and care in breadwinning. There are also competing notions of masculinity which influence the 'male as breadwinner' concept, and there is a class divide. In time-use surveys in developing countries, there is less of a gender gap in care work among higher-income and educated households. This implies that care work (but not domestic work) poses less of a threat to masculinity among higher-income men, whereas among unemployed or working-class households where masculinity is already under question and threat (due to loss of breadwinning role, or the incapacity to earn a sufficiently large wage to sustain their households) gender roles may be more strictly policed. *(Razavi)*

#### **Does migration to developed countries result in a care deficit in developing countries?**

There was some disagreement about the notion that, when women migrate to provide care, it inevitably creates a 'care gap' in their own households. Care can be distributed among family members, so when women migrate from the global South, the imagined care deficit or care drain may not necessarily be very intense. This is the case, for example, in the Philippines. However, other evidence does not substantiate this. For example, in Ireland from the 1930s to the late 1960s, large numbers of women emigrated, and these women, as well as the families they left behind, experienced loss and loneliness. It is important to problematise these issues. *(Lynch)*

On the other hand, when people assume there is a care deficit because women are leaving, it is crucial to ask: what is the context? There may be flexibility in terms of the way households reorganise themselves, and there may not necessarily be a big deficit, which means this generation of children may not necessarily suffer. There will be variation depending on contexts, depend-

ing on the kinds of networks and family household structures that exist. *(Razavi)*

#### **Who is a carer?**

It was pointed out that old people are not just receivers of care – they are also carers. The same is true of children and even disabled people. Dichotomies and classifications related to care are much more complex than they appear. *(Lynch)* In developed countries, grandmothers play a big role in unpaid care. *(Razavi)*

#### **Are feminist care discourses skirting too close to conservative discourses?**

There are similarities between feminist 'love and care' discourses and conservative discourses, but they diverge in terms of who should be doing the care work. On the conservative side, it is women who are expected to be caring. On the feminist side, care-giving should be shared. There has also been a critique of neoliberalism by both feminists and the Vatican/Islamist lobby, particularly at major conferences. These conservative groups want to appear to be on the side of the global South and against marketisation, for example. Feminists must be careful about the other aspects of their agendas, especially with regard to sexual and reproductive rights and equality, to which these groups are adamantly opposed. *(Razavi)*

#### **Is sharing household responsibilities still an issue when there is no man in the house?**

It may not be a priority in the global South for women to share household responsibility equally with men, because many women are single or do not have a man at home. However, boys are educated in households even where no man is present. And if this is not taken into account, it can perpetuate social conditions that lead to the unequal distribution of care work.

## CHAPTER 2: Care Economies and Policies Across Different Countries and Regions

### Comparative presentations by UNRISD research contributors

The UNRISD study looked at aspects of the care economy in a number of countries and contexts. This is important because care crises exist in different contexts, among women with different experiences and situations. As such, there is no ‘one-size-fits-all’ approach. To demonstrate the different forms that care crises and solutions can take, speakers were invited to discuss their involvement in the UNRISD study and the country-specific findings from South Africa, South Korea and Switzerland. Two additional speakers were asked to reflect on the care crises in Central and Eastern Europe and the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) region.



*What we are talking about when we talk about care: a grandmother in Durban, working in a street market while looking after her grandchild.*

### UNRISD South Africa Country Study

*Francie Lund,<sup>3</sup> Women in Informal Employment: Globalizing and Organizing (WIEGO), South Africa*

Exploring the economy of paid and unpaid care work in South Africa through the UNRISD study enabled us to combine quantitative and qualitative research to:

- make the links between economic and social policies more visible;
- bring the totality of women’s work to the surface; and
- see the links between paid and unpaid care work.

The picture shows a grandmother in Durban, looking after her grandchild while working in a street market in the traditional herbs and medicines sector. This iconic image gives us a starting point for understanding the context of caring in South Africa.

### Country context related to the care economy in South Africa

South Africa has a population of 48 million. It is a middle-income country, with steep poverty and inequality, marked racial, gender-based and spatial features, and high unemployment rates. When examining South Africa, it is important to understand the impact of

Apartheid on families. In terms of family/household composition, of children under 17:

- 35 per cent live with both mother and father;
- 40 per cent live with their mother but not their father; and
- 20 per cent live with neither biological parent.

These figures have huge implications for care responsibilities. However, 21 per cent of households live with three or more generations present. Only a third of households are comprised of children and middle-generation members, even though this is supposedly ‘the norm’ of a nuclear family. Family policies in post-colonial societies are predicated on this norm, which originated in the global North.

Our study looked at: the legacy of disruption of family life as a result of Apartheid; high unemployment rates among women and men, but especially women; and the exceptionally high rates of HIV and AIDS. In light of these problems, we asked what types of interventions could address the growing needs for care, especially of children, and of middle-generation adults who are infected and/or affected by HIV and AIDS.

### How different sectors are reacting to the care crisis

Among **households**, there is no evidence of a withdrawal of girl children from school; extended families

<sup>3</sup> Working with Debbie Budlender, Community Agency for Social Enquiry (CASE), who could not attend the conference.

are absorbing kin children and sick people; and the state pension for elderly people is playing a positive role. **The state** has issued unconditional and non-contributory cash transfers in the form of an Old Age Pension (OAP), which is received by well over 80 per cent of older people, and a Disability Grant. These enable the provision of care, shape care, enable younger women to seek work and, particularly when provided to older women, serve to keep girl children in school longer. The Child Support Grant, however, is too small to show an impact on care. The state has finally provided antiretroviral therapy (ART) to about 700,000 people. This is shaping care for people with AIDS by involving household members, home-based care workers, nurses and other paid carers.

There are also movements in **the market**. Nurses are moving from the public (government) to the private sector, and many are emigrating to the UK, Australia, New Zealand and Canada. There are also nurses from the Southern African Development Community (SADC) and elsewhere who are immigrating to South Africa. There has been a growth in the private market for low-paid care, especially for women. And we can speculate that domestic workers (largely black African women) are doing more skilled care work, without recognition or compensation.

Among **international agencies**, HIV and AIDS have such a high salience that it seems to be 'crowding out' funding for other health issues. There has been a great deal of positive support from international agencies for cash transfers in other sub-Saharan African countries, but it is unknown how long this support will last. There has also been a lot of focus on child-headed households and human trafficking, which are certainly problems but may not be priorities in terms of intensity.

**Non-governmental, community-based and faith-based organisations (NGOs, CBOs and FBOs)** provide crucial formal and informal support to households, much of which goes unrecognised and unregistered. Government policy related to where these organisations sit in the 'continuum of care' and how to support them is incoherent. A wider range of NGOs, CBOs and FBOs now receive government subsidies to provide household-based care, and a minority has clear programmes and support structures for home-based carers. There has been much better legislation, which allows a broader range of organisations to receive funding from the government, but it is still unsatisfactory.

#### **Home-based care programmes and unpaid care**

There is a wide variety of home-based care interventions, mainly based in departments of health and social

development. South Africa is one of the few countries in the world that has a public works programme for home-based care. Instead of putting men to work building bridges, digging ditches etc., South Africa pays women who get placements in public works programmes an extremely low wage to do care work. Other initiatives include giving small stipends to 'volunteers' or having a new cadre of community health workers doing home visits to assist family members with their caring tasks. On the whole, there is no gender analysis underpinning these 'community' initiatives. In terms of a 'continuum of care', there is no clear policy for supporting unpaid and paid women who do caring tasks. This can be compared with much poorer African countries such as Uganda and Tanzania, where there is more active support for community workers and volunteers.

The household-based care (HBC) programme, which is part of the public works programme, is characterised by appalling rates of 'pay' (just over a dollar a day). Care workers get paid much less than men (and some women) who are working in non-care public works programmes (Budlender and Parenzee). There is also no clear planned progression into other forms of work. However, the HBC programme does provide some women with opportunities to enter the labour market as low-paid care workers.

Unpaid care work by household members is overwhelmingly done by women, and especially grandmothers, who pay from their own pockets (often from state pensions). They are using the state pension, which is meant to be used by elderly people for their own needs, to provide care to younger generations. These women work with no informed support service. They are often taking care of household members who are ill but who do not declare their status or will not go for testing. This makes the work of carers extremely difficult. ART is likely to increase the numbers of those who go for voluntary testing.

#### **What must be done?**

From a long-term perspective, and hoping to be provocative, I would argue that it is important to fight with numbers in an economic context. If we are looking to increase state allocation of resources to things which enhance women's and men's ability to care, as

*"From a long-term perspective, I would argue that it is important to fight with numbers in an economic context if we are looking to increase state allocation of resources to things which enhance women's and men's ability to care, as well as improving gender equality. For example, it may be influential on national treasuries to show how many jobs could be created in the care economy."*

*Francie Lund*



well as improving gender equality, I do not think that most people who influence policies and budgets are influenced by the sort of time-use survey data we have discussed today, about the different amounts of time that men and women spend doing care work. Feminists listen to it, but I do not think it is yet taken seriously by government or people making budget decisions.

Much more potentially influential, I believe, is Debbie Budlender's work within the UNRISD project, which produced figures, for example, on unpaid care work as a percentage of gross domestic product (GDP) in South Africa, and in relation to how much the South African government spends on paid care workers such as nurses and social workers. Even more influential in the South African situation may be to make good estimations of how many additional jobs could be created in the care economy. The government knows that it has so far been unable to make much of a dent on the high unemployment rate and that this is a cause of extreme popular dissatisfaction.

### UNRISD South Korea Country Study

*Ito Peng, University of Toronto, Canada*

South Korea is an interesting case because it reflects both industrialised and developing socio-economic contexts. It faces post-industrial economic issues, for example, the shift from manufacturing to service- and knowledge-intensive sector industries. It is also seeing the decline of the male breadwinner model of households, which is creating increased pressure on married women to work throughout their lives. It is seeing a rapid fertility decline (fertility was close to 1.0 in 2005) and speedy population ageing.

*“With social care being seen as a new growth engine in South Korea, the burning question is: can we, and how can we, achieve gender equality within this context?”*

*Ito Peng*

At the same time, South Korea is experiencing issues related to the legacy of the developing country economic context. It became a democracy only in 1987–88, so there is a recent legacy of authoritarian dictatorship. It has a fairly large informal-sector economy, with about one-third of the economically active population in the informal sector, and nearly a half of employed people in non-standard work. And while the welfare state is rapidly expanding, it is still relatively small – total social spend-

ing to GDP is only about 10 per cent. This is a significant change from 3 per cent back in 1996, but still less than half of the scale of the welfare state in many European countries.

Since the Asian economic crisis of 1997, South Korea has been faced with two imperatives and one fundamental question. The first imperative is related to **demographic change**, especially the ageing population. This is creating a labour supply shortage, with predictions of a shortfall of 4.5 million by 2010. This has immediate implications for both the near future and, more crucially, long-term economic growth – in a country where economic growth is a key priority. Factors related to the dependency ratio,<sup>4</sup> of course, have major implications for health and social care demands. Another issue related to demographic change has to do with national identity: South Korea has a type of grand, national narrative rooted in its status of being a homogeneous, single-race nation. This was the narrative that the government used to stir up national sentiment to support the post-war nation-building project. It was an important means to achieve nationalism, consensus-building, and the national economic development objectives. The issue of low fertility and demographic ageing brings to the surface two potential problems: a country could try to address the problems of labour shortage and low fertility by opening to immigration, or it can remain closed to immigration and face the possibility of gradual population decline, as in the case of Japan, which may mean an eventual decline in economic power and its geopolitical position in the international arena. Neither are particularly good prospects for a country that has long built itself on the idea of a homogeneous, single-race nation. It will require a serious rethinking about national identity. Solving the problem of national identity will, therefore, be very difficult for South Korea.

The second imperative to address relates to **economic development pressures**. The *raison d'être* of the South Korean state is economic growth – this is the rationale for its development and this was the main reason that the previous authoritarian governments were able to stay in power, and it continues to be the main agenda of subsequent governments. Since 2000 the economy has been growing very poorly – only 3–4 per cent annually. This may seem like a lot compared to some countries, but not compared to the 10 per cent growth South Korea experienced in the past several decades. Therefore, there is major pressure to create jobs and sustain a reasonable rate of economic growth.

<sup>4</sup> The care dependency ratio is the ratio of carers to dependents; for example, it measures the number of able-bodied parents compared to children or elderly relatives in need of care in a society or community.

### Burning questions related to care in the South Korean context

How does care fit into the South Korean country context, and particularly the issues raised by the two imperatives (demographic change and economic development pressures)? The government has set in motion unprecedented expansion of social care, especially for children and the elderly, because it sees social care as a solution to address the two imperatives: as a means to boost fertility and to create new jobs and stimulate the economy.

Recent policy reforms include 90 days of full-paid maternity leave; three days of full-paid paternity leave; nine months of parental leave at Won 500,000<sup>5</sup> per month after the 90-day maternity leave; and flexible hours and/or part-time work policies. There have also been policy reforms related to an expansion of child care. For example, from 1990 to 2007 the total number of children enrolled in child care centres rose by more than 2,000 per cent. The total number of child care centres rose from just under 2,000 in 1990 to nearly 30,000 in 2007. And the percentage of children in child care or pre-schools in 2004 was:

- 59.5 per cent of those aged three;
- 66.4 per cent of those aged four; and
- 88.7 per cent of those aged five.

The national government's budget for early childhood education rose from Won 356 billion in 2002 to Won 886 billion in 2006. The budget for child care grew from Won 435 billion in 2002 to Won 2,038 billion in 2006.

This is just in the child care sector. For the care of the elderly, the government has introduced a mandatory Long-term Care Insurance programme, universalising long-term care services for people over the age of 65.

This investment strategy focuses on social welfare and the care sector, which brings up demands as well as opportunities. It also highlights a virtuous circle between social and economic developments. With social care being seen as a new growth engine in South Korea, the burning question is: can we, and how can we, achieve gender equality within this context? Can feminists and their agenda for gender equality gain some purchase by riding on the government's instrumentalist and economist social care policy strategy? On the one hand, this opens up a window of opportunity for feminists to cut a path towards gender equality.

On the other hand, this will require very careful manoeuvring to direct the social care expansion policy to also take into account the gender equality agenda.

There are at least four key actors involved with these issues:

1. The state, which is stymied by its single-minded focus on pushing for economic growth and job creation.
2. The market, which has a problem with global economic competition, therefore faces major pressure to deregulate and 'flexibilise' the labour market; this is creating job insecurity and increasing income inequality.
3. International agencies, which along with the government have started using prescriptions of neoliberal arguments, particularly in relation to social investment strategy, to argue for social care expansion.
4. NGOs and civil society, which have been very active in pushing an expansion of social care and gender equality as a win-win situation for people and the economy; this is particularly true of feminist and women's groups.

The care crisis in South Korea is informed by an unequal but, in fact, highly effective post-war male breadwinner household arrangement. However, this is becoming increasingly unsustainable. It is also informed by recovery measures, namely the understanding of the effectiveness of a family-work reconciliation strategy, but not necessarily by merit of gender equality principles or logic.

### Effective measures to change inequality

Political commitment is needed in three forms: money and fiscal commitment; more time and space for discussion and agenda-setting around gender equality issues and policies; and real programmes and delivery of services. How can we achieve these political commitments? Civil society has a crucial role in keeping the state in check (i.e. governance). Also, interscaler<sup>6</sup> collaboration among local, national and international groups is essential.

Civil society and the state are both responsible for making change. They must work together to reshape the market and improve equality, which will help to address the care crisis. However, in the process of working with the state, civil society groups would need to think care-

5 1 Euro = 1800 Won

6 The term 'interscaler' refers to different levels of institutions. For example, interscaler collaboration among local, national, and international organisations means collaborations and linkages between local governments and NGOs, national-level governments and organisations, and international organisations and NGOs such as UN, OECD, ILO, EU, WIDE etc.

fully what their agenda is, and how they can most effectively frame their issues, to achieve their objectives. It would also be important to be clear about their immediate and long-term objectives so as not to allow short-term gains to undermine their longer-term goals.

## UNRISD Switzerland Country Study

*Brigitte Schnegg, University of Berne, Switzerland<sup>7</sup>*

This presentation highlights key findings of the research and reflects on possible political implications for Switzerland. While Switzerland is one of the richest countries in the world, it is far from innocent with regard to gender equality: for example, it was very late in giving women the right to vote (1971).

A recent Swiss policy change helps to put the research work on care and gender equality into context. In early June 2009, the Swiss Parliament raised the retirement age for women from 64 to 65. This last step toward equal retirement age for men and women was not only about equality – it was also justified by demographic and financial arguments: women's higher life expectancy leads to higher pension and health costs. What seems to be fair and economically reasonable turns out to be unjust and unreasonable, if we look at it from the perspective of the care economy. This is one of the outcomes of the UNRISD Case Study on Care Economy in Switzerland. The policy change does not take women's contribution to the care economy into account, as shown in Table 1.

**Table 1 Volume of unpaid and paid work in Switzerland in 2004** (of persons aged 15 and over)

	Paid work*	Unpaid work*	Total*	Paid : Unpaid work
men	4455	3019	7474	100 % : 68%
women	2519	5413	7932	100 % : 215 %
total	6974	8450	15 424	100 % : 121 %
women's work as % of total	36.1	64.1	51.4	

\* in million hours per year

Source: *Swiss Labour Force Survey*

In terms of economic value, unpaid work corresponds to 64% of GDP in Switzerland – an enormous amount. Women are doing the majority of unpaid work (two-

thirds) but only one-third of paid work. Men's share in paid work is about 64%.

Gender asymmetries are important, not only with regard to the distribution of paid and unpaid work, but also with respect to the type of activities women and men engage in. It is not surprising, then, that we found men's share of unpaid activities above the average when it comes to administrative labour, caring for pets and gardening or handicrafts and institutionalised voluntary work. Women's share, on the other hand, is particularly high in activities like preparing meals, cleaning and laundering, feeding and washing babies, nursing and caring for sick and frail adults and helping out in other households ('informal' voluntary work).

Women's and men's unpaid work is also differently distributed over their lifetime: men's unpaid work is constant over time, while women's unpaid work is greater when raising small children. This reduces women's availability for paid work; they have to cope with unpaid work, so they have less time in paid work, especially during the years when they should be qualifying for their careers. This is a fact that has negative impacts on women's careers and on their wages: the pay gap between women and men in Switzerland is about 20%.

How can households deal with a very high overall workload resulting from a high burden of paid work and unpaid care work simultaneously? They have different options: they can either try to substitute unpaid care with paid care or they can substitute paid work with unpaid care work. A third option would be to reduce direct care work by using public care facilities; however, this option is difficult because sufficient and affordable public child care is mostly lacking. Substituting unpaid care with paid care only makes sense for a very small proportion of households in which both partners have very good jobs so that they earn more than they spend for this solution (in terms of costs for private child care facilities, wages for domestic workers and additional taxes).

Most couples decide to reduce paid work in order to provide enough time for unpaid care needs. Unequal pay between women and men strongly influences the subsequent decision: due to their lower pay, women in average have to invest 25% more hours in paid work to earn the same amount of money as men. Therefore it is likely that women will be the ones to reduce their amount of paid work, while men will expand theirs. This is exactly what happens in Switzerland, where about

<sup>7</sup> *The Swiss UNRISD study was carried out mainly by Mascha Madörin (Quantitative Analysis of Existing Statistical Data and Analysis of Social Policy) and Nadia Baghdadi (Qualitative Analysis of Political Debates and Social Policy), who could not attend the conference.*

57.1 % of the employed women work part-time, while the portion of part-time workers who are men is only 11.9 %.

Women's contribution to the care economy is substantial, as shown in Table 2 below. To come back to the example of the increase in the retirement age for women, this table shows that persons over 65 are clearly doing more unpaid care work than what corresponds to their share in the population. In other words, elderly people's engagement in unpaid care work for adults – elderly or sick – is definitely above average. The contribution of elderly women is, of course, even higher than men's. Further data show that elderly women are providing care for grandchildren as well as for their partners and for friends and neighbours. Elderly women are giving much more unpaid care to other persons than they receive, or in other words, they are net-caregivers.

**Table 2 Care activities according to different age groups in 2004**

	Age	% of population aged 15 +	Direct care for children** % of total	Direct care for adults** % of total	Informal voluntary work % of total
Women	15-49	29.3	60.4	16.3	25.2
	50-64	11.1	23.7	27.0	
	65+	11.1	31.1	21.4	
Women	15+	51.5	62.2	71.1	73.6
Men	15-49	29.6	34.8	7.0	11.2
	50-64	11.0	8.7	5.9	
	65+	7.8	13.3	9.3	
Men	15+	48.5	37.8	28.9	26.4

\*permanent residents \*\* living in the household of the interviewee

The public discourse which characterises elderly women as a problem for our social security system is not only wrong; it is unfair. Elderly women's contribution to the care system is much higher than their claims. Raising the age of retirement for both women and men will have an unforeseen impact on public expenditure, because the availability of the elderly – and particularly of elderly women – for unpaid care will decline.

### The Care Economy in Central and Eastern Europe

*Jivka Marinova, Gender Education, Research and Technologies Foundation (GERT), Bulgaria*

Over the last 20 years the countries of Central and

Eastern Europe (CEE) have had a controversial history of care. Before 1989, in most of the countries of the region, women were forced into full employment because otherwise families could not survive economically. Men's and women's salaries were equal by law, and the private sector was practically non-existent. Child care services were provided on an equal basis for all and were affordable and accessible. The health care system itself was a guarantee for elderly people, without so far providing specific care services. The health care system provided medical assistance for free, and hospitalisation was also free of charge. Elderly people could benefit from the system without any social insurance record. Even those who never worked could rely on free health care. Women were expected to take care of their parents and parents-in-law as well as their children. The system was not questioned at all because there was just no other option. Until the early 1990s the region was a champion of women's full-time employment. Even now, in the countries with the largest percentage of women working part-time (Poland and Slovenia), the rate is less than 12 per cent (in Bulgaria it is 3 per cent).

Women were burdened by full-time employment, care work, domestic work and so-called social-public work. The only support was provided by the extended family – grandparents, both women and men, but mostly women.

With a few differences, all child care policies were dictated by demographic concerns and pro-natalist intentions and were used as an incentive for young couples to have (more) children (progressive length of maternity leave, maternity leave counting for work record, progressive amount of child allowances etc.).

The political democratisation and the transition to a market economy led to the general and overall deterioration of care services. The state 'withdrew' from providing care, one by one withholding the 'privileges' previously given to women by, for example, closing down many kindergartens and crèches. The services provided by the state decreased in quantity and increased in price. Private-sector services appeared of doubtful quality and at a high price. Elderly people became extremely vulnerable because of the lack of proper services for them, on the one hand, and because of their disproportionately low income, on the other.

Because of the transition crisis many women migrated abroad, leaving their children with the extended family. Polish women migrated to Western Europe, Bulgarians to Greece and Cyprus, Ukrainians to Poland etc. In CEE there is almost no market for domestic work – very few families can afford to pay for a domestic servant, so the



burden of domestic work falls on the woman in the family.

CEE states still provide long maternity and parental leaves, which can keep women at home and artificially decrease their unemployment rate, thus creating a burden in old age because of the lower social security savings and pensions. But again women from CEE are carrying a triple burden of care: they care for children, for their elderly parents and for their husbands and partners, who in most cases have suffered from the psychological pressure of the transition.

However, there are some interesting paradoxes: in countries where the child care system is well developed and affordable, as in Slovenia, the employment rate of women with children is higher than the employment rate of women without children – the same is valid for men. In countries such as the Czech Republic, where state-provided services are not enough and this is compensated for by a very long maternity leave, the employment rate of women with small children is half that of women without (small) children. There is, however, this general trend that women with children are more active in seeking job opportunities than women without children.

Overall, in CEE countries care work is still not on the political agenda nor has it been studied to any significant degree.

## Care Issues in the Middle East and North Africa Region

*Lina Abou-Habib, Collective for Research and Training on Development – Action (CRTD.A), Lebanon*

The two key areas where a discussion about care is most relevant in the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) region are: women's household work and the role of faith-based organisations in determining the nature of citizenship in the region, and the shape of gender relations in the household. Potential interventions for bringing about change related to care could occur at two levels: at policy level and at household level, through redistribution within the household.

If we look at households in the MENA region we are more likely to find extended or modernised tribal groups, with diverse forms of kinship, all members of which benefit from care. Who decides whether this is a priority for women or not? My inclination would be that if you ask women you would find that redistribution is a key issue. Women cannot bear the brunt of all the care work – the work is literally back-breaking – and the sit-

uation is an emergency. I am not suggesting that policy interventions are not important, but we know that in this region it is not just a policy or legal issue. The ways that even the most wonderful policy is interpreted or not implemented may or may not have a bearing on women in their households. Regardless of what a family looks like, the key issue is empowerment and a redistribution of power.

In the MENA region, most post-independence states – which are by now largely failing states, with limited infrastructure, hardly any services and high levels of corruption – have made some policy contributions related to care on two levels: maternity cover and child care. These policies were not made, however, with a conceptualisation or concern about care. At best, they were designed to get women into the workforce. Also, these policies only apply in the public sector, not the private sector. With the crumbling of the public sector and takeover by the profit-driven private sector, we are losing even these most basic workers' rights. I am calling them 'workers' rights' because they were never conceptualised beyond being workers' rights.

There appears to be a hierarchy of care. This means that, even within care, labour-intensive, manual work is less valued, while personal care appears to have more value. So hierarchy is being imposed even within the concept of care.

### Framing care in the context of religion

One of the critical gaps in the discussion about care in this region relates to the need to frame care within the context of religion. Fundamental to religion is obedience, and we should discuss how this fundament is impacting who does what in the household and is expected to do so. One big issue relates to divorce, where in many MENA countries years of free care work goes down the drain, without compensation for the women. The only policy that is a good practice example in the region is Morocco's family law, which, for the first time, gives a monetary value to the years of care provided by women. This must be calculated when possessions are divided up after a divorce.

### Inequality related to migration and domestic workers in rich Gulf countries

There have also been some initiatives of research on migrant workers. This is one of the other major burning issues in understanding care in MENA countries. In particular, very rich Gulf countries transfer all forms of care to migrant workers. This exacerbates racism against domestic workers, and imposes a 'we can't live without them but they are so beneath us' attitude. Oil-

wealthy countries have rarely been challenged regarding their treatment of women or domestic workers.

Regarding this burning issue of migrant workers, an

*“A woman in a very remote village in Lebanon was asked what she aspires to in life. She said her dream is to have her ‘own Sri Lankan’ – in other words, her own Sri Lankan domestic worker. This provides major food for thought in terms of what type of redistribution is needed: between race, class and gender.”*

*Lina Abou-Habib*

anecdote from Lebanon illustrates how gender roles and stereotypes have been internalised. A woman in a very remote village in Lebanon was asked what she aspires to in life. She said her dream is to have her ‘own Sri Lankan’ – in other words, her own Sri Lankan domestic worker. This provides major food for thought in terms of what type of redistribution is needed: between race, class and gender.

## DISCUSSION

### Positive policy options and approaches in different regions and contexts

There have been positive policy shifts in South Korea in support of gender equality, evident in the expansion of child and elderly care and policies on parental leave, for example. The best policy strategy is getting political commitment to gender equality that is wrapped in a package of: money (funding); time and space in the political agenda; and services – adequate compensation for people to take time out to care for their families. *(Peng)*

In the context of South Africa, it was suggested that you cannot tackle many issues by addressing the formal labour market only, because increasing numbers of people are employed informally. Two approaches to supporting women doing unpaid care work could be considered: finding ways to show how work done by volunteers is ‘real’ work that can be valued/monetised; and defending the Old Age Pension as a redistributive strategy, which is strongly gender-biased in favour of women and enables thousands of grandmothers to better support their orphaned grandchildren. *(Lund)*

In the Swiss context, there has been a recent policy change to count the years women spend caring for children as pension-earning years. This has been a major feminist achievement. *(Schnegg)*

The context is crucial (national, development stage etc.) in recommending policy options and strategies. The best policies give women the choice to take on or

not take on care work, and provide care services that are affordable (money), accessible (places) and of good quality. *(Marinova)*

In the MENA region, the best strategies are based on the awareness that there is a complete dichotomy between state/civil laws and religious/family laws. Religious/family laws trump state laws, and care comes under religious/family law. Key priorities, therefore, are to reform the whole concept of care responsibility and of valuing care, and integrating this analysis into reformed family laws. The other area to consider is empowerment: how women as an oppressed group look at care and how they are ready to re-negotiate care in their households. *(Abou-Habib)*

### Universal income grants versus targeted grants

Basic (universal) income grants, which are provided to everyone, are an option in many contexts. However, there is a risk that funding for targeted and much larger grants – such as those provided for elderly people and people with disabilities in South Africa – would become diluted if universal grants are provided. Therefore, while it is desirable to have both universal and targeted grants, there are hard decisions to be made, when treasuries force choices. *(Lund)*

### Gender equality in the context of MENA’s ‘patriarchal bargain’

There is a so-called ‘patriarchal bargain’ that exists in oil economies in the MENA region. This is the situation in which households are given a family or ‘maid’ wage for financial support. The bargain is that the husband must support the family, and then women are protected and provided for. Women buy into this patriarchal bargain in return for financial support, and they forgo some rights in the process. Would an important factor in MENA countries be to take away the generous family wage, and instead bring women more actively into the labour force? In Bangladesh, for example, women have been forced into factories, and while the work is not good, it has given women more public visibility and a wage with which they can bargain in relationships within the household. *(Razavi)*

Patriarchy, it appears, is a very good business for many women in MENA. But there are striking differences according to class. In oil-rich countries, where the deal is you get rid of all your care work by dumping it on poorer women, but you are still subordinate, this patriarchal bargain is very real. However, the situation and the type of negotiation are completely different for poor women. The common questions that are asked, then, are: Are women in a sweatshop better off than women

not in a sweatshop? Is human dignity the ultimate goal, or is it income? The key point to remember is that women's positions in the patriarchal system differ depending on whether they are rich, poor etc. (*Abou-Habib*)

### **Finding space and strategies for poor women's political participation**

There has been discussion about unpaid care restricting time for women to participate in paid care, but there are also great restrictions on their abilities to participate in political processes and movements. This is both a gender and class issue, in the sense that poor women spend a lot of time doing unpaid tasks and cannot buy substitutes from the market, which restricts their ability to participate in society. The type of political movement and alliances that are needed to push for more

redistribution, recognition and political participation of women would, in contexts such as South Africa, have at this juncture to be outside of political parties. (*Lund*)

There is a role for civil society to make changes. One way to do this is to think in terms of 'interscaler' methods, as South Korean women's movements have done: they 'jump the scale' by directly speaking to and working with the Organisation for Economic and Social Development (OECD) and UNESCO and putting together policy prescriptions and models. They then take these to the national government and ask 'in a modern society, doesn't this make sense? See what is happening at the international level?'. (*Peng*)

*"Women's care and unpaid community work is becoming public policy, and women working in this sector are now political and economic actors."*

*Ana Tallada Iglesia*

## CHAPTER 3: Paid Formal and Informal Care Work

### Introduction by Silke Steinhilber, Researcher and Consultant, Germany

This chapter focuses on employment relations in the care sector, be they formal or informal, and addresses the extent to which care workers are receiving pay, thinking about their rights, and discussing access to social protection. It also looks at structural conditions that influence the care sector, and focuses on migration, at both structural level regarding migration and migrant flows, and also the interpersonal impact – what happens to a family when a family member migrates?

It is impossible to discuss care without also talking about power: where is power in care and care relations? It is everywhere and anywhere – for example, in the relationships between:

- carers and care receivers – there is love and attention to bodily and emotional needs, but we cannot look at this relationship without looking at power;
- the employer and employee, because care work is often a relationship of power, both paid and unpaid; and
- social security institutions, the clients, the care providers etc.

There are also power structures in society that influence care and care relations. The following presentations will address power relations along care chains in different countries and contexts. In addition, this chapter will examine political strategies and action, the opportunities and constraints, considering international and national regulations of paid and unpaid care work.

### The Gender Revolution in the Philippines: Migrant Care Workers and Social Transformations

Rhacel Salazar Parreñas, University of California, USA

Between 2000 and 2001, Rhacel Salazar Parreñas spent 18 months in the Philippines to do research on the experiences of the children of migrant workers. There she met a 21-year-old woman, Isabelle, who casually told me that she has been apart from her mother for most of her life. As she explained,

*“[When I was seven years old,] my mom went to Malaysia first, for one to two years. Then she went to Saudi Arabia, and then from Saudi Arabia she went straight to the US [United States]. When she went to the [United States], that was the longest –10 years – that we did not see each other at all. She came back, and when we saw each other, I was already 21 years old.” (Isabelle Tirador, Philippines)*

Isabelle is a child of a migrant domestic worker. Left in the Philippines under the care of her aunt, Isabelle had what we could call a typical and not so unusual childhood. In the Philippines, non-governmental organisations claim that there are approximately 9 million children growing up without at least one migrant parent. This figure represents approximately 27 per cent of the overall youth population in the Philippines.

Many but not all are children of migrant domestic workers. Their mothers work in more than 160 countries around the world, cleaning households and caring for the elderly. In Europe alone, we find large numbers of migrant Filipina domestic workers in Great Britain, France, the Netherlands, Italy, Spain and Greece. Due to the demand for migrant domestic workers in richer countries throughout the world, we are witnessing tremendous social transformations in countries such as the Philippines. The migration of women is rupturing the traditional gender division of labour in the family. The labour of women generates the two largest sources of foreign currency in the Philippines: electronics manufacturing and international migration.

From the perspective of gender relations in the sending country, there are two ways we could think about women’s migration. First we could see it as indicative of remarkable gender transformations. It not only leads to the greater income-earning power of women and their greater contributions to the household but

also forces the redefinition of mothering. They show us that biological mothers need not be the primary caretakers of children. In other words, we could see women’s migration as a victory for feminism. The second perspective we could take to is to view women’s migration as a tragedy, one that results in the forcible

*“The problems of children such as Isabelle are not so much caused by their mother’s migration but instead by the resistance against the efforts of migrant mothers to redefine mothering.”*

Rhacel Salazar Parreñas



separation of children such as Isabelle from their mothers. This latter view seems to be the dominant perspective in the Philippines, where the public looks at women's migration as a tragedy that leads to the suffering of children and that represent the status of the Philippines as an economically unstable country. It is assumed that women would not migrate and leave their children behind if they had better labour market options in the Philippines.

In the Philippines, the public views children such as Isabelle as victims who have been abandoned by their mothers. The public dismisses women's migration as not just bad for the welfare of children such as Isabelle but dangerous to the sanctity of the family. Interestingly, the public does not disdain migrant fathers like they do migrant mothers. The negative view associated with women's migration seems to haunt migrant mothers not only in the Philippines but also in many other sending countries of domestic workers including Poland and Romania.

*"The fact remains that, no matter how people come to a country, once they are there they are entitled to the same rights as other workers."*

*Karin Pape*

Why are migrant mothers so negatively perceived in countries such as the Philippines and Romania? After all, migrant mothers do provide for the children they have 'left behind' with monthly remittances and moreover see to the daily care of their children by other kin. The fact is women are attempting to reconstitute mothering via labour

migration, but society seems to resist their efforts and insists on holding them accountable to the ideology of women's domesticity. The problems of children such as Isabelle are not so much caused by their mother's migration but instead by the resistance against the efforts of migrant mothers to redefine mothering. More specifically, the romanticisation of biological mothering along with the refusal of sending societies such as Poland, the Philippines, and Romania to recognise the reconstitution of the gender division of labour in the family that is spurred by women's migration aggravates the emotional difficulties of children.

The negative view of migrant mothers by the public adversely affects the experiences of children such as Isabelle. What I found is that it not only absolves fathers of the responsibility to care for their children but also makes it difficult for children to recognise the unorthodox ways that they receive care in light of their mother's migration. If one were to talk to children of migrant mothers, one would easily assume that they have received no care at all. They often describe their situation as one of 'abandonment'. One, however, has to read between the lines. A closer look at their situa-

tion will show that children are not abandoned and left without adequate care when mothers migrate. Instead, what they often mean by abandonment is not the absence of day-to-day maternal care but the denial of physical intimacy from their biological mothers. Generally, children uphold biological-based views on mothering. In so doing, they believe that it is impossible for mothers to provide care from a distance. Moreover, they assume that the work of extended kin, even including those who they call 'mom', could not adequately substitute for the nurturing acts of a biological mother.

Children are not likely to accept a reconstituted form of mothering – one that redefines mothering to be that of a good provider – because they tend to hold onto staunch moral beliefs regarding the family, holding in high regard the conventional nuclear family. This ideology is inculcated to them not only by the media and the state but also by religious institutions. Consequently, many children of migrant mothers grow up believing they are being raised in the wrong kind of family.

Thus what we are seeing in the Philippines is a 'gender revolt' – in other words, a resistance against the reconstitution of the gender division of labour in the family that is led by the migration of women. This resistance adversely affects the welfare of children. It results in feelings of neglect among children simply because they do not receive care conventionally. Moreover, this resistance facilitates men's rejection of care work, which in turn aggravates the difficulties that children do face when their mothers migrate.

I believe that countries like Sri Lanka and the Philippines retain the ideology of women's domesticity because it is in the vested interest of their economies for them to do so. Despite the push for women to work outside the home, it is in the interest of these nations to keep the ideology of women's domesticity intact because it supplies them with a labour pool to fill the demand for women's low-wage labour by more developed nations in the global economy. But the demand for care workers in richer countries is also accountable for the retention of the ideology of women's domesticity in countries such as the Philippines. The low wages of Filipina women is in fact the mainstay of the attractiveness of the Philippine labour force in the global economy.

We are left with the question of how we could help ease the emotional difficulties of migrant domestic workers. Perhaps richer nations should earmark development aid towards the welfare of children such as Isabelle. Programmes that would promote the recognition of transnational families in schools, Churches and

the community would without doubt normalise the experience of children such as Isabelle. Dismantling the ideology of women's domesticity would likewise encourage them to accept the unconventional ways they receive care. But more significantly perhaps, receiving countries should make the option of family reunification available to migrant workers and their children. Notably, a call for the return migration of mothers for the sake of family reunification could send the wrong message to women to stay at home. This would undoubtedly threaten the gender advancements they have made in the process of migration. However, we should be aware that the choice for Isabelle to live in close proximity of her mother is a human right that is denied to her and most other children of migrant workers in countries as far flung as the Netherlands and Taiwan. As an alternative means of family reunification, we should perhaps then consider the solution of family reunification in the host society, instead of return migration, as this option will allow migrant mothers to better balance their work and family life. Family reunification in the host society would recognise not only the right of our migrant nannies to a family life but also their right to work outside the home.

### **WIEGO's Approach to Improving the Status of Informal Workers**

*Karin Pape, WIEGO European Regional Advisor, Germany*

The Governing Body of the International Labour Organization (ILO) decided in 2008 to include the item 'Decent Work for Domestic Workers' on the agenda of the 99th session (2010) of the International Labour Conference (ILC). In June 2010 on the agenda of the ILC will be standard setting for domestic workers. The ILO aims to adopt an international standard, setting out the rights of domestic/household workers as workers. In the meantime, the ILO has sent out a questionnaire on domestic workers to governments, employers and trade union centres. The questionnaire can be found in the ILO report<sup>8</sup> that is a first step in the process towards an ILO convention on domestic work. The report is meant to facilitate preparation and discussion at the ILC 2010.

Domestic workers need to make their voices heard in this process by working with trade union federations on the questions. We must ensure that our governments

answer the questionnaire, and also employers and trade unions alike respond to the questionnaire. And next year we need to lobby for the ILO convention, and we need all the support we can get to ensure that we win protection for domestic workers.

WIEGO (Women in Informal Employment: Globalizing and Organizing) is set up to enable international lobbying and coordination among domestic workers (who are mainly women). Its key aim is to improve the status of the working poor, especially women, in the informal economy. We have five programmes which involve global markets, organisation and representation, social protection, statistics, and urban policies.

### **Expanding the definition of the informal economy**

Currently, there are 550 million working poor people who earn less than US\$ 1 per day. The majority work in the informal economy, where earnings are low and risks are high. In recent years, informal employment has persisted and even grown in many parts of the world.

The informal economy is the diversified set of economic activities, enterprises and jobs that are not regulated or protected by the state. Based on this definition, the informal economy, or informal employment, includes among others:

- self-employment in informal enterprises: self-employed persons in small unregistered or unincorporated enterprises, including: employers, own account operators, and unpaid contributing family workers; and
- wage employment in informal jobs: wage workers without legal protection for formal or informal firms, for households, or with no fixed employer, including: non-standard employees of informal enterprises, non-standard employees of formal enterprises, casual or day labourers, and industrial outworkers (also called homeworkers).<sup>9</sup>

The share of total employment that is non-standard or informal in developed countries is 25 to 40 per cent; in developing countries it is 60 to 90 per cent. The share of non-agricultural employment that is self-employment in developed countries is 12 per cent versus 31 to 55 per cent in developing countries. The share of total employment that is informal differs among developing regions. South Asia and sub-Saharan Africa have the largest share at greater than 85 per cent. In South East and

<sup>8</sup> [http://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---ed\\_norm/---relconf/documents/meetingdocument/wcms\\_104700.pdf](http://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---ed_norm/---relconf/documents/meetingdocument/wcms_104700.pdf)

<sup>9</sup> This expanded definition was endorsed by the International Conference of Labour Statisticians (ICLS) in 2003. However, some categories were not included in earlier 1993 ICLS definition of the 'informal sector'.

East Asia the figure is 75 per cent, while in both Latin America and the Middle East and North Africa the share is 60 per cent.<sup>10</sup>

### **WIEGO's collaboration towards ILO international standards on domestic work**

WIEGO's work along the 'pathway of change' includes, among others, the establishment of the International Domestic Workers' Network (IDWN), which has been very active in advocacy work around the ILO domestic workers' convention.

The idea to work towards a global network of domestic workers' organisations arose at the first international conference in November 2008, which was organised by the International Restructuring Education Network Europe (IRENE), FNV, WIEGO and others. IUF was tasked with supporting the initiative and serving as a support organisation, along with other groups, such as domestic workers' trade unions. A technical team was set up involving IUF and WIEGO, and a Steering Committee was formed in October 2008 in Geneva. It includes members from all regions.

The Steering Committee met in June 2009 in Geneva to decide on a name, a structure, rules and membership. They decided that the network should be called the International Domestic Workers' Network. They also decided on its campaign strategies and action plan. One of these strategies involves the ILO domestic workers' convention. The Steering Committee believes the convention is an important step but does not go far enough. They want to build a movement. The ILO convention is one milestone towards this political goal. The Steering Committee decided that only trade unions and other membership-based organisations will have the right of decision-making. Others, individuals and support organisations are invited to join but do not have voting power.

The Government of the Philippines, for example, is encouraging migrant women to respond, and IDWN will continue to advocate along with other groups around the convention. However, it is important to recognise that drafting a convention is only the beginning – countries still have to ratify it. The aim is to include domestic workers in the current legislation on workers. There is a lot criticism that the decent work agenda should be broader; however, the fact that the ILO has recognised informal work in discussions is a giant step forward. The fact remains that, no matter how people come to a country, once they are there they deserve the same rights as other workers.

### **Labour Organising along the Care Chain**

*Helen Schwenken, University of Kassel, affiliated to RESPECT, Germany*

There are different forms of organising the care chain; the question is what could progressive feminist demands look like? Rhacel Salazar Parreñas pointed to two perspectives on women's migration. We need to ask who is profiting from such perspectives and who is not. Both can silence women's voices. This is obvious for the view that sees such migration of women as tragedies, but also the one that views women as a kind of national heroes can have this impact, since women are put under extreme pressure to live up to this image and not speak out. In terms of looking at migration and the care chain many actors are focusing on the economic outcomes of such migration. But it is crucial to look at the power relations involved and ask who is profiting from it and who is not. A more balanced discourse is needed.

In Sri Lanka, there is legislation against women migrating with young children, which is seen as something to enhance women's protection. In this situation, there is a trade-off between protection and women's rights. In some cases, pre-training is available, as in the Philippines with the 'supermaid' programme. But these trainings are short (two hours), and they are not necessarily framed in the context of rights. Instead, for example, women are encouraged to enter female-dominated sectors.

In terms of lobbying the ILO for a standard for domestic works, we need to keep in mind that trade unions are gatekeepers to the ILO. Without trade unions our lobby cannot work. But should domestic workers lobby with male trade unionists? How is it that trade unions do not have a strong women's representation and thus do not give them a political voice?

## **DISCUSSION**

Whereas men define breadwinning as care, in the example from the Philippines as outlined by Rhacel, breadwinning by women is not seen as care. What are the different care options for giving care in families other than what society sees as suitable care? And who gets to choose their own caring role as opposed to a breadwinning role? How are institutions supporting care work? An example was shared of a country in the

<sup>10</sup> Sources: ILO WIEGO, 2002.

West where women are supposed to be the main care givers. It was also remarked that there are women who are forced to care for other families and cannot choose (economically) for their own family. Women should be allowed to have choices about what kind of care work they undertake and under what conditions.

In the case of the Philippines it seems that the state is trying to re-establish the traditional order; it is an ideological backlash. Nationalism is increased by the feminisation of migration in the Philippines, and the state is recuperating its masculinity.

### Action to take for feminist groups

Feminists need to develop cross-class alliances in the area of domestic work, especially to act politically, but the feasibility of this is unclear. Regional networks of domestic workers struggle to do their work, since it is difficult to organise (legally) and to find funding to sustain these initiatives and domestic workers do not have much free time to do volunteer work. Why does it make a difference in this context if the employer is a woman or a man? In this context women do not share the same interests. Women domestic workers from IDWN report that often men are more supportive than women because they are not directly dealing with the domestic worker. However, there are also examples where 'good' female employers helped to develop a domestic workers' organisation. Is this because of gender?

Trade unions do not show much interest in working with feminists and putting feminists' issues high on their agenda; it is difficult to work with trade unions, especially in Europe. Worldwide domestic workers' unions exist. In Europe there are a lot of unions which also organise domestic workers – for example, in Italy (FILMCAMS-CGIL), Belgium (ACV-CSC), the UK (UNITE, the former T&G) etc. Also, feminists are challenged by the need to work together with migrant domestic workers, and to construct a new family paradigm. As with divorced families, we have to remove the stereotyping of transmigrant families, particularly the stigma faced by the children of migrant workers.

A first step towards political action in changing the care chain is to identify some of the key actors around political change – for example:

- organised groups at various levels;
- trade unions;
- the state, which needs to provide basic social support to improve workers' conditions; the absence of state-provided institutions in the field of care has a huge impact on demand for informal care – if those are in place there is less demand for informal work at household level; and
- workers' institutions, which need to be more inclusive, because there is an absence of representation of informal care workers.

It is also important to pinpoint instruments and tools that can be used to push for political change. For example, activists might work to empower workers at individual or enterprise (household) level, or to ensure more inclusive labour legislation and systems. It is important to raise global demands, because paid formal/informal care work is a global issue, but then we need to deal with the fact that the context varies so widely among different countries. We want to raise global standards but cannot automatically translate them to the local level.

*“Care is not valued, and its burden always falls on people who cannot escape it. Care is hierarchical, so we need to go beyond the existing rights discourses and define new rights, such as a right to care.”*

*Amanda Khozi Mukwashi*

Feminists can also begin to develop a discourse on care and migration. Identifying and dissolving gendered ideologies is another important step, such as those related to mothering and mothers being the best carers, and shades of interpretation of labour migrations of women who are seen to abandon their children at home. Finally, the new ILO convention on domestic work is a key opportunity to mobilise – this type of regulation at international level deserves recognition and support.



## CHAPTER 4: Food Chains and Care Crises

### Introduction by Elisabeth Bürgi Bonanomi, World Trade Institute, Switzerland

There are tensions between efforts to ensure that care work is valued and efforts to liberate women from the confines of care-giving. The same can be observed when it comes to food. The right to adequate food, enshrined in the UN Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, is an expression of the need to be nourished and to nourish adequately. Preparing, taking and giving food is part of care, in that we care for others if we cook them a meal.

Modernisation, industrialisation and subsidisation of agriculture have made food giving quicker, and in so-called 'time-poor' modern societies, convenience food has penetrated the market. At the same time, commercialisation of agriculture has made food cheaper, and a greater part of household income is now being used for other things, such as education, health care or leisure. Thus, to a certain extent, cheaper and quicker food has liberated women from the confines of care-giving – at least in rich societies.

But even in poorer countries, life in cities has become more and more dependent on relatively cheap food that results from industrialised food production. Cheap food leaves some money for other care services, and selling food to rich countries provides money that can be invested in social services, which again liberates women from care-giving.

However, cheap and 'fast' food is often of low nutritional quality and has contributed to the spread of obesity and other illnesses related to an unbalanced diet. In addition, food giving has frequently become a loveless act, as the social aspects related to a meal have been neglected.

#### Care and food production

Many care and care-related questions are also linked to the way in which food is produced. Liberalisation and the opening of borders have led to a dualisation of the farming sector. While commercialised agriculture has been promoted, smallholder production has been marginalised and has become even more vulnerable. The highest share of poor people – and, above all, poor

women – still depend on small-scale agriculture for their livelihoods. That is why criticism of the current food production system often focuses on these 'losers'

The UNRISD trade and gender study from 2004 made it clear that the smallholder sector in poorer countries worldwide has undergone specific developments which impact significantly on the provision of care. In poor rural societies, much of the necessary care work is still provided by individuals, mainly women, while institutional services are weak. This has been exacerbated in recent years by the privatisation of care services, which has proliferated because care provision in remote areas is not profitable.

At the same time, vulnerable smallholder households are earning part of their income elsewhere. Men migrate, while women take over management of the farm – the so-called 'feminisation of agriculture'. But women not only stay at home; they are increasingly engaged in – and de facto forced into – rural employment, such as packaging, food processing etc., usually for very little pay.

#### What is food sovereignty?

The concept of 'food sovereignty' was introduced by the organisation Via Campesina in 1996. It states that "Food sovereignty is the RIGHT of peoples, countries, and state unions to define their agricultural and food policy without the 'dumping' of agricultural commodities into foreign countries. Food sovereignty organises food production and consumption according to the needs of local communities, giving priority to production for local consumption. Food sovereignty includes the right to protect and regulate the national agricultural and livestock production and to shield the domestic market from the dumping of agricultural surpluses and low-price imports from other countries. Landless people, peasants, and small farmers must get access to land, water, and seed as well as productive resources and adequate public services. Food sovereignty and sustainability are a higher priority than trade policies."<sup>11</sup>

<sup>11</sup> [http://www.viacampesina.org/main\\_en/index.php?option=com\\_content&task=blogcategory&id=27&Itemid=44](http://www.viacampesina.org/main_en/index.php?option=com_content&task=blogcategory&id=27&Itemid=44)

Rural employment has been praised as a way out of poverty for rural women, yet even if income increases, workloads increase, too, as care work still has to be done. This may lead to a decrease in well-being, depending on how it is measured. Similar dynamics can be observed around 'microcredit schemes' that aim to make entrepreneurs out of rural women.

There is another way of looking at care, food and agriculture. While care is about caring for others, agriculture is largely about caring for nature. There are many similarities between both of these 'caring' sectors. In both sectors, productivity cannot be raised indefinitely. And both sectors tend to be neglected, which leads to an exploitation of human and natural resources. The industrialisation of agriculture contributes actively to this exploitation

The relationship between food production, food processing, food taking and giving, and care is complex and has not been thoroughly studied; therefore, all approaches discussed in this chapter will be speculative. The presentations in this chapter approach the topics from different angles: from a right to food perspective, from a food sovereignty perspective, and from a land rights perspective.

### Women and Food Sovereignty

Ana Tallada Iglesia, *Latin American Network of women transforming the economy*<sup>12</sup> (REMTE), Peru

*"While care is about caring for others, agriculture is largely about caring for nature. There are many similarities between both of these 'caring' sectors. In both sectors, productivity cannot be raised indefinitely."*

*Elisabeth Bürgi Bonanomi*

The right to be free from hunger and malnutrition is a fundamental human right, incorporated in human rights treaties such as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the International Pact on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women, the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, and the Convention on the Rights of the

Child. This includes:

- the right to be hunger free;
- to have access to safe water;
- to have access to energy resources, and any fuel necessary to cook; and
- the right to enjoy the highest attainable standard of physical and mental health.

Also, universal and sustainable food security is crucial for the achievement of social, economic and human goals, according to numerous agreements and the Millenium Development Goals (MDGs).

Women are primarily responsible for the preparation of meals among family members and for most of the activities related to processing, conservation and commercialisation of agricultural products. Women living in rural areas are, additionally, in charge of agricultural work, generating around half of all the agricultural food produced under unfavourable conditions. When they have no access to land – not an uncommon occurrence – they have little right to credit, to participate in rural organisations, to get training or to access extension services. Their heavy workload and the lack of essential agricultural inputs and tools for increasing productivity contribute to food insecurity and malnutrition in millions of households, especially those headed by women.

Yet these women also have a special knowledge of seeds and plants for food and health care and, therefore, an important role in supporting ecosystems and biodiversity. Some studies show that among poor homes headed by women, available resources are better allocated for nutrition and children's education than in poor homes headed by men. This shows how important it is to improve women's access to and control of resources.

### The global food crisis

Global food prices have increased by 83 per cent in the last two years, and fluctuations in fuel prices and changes in the world's energy matrix are causing serious difficulties, first and foremost to vulnerable populations. Of the 1 billion people who suffer from hunger in the world, 85 per cent of them – 850 million – are undernourished, and 550 million are farm workers.

Problems jeopardising the rural sector are: deforestation, drought, urbanisation, biodiversity loss, climate change and natural hazards.<sup>13</sup> They are exacerbated by the use of foodstuffs for biocombustibles, a significant increase in food demand due to changing eating habits in the West and in emergent markets, mostly Asia, and speculation on food as a commodity.

"The origin of the food crisis is not the shortage, but the failed economic policies largely protected by the G8,

<sup>12</sup> *Red latinoamericana de Mujeres Transformando la Economía (REMTE)*

<sup>13</sup> *According to the UN Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) Rural Communication for Rural Development Regional Seminar, Cuzco, Peru, 15 May 2009.*

that is, the liberalisation of agricultural trade and industry. These policies, which value food as a commodity rather than a right, have led us to a chaotic climatic change, to oil dependence, to the collapse of water and land resources as well as to the current food crisis.”<sup>14</sup>

Due to the role it plays in the current economic crisis, the food crisis requires structural policy reform to stabilise it in the long run. In the short term, we are trapped in a vicious circle with the following consequences:

- greater concentration of property;
- community migration, displacement and despoiling of land, mainly of native communities;
- unemployment and precarious employment;
- economic capital, mostly from transnational corporations, threatens territory and life, through mining, resulting in environmental contamination;
- impoverishment of populations;
- evictions and criminalisation of social movements;
- militarisation and repression against native communities;
- deterritorialisation of cultures and new uprootings;
- loss of individual and community autonomy; and
- an increase in violence towards women.

### Food sovereignty

At the 1996 World Food Summit, Via Campesina introduced the concept of food sovereignty; this concept means: the right of people, communities, countries, or state unions, to define their agricultural and food policy, without any dumping vis-à-vis third countries; the right of peasants to produce food; and the right of consumers to be able to decide what they want to consume and how and who produces them.

This claim positions those who produce, distribute and consume food at the heart of food policies and systems, and above the demands of markets and corporations. It defends future generations' interests and offers a strategy to resist and dismantle liberalised and corporate trade and the current food regime. Food sovereignty prioritises local economies and local and national markets, it grants the power to peasants, family agriculture, traditional fishing and shepherding, and it bases food production, distribution and consumption on environmental, social and economic sustainability. Food sovereignty also promotes transparent and fair trade which guarantees ethical revenues for communities and the rights of consumers to control their own food and nutrition. It guarantees that access, administration and control of land rights, water, seeds and livestock, among others, be in the control of those produc-

ing food. It also fosters new social relationships free from oppression and inequalities between men and women, communities, racial groups, social classes and generations.

Agricultural policies should support sustainable rural agriculture in the North and the South. To gain food sovereignty, countries of the North and the South should support their agriculture to guarantee the right to food for their populations; to preserve the environment and cultural traditions; to develop sustainable agriculture; and to be protected against dumping. Yet, today the USA and the European Union, in particular, abuse public funds to reduce prices in domestic markets and to practice dumping with their surpluses in the international markets, harming rural agriculture in the North and the South.

*“Women are fundamental to food production and preparation. Traditionally they have kept and still keep a strong bond with the land and agriculture....Rural women are devoted advocates of food sovereignty as an answer to the food crisis and in the fight against hunger in the world, “*

*Ana Tallada Iglesia*

### Women and food sovereignty: an answer to the crisis

Women are fundamental to food production and preparation. Traditionally they have kept and still keep a strong bond with the land and defend water and agriculture. They have gathered, selected, reproduced, spread and guarded seeds, and they are the ones who have produced, accumulated and transmitted the knowledge that is the foundation of communities' culture. We need to strengthen alliances with the indigenous people. Rural organisations and fishermen are key to defending food sovereignty in its multiple aspects. They call for implementation of public policies for the development of family agriculture and of small producers through fostering the diversity of productive systems. Rural women are devoted advocates of food sovereignty as an answer to the food crisis and in the fight against hunger in the world.

*“Translating the concept of food sovereignty to consumers means: buy local, seasonal, fair and organic!”*

*Tina Goethe*

### Food Sovereignty as one Answer to the Care Crisis

*Tina Goethe, SWISSAID, Switzerland*

Food provision – from production to preparation, cooking to feeding – is an important part of the care econo-

<sup>14</sup> Latin American women's organisations' letter to G8, 2008 (see REMTE: <http://movimientos.org/remte/>).

my. In terms of time, food-related activities are sometimes the most time-consuming care activity. As in the care sector in general, the responsibility for the provision of food – including food production – often lies with women.

In developing countries, food production, storage, trading, processing and marketing are still mainly done by small producers. A considerable part of this production is done at a subsistence level, with women playing a major role.

Women:

- are responsible for half of the world's food production worldwide;
- account for 60 per cent of the labour force and produce 80 per cent of the food in most African countries;
- do 90 per cent of the work in rice cultivation in South-Asian countries; and
- are the majority of urban food producers in many cities around the world.

Due to migration from rural areas to cities and as a result of the recent food crisis and rising food prices, urban agriculture has gained importance and public attention. But so-called 'kitchen gardens' are not only an urban phenomenon; they also help to ensure food security on a household level in poor rural areas. While cash crops are considered a male-dominated sector, kitchen gardens are almost completely a female domain. They enable women to produce vegetables, fruit and medicinal herbs for their families and local markets. But, of course, women also cultivate their own plots of land to produce staple food or work on the land of their husbands, fathers or other family members. And young women, in particular, work as agricultural labourers on plantations, producing flowers, fruits or high-priced vegetables for export to industrialised countries.

In this context, food production is part of women's daily care work, as it cannot be strictly separated from food provision and preparation, and a considerable part of the food produced is for self-consumption.

#### **Liberalisation of the agricultural sector**

Small-scale agriculture – subsistence production as well as production directed to local and national markets – is facing enormous difficulties and challenges. Over the last three decades multilateral agencies such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund have pushed for privatisation in the agricultural sector, eliminating any state support for small-scale production and the production of staple foods. Many develop-

ing countries were pushed or even forced to invest in and support export production to meet debts. World Trade Organization (WTO) agreements have continuously broadened and enforced the liberalisation of agricultural trade, opening up markets for almost any agricultural goods. As a result, small-scale farmers have been pushed out of business, and the production for local and national markets has been dramatically neglected.

Today, 75 per cent of the world's hungry are small producers, farmers, livestock keepers, landless people and agricultural labourers; 70 per cent of them are women and girls. Thus the people actually producing the food are among the poorest and hungriest. Today, the Philippines, which was a traditional rice-producing country, depends on rice imports. Mexico, where maize originated, is now a maize importer. And African countries, which were once net food exporters, now import 25 per cent of their food.

Last year's global food crisis demonstrated the complete failure of the current food system. Yet it also delivered impressive profits to agrobusinesses. For example, in its annual report for 2008, Syngenta claimed that 2008 was a record year for agriculture. Other agricultural corporations also presented record profits after the first quarter of 2008 – at the peak of the food crisis.

Corporations along the food chain successfully used the decades of privatisation and liberalisation to massively expand their businesses. Most growth happened in the space of only five years (2002 to 2007), mainly as a result of a concentration process, and, in the input sector, at the expense of thousands of small and medium-sized seed companies and breeders. Farmers are increasingly losing their independence, and family farmers and women, in particular, are deprived of their control over seeds.

The top 10 multinational seed companies control 67 per cent of the world's seed market, and the concentration is even higher in the agrochemicals market, at 89 per cent. Since agrochemical corporations have systematically bought up seed companies, Syngenta, Monsanto, BASF etc. all have agrochemicals and seeds in their portfolios.

Twenty-six per cent of the world market for processed food and beverages is controlled by only 10 corporations, and the top 10 food retailers sell 40 per cent of groceries sold by the top 100 corporations.

Industrial processing, traditionally an important part of work done by women at the household level, has largely been taken over by industry. This liberates women



from the work, but it also takes away women's control of the process and of food supply.

### **The definition of food sovereignty**

In many parts of the world we have given away not only an important economic sector, but also the democratic control over food production and consumption. Food sovereignty reclaims this democratic control, by addressing the simple question of what is growing in our fields and what ends up on our plates. Who is given the power to decide, and how are the benefits of the world's food system shared?

The concept of food sovereignty is now a topic of discussion among concerned consumers and even featured in the most recent intergovernmental global report on agriculture, the International Assessment on Agricultural Knowledge, Science and Technology.

Decisions which have major effects on both producers and consumers are made largely by a few corporations, but consumers' choices do have direct and indirect impacts on forms of agricultural production. Thus, translating the concept of food sovereignty to consumers means: buy local, seasonal, fair and organic! This meets the main demands of food sovereignty, and it works for Northern, industrialised countries as well as for the global South.

### **Taking back food preparation**

As women have struggled to free themselves from the kitchen and gain equal career opportunities, they have also tried to reduce food-related care work to a minimum. At the same time, men have not taken over the bulk of food provision work. As a result, personal and traditional knowledge about the processing and preparation of food is disappearing, and control of our daily food needs is in the hands of the food industry.

Today, the care crisis in industrialised countries is mainly linked to lack of time. In poor families, all time resources are needed to earn an income, and fast food has replaced traditional or other time-consuming recipes. In more affluent households, relatively expensive convenience foods are consumed.

A lack of knowledge about food and its preparation combined with the dominating fast food model has led to disastrous health implications, with billions suffering from hunger and another billion from obesity. This is a phenomenon in rich countries as well as a severe problem in urban slums in, for example, Brazil, which can be described as a lack of food sovereignty for consumers.

Trying to cope with the consequences of the economic

recession, millions of Americans save money on their food expenditure and – again – end up with cheap fast food. Experts in the USA estimate that a 10 per cent rise in poverty will lead to a 6 per cent rise in obesity. One might think that jobless people should have enough time to prepare healthier food at home, but it seems that the knowledge and capacity to do so has been lost. Once again, it is the corporations that profit.

Of course, this does not mean that women should go back to the kitchen. But we need to re-examine the issue of how to organise food-related care activities. We have a lot to gain: not only more sovereignty, but well-being, health and cultural diversity.

### **The Right to Food and the Human Rights Approach**

*Ester Wolf, FIAN and Bread for All, Switzerland*

Although the right to food is an internationally recognised human right, which provides a solid basis for advocacy, there are problems in the implementation of this right. It does not only involve the right to produce enough food to feed a family or to earn enough to buy food, but also to have dignity. For example, if poor families and poor women, in particular, in Latin America do domestic work for rich families, they earn money. However, they do not have time to care for their own families, so public services are needed. One possible solution is for children to go to school and eat there all day. Yet even in this case, the burden for women is still very high, and there is an issue of the violation of the human right to an adequate standard of living and dignity. In this way, the right to food is interdependent with the realisation and protection of other rights as well.

The guidelines from the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) related to realising the right to food on the national level indicate that the first step is to identify the most vulnerable groups, which is an obligation of the state. Women, particularly those in rural areas, are the most vulnerable to violations of the right to food. In many rural areas, women especially suffer from hunger and are malnourished, and often have limited access to land.

The FAO World Food Summit 2008, which focused on the global food crisis, brought recognition of the importance of combating hunger by supporting small-scale farmers and rural communities. This is accepted internationally, but implementation is lacking. With the current financial crisis there is fierce competition for land, as multinational enterprises take land for profits – for example, in the Peruvian Amazon region.

In several countries agrarian reforms programmes are included in the national constitutions, such as in Brazil, where idle land should be handed over to poor people for food production. However, this reform is rarely implemented, and even when it is, women are last to be included. Although states have an obligation to actively include women in land reform programmes, property that is handed over still goes largely to men. This is a clear indication of widespread discrimination and a violation of human rights.

Changing these realities requires empowering women to do advocacy work, to enable them to participate in political discourses. Organisations in the global North and development agencies can support women by informing them of their rights, helping them to get organised in networks, and putting pressure on governments, including those in the global North, to respect human rights in other countries. For instance, when multinational corporations cut off local people from the use of water, land and other resources, governments in the global North have a responsibility to step in. When advocating for the right to food, access to resources and political accountability it is important to use existing human rights instruments as a basis to reach structural change.

## CASE STUDY

### Economic transition and women's rights in Mongolia

*Annemarie Sançar, Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation (SDC)*

Mongolia has rapidly transitioned from a socialist to a market-driven economy, and continues to have an impressive growth rate. As one of the richest countries in the world in terms of natural resources, it is increasingly of interest to the extractive industries sector, but more than half of Mongolia's population still depends on herding animals for its livelihood.

Development actors in Mongolia are increasingly considering ways to help women mitigate the risks of poverty and food deprivation through economic participation. The country's highly nationalistic family and pro-natalist state discourses and policy have largely confined women to the roles of mother and carer. However, in spite of (or thanks to) a very patriarchal political culture, there is a strong women's rights movement in the Mongolian capital city, Ulan Bataar. NGOs in the city were largely responsible for a new gender assessment, which was scheduled to be published in June 2009.

### Women's lives in Mongolia

The assessment sheds light on the following realities about women's lives:

- Women, especially in the rural areas, have a huge time burden, especially those who are herders.
- They have limited access to assets; former state property has been given to men, while women lack the basic resources needed to participate in the market.
- Women receive a small amount of credit from agencies, but get stuck in economic niches – without other options for investment or improvement.
- They earn little and have to spend a lot since more and more of the goods needed for everyday life and care are imported goods (e.g. in the Gobi desert you might find Russian yogurt but no local cheese).
- Girls are sent to school in the city, but formerly free public education now costs more than most families can afford. Sexual harassment at boarding schools is increasing – where pupils get 'good credits for sex'; this may be relieving household budgets but results in dependency and exploitation.
- Husbands get an additional income as artisanal miners, but this has negative health effects, forcing their wives to care for them instead of working for an income.

### Conclusions of the gender assessment

The gender assessment sets the stage for discussion about the types of state policies, donor interventions, cash transfers, infrastructure and local market development that could help to reduce women's time burden and improve working conditions for income-generating activities needed to organise the household. The assessment also shows that economic growth does not automatically empower everybody, and that the redistribu-

tion of accumulated wealth is the critical issue in a wealthy poor country such as Mongolia. Finally, the assessment highlights the ways that gender relations are part of the socioeconomic complexity of development.

It is clear that if food security and well-being are to be achieved by integrating women into paid labour or providing them with access to an income, the multiple roles women play, especially as care providers, have to be considered.

## DISCUSSION

### Women's rights and the right to food

Food security is an objective – something we want to achieve so that everyone has access to food. Food sovereignty is a process and political instrument, which allows us to reach the objective of food security.

To compare food security and food sovereignty we need to look at the consumers' point of view. The reality is that people in rich societies benefit from cheap food produced through agribusiness, because it provides time for other things. This ambivalence must be addressed by those of us working on feminist analyses. We need to look into ways of revaluing food and food production – it is far too cheap in the global North, and farmers cannot live on what they earn.

### 'Relocalising' food systems

Food sovereignty is not discussed in international trade processes, because it affects the interests of agrobusiness. On a national level, we need to invest in small-scale agriculture. In our role as consumers, we have to shift completely to support farmers, biodiversity and ecological agriculture, and examine what we consume, how, and from where it is sourced. We can also look at alternative models of production, such as yearly box schemes (community-supported agriculture), which link consumers and producers.

The concept of food sovereignty means that local and regional markets are more important for small-scale farmers, so they need fair access to them. This includes fair prices and working conditions, and ecological production. However, even if small farmers have access to markets and value chains, they do not have access to big profits, which has to be addressed.

Also, if we increase the power of local food markets and producers ('relocalising' food systems), it is important to consider how local religious and traditional laws could hinder women's mobility and access to markets. There appear to be few restrictions on women's mobility when they are doing unpaid care work, but we need to be mindful of the ways that religious or traditional expectations could put up barriers to women's participation in income-producing work, such as selling food in local markets.

### Women's solidarity on food issues

It is important for women to come together and organise in their fight for solidarity and sovereignty of food and national resources. We can also argue for protecting the knowledge of indigenous women. For many women, their participation in women's organisations

can strengthen their self-esteem and improve their leadership skills. Yet far too many of these organisations lack the necessary resources, skills and funding needed to make a sustainable impact. As a priority, we need to forge relationships between women in the global North and South in order to build the resources and capacity of Southern and Northern women's organisations.

### Fairer food systems for women

If women are to play a greater role in food systems, does it mean they will need to spend more time producing, processing and preparing food? They are already performing a large share of this work, but it is for producers and largely in unhealthy, unsafe or miserable conditions. With food sovereignty we aim for a fairer system and fairer prices, valuing products and showing respect for the producers. We can also promote methods to ensure that time spent preparing nutritious food is not a barrier to doing other things. In Peru, for example, there is a practice from women organisations of collective food preparation called comedores populares.

### Action steps

As feminists, our objective for an economic or trade system is a caring one that protects certain sectors of the economy, eliminates efficiency measures and favours care and human rights. One proposal is to work more closely with women's cooperatives and to define what kind of trade agreements we actually need to achieve our objectives.

In terms of food preparation, a dilemma is that industry, the media and policy prescribe that mothers have to provide a proper meal for their children, but the system does not provide enough time for them to do so. Increasing economic literacy is an important step, enabling feminists and women's organisations to understand the methodology that creates links from the household level all the way up to political spaces. This helps women to influence policy through collective action. We also need to better understand the link between food sovereignty and care, which is a complex issue. Despite diverse realities, collective action and solidarity are possible and necessary at different levels. We need to build a body of evidence to argue our case so that we can link food chains to households to women.

## CHAPTER 5: Body Politics and Care Regimes

### Introduction by Sabin Bieri, ICFG, University of Berne, Switzerland

*“I don’t touch their jewellery; (...) I am very conscious. I use a towel or gloves when cleaning jewellery. Because some employers, they just set you up.”<sup>15</sup>*  
– Filipina domestic worker in Singapore

This quote is from Geraldine Pratt’s book *Working Feminism*, which links feminist theory to the social realities faced by Filipina domestic workers in Canada and other parts of the world. For the Filipina domestic worker in this example, what is at stake is the fear of loss of control of her bodily traces. Her insecurity is interpreted by Pratt as a symptom and source of a perceived threat to her bodily integrity and her rights. Rights, themselves, protect and confer bodily integrity. And “[b]odily integrity has psychic and political consequences that feed back into understandings of *which* subjects are entitled to rights.”<sup>16</sup>

Who qualifies as a subject of rights? Or, in other words, who counts as a person? Citizenship itself is tied to a physically limited body. The intersections between bodily integrity, rights and citizenship are central to an understanding and discussion of body politics.

Work is another critical factor in the discussion, and body politics can be a means for analysing working conditions. For example, a study of Mexican *maquiladora* workers discusses the construction of the female body within a discourse of physical deterioration. In contrast to men, Mexican women were said to be un-trainable, and their assignment to unskilled labour was a self-evident ‘cultural thing’. Trapped in

*“Body politics is about how we bring the issues that we live and experience into politics.”*

*Wendy Harcourt*

boring, repetitive and low-paid jobs, these women’s stiff fingers and strained eyes are an expression of their discursive framing as unskilled bodies of limited value.<sup>17</sup>

Body politics in working environments is also examined in a study on Chinese women workers who employed

body politics as a means of resistance. Accustomed to listening to the radio during the afternoon shifts, when it was switched off by management, the human assembly lines slowed down. The workers did not stop working; instead, there was a silent protest, as speed was reduced. The foreman (and they are men) tried, in vain, to persuade the women to speed up, but eventually the radio had to be switched on again. This was celebrated as a victory by the workers.<sup>18</sup>

Two central questions unite these two examples:

- How are bodies – women’s and men’s – regulated by national and, increasingly, international politics?
- How does this regulation shape their daily lives at work, at home, in their private as well as public relationships?

To arrive at a notion of body politics which could serve as a common platform for today’s discussion we could examine Michel Foucault’s ‘**biopolitics**’ or ‘**biopower**’. The main objective of biopower in terms of individual bodies is to maximise skills and the power of humans to integrate them in processes of economic production and political dominance. Regulation and control, on the other hand, are the primary instruments to govern the collective body. The combination of these two strategies – the subjugation of the individual and the regulation of the collective body – is the defining premise for the expansion of capitalism and the constitution of modern nations in 19th century Europe.

Foucault’s concept of biopower is prominently used in current anti-globalisation literature. For example, Hard and Negri’s *Empire* reconceptualises Foucault’s theories, using the concept of biopower to mark the transition from the modern to the post-modern era. Reproduction used to provide the means for the stability and continuous functioning of production. Today, this distinction has become irrelevant; reproduction has been absorbed by production. Biopower, according to Hard and Negri, guarantees the stability of political and social conditions which subject human existence to capital.<sup>19</sup>

The same can be said for nature. Nature is no longer

<sup>15</sup> APratt, G (2004) *Working Feminism*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, p. 97.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>17</sup> *op. cit.*, p. 28.

<sup>18</sup> Ngai, P (2005) *Made in China. Women factory workers in a global workplace*, Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

<sup>19</sup> Lemke, T (2008) *Gouvernementalität und Biopolitik*, Wiesbaden: Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften.



only exploited, but also bio-genetic resources are reconstructed and conserved for commercial interests. The resulting imperial machine not only dominates subjects, it produces them.

This leads us to the question of care. The concept of biopower and, in a theoretically less stringent way, of body politics, frames our perspective on care regimes. In this thematic area we challenge the social and economic politics of care as biopolitics. By framing our research questions in such a way we hope to gain new insights leading to innovative strategies and policy options to come to 'fair care'. Fair, of course, accounts for the care giver as well as for the person receiving care. Debating the concept of 'body politics', we would like to explore the possibilities of designing and implementing fair care.

### **Body Politics: an Invisible Feminist Agenda**

*Wendy Harcourt, Society for International Development, Italy*

It is important to consider body politics in a practical, rather than just theoretical, way – in terms of how it can move the feminist agenda forward. Body politics is a feminist agenda that has been invisible and not very central to feminist economic and development debates and perspectives for many years. It is linked to the care economy in terms of how we place our bodies in care work, and how this work is marking our bodies. Work is not only related to earning money; it also has to do with our bodies. It is felt by our bodies, and our bodies are marked by work – for example, for women in the maquiladoras, we can look at how this hard work is affecting their body and what that means for them as

*"We also need to open our minds and eyes to the influence of heteronormativity."*

*Wendy Harcourt*

political subjects and as human beings. In this way, speaking about bodies is speaking about politics.

### **Body politics makes visible that which is taken for granted**

One way of understanding how body politics can bring visibility to what is invisible or assumed is by examining the relations between bodies and space. When we enter a room, we are conditioned by the composition of the room – where do we place ourselves or where are we invited to be placed? The space we occupy is related to the power we have – for example, the place a teacher occupies in a classroom, the place that we occupy in a work interview, the seat we take in a meet-

ing. Also the colour of our skin, the clothes we wear, the way we move our hands, the way we stand – all these issues are part of what we call body politics, because body language is conditioning the content and results of our actions: what we talk about, what we discuss, how we share our knowledge or not etc.

Thus, body politics is about bringing the private – our experience, intimacy and identity – into the public, making visible also its relations with power and authority. We have to be careful and pay attention to all the meanings that we are carrying with our body. Bringing the body into the public, as in the case of the campaigns against violence against women, is also a powerful action that is having very good results. However, it is also important to recognise that the violation and oppression of women's bodies has been discussed many times, but not the pleasure of bodies. When women speak about sexuality and intimacy, it can be very empowering. We can see the body as a source of power and celebrate the power of women's bodies, without being essentialist.

### **Body politics is about a (trans)gendered body**

Body politics is about men as well as women and about transgender people. We need a fluid understanding of gendered bodies, and to open our minds and eyes to the influence of heteronormativity, as we begin to turn away from it. There are many different gendered bodies, and our own masculinities and femininities depend on our cultures, identities, experiences and varieties.

In many ways we are caught in a dilemma between tradition and modernity. What does it mean to respect other cultures or other values? Feminism enables us to solve this dilemma and create and recreate our own being in the world. We can take something from traditions and something from modernity. Feminism enables us to make our lives visible, to work on what we have and change it.

### **Feminist analysis of the care economy**

In the current context of a moment of crisis we are experiencing, it is important to bring the care economy to light through body politics. You can look at body politics related to the care economy by asking about what sort of care work we do and what kind of love we share – both are related closely to the body. We are negotiating all the time around what sort of care we do, the work, the love and how we share these. Another question we have to define is our position in the care chain – care gain – care drain: what implications does this position have for me and how linked am I with other women in other parts of the world?

## CASE STUDY

### What I should be earning for my labours of love

*Zeedah Meierhofer-Mangeli, Akina Mama Wa Afrika and Resource Center for Black Women, Switzerland*

For 30 years we have been saying that it is necessary to make women's work count. This has been characterised as a bit Eurocentric, but in Africa, for example, 80 per cent of work is invisible. The exercise below is based on my experience negotiating care-love labour. At one point in my life I had to negotiate with my husband regarding work, home and family issues. We agreed that I would stay at home to take care of the house and children and he would go out to work. I then decided to put a price on the labour of care-love to make it monetarily valuable. This was the result:

### Love-labour-of-love\*

Role	Responsibility and required skills	Cost in CHF
wife (full time)	reliable 'plan b'; status provider; back-up; adviser; business partner; co-investor	4000.-
general manager	overview, accountability and running of home/residence	2000.-
mother (full time)	nurturer, feel-good factor, hunger management, love, sensitivity to extreme emotional mood swings etc.	4000.-
cook (full time)	family health care, innovative meals, balanced diets, know bio products	4000.-
nanny/child care (full time)	first aid, safety and security of future generation	4000.-
nurse (part time)	caring for small wounds, loose teeth, sprained ankles, imagined and real stomach aches and pains	1000.-
psychologist (part time)	child psychology skills, race and ethnicity expert, advisory bureau. lobbyist	4000.-
laundry service (part time)	knowledge of all fabrics, dyes, stickers, understanding love of dirty jeans, and tight bras	1500.-
ironing service (part time)	as above	1500.-
tailor (part time)	fixing zippers, buttons, dolls' clothes (see also laundry service)	800.-
driver (part time)	driving licence, care maintenance, knowledge of shortcuts and good parking	3500.-
sex worker (negotiable)	innovation, immediate response, ego support via orgasms – real or fake – Kama Sutra, truth management	5–6000.-
social coordinator (part time)	inviting/cooking for in-laws, office mates, kiddy birthdayparties, sending Christmas cards, update social diary	2000.-
personal shopper	fashionista	1800.-
birth machine	body politics pure!!!	24–40 000.-
hair & beauty consultant	all rounder (braid, style, cut, pimple management, weight watcher, truth management)	3000.-

\*Please note that there is no total cost as the speaker feels the list of tasks is not exhaustive

**CASE STUDY****Urgent body politics issues in Honduras***Indyra Mendoza Aguilar, Cattrachas, Honduras*

As in many parts of the world, the patriarchal system dominates heterosexual, lesbian and transsexual women's bodies and lives in Central America. Through a variety of means, patriarchy as well as religion control women's bodies. In particular, religious fundamentalist beliefs within the Catholic Church, Opus Dei and the Evangelical Church are creating waves of hatred towards women. As a result, many women (heterosexuals, lesbians and transsexuals) have been, hurt, shot and even killed in recent years.

At the same time in Honduras, transsexuals are dying as a result of reshaping their bodies using harmful materials which have led to life-threatening conditions including cancer and HIV. Transsexuals' bodies are marked and damaged by hormones, but they do not have access to a system of care.

Against the backdrop of these violations, however, there have been some gains. After many years of struggle, women have gained a legal right to receive the morning-after pill through the public health service. Yet this right is threatened by conservative forces, which are pushing to criminalise distribution of the pill and also to penalise women's organisations and health workers who inform women about the pill's existence. Under the policy that is being proposed by conservative groups, discussing the morning-after pill could result in an eight-year prison sentence. In response, various feminist and women's organisations in Honduras set aside their different agendas, took to the streets and rallied the media to denounce this regression in women's rights. Their activism resulted in a presidential veto to maintain the old law. However, the issue is currently being decided in the Tribunal of Justice under the leadership of a female member of Opus Dei.

**DISCUSSION****Body politics and care**

Body politics involves discussing issues that have been invisible, and making those issues the subject of political debate. Paramount to the discussion is power and power relations, specifically about who controls resources and which resources we are talking about. This includes the power to define – who defines our bodies, our rights and our selves? Who decides how

bodies must be to be beautiful or valuable? Who defines how women dress? Do we dress a certain way to satisfy some misogynist men? We need to change the prevailing language used in economic, political, social and cultural discourse so that it can adequately communicate women's value.

Religion plays a crucial role in defining gender roles and circumscribing women's lives, bodies and lived experiences. We need to and can encourage much more debate and discussion about the re-emergence of conservative forces, such as the Catholic Church, and its implications in terms of body politics.

We can also explore care and the economic and financial crises as they relate to body politics. For example, cuts in funding for reproductive health services are restricting reproductive rights worldwide; and the relative lack of funding for and interest in research and development on new reproductive health technologies for women, such as the female condom, are of major concern. Where new technologies are developed, ethical debate must be part of the process.

The issue of care is also very central in the area of conflict and development, yet it is not always taken into account.

Body politics brings **sexuality** into the light of day. As a result, it exposes heteronormativity as the dominant paradigm underpinning policies and priorities, which largely ignore the topic of sexuality as well as non-heterosexual or unorthodox relationships. In the development discourse, this leads to funding that prioritises 'normal' families or female-headed households, with nothing for collective living or other family forms.

In terms of **masculinities**, the discussion centres on constructive masculinities, such as fatherhood: what is good fatherhood? What are the social practices related to it? Which are the social structures that support these social practices of fatherhood? How do everyday practices evolve in this respect? Positive steps have been made in terms of fatherhood and bringing more men into care work, but care encompasses more than just care for children. In the domestic sphere we are still waiting for big changes; we see small advances, but some of the traditional concepts persist, so we need to understand why and how.

Body politics is also about the limits of the human body, and particularly women's bodies. One discussant argued that we, as feminists, have to fight for everything. We feel we have to be everywhere, and have to 'be there' for everyone. How can we counter the belief that we have to be engaged in struggles in a way that

keeps us tired and exhausted? Some are leaving activism because of this, as our bodies say 'stop!'. Also, many young women are not getting involved in feminist movements because of the risk of burnout. One issue to consider is women's inability to put limits on ourselves and to set boundaries. We are very demanding, yet we need to learn to ask for help. In short, we have **the right to rest**. We even have the right to retire one day. Therefore, we have to think about how to transmit our knowledge so that other women can continue this work. This involves writing about women and writing our own stories, as well as reading about other women's experiences and lessons learned. Intergenerational knowledge-sharing means feminists do not have to 're-invent the wheel' over and over again.

We have to be careful thus about how we see our source of power. Women are powerful not because we devote ourselves to others: we are powerful because our friends support us. The power coming from suffering is not the kind of power we want.

Finally, body politics as a framework for understanding and discussion can transform the predominant status of women's bodies as political and social entities from the negative to the positive. As Harcourt stated, "The violation and oppression of women's bodies have been discussed many times, but not the pleasure of bodies." We can begin to look at pleasure – in our bodies, through sex and sexuality, in caring and care work, and in our lives.



## CHAPTER 6:

# The Global Financial Crisis and its Impact on the Care Crisis

In order to develop a feminist analysis of the care crisis we need to look at root causes by taking into account the interconnections between the financial, economic and care crises and their impact on gender relations, equality and women's rights.

We need to outline or develop feminist responses and perspectives and identify policy spaces for intervention and alternative solutions. This requires a contextual understanding of the crises and recognition that there is not a 'one-size-fits-all' response. Immediate responses are needed, but at the same time we must treat the financial and economic crisis as an opportunity to shape the feminist vision of an alternative economy, transform care roles and definitions, and propagate a vision of transformation of the current economic paradigm.

### The Global Financial Crisis and Care: Context and Gender Aware Responses

*Isabella Bakker, York University, Canada*

Over the last 25 years there has been a shift in the nature of global capitalism. This has occurred alongside an erosion of the social provisions associated with the welfare state and, more broadly, the public provisions for health and the care of people. As governments have sought to cut budgetary expenditures for these provisions, the indirect effect has been to privatise many of the institutions and mechanisms of social reproduction. Thus, care of the elderly and children and some aspects of health and other social provisions have to be privately paid for in the market, or carried out in the household, usually through women's unpaid labour.

Of course, in those societies where there are still developed welfare states, such as in Scandinavia, these effects will be less pronounced. However, in places where such welfare states do not really exist, such as in the global South, and in a different way in the United States, the lack of public facilities and funding

means that provision of care tends to occur through informal mechanisms, such as the activities of extended families or through informal links with friends and neighbours.

The current global and financial crisis is likely to intensify these trends and pressures.

#### Crises, accumulation and care

There are three perspectives on capitalist crises, accumulation and care. First, market fundamentalists and 'pure' neoliberals see capitalism as an economically efficient system, in which crises are short-term and self-correcting and markets should be allowed to self-regulate. Second is the view of most economists – they see capitalist accumulation as unstable, and crises as endemic. They require macroeconomic planning and political intervention to allow for stabilisation and the resumption of 'balanced' growth. Both of these perspectives generally treat the care economy as an 'externality' and as the 'safety net of last resort'.

Third is the radical position, which views capitalism as a system of power. It does not involve the accumulation of goods for livelihood and social well-being, but the accumulation of monetary values to control society and the labour of others. The goal of capitalist accumulation has nothing to do with livelihood but is about increasing the social power, wealth and control of the few. This view sees the care economy as subsidising capital.<sup>20</sup>

*"We need to nurture new values and ideas, and create a new 'common sense', with, for example, new teaching and writing in economics, including in the media."*

*Isabella Bakker*

#### The seven features of capitalism 1989–2009<sup>21</sup>

To better understand the current crises, it helps to outline some of the features of modern capitalism, which can be broken down into seven characteristics.

1. The turnover time of capital accelerates, profits boom, and rates of exploitation of people and nature increase.

<sup>20</sup> For an elaboration of this view, see Isabella Bakker and Stephen Gill (2003) *Power, Production and Social Reproduction: Human In/security in the Global Political Economy*, Macmillan Palgrave.

<sup>21</sup> See Stephen Gill, *Capitalism 2009 Lecture on the Global Economic Crisis*, Helsinki, Finland, April. <http://www.stephengill.com/2009/06/capitalism-2009-lecture-on-global.html>

2. The political power of free enterprise and the individual right to property is fully restored, with unprecedented growth of a global plutocracy.<sup>22</sup>
3. State forms of capital are subordinated (following some socialisation and nationalisation of the means of production from 1917 to 1989).
4. Governments promote markets and privatisation, and cut provisions for families, education and health, leading to privatisation of risk for a majority; the state guarantees risks for big capital, such as huge bail-outs and subsidies.
5. There is an acceleration of extreme inequality of income, wealth and life chances.
6. Producers are dispossessed of their means of subsistence.
7. Capitalist markets increasingly govern food supplies, water and other basic necessities, and global hunger and starvation are mediated by the capitalist market in ways that resemble 19th century capitalism.

Previous examples of crises include the debt crisis of the early 1980s, the Asian financial crisis of 1997, post-1989 restructuring of the former Eastern Bloc, Argentina in 2001, Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs) in the 1980s and 1990s, and food and fuel crises (since the 1970s)

#### Origins of the current financial and economic crisis

The current financial and economic crisis is the result of the deregulation of finance, growing inequality and declining wages. Its origins are in the global North – poorly supervised, deregulated financial markets led to broader activities for banks and faster and greater profits. However, growing inequalities in the USA and declining wages since the 1970s resulted in increased reliance on credit (and thus mounting household debt), coupled with the introduction of new financial instruments, such as sub-prime loans for so-called ‘high risk’ groups (e.g. African-American women and men). As sub-prime lenders were unable to collect, this financial ‘house of cards’ began to collapse. The result was falling housing prices, less construction and widespread ripple effects throughout the real economy.

There are clear opportunity costs resulting from the subsequent bailouts of the banks both globally and within the USA itself. For instance, the US\$17 trillion committed by the European Union, USA and UK for bailouts and fiscal stimulus is over 22 times more than

the US\$750 billion total planned funds for achieving the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). The \$180 billion to bail out AIG in the USA would be more than enough to close the 2010 budget gap in every US state.

#### Fiscal austerity and its impact on care

Once economies are stabilised there will be pressure for fiscal austerity – cutting costs based on the weakest constituencies and post-emergency calls for austerity (i.e. ‘balancing the books’). This will decrease fiscal space and privatise existing social safety nets. In the USA, for example, at least 39 states have imposed budget cuts that most directly affect the most vulnerable, with 21 states cutting health programmes and 22 states cutting programmes for the elderly and the disabled, according to the Center on Budget and Policy Priorities. In California, up to 500,000 children face being denied health coverage due to cuts in a welfare-to-work programme.<sup>23</sup> Wealthy people can pay for care, but poor people who require a socialised system will have to turn to informal care.

As the costs of social reproduction have been privatised and off-loaded to the family or individual level, the conditions under which rich and poor women can deal with this situation will, of course, be very different. Rich women are able to hire housekeepers and nannies to care for their children and nurses to look after elderly relatives. Poor women, compelled by both the need to sustain declining household incomes and to provide for the future of their families, often provide this care labour. In fact, these arrangements operate both within countries and across countries, and the migration of care workers is a substantial component of global migration – women make up roughly half of the world’s estimated 180 million migrants. The remittances these women send home help to underpin the incomes of their families. This process has now become institutionalised in global capitalism, with some governments actually creating international labour agreements to allow for this practice to take place (e.g. a recent treaty was agreed by Japan and the Philippines). Thus, an important question in the current crisis is what will happen to these global care chains? Will there be greater ‘informalisation’ and dependence on employers, and potentially lower wages for the care workers?

A hypothetical conclusion may be drawn: that the care crisis may be more visible in the global North, but in the

<sup>22</sup> *Plutocracy (plutarchy) is rule by the wealthy, or power provided by wealth. In a plutocracy, the degree of economic inequality is high while the level of social mobility is low. This can apply to a multitude of government systems, as the key elements of plutocracy transcend and often occur concurrently with the features of those systems.*

<sup>23</sup> See Arianna Huffington, ‘States Forced to Cut Services to the Bone: the Opportunity Cost of the Bank Bailout’, 23 July 2009 accessed at [http://www.huffingtonpost.com/arianna-huffington/states-forced-to-cut-serv\\_b\\_244039.html](http://www.huffingtonpost.com/arianna-huffington/states-forced-to-cut-serv_b_244039.html).

South it represents a continuum and depends on context. For example, it may be the case that in those countries which are more fully integrated into the global economy through export-led development and global care chains, there may be more visible impacts of the global crisis.

It is also worth pointing out that, while these cutbacks and a shift towards more privatised provisions of care have been occurring, many politicians have been deaf to the arguments of feminists, who have tried to point out that women's labour has to bear this double burden, and that many of the problems associated with the downsizing of the welfare state are off-loaded onto the backs of women in the form of unpaid work.

### So what are the alternatives?

There are three sets of suggested alternatives for dealing with some of the questions of care, the socialisation of risk and the need for a new 'common sense' and set of values to address these challenges. These alternatives must be part of a gender-aware stimulus package aimed at **reducing the care burden** by recognising, accounting for and redistributing unpaid work, with decent work for women and men, and state regulation and provision of infrastructure.<sup>24</sup>

#### 1. Address the problem of unpaid work and the care debt

It is important to get a grasp of the scale of the problems described above, which requires a concerted effort to measure and report – to make visible the vast scale of (invisible) unpaid work. Indeed the United Nations found that, in 1995, if unpaid work was fully accounted for, it would add \$23 trillion to total global output. Data on this question could then be linked to a progressive approach to the politics of time, which takes into account all forms of work, paid and unpaid. For example, the EU is currently debating a directive on work time, which attempts to institute a 48-hour working week, but there has been no discussion of unpaid work in the negotiations.

In addition to the above we need:

- better-quality after-school programmes in educa-

tion, sport and the arts;

- subsidised housing;
- low-cost, nutritious family restaurants and subsidies for healthy food; and
- extra income for jobs that require emotional labour, which are usually female jobs such as nursing, social work and teaching young children.<sup>25</sup>

#### 2. Socialise the risks of the people

One of the key features of the era of neoliberal capitalism has been the way in which it has tended to produce greater social and human insecurity across the population, while at the same time increasingly privatising the institutions that had been designed to socialise risk, such as public health care, unemployment and insurance benefits and pension systems, which are increasingly governed by market forces. This has tended to off-load risks to the level of the individual. By contrast, 'big capital' (i.e. private 'big' business) has seen its risks heavily socialised, reflected in the scale of the bailouts. To address this question we need better priorities and to develop more participatory regulation to counter private control and provisioning. New forms of regulation should, therefore, consider some of the following:

- Broaden tax structures and develop a global response (e.g. UN Commission on Committee of Experts on International Cooperation in Tax Matters, Stiglitz Commission).
- Facilitate greater public popular budgeting (e.g. gender-responsive budgeting, which would integrate social and economic policies as one).<sup>26</sup>
- Cost human-rights commitments and align these with budgets.<sup>27</sup>
- Finance development/sustainable livelihoods through official development assistance (ODA) and debt erasure, based on the premise that 'the developing world is too big to fail'; and introduce gender-sensitive processes, indicators and targets as part of this process (e.g. UNIFEM and Aid Effectiveness).
- Ensure decent work and equal conditions and wages for women and men.<sup>28</sup>

#### 3. Nurture new values and ideas/create a new 'common sense'

This involves new teaching and writing in economics

24 See Kathleen Lahey (2009) *Gender Analysis of Budget 2009, The Progressive Economics Forum*. <http://www.progressive-economics.ca/2009/01/31/gender-analysis-of-budget-2009/>; Diane Elson, 'Gender Equality and the Economic Crisis', IDRC Presentation, Ottawa, 27 November 2008, accessed at [www.idrc.ca/.../12278146671Diane\\_Elson\\_Gender\\_Equality\\_and\\_the\\_Economic\\_Crisis.pdf](http://www.idrc.ca/.../12278146671Diane_Elson_Gender_Equality_and_the_Economic_Crisis.pdf) - Similar.

25 See Fraad, Harriet (2008) *Rethinking Marxism (A Journal of Economics, Culture and Society, Vol. 3)*, Association for Economic and Social Analysis.

See Elson, Diane and Nilufer Cagatay (2000) 'The Social Content of Macroeconomics', *World Development* 28(7): 1347–64.

Balakrishnan, Radhika, Diane Elson and Raj Patel (2009) *Rethinking Macro Economic Strategies from a Human Rights Perspective* (<http://www.ushrnetwork.org/files/ushrn/images/linkfiles/MES-II.pdf>)

Isabella Bakker (2007) *Financing for Gender Equality, United Nations Division for the Advancement of Women, September 2007. (75 pages) (refereed)* Online at [http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/egm/financing\\_gender\\_equality/egm\\_financing\\_gender\\_equality.htm](http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/egm/financing_gender_equality/egm_financing_gender_equality.htm); *Tracking Progress on Development Results*

(including in media), and encouraging heterodoxy of thinking and policy prescription.

## Gender, Well-Being and the Global Economic Crisis

Stephanie Seguino, Department of Economics, University of Vermont, USA

The central feature of this crisis is the growth in inequality across the globe, not only between rich and poor countries, but also within countries at all income levels. A slow-down in wage growth versus productivity growth also characterises the last few decades. Productivity has been growing, but the share of this going to wages has declined all over the world. This is a problem for both developing and developed countries.

Companies now have more freedom to cross borders. They can simply relocate to other countries to seek lower taxes and wages or fewer regulations. As a result, profits have increased as a share of earnings. This has put downward pressure on wages, with a number of low- and middle-income households being forced to resort to borrowing to maintain their living standards. The crisis in the USA is indicative of this growth in inequality. Many families involved in the US mortgage crisis were re-financing their homes because of increased costs, not to take overseas holiday, for example, but to cover costs for old age care, as pensions have disappeared or been reduced, for food and other essentials.

The second macro-economic problem is that as wages and incomes fall, so does workers' consumption, which leads to the central problem currently faced by the global economy: **insufficient global demand**. Without sufficient consumer spending, businesses have little motivation to produce goods. Since this is a jobs crisis, if we resolve the jobs crisis, we will resolve the care crisis.

The third problem is **economic volatility**, which has caused much pain and is long-lasting. In **developed countries** the first effect is a loss of jobs, which is gendered – concentrated in male-dominated areas of the economy, such as construction and manufacturing – but there is a mistaken belief that this crisis has more negatively affected men than women. Women's job losses are especially linked to cuts in public-sector budgets, and thus delayed compared to men's job losses. What we are actually seeing is only the beginning of the gendered effects of the crisis.

The secondary effect in the USA and EU is an impact on the public sector, leading to cuts in budgets. Forty-six

states in the USA are facing budget shortfalls. Germany predicts €36 billion shortfalls in tax revenue. The Maastricht Treaty restricts public-sector deficits, so cuts in public-sector spending in Europe are likely.

As the social sectors of the economy are likely to be most affected by budget cuts, women's employment may be more adversely affected than men's, with negative impacts on women's care burdens. This is because cuts in education, health care and social services reduce the amount of paid care labour and increase household care labour. This is fundamental for feminists.

*"This is, in many ways, a transformative moment in history, providing a window of opportunity to challenge the restrictions on growth and development enforced by developed countries and the international financial institutions. It is an opportune moment to reconsider the view that developing countries should rely heavily on exports as a stimulus to growth."*

*Stephanie Seguino*

In **developed economies**, one of most severe effects will be seen along race and ethnic lines. In the USA, job losses of black Americans have occurred at three times the rate of white Americans. We can also expect a rise in xenophobia, already in evidence in Europe. The World Values Survey – a global survey covering 98 countries over 20 years – asks interesting questions that give insight into norms and stereotypes at times of crisis. Seventy-two per cent of respondents agree with the statement: 'When jobs are scarce, nationals should have priority for jobs over immigrants.' We are seeing a backlash against immigrants in Europe and the USA.

In **developing countries**, the gender implications are likely to be much more immediate – a decline in incomes in industrialised countries will lead to a decline in export demand in places such as Southeast Asia and Central America. The types of exports to decline most are labour-intensive, such as garments and electronics, which are mostly produced by women. We are already seeing a sharp decline in tourism expenditures, and, once again, it is largely women who are employed in this sector. The effects will differ in the short term, but in the long term this will lead to governments cutting public-sector funding, which raises the care burden of households and, primarily, women.

We have learned from other crises that it takes about seven years for employment to return to pre-crisis levels. Even with immediate action, impacts will be severe. For at least seven years many households will suffer from too little or no income. This will affect low- and middle-income households – especially female-headed



households – worst, since they have limited savings and very few assets to sell. Falls in income affect vital factors such as nutrition, so impacts on children will be significant. One in five children in the USA goes hungry, with rates among children of colour much higher than rates among white children. Malnutrition affects psychosocial development and the ability to learn, so the children we raise today will be less productive in the future because of this crisis.

Feminist responses to this decline in family well-being should:

- end ‘cowboy’ capitalism (based on excessive risk, indifference to inequality etc.) to reduce insecurity and inequality;
- address the problems of inequality and insecurity that this global system of the last 40 years has brought upon our households;
- make stimulus packages work by targeting expenditures to reach the most vulnerable households, but particularly to focus on gender-sensitive job creation; it is okay to focus on sectors such as construction, but we need to make sure women have access to these jobs, for example, by providing child care on construction sites;
- make sure spending goes to social sectors that alleviate the care burden, but also create the types of jobs in sectors that employ women; and

*“Making stimulus packages work means targeting expenditures so that they reach the most vulnerable households, but with a particular focus on job creation that is gender sensitive....[And] we need policies that reduce financial volatility.... One possibility is a currency transactions tax (CTT), which is a tax on exchanges in foreign currency markets.”*

*Stephanie Seguino*

global economy. And we must address the global financial instability that affects women heavily and constrains children’s lives.

One possibility is a **currency transactions tax** – a tax on exchanges in foreign currency markets – which has the benefit of reducing speculative activity that is destabilising. It would tax the wealthiest, and it seems right that the wealthiest should pay for this crisis. It could serve

as a global social insurance fund to mitigate the effects of excessive financial and macroeconomic volatility.

This is a transformational moment in history that allows us to change the direction the world is going. For too long we have believed that liberalised markets will improve our livelihoods – that somehow business knows best. We have learned that this is not the case. There is an important role of the state in redistribution, for example, but the state alone will not regulate in a way that benefits those most in need.

### **Policy Space for Developmental States in a Multi-polar World: In Search of Social Reproduction and Economic Redistribution**

*Marina Durano, DAWN, the Philippines*

The current political context provides the backdrop for the questions that feminists often raise: How do we redistribute resources and opportunities? How do we put an end to the production and reproduction of inequalities by neoliberal policies? The gendered impacts of the global crisis have been raised within this political context: the potential to impinge upon the time burdens of women; the possibility of absorbing the care burdens even more as market-based services or public services become less accessible; higher unemployment rates, or increasingly being marginalised into the informal sector, or worsening of working conditions. This describes the fate of women within every crisis.

The search for solutions and new approaches becomes ‘burdened’ by an unwritten demand (sometimes from policymakers, other times from feminist themselves) to demonstrate that the feminist perspective can ‘add value’ to alternative macroeconomic policies. If this added value can be shown, then gender-responsive budgeting is ‘accepted’, although many advocates of gender budgeting argue that it is a tool and not a policy prescription. Social protection policies, which can be seen as redistributive, are also deemed ‘acceptable’ following this argument. But what does a feminist perspective bring to the table when the discussion is, for example, bank supervision?

My impression of feminist economic analysis of macroeconomic policy is that the approach allies itself strongly with heterodox economics.<sup>29</sup> This alliance has

<sup>29</sup> *Heterodox economics refers to the approaches, or schools of economic thought, that are considered outside of mainstream, that is, orthodox economics. Heterodox economics is an umbrella term used to cover various separate unorthodox approaches, schools, or traditions. These include institutional, post-Keynesian, socialist, Marxian, feminist, Austrian, ecological, and social economics among others.*



proved useful for activists in securing a space to raise their issues, concerns and proposals in the various arenas of political debate. Yet there seems to be an added burden of providing a distinct policy recommendation that can claim to be ‘feminist’, gender-responsive or ‘gender-sensitive’ (distinct from heterodoxy). Could the excuse for continuously ignoring women and feminists by the broader alliance seeking alternatives be that heterodoxy suffices to fulfil gender-equitable requirements of macroeconomic policy alternatives? I am unclear as to where feminist economics has taken us forward with respect to designing policy alternatives.

And what is it that we are trying to achieve? I would argue that we need to learn how to design gender-equitable public policies. In designing gender-equitable

*“In designing gender-equitable public policy it is important to understand the division of responsibility over the varying aspects and processes of provisioning for the improvement of well-being....What we consistently find is that the assignment of care responsibilities is skewed towards women, to the extent that it limits women’s ability to participate fully in all of society’s activities.”*

*Marina Durano*

public policy it is important to understand the division of responsibility over the varying aspects and processes of provisioning for the improvement of well-being. This understanding is necessary for making decisions over the distribution of material and labour resources which members of society need for survival, maintenance and prolongation. What we consistently find is that the assignment of care responsibilities is skewed towards women, to the extent that it limits women’s ability to participate fully in all of society’s activities. We are looking for policy measures that create behavioural incentives to change the balance of responsibilities for social provisioning and care so that these are more evenly shared among the major social institutions – households, states, markets and non-profit sectors.

For example, in implementing cash transfer programmes, women have been chosen as the primary beneficiaries because their expenditure patterns are closer to socially desired goals, such as health care and education. Benefits have been shown to accrue to the children of women receiving the cash transfers and, yet, the responsibility for ensuring that the sick are cared for and that school assignments are done remains with women. In this case, the cash transfer programme falls short of changing the burdens of responsibility.

### **Expansion of policy space as an implicit demand for sovereignty**

Developing countries have been weakened by de-regulation and privatisation. Vivienne Taylor wrote about the marketisation of governance, and, indeed, we are seeing the governance for marketisation that secures profit-seeking. The prevalence of this approach to governance has resulted in the developmental state being a dream for many countries, with East Asian economies becoming exceptions rather than the rule.

The political battles over a globally coordinated response to the economic crisis are captured by developing countries’ demand for more policy space. I view this demand as an implicit demand by developing-country governments to secure sovereignty. It is an assertion of political independence over the range of policies that governments can pursue. Perhaps this can be interpreted as an attempt by weak states to fulfil their developmental potential.

The demand of developing countries should be viewed also from the perspective of the relation between the citizen and the nation-state. The political contestations are not so simple because many social groups are groups of non-citizens or are indigenous peoples with their customary laws. One of the more popular campaigns of women in politics is to increase the number of women in decision-making positions. Successes have been recorded in this arena in many countries. To realise the potential of women’s leadership, and particularly of feminist leadership, it will be important to provide policy alternatives that reflect the goal of gender equity or, at least, take our societies closer to that goal. Or, in the context of this conference, the policy alternatives that feminist leaders carry should reflect our valuation of socially reproductive activities or the care economy. But these policy alternatives appear to be difficult to carry out unless the policy space is wide enough to do so. Therefore, women’s movements’ relations with the nation-state also need to become more clearly defined at the national level as well as at the international or inter-governmental level.

Feminist demands need some form of expression at the global level. While women’s movements and feminist movements may be able to conceive of gender-equitable public policy at the national level in relation to our respective nation-states, dependence and inter-dependence of economies demands that, whatever the shape these gender-equitable public policies take, these movements also need to be able to design multi-lateral institutions that will pursue gender-equitable public policies at the international level. In other words, it will be important for women’s movements to secure their gains at the national level by ensuring that the global environment favours – and does not restrict – the pursuit of feminist alternatives.

Part of the public policy design challenge is the empowerment of women (or strengthening the feminist constituency) so that their political actions are able to carry forward the policy reforms and the political restructuring that they demand. Strategies are needed to enhance women's empowerment so that women's movements can navigate the global economic governance complex that is currently defined by multi-polar international political relations.

Such an approach implies the importance of human development that would "insist that a fundamental part of the good of each and every human being will be to cooperate together for the fulfillment of human needs and the realization of fully human lives", to quote Martha Nussbaum when she wrote on the subject in 2004.

### The Regional Perspective from North Africa

*Hassania Chalbi-Drissi, International Gender and Trade Network (IGTN), Tunisia*

The MENA region is less affected than other regions by the current economic crisis. Algeria, Morocco, Tunisia and Libya are seeing comfortable growth rates of three to four per cent. The region is geographically close to Europe, and with two main sectors of production – fuel and gas, textiles and food – sending most of their products to the European Union, the region is optimistic that it can face the crisis. For Algeria and Libya, fuel and gas bring in revenue, and current positive forecasts extend to 2010, after which the situation may change.

The region has also been late in setting up its financial systems, which actually helped protect it from the crisis. MENA continued to collect savings and did not buy any toxic assets. However, Morocco and Tunisia have seen reduced revenues and income due to problems in the textile sector and migrant unemployment in Europe.

In North Africa, feminist thinking sees 'care' as a fundamental concept, which it strives to use as a tool for theoretical and practical analysis and planning.

#### At the local level

On the one hand, the omnipresent state, in its role of satisfying educational and medical needs in North Africa, gives more liberty to women who enter the labour market. Because of that, the private domain becomes progressively blurred regarding material necessities: subsistence, procreation, health, security.

On the other hand, women still have to justify their

arrival in the labour market as if it were a pure and simple extension of their private life. This happens as if women were paid to carry out the tasks that they carried out in their private life for their families (taking care of the sick, doing domestic work, various types care work etc.).

This causes another major theoretical problem for feminism in North Africa when addressing care in the context of the globalised economy. This problem is essentially related to:

- the demographic change in the North that has to cope with women's immigration from Southern countries;
- the significant social changes in the South (collapse of dispersed families, solidarity networks); and
- the cultural and ethical problems: can care services and/or do they have to be valued in a specific social context?

#### In a particular context of crisis

North African women start to migrate. In this case this means rethinking:

- the logic which underpins social relations between the sexes;
- the organisation of reproductive work in relation to productive work;
- the activities related to care; and
- the modalities of care work.

#### In a global context

The liberal discourse is against regulating currency exchanges and capital flows, yet very much in favour of regulating the migration of labour (here women migrants). As to discourse related to regionalisation, legitimised by appealing to 'competitiveness', there should be an alternative where regions can develop based on a different type of globalisation which is not liberal but regulated at national, regional and global level.

### The Regional Perspective from Eastern Europe

*Ewa Charkiewicz, Feminist Think Tank, Poland*

The transition taking place in the EU is not being driven by guns or war, but it amounts to a war on livelihoods and on the capacity to care. Consider the transition that took place from an egalitarian society to an unprecedented redistribution of wealth in Russia, where 10 per cent of the population owns most of the wealth. Poland tells a similar story.

We must understand how transitions have been organised discursively. Foucault – especially in his thoughts on bio-politics – pays attention to the integration and adjustment of human subjects. If we look at the huge

*“Ultimately, it is a political choice to support the banking and financial systems rather than supporting care. Our aim is a growth in care, rather than a growth in profits for the private sector; we want social protection and social services.”*

*Workshop participant*

inequalities in Eastern Europe, we see the psychosocial costs of transitions. We need to make this visible in the larger global context.

Regarding our own interventions, more discussion on the politics of the state is needed. Restructuring of the state is taking place on top of the old patriarchal forms of the state. A new form of the state is emerg-

ing, which is the state operating as an enterprise and investing in markets. In autumn last year, at the peak of the financial crisis, we could see how this system worked – the extent to which states were involved in markets.

What happens when the state is being restructured as an enterprise? We have to take into account what part of the transition is restructuring citizenship. A new form of subjectivity is being put in place. In terms of feminist analysis there is a lot we have to rethink in terms of states. Concerning work, our relationship with the nation state is becoming very different. We can see how the accumulation of capital is already happening at the expense of care.

## DISCUSSION

### **The global financial crisis and its impact on the care crises**

While we are trying to bring attention to a structural crisis and an environmental crisis, there is a risk that the financial collapse will draw our attention away from these other urgent issues and create the perspective that the financial crisis is the only crisis. We need to see all these structural processes, stop idealising the real economy and try not to lose our feminist perspective and analytical framework. In our efforts to achieve these objectives, the following suggestions could prove useful.

### **The potential positive impact of cash transfers**

There is a counter movement taking place, especially in big donor agencies, such as the UK Department for International Development (DFID), which involves cash transfers to individual vulnerable groups (not budget support). States worldwide are thinking about substantially more spending in terms of cash transfers, mostly

to women. This does not mean that care can be bought by money alone, but we can look at ways to connect to that movement and feed into or re-analyse it.

### **A halt to aggressive trade liberalisation and a move to tax financial transactions**

At global policy level we need to stop future trading/speculation with food, pensions, public goods, and basic needs in the financial markets – no more casino capitalism! We can also push for an international tax on financial transactions and CO2 emissions and the closure of tax havens. In terms of trade, we can take action to stop the aggressive trade liberalisation regime and protect weak economies and sectors. Finally, we need to eradicate double standards and demand coherence in terms of human/women’s rights, development objectives, social security and caring.

### **Gender-aware stimulus packages**

A gender-aware stimulus package involves recognising that investment should not just be in physical infrastructure but also in social infrastructure. We must start accounting for unpaid work, in different forms, contexts and countries. Once it is made visible it becomes part of the discourse. We have to work on a new common sense towards a new form of social citizenship. That is the role of activists, academics and the media.

We need national stimulus packages which reduce the care burden and account for unpaid work by providing a basic social safety net for everyone, investing in social infrastructure, and redistributing and reevaluating care work and responsibilities. Stimulus packages also need to include gender/ethnicity/race-sensitive employment and job creation policies (a de-masculinisation of the stimulus package), since they now focus on masculine sectors of the economy, and we want to reverse this tendency.

### **Diversify political power**

Civil society needs to support a process that diversifies political power by diluting political power across the world. Regional approaches have become a space for doing this. The G77 is trying to argue that we need to restructure financial and monetary systems. This means that EU countries, the USA, Japan etc. need to give up their decision-making positions. We need to think of more ways to have regionalism, including civil society, to dissipate this concentration of power. This would increase equality at the local and international levels. Discussions on the economy of care could be translated into a new human right: the right to live.

### Best practice examples and ideas for action

- In Latin America, governments are working on creating a new international bank called Bank of the South, which would act differently than the International Monetary Fund (IMF). This example of creating different kinds of banks is important as an alternative global vision.
- Emerging states, such as Brazil, India, China and South Africa, have interesting social programmes which enable care. We may be able to learn from their social programmes and develop ideas that would work in our own political and development contexts.
- According to Stephanie Seguino, efforts in her home state in the USA have sensitised policymakers to the gendered nature of public spending cuts and stimulus packages. As the state was cutting its budget and considering how to spend stimulus dollars, she proposed that 40 per cent of stimulus jobs should go

to women. This was deemed impossible by legislators, who said it would reduce the flexibility of federal money. However, she worked with female legislators who managed to gain support for a request that the government track the number of jobs created for men and women in the budget amendment; it was overwhelmingly passed. The first report on the data is due in six months. While Seguino did not achieve her original goal, she opened up discussion about the issues, which is one of the fundamental things needed to change the terms of this debate so that it can focus more on well-being.

Our vision for the future sees a transformation of the current market model, which gives preference to capital, growth, efficiency, to a model based on an ethic of market citizenship and social citizenship. Our vision is also of a caring economy which prioritises provision, needs and care.

## CHAPTER 7: How Do We Want to Care?

### Overarching Ideas and Goals

*Panellists: Ana Tallada Iglesia, REMTE, Peru; Christa Wichterich, Sociologist, Publicist and Gender Consultant, Germany; Julia Kubisa, Feminist Think Tank, Poland; Lina Abu-Habib, CRTD-A, Lebanon; Marina Durano, DAWN, the Philippines; Hassania Chalbi-Drissi, International Gender and Trade Network (IGTN), Tunisia; Facilitator: Anja Franck, WIDE board, Sweden*

The final afternoon of the conference highlighted: overarching goals and guidance for feminist organisations engaging with care crises globally, regionally, nationally and locally; gaps in the feminist care discourse; and opportunities and recommendations, including:

- alliance-building;
- engaging with policymakers at all levels; and
- identifying instruments and opportunities for change.

### Feminist Policies in Response to the Global Crises

*Presentation by Christa Wichterich, Sociologist, Publicist and Gender Consultant, Germany*

An important task for feminists is to develop – based on our analysis – feminist responses and perspectives to identify policy space for intervention and for building alternatives. Given that we have to see the global multiple crisis in its very local, regional and national context, we are aware that there can't be a 'one-size-fits-

*"Apart from trade unions, another area of caution is in building alliances with green and leftist parties. For example feminists in Europe have to explore what EU Green parties offered recently in the so-called Green New Deal."*

*Wichterich*

all' solution. We have to keep in mind that presently, in the North, we are talking about an acute crisis while women in the global South often speak about a chronic crisis of livelihood, food, fuel etc. Immediate responses are needed; however, we should also see the crisis as a chance to envision a change of paradigm.

During the session on care and the financial crisis of our conference several responses and demands

were suggested in presentations and discussion to the current crises. These can be brought together as a package of policy demands and advocacy strategies for feminists to take forward. To sum up, on a national policy level we need:

- fiscal and political space;

- regulation of markets;
- a progressive tax system – a different tax and fiscal system;
- strengthening of the public sector and social policies, bridging the divide between economic and social policies;
- strengthening of the bargaining position of workers; and
- democratised/decentralised political power.

On a global level we need in terms of policy:

- no future trading and speculation with food, pensions, public goods, and other basic needs in the financial market;
- an international tax on financial transaction and CO2 emissions;
- the closure of tax havens;
- an end to the aggressive trade liberalisation regime; protection of weak economies and weak sectors in the economy (what is considered in mainstream policies as weak);
- an eradication of double standards – women and men's human rights that include caring rights should be the paradigm for a sustainable global economic development.

Our vision as feminists is one that aims for a transformation of the market model that gives preference to capital, growth and efficiency into a caring economy that gives preference to provisioning, needs and care. We need to change the common paradigm from a market citizenship to a social citizenship.

### Feminist Vision of Care

As a starting point, feminist organisations and networks need to **establish what we want from care**: what are our demands for policymakers, other organisations etc.? (*Tallada Iglesia*) How should we proceed and what are our priorities as a movement? (*Abou-Habib*)

We also need to **remember that we have a right to care**. This should not be thought of in an idealistic way, but can be expressed through practical, real-world means. For example, national constitutions in some Latin American countries (e.g. Ecuador and Bolivia) define a vision of the future which includes the right of



all people to a better quality of life. This is an example of where the right to care can be found or integrated into existing instruments. *(Tallada Iglesia)*

There is also a continuing need to **reshape traditional definitions and views of women as mothers and carers**. In Poland, for example, the idea ‘that mothers will always manage’ has been used as justification by the state to rescind family policies, such as funding for nurseries. In addition, it is important that we **do not perpetuate the notion of motherhood as an oppressive role**. For example, MaMa Foundation in Poland and other progressive women’s groups have been seeking new models of feminist activity which include motherhood and persuading Polish mothers that they do not just ‘have to manage’. Their ultimate goal is to influence local government and introduce new issues connected to care work into public discourse, such as addressing

*“We need to stop compartmentalising feminist issues. For example, feminists work on violence against women, but do we position it within an analysis of the care economy? We need to rethink the ways we pick and choose our areas of intervention and address our issues in a holistic way.”*

*Abou-Habib*

holistic way. *(Abou-Habib)*

Finally, feminists need to find out who benefits from reform agendas, and to become more self-critical of our efforts. Other groups have been much faster and more efficient than feminist groups, such as religious and conservative movements. They use technology far better than we do for mobilising and collaborating with allies. In comparison, many women’s groups have been fragmented and, in some cases, stuck in old ways of working. We can start to rethink and be self-critical, to ‘take our heads out of the sand’. This is difficult but something we have to face in our organisations and our movement. *(Abou-Habib)*

### **‘Invisible’ Issues: Migration, Trafficking and Women in Conflict**

If we are to come up with solutions that touch women in different parts of the world, it was argued, we need **to make migrant women visible in our spaces**. If we do

not, we will continue to be part of the same structure and system that perpetuates oppression. Another area that is very obviously lacking during this conference is a discourse on trafficking. This is a multimillion-dollar industry that is putting women into dangerous situations, and unless we bring this issue to light we will perpetually deliver incomplete responses to the issues of patriarchy and power. *(Amanda Khozi Mukwashi)*

*“We need to make migrant women visible in our spaces. If we do not, we will continue to be part of the same structure and system that perpetuates oppression.”*

*Conference participant*

Feminist activists must examine the black market and informal markets for legal solutions to protecting the rights of migrant women and ensuring fair wages. This is also a matter for trade unions, but in places like Poland, for example, recent research suggests that they are not interested or completely unaware of migrant issues (Kubisa). Also, we must consider the ways in which we may be building structures that benefit Northern countries at the risk of the rights and lives of migrant women from the global South. The salary of a migrant worker can benefit either the receiving or sending country *(Chalbi-Drissi)*, so issues such as remittances deserve more attention.

Finally, there was a suggestion that we look at **what care means in the context of conflict or occupation**. This has been overlooked during this conference, yet the resilience and resistance that comes from opposing conflict and occupation is largely due to women taking on the care role. *(Abou-Habib)*

### **Finding New Allies, Building Alliances**

Feminists and women’s organisations appear to inhabit a closed circle – meeting with each other at conferences, but not disseminating the knowledge and language outside of our circle. (Kubisa) Yet in confronting the care crises, it is **vital to find new allies among organisations not traditionally linked to women’s or feminist issues**. *(Durano)*

In light of the financial crisis, interesting policy proposals have come from non-mainstream economists – not just feminist economists but also other heterodox economists. They have managed to open doors for women who have been perceived as incapable of discussing these issues. *(Durano)*

Also, international NGOs that are dealing with these issues could be potential allies – for example, GCAP; these are traditional arenas where women’s agendas are welcome.

### Problems and pitfalls in alliance-building

It is important to recognise where an **alliance may perpetuate the very systems feminist organisations are trying to change**. For example, some women in Poland have chosen to cooperate with employers and employers' organisations. At a major Polish women's congress in Warsaw, organised by women and employers' organisations, the vision that was communicated suggested that if women cooperate with employers, employers will become more sensitive of women's needs, including care. However, this view is still underpinned by a neoliberal ideology and the belief that if we only cooperate with employers, exclusion and poverty will end. Trade unions can be our allies, but we must be

*"Yet in confronting the care crises, it is vital to find new allies among organisations not traditionally linked to women's or feminist issues."*

*Durano*

aware of possible conflicts of interest. For instance, the Feminist Think Thank is collaborating with a trade union representing nurses and midwives, but the big trade unions are not yet interested in their work. The nurses and midwives union is not 'heard' by the government – based on the notion that nursing should be patient and silent. The alliance with the union of nurses and midwives enables the Feminist Think Thank to join forces with a group outside the women's movement which also understand problems with social exclusion and poverty. (*Kubisa*).

Apart from trade unions, another area of caution is in **building alliances with green and leftist parties**. For example feminists in Europe have to explore what EU Green parties offered recently in the so-called Green New Deal. It was sold by the Green party as an innovative solution to the current economic crisis, but to the energy and climate crises likewise. Its focus is on the development, marketing and export of green technology in the area of renewable energies. However, it is completely market and growth oriented, without taking into account any social concerns, not to mention gender sensitivity or intersectionalist approaches. It is very unlikely that women would benefit from such a technology-focused concept. (*Wichterich*)

We need to remember that feminist organisations, in many ways, are competing amongst ourselves for funds, advocacy spaces and opportunities. As such, we may be falling into the same competitive trap we are criticising. This is an issue to consider in efforts to mobilise a more united voice and to try working together more. The key is not only to protect the interest of women's organisations; many different organisations are in the same position.

### Examples of successful alliance-building beyond our traditional milieu

Several years ago in Egypt, various political groups, Islamists, women's groups and others formed a civil society coalition called 'Enough' (in Arabic). The goal was to say 'Enough! We do not want this president or his family anymore'. This is an example of 'thinking outside the box' in terms of how and with whom we build alliances. (*Abu-Habib*)

Women's organisations such as WIDE have been building alliances for a number of years with, for example, environmental and trade NGOs. They try to communicate the idea that if you do not build alliances across sectors or interests, your issues will not be heard. It is the same for the European Women's Lobby (EWL), which is joining with, for example, networks of lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender people (LGBT) and disability networks, based on a greater understanding of intersectionality. Increasingly, anti-discrimination networks and women's organisations are also working together. The important point is that **if your organisation is not there, decision-makers will forget the feminist perspective**.

In 2010, the Platform of European Social NGOs in Brussels (<http://www.socialplatform.org/News.asp>) will work on issues of care. The platform involves large networks which have a lot of power, so this will be an important opportunity for advocacy by women's groups and networks such as WIDE.

### In terms of alliance building, it is crucially important to link analysis and research with action and activists.

To this end, WIDE will produce a primer on the systemic crisis (economic, financial, social and environmental) from a feminist perspective, which will serve as a resource for its advocacy work. The care economy is a major entry point for WIDE in constructing and proposing alternatives and, therefore, a main topic for the coming years of work. (*Allaert*)

### Engaging with Policymakers and Policy Processes

It is important to be aware that for many policymakers the issue of care is simply not on the agenda. Feminist organisations might know there is a care crisis, but it may not be heard in policy spaces. We must ask how we can make the care crisis felt in people's wallets and among the people who make decisions. Feminist organisations and actors have diverse expertise and knowledge, but we are not using it as effectively as we could in this regard. We need to become more involved

with politicians, rather than just delegating the responsibility of decision-making to politicians.

To be successful in lobbying politicians, a crucial first step is to **change governments' views of social protection**. When the crisis hit, governments decided to rely on microeconomic policies, primarily increasing savings through various measures, as a way of stabilising their economies. When a government just saves money, however, it forgoes spending on social protection programmes. Because there was no other source for stabilisation, governments skimmed on long-term measures, and social supports are being cut.

It is important for us to understand issues such as these – to analyse the issues and also to understand different, even opposing, perspectives. This involves **arming ourselves with knowledge** about feminist analyses but also other viewpoints and potential solutions. Some helpful resources for this include the following:

- At global level DAWN has been working with the Women's Working Group for Financing for Development, monitoring negotiations in UN discussions in New York ([www.ffd.org](http://www.ffd.org) for more information).
- Analytical resources are available at [www.networkideas.org](http://www.networkideas.org), a group of economists and analysts from the global South.
- Some analysis of the G20 is being done by [www.brettonwoods.org](http://www.brettonwoods.org), also on what came out of the London meeting earlier this year.

(Durano)

### Monitoring the UN and G20

As feminists, we have a big responsibility to work together at a global level to contribute to the UN, and also to look at what kinds of decisions our governments are taking. We must call for **accountability from the UN and the G20**, by monitoring proceedings at upcoming UN meetings on the economic crisis. The decisions and treaties made by the G20 group are calling upon the World Bank and other parties to step in – but they are the groups that caused the crisis! We have to call for accountability from the G20 as well. One area we can be aware of and monitor relates to debt, which is one of the most serious global problems today. We need to ensure that political decisions at these meetings do not cause more debt. (Tallada Iglesia)

**The United Nations continues to be a natural ally for feminist organisations.** (Abou-Habib) For example, the President of the UN General Assembly organised a dinner to which he invited not only UN-based actors, but also Washington-based organisations that have dealt with World Bank policies in a critical way. He under-

stood that there is no way he could move this agenda forward without women's and other organisations. The bottom line is that we have to be involved. (Durano)

### Monitoring EU negotiations

The EU is another body which feminist organisations can monitor and with which we must engage. We can look at gender aspects of Country Strategy Papers (CSPs) within development cooperation and how EC delegations in developing countries are promoting (or failing to promote) gender and care within that process.

In addition to delegations, many feminist organisations have focused on the European Parliament, but perhaps a new strategy is needed. We should consider **working more at Member State level** and think more deeply about who our allies are. Recent EU elections have brought many far-right policy-makers into positions of power. Corporate lobbyists are also lobbying to block key progressive policies.

This was happening before, but now governments are legitimising the points raised by corporate lobbyists, using the financial crisis as justification. We need to be monitoring this within and outside the EU and take action directly to deal with new far-right members.

Regarding trade, the EU is currently discussing a number of regional and bilateral Free Trade Agreements (FTA). In these discussions, one of the issues is intellectual property rights. Women's activists should support the rights of poor women and men to such property – for example, in protecting the ownership and existence of local seed diversity. Once a private company 'owns' intellectual property related to, for example, care or medicine, it is difficult to regain ownership of it as a country or culture. This begs the question, what is the responsibility of consumers on issues which perpetuate inequality? When we buy a product, do we think about whether or not it is ethically traded or produced? This is particularly acute in terms of the relationship between women and food production. We need to ensure a level of ethical thinking among consumers in terms of equality. (Tallada Iglesia)

*"Regarding trade, the EU is currently discussing quite some regional and bilateral Free Trade Agreements (FTA). In these discussions, one of the issues is intellectual property rights. Women's activists should support the rights of poor women and men to such property, for example in protecting the ownership and existence of local seed diversity... This is particularly acute in terms of the relationship between women and food production. We need to ensure a level of ethical thinking among consumers in terms of equality."*

Tallada Iglesia

## Instruments and Entry Points for Change

There was a call for feminist organisations to take stock of the political spaces available to us and the political instruments and agreements we already have to hand. For example, can we go back to the **Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW)** and the **Beijing Platform for Action** and demand accountability in relation to care. Are there other instruments we already have which we can take to political actors and demand responsibility, such as the ILO's decent work standards? If we do not take stock of and utilise the spaces and instruments we already have available to us, we risk entering spaces and processes with completely different languages and visions, and policymakers and others may not listen. The UN and multilateral system could provide good leverage for our issues and entry points for talking about interlocked crises. (Harcourt)

Feminist organisations are now in a defensive situation, as we have to think about immediate reactions to the financial and economic crisis and at the same time envision and invent alternative economic systems. There are many entry points in the crisis for a gendered approach. For example, in Germany, there is a lot of public anger about the skyrocketing income and bonuses of managers while the wages of workers in Germany have increased marginally if at all during the recent boom period. It is common knowledge that care workers do not even get the meagre increase in income seen by other workers. Kindergarten workers, for instance, are on strike, and they are being supported by the public. These situations are entry points for bringing in our issues. Also, for the first time in Germany there is a proposal to include care jobs under the minimum wage law. It is obvious that all of a sudden

*“We can create a ‘policy suitcase’ – a toolkit filled with policy reform solutions that are actionable and backed up by financial measurements that matter to policymakers, such as care as a percentage of GDP.”*

Muñoz

there are billions of Euros available for state intervention and bailout programmes at the macro-economic level, but when it comes to social infrastructure and the care sector once again the state runs out of money. (Wichterich)

### Creating a ‘policy suitcase’

Finally, we can create a ‘policy suitcase’ – a toolkit filled with policy reform solutions that are actionable and backed up by

multinational companies millions of dollars to define indicators for them; it is time for feminist organisations to step into this role. We can deliver this suitcase to ministries of economic affairs, those dealing with trade policies, and others, as a direct way of influencing policies that can improve human well-being and address the care crisis in our countries and in development cooperation. (Muñoz)

### Wise women, young feminists

*Polly Trenow, GAD Network UK, and Kasia Staszewska, KARAT*

To wrap up the conference, two young feminists were asked to comment on their experiences and what they will take away from the three days. They both felt that, at the beginning of the conference, the meaning of ‘care work’ was unclear. But over the three days this has changed. They now see the crucial importance of broadening our work, and admit to the ambivalence that many feminists from the global North might feel, as educated and privileged women. Some young feminists, they suggested, have a sense of fear that when they become mothers, they will experience the inequality and injustices addressed at the conference, and experienced by women around the world. However, the voices of young feminists are often absent from feminist discourses – not because they are young, but because they are new to the issues, forums and movement.

Both commentators agreed that young feminists need to draw on the incredible knowledge of older women, in networks such as WIDE, and ask ‘what is our place in the feminist movement of the future?’



## ANNEX 1: Special Presentations

### Gender and Care in the Swiss Political context

*Key-note speaker: Silvia Schenker, Swiss Member of Parliament and Social Worker*

There are a number of issues around gender and care that have come up in the Swiss political arena.

For example, on the issue of body politics and reproductive rights, abortion has been put back on the political stage in recent years. There is a big discussion regarding whether state health insurance should cover abortion. Personally I think it is terrible that people are starting to question this service and making it necessary to go back to 'square one' in terms of arguing for women's right to abortion. Another body politics issue is female genital mutilation (FGM), which is punished under criminal law in Switzerland, although it remains a difficult issue to talk about politically.

On the issue of non-traditional lifestyles and families, I think Switzerland has moved forward, because we can now register civil partnerships, enabling same-sex couples to be legally recognised. We have not yet achieved the legalisation of adoption for same-sex couple, but this remains one of our objectives.

At parliamentary level, we are addressing the area of masculinities and care by pushing for paternity leave. Until now only maternity leave has been available, but we want to open this up for fathers. Our aim is to legislate for parental time off from work, giving both parents the opportunity to stay at home and look after children. We have also been looking at the issue of custodial laws after divorce, and considering whether, in the future, shared custody could be a good solution.

The issues related to people providing care for their

parents or children is now being looked at for the first time in Switzerland. This work is largely unpaid and undervalued; it is taken for granted by the state. There is a great need to create awareness about how much work is actually being done without which our society would not be able to function. Recently I heard the suggestion that people who retire make no contributions to community or society. However, statistics show that, particularly for the first few years after retirement, people contribute a lot of care for relatives, especially grandchildren. There is so much more to do in this area.

### Roundtable discussion: Conclusions of the UN Commission on the Status of Women (CSW) and their Implementation in Switzerland

A group of Swiss feminist scholars and activists met to discuss the feminist agenda for action based on the conclusions of the UN CSW. The following strategies were identified and will be taken forward:

1. The agreed conclusions that are part of CEDAW are hardly taken into consideration in Swiss legal practice. We should use the federalist system in Switzerland to implement the equality postulations (not only a top-down strategy).
2. The media and politics are the main agenda-setters in the Swiss system, but it is vital for feminist organisations to strengthen civil society and make the most of our direct democratic system which allows public votes (e.g. referenda).
3. Stimulus packages in response to the financial crisis are gender blind; so gender mainstreaming is urgently required in management of the crisis. The goal is to create gender-aware stimulus packages that benefit families (see Bakker, Seguino).



## ANNEX 2: Programme

WIDE Annual Conference 2009, June 18 – 20, Basel, Switzerland

### Thursday, June 18, 2009

Caring and social provisioning as a starting point for feminist analyses

[Moderation of the day: Franziska Müller and Bénédicte Allaert]

08.30 – 09.30 Registration

09.30 – 10.15 **Welcome addresses**

**Patricia Muñoz Cabrera**; WIDE Chair

**Lilian Fankhauser**, WIDE Switzerland

**Edita Vokral**, Assist Director General, Regional cooperation, SDC

**Ueli Mäder**, Institute of Sociology, University of Basel

10.15-11:00 **Interactive introduction**

Bénédicte Allaert and Franziska Müller

11.30 – 13.00 **Plenary Session 1: Key Findings of the UNRISD Study on Care Economy**

Speaker **Shahra Razavi**, Research Co-ordinator, UNRISD

Discussant **Kathleen Lynch** Chair of Equality Studies, University College Dublin,  
Affective equality: Care, equality and citizenship

Facilitator **Wendy Harcourt**, Editor of Development, WIDE activist and former WIDE chair

*[13.45-14.00: **Book Launch during lunch:** Kathleen Lynch (Editor): *Affective Equality. Love, Care and Injustice*, Palgrave Macmillan, London, June 2009]*

14:30-16:00 **Plenary Session 2: Comparative Presentation by UNRISD research contributors**

Speakers **Frances Lund**, Associate Professor, University of KwaZulu-Natal,  
Durban, UNRISD Country-level Research team South Africa

**Ito Peng**, Department of Sociology, University of Toronto, Country-  
level Research team South Korea

**Brigitte Schnegg**, Director of the Interdisciplinary Centre for Gender  
Studies (ICFG), University of Berne, Switzerland

Discussants **Jivka Marinova**, Gender Education, Research and Technologies  
Foundation – GERT, Bulgaria, Karat Board Member

**Lina Abou-Habib**, Director of CRTD-A, Collective for Research and  
Training on Development-Action, Lebanon

Facilitator **Emily Esplen**, Research and Communications Officer, BRIDGE

16:30-18:00 **Parallel Workshops**

**Workshop 1: Care Realities in Eastern Europe and CIS countries**

Organised and facilitated by Michaela Marksova Tominova from Karat and

Anna Zachorowska-Mazurkiewicz from the feminist Think Tank Poland, Czech Republic and Poland

**Workshop 2: Care Realities in Latin and Central America (in Spanish)**

Organised and facilitated by Mayra Moro Coco and Rocío Lleó from the  
WIDE Spanish platform CONGDE, Spain

**Workshop 3: Who talks about what? – Notions, Definitions, Concepts**

Facilitated by Ulrike Knobloch, Economist, WIDE Switzerland

**Workshop 4: Approaches to care from the feminist perspective of intersectionality**

Facilitated by Patricia Muñoz Cabrera, WIDE chair

**Workshop 5: Social and economic sciences: En route for a common theoretical framework**

Facilitated by Annemarie Sancar, Senior Gender Advisor SDC, WIDE Switzerland

19.00-21.00 **Feminist walk through Basel****Friday, June 19, 2009****Three Parallel Thematic Areas throughout the day:  
Paid Care Work, Food Chains and Body Politics**

[Moderation of the day: Lilian Frankhauser and Luisa Antolin]

9:00 – 10:00 **Introduction by Barbara Specht**, WIDE Advocacy Officer  
**Presentations by the respective facilitators on the thematic parallel areas****Breakout to one of the three thematic areas**

- Paid Care Work in the formal and informal sector
- Food Chains and Care
- Body Politics and Care Regimes

[13.15-13.45: during lunch Book Launches:

Wendy Harcourt: *Body Politics in Development. Critical debates in gender and development*, Zed Books, London, June 2009Isabella Bakker, Rachel Silvey (Ed.): *Beyond States and Markets. The Challenge of Social Reproduction*, Routledge, 2009]**Thematic Area 1: The Paid Formal and Informal Care Work**10.30 – 12.30 **Plenary Session  
Power Relations along the Care Chains**Speakers **Rhacel Salazar Parrenas**, Professor of Asian American Studies, University of California, USA**Karin Pape**, Economist, Regional Coordinator for Europe of WIEGO (Women in Informal Employment: Globalizing and Organizing), Global Labour Institute, SwitzerlandDiscussant **Helen Schwenken**, University of Kassel, "Globalization & Politics" at the Department for Social Sciences and Interdisciplinary Working Group on Women and Gender Studies, affiliated with RESPECTFacilitator **Silke Steinhilber**, Researcher and Consultant, Germany

14.00 – 15:30 **Parallel Workshops****Workshop 1: Transnational Migration and Care Chains**

Facilitated by Sarah Schilliger, Sociologist, WIDE Switzerland

**Workshop 2: Decent Work and the informal care sector**

Facilitated by Hella Hoppe Economist, Senior Economic Affairs Officer, Federation of Swiss Protestant Churches, Switzerland

**Thematic Area 2: Food Chains and Care**10.30 – 12.30 **Plenary Session: Women's Rights and the Right to Food**

- Speakers **Ana Tallada Iglesia**, REMTE – Red Mujeres Transformando la Economía, Peru  
**Tina Goethe**, Policy Advisor on Food Sovereignty at SWISSAID, WIDE Switzerland
- Discussants **Annemarie Sancar**, Senior Gender Advisor SDC  
**Ester Wolf**, FIAN and Bread for all, Right to Food, Switzerland
- Facilitator **Elisabeth Bürgi**, WIDE Switzerland, Research Fellow World Trade Institute, Specialist on the WTO Agreement on Agriculture and Sustainable Development specialised on Food Crises

14.00 – 15:30 **Parallel Workshops****Workshop 1: Linking Food Sovereignty to household nutrition security**

Facilitator: Heike Wach, Gender consultant, WIDE Switzerland

**Workshop 2: Trade liberalisation, agriculture and women's livelihoods**

Facilitator: Barbara Specht, Advocacy Officer, WIDE Secretariat, Brussels

**Thematic Area 3: Body Politics and Care Regimes**11:30– 12.30 **Plenary Session: Body politics, sexual rights and gender justice**

- Speakers **Wendy Harcourt**, Editor Development at the Society for International Development, former Chair of WIDE
- Discussants **Zeedah Meierhofer-Mangeli**, Akina wa Afrika, the Resource Center for Black Women in Zurich, Switzerland  
**Indyra Mendoza Aguilar**, Cattrachas, Honduras
- Facilitator **Sabin Bieri**, Social Geographer, ICGS, WIDE Switzerland

14.00 – 15:30 **Parallel Workshops****Workshop 1: (Re)productive rights**

Facilitator: Jivka Marinova, Karat Board Member and GERT, Bulgaria

**Workshop 2: Sexuality and Development**

Facilitator: Conchita Garcia, Network Facilitator WO=MEN, Dutch Gender Platform, The Netherlands

**Workshop/Atelier 3: Masculinités et care (en français)**

Organisation et animation: Marcela de la Peña Valdivia et Patrick Govers, Le Monde selon les femmes, Belgium

16:00-18:00 **Panel: Political Responses to the Care Crises**

Inputs	<b>Facilitators of the thematic areas</b>
Panellists	<b>Silvia Schenker</b> , Swiss Member of Parliament and Social Worker <b>Katherine Ronderos</b> , CAWN, UK
Facilitator	<b>Amanda Khozi Mukwashi</b> , WIDE board, Head of External Relations at Skillshare International, Master in International Economical Law

19:00-23:00 **Conference Party with the Tritonus Ensemble**

## Saturday, June 20, 2009

### The Global Financial and Economical Crisis and their Effects on the Provision of and Access to Care

[Moderation of the day: Tina Goethe and Barbara Specht]

9:00-11:00 **Plenary Session 1\***  
**The Global Financial Crises: what Impacts does it have on Care Crises?**

Speakers	<b>Isabella Bakker</b> , York University, USA <b>Stephanie Seguino</b> , Professor of Economics, University of Vermont, USA <b>Marina Durano</b> , DAWN, the Philipines
Discussants	<b>Ewa Charkiewicz</b> , Feminist Think Tank, Poland <b>Hassania Chalbi-Drissi</b> , Member of the Executive Board FEMNET and IGTN-Africa, Tunisia
Facilitator	<b>Christa Wichterich</b> , Sociologist, Publicist and Gender Consultant
	* In collaboration with Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung

11:30 – 13.00 **Parallel Workshops**

Workshop 1: **The financial Crises and its implications to care: Sharing experiences and planning common action**

Facilitated by Silke Steinhilber, Researcher and Consultant, Germany

Workshop 2: **State Budget, public expenditure, fiscal policies, and aid policies**

Facilitated by Ulrike Knobloch and Helle Hoppe, Economists, Switzerland

Workshop 3: **Labor Market, Unemployment and Lay offs, informal economy**

Organised and facilitated by Anja Franck, GADIP, Sweden

Workshop 4: **Transnational Migration and Remittances**

Organised and facilitated by Annemarie Sancar, SDC, Switzerland

Workshop 5: **The conference contributions through the lens of the "5-sector model of economy"**

Organised and facilitated by Eva Klawatsch-Treitl from the WIDE-Network Austria

**Roundtable: Die Beschlüsse der UN-Frauenkommission zu Care und ihre Umsetzung in der Schweiz (in German)**

*Milena Michajlovic, Gender Advisor SDC und Brigitte Schnegg, Leiterin IZFG – beide Mitglieder der CH-Delegation 2009, Kathrin Arioli, Leiterin der Kantonalen Gleichstellungsstelle, Zürich, Stella Jegher, Amnesty Schweiz und Frauenrat für Aussenpolitik*

**14:30 – 16:30 Plenary Session 2: How do we want to care?**

Panellists: **Ana Tallada Iglesia**, REMTE, Peru  
**Christa Wichterich**, Publicist and Gender Consultant, Germany  
**Julia Kubisa**, MaMa Foundation, Feminist Think Tank, Poland  
**Lina Abu-Habib**, CRTD-A, Lebanon  
**Marina Durano**, DAWN, the Philippines  
**Hassania Chalbi-Drissi**, FEMNET, International Gender and Trade Network (IGTN), Tunisia

Facilitator **Anja Franck**, WIDE board

**16:30-17:00 Young WISE Women's Reflections on the Conference**  
**Closing words - Vote of thanks**

WIDE International: Patricia Muñoz Cabrera

WIDE Switzerland: Hella Hoppe

Young Wise women: Polly Trenow, GAD Network UK and Kasia Staszewska, KARAT



## ANNEX 3: Speakers and facilitators' biographies

### Lina ABOU-HABIB

Lina Abou-Habib is the Executive Director of the Collective for Research and Training on Development-Action ([www.crt-da.org.lb](http://www.crt-da.org.lb)) based in Beirut and working in the Arab region. She has collaborated in designing and managing programmes in the Middle East and North Africa region on issues related to Gender and Citizenship, Gender, Economy and Trade, and Gender and Leadership. Lina has collaborated with a number of regional and international agencies (including KIT, UNIFEM, ILO, ESCWA, UNDP, UNRWA) as well as public institutions (including national women's commissions, ministries of social affairs) in mainstreaming gender in development policies and practices and in building capacities for gender mainstreaming. She has also trained with KIT in Amsterdam, Paris, Senegal and Beirut. Prior to that, Lina was the Programme Coordinator for Oxfam GB in Lebanon as well as a member of the Oxfam GB Gender Team in the UK. She is also a Programme Adviser for the Women Learning Partnership and the Global Fund for Women and is serving on the AWID Board of Directors as the Secretary.

### Indyra Mendoza AGUILAR

Indyra Mendoza Aguilar holds a BSc in Economics from the National Autonomous University of Honduras, and is a post-graduate in International Macroeconomics and Gender. She studied Gender and Public Politics at FLASCO (The Latin American Faculty of Social Sciences) in Chile. She is currently doing an MBA (Master of Business Administration), at the UNICAH, the Catholic University of Honduras. She has conducted research on HIV/AIDS, femicide, sexual and reproductive rights, and religious fundamentalists. She is also a social market researcher, an archivist, and a human rights defender. Currently, she is member of the Monitoring Committee of the National Women's Institute, and coordinator of Lesbian Network 'Cattrachas'. Past activities include: speaker in World Social Forums, Latin-American social forums, the international Congress Women's Worlds, global and regional conferences on HIV/AIDS and national conferences. Former memberships include: national delegate to Cairo+15, member of the MCP of the World Fund, researcher in the national CEDAW report. She is also a numismatist.

### Isabella BAKKER

Isabella Bakker is a Professor of Political Science and Political Economy at York University, Toronto, Canada. Her most recent books are: *Where are the Women? Gender Equity, Budgets and Canadian Policy Making* (with Janine Brodie, 2008, Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives) and *Beyond States and Markets: The Challenges of Social Reproduction* (with Rachel Silvey, 2008, Routledge). She has worked extensively on gender, macroeconomics and the care economy with Status of Women Canada (*Unpaid Work and Macroeconomics: New Policies New Tools*, 1997), the United Nations and the Asian-Pacific Economic Cooperation on the project on Linkages Between Paid and Unpaid Work in Human Resource Policy.

### Sabin BIERI

Sabin Bieri is as a Senior Researcher at the Interdisciplinary Centre for Gender Studies, University of Berne, Switzerland. Her work involves research, training and consulting in the field of gender and development. This includes mandates for the Swiss Development Agency SDC as well as for the National Centre of Competence in Research NCCR North-South. She was an adviser in the international research programme on the political and social economy of care which was headed by the United Nations Research Institute for Social Development UNRISD. She coordinated the 2008 ICFG public lecture on care entitled 'Who cares? – Nannies, nurses and nightshifts'. Her further research interests and teaching encompass gender and sustainable development, social movements, globalisation, gender and postcolonial theories, ethnography and qualitative research methods.

In her PhD thesis she analysed urban social movements in Switzerland during the 80s and 90s. She was awarded a scholarship by the graduate school 'Shifting Gender Cultures' of the Universities of Berne and Fribourg. A geographer and historian by training, her Master's thesis on gender approaches in development involved a study on herding and household strategies in the Andean highlands of Bolivia.

### Elisabeth BÜRGI BONANOMI

Elisabeth Bürgi Bonanomi, has a Bachelor's degree in History and a Master's in Law. After the bar exam, she has been working for the Swiss Government for several years, mainly in the field of agricultural, natural and labour law. Later, she has been in charge of a trade and human rights project at the World Trade Institute at the University of Berne (see Thomas Cottier, Joost Pauwelyn, Elisabeth Bürgi (2005) *Human Rights and International Trade*, Oxford, New York: OUP), and several trade consulting projects.

Currently she is working on a three-year research project on 'The Concept of Sustainable Development applied to the WTO Agreement on Agriculture'. The basic research question is how the Agreement on Agriculture would have to look if social, environmental, economic and future concerns were all equally taken into account. For this, Elisabeth Bürgi has developed – based on the concept of sustainable development – a framework for decision-making in trade. Gender relations, and the ratio of paid and unpaid work, are significantly influenced by trade regulations. Hence it is pivotal to base the system upon the right objectives and shape it accordingly. Elisabeth Bürgi is the mother of a three-year-old son and a one-year-old daughter.

### Hassania CHALBI-DRISSI

Dr. Hassania CHALBI-DRISSI, Moroccan economist and sociologist, has been adviser to the Moroccan Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Cooperation (Economy department), expert for the Permanent Consultative Committee of the Maghreb and university lecturer-researcher. At present, she is a consultant for international organisations, specialised in gender. Author of several writings, she has published books such as *Arab women and decision-making*, *Arab-Muslim feminism*, *Woman, environment, development*, *Female elite in Maghreb* and *When the women say justice first!*. She is the founder of Maghreb Associations for Promoting Female Enterprises, founding member of several other organisations including IGTN (International Gender and Trade Network), where she is coordinator of the African region (IGTN-Africa) at present. She is also active in Third World Forum, World Forum for Alternatives and Vice-President of FEMNET (representing North Africa).

### Ewa CHARKIEWICZ

Ewa Charkiewicz is an academic researcher and activist with an interest in critical globalisation studies

and in feminism and ecology as new social critiques. She worked with the Institute of Social Studies in The Hague, coordinated the World Bank External Gender Consultative Group, and worked with DAWN as its research coordinator on sustainable livelihoods. Ewa also held a Rockefeller fellowship on engendering human security at the National Research Council on Women in New York. Since 2005, Ewa has been involved with the Feminist Think Tank in Poland. Her publications include co-authored books and reports. She is now writing a new book on feminist Foucauldian analytic of transition 'from plan to market'.

### Marina DURANO

Marina Durano is a Coordinator for DAWN's research theme on the political economy of globalisation. She has been working on gender issues in financing for development over the past year and a half. Previously, she worked with the International Gender and Trade Network-Asia, writing on gender issues in international trade policy and the WTO negotiations. She was a programme specialist in UNIFEM, a fellow of the GEM-IWG Gender and Macroeconomics Summer School, a fellow of the Ronald Coase Summer Workshop on Institutional Analysis, and a visiting researcher at the Institute for Developing Economies in Tokyo. She has a PhD in Economics from the University of Manchester in the UK.

### Emily ESPLEN

Emily Esplen is a Researcher at BRIDGE. She has worked on a range on gender and development issues, focusing particularly on sexual and reproductive health and rights, HIV and AIDS, men and masculinities, and most recently, gender and care. She is the author of the new BRIDGE Cutting Edge Pack on Gender and Care.

Anja K. FRANCK

Anja K. Franck, board member of WIDE, Economic Geography at the Department of Human and Economic Geography at the University of Gothenburg – Sweden. With a degree in Development Studies, Asian Studies and Economic Geography from the University of Gothenburg, Sweden, Anja is currently teaching and writing a PhD in Economic Geography at the Department of Human and Economic Geography at the University of Gothenburg. The focus of the PhD is on EU trade relations with ASEAN and its gendered implications. She has a history in both parliamentary politics and within development and aid NGOs in Sweden.

Other activities she has undertaken for WIDE include being part of the working group preparing the new

WIDE Statutes, moderator of the WIDE consultation 'EU Bilateral and Regional Free Trade Agreements: Bringing Women to the Centre of the Debate' (2007) and author of the WIDE paper *Feminist Concerns Regarding Core Labor Standards, Decent Work and Corporate Social Responsibility* (2008).

### **Conchita GARCIA**

Conchita Garcia is the Network Facilitator at WO=MEN, the Dutch Gender Platform (member of WIDE). She holds a BSc in Sustainable Tourism Development and an MSc in Rural Development Sociology, from Wageningen University in the Netherlands, where she graduated with honours. For her thesis she worked with Somali refugees in Yemen. She conducted research on gender issues in different areas, including diaspora, transnational migration and marriages, gender and water rights, and female genital mutilation (FGM). She currently works with migrant women on issues such as integration and women's empowerment. She has been active in women's rights for a number of years and is involved in human rights issues in the Netherlands through a Dutch platform of NGOs for human rights. She has her own foundation, through which she supports local NGOs in setting up small-scale projects in developing countries.

### **Tina GOETHE**

Tina Goethe works as a Policy Advisor for Food Sovereignty at SWISSAID, the Swiss Foundation for Development Cooperation. Trained as a sociologist, she holds an MAS in Development Cooperation. She is engaged in information and advocacy work around the political aspects of food and agriculture in a development context.

### **Patrick GOVERS**

Patrick Govers has a Bachelor's degree in Contemporary History and a Master's in Social Anthropology from the Universidad Autónoma de Barcelona. The subject of his Master's thesis was 'The gender relations in a Nicaraguan popular suburb'. Since 2000 Patrick has been working as a researcher for a Belgian NGO. He has undertaken several investigations – an action project about female migrants (in collaboration with *Le Monde selon les femmes*) and fatherhood (how to involve men in care). He also runs trainings on masculinities and fatherhood for *Le Monde selon les femmes*.

### **Luise GUBITZER**

Luise Gubitzer is an economist. She is Professor and Head of the Institute of Institutional and Heterodox Economics at the University of Economics and Business Administration in Vienna, Austria. Her focus of research is Feminist Political Economics on the basis of the Five-Sector Model of the Economy, Gender Budgeting and Development Economics. She is a member of Joan Robinson-Verein zur Förderung frauen-gerechter Verteilung ökonomischen Wissens, a network within WIDE Austria.

### **Wendy HARCOURT**

Since 1988 Dr. Wendy Harcourt has been Editor of the quarterly journal *Development* on behalf of the Society for International Development (SID), an international development NGO based in Rome, Italy. She has a PhD from the Australian National University (1987) and is a member of Clare Hall, University of Cambridge, and Visiting Professor of the European University Institute. She has just completed her fifth book, *Body Politics in Development* (2009) published by Zed Books, London, and is now series editor of the Zed Book Series on Gender and Environment.

She writes widely in the field of gender and development, leading several research and policy programmes for SID, UN and international and European NGOs on globalisation, alternative economics and gender, reproductive rights and health, culture and communications. As well as her contributions to academic writing and research, she is active in European and international women's networks. She is former Chair of WIDE and now Convenor of the Alternative Feminist working group where she is preparing a Herstory of WIDE for its 25th anniversary in 2010. She is also leading SID's work on 'Responding to the Care Crises'.

### **Hella HOPPE**

Dr. Hella Hoppe holds a PhD in Economics and has specialised in Political Economy, Feminist Economics and Gender Research. She currently works as a Senior Economic Affairs Officer with the Institute for Theology and Ethics (ITE) at the Federation of Swiss Protestant Churches (SEK-FEPS) in Berne, Switzerland. In 2003 and 2004 Hella was Visiting Researcher at the UN liaison office of the FES in New York and Scholar of the Fulbright New Century Scholars Program. Prior to that, she worked in research capacities at the University of Münster and with the German Parliament High-Level Commission on Globalisation of the World Economy.

### **Amanda KHOZI MUKWASHI**

Amanda is a development professional with over 15 years experience of leading international development programmes in both the inter-governmental and voluntary sectors in Africa and the UK. She possesses strong leadership, strategic planning, programme and organisational development skills. Areas of expertise include policy development, transformational leadership, gender justice and building a broader constituency base for development in Europe and Africa through civil society.

She is currently Head of External Relations at Skillshare International, an international volunteering and development organisation. In the past she has been Acting Projects Manager and Training and Capacity Building Officer at OSABA Women's Centre, Coventry, UK (a charity that works for the rights of black women), Assistant National Project Coordinator for UNFPA/Department of Gender in Development at the Cabinet Office, Lusaka, Zambia, and Women in Development Coordinator for COMESA (Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa), Lusaka, Zambia. She holds a Master of Law (LLM) degree in International Economical Law (1996–1997) from the University of Warwick, UK, and a Bachelor of Law (LLB) degree (1987–1991) from the University of Zambia, Lusaka, Zambia.

### **Eva KLAWATSCH-TREITL**

Eva Klawatsch-Treitl Studied Business Education at the Vienna University of Economics and Business Administration. The current focus of her approach for adult education is economic literacy with a focus to global economy and development. Eva has working experience with Austrian development NGOs and networks. She is member of the board of WIDE-Austria and coordinator of the working group 'Women and Economy' (Joan Robinson). She is Lecturer at the University of Applied Sciences for Social Work (FH-Campus-Wien).

### **Ulrike KNOBLOCH**

Ulrike Knobloch holds a PhD in Economics and Philosophy from the University of St. Gallen, Switzerland, and has 15 years of experience in the research field Gender, Economics and Ethics. Currently she is Researcher and Lecturer in Gender Studies as well as in Ethics and Economics at the Universities of Fribourg and St. Gallen, Switzerland. She is co-founder and member of the Women's Network Caring Economy

and of IAFFE Europe and co-edits the book series *Lifeworld Economy*.

### **Julia KUBISA**

Julia Kubisa graduated in Sociology in 2004 from the Institute of Sociology, Warsaw University, and started PhD studies. She is interested in sociology of organisation and gender and industrial relations and family policy models in Poland. Her PhD thesis focuses on women's activity in trade unions in Poland, focusing on women in the health care sector. Julia participated in research projects concerning trade unions policies and practices. In 2006 – 2009 she worked at the European Commission FP6 project: 'Privatisation of Public Services and the Impact on Quality, Employment and Productivity' (PIQUE) which involves trade unions. She is currently working on two projects coordinated by the Working Lives Research Institute (London Metropolitan University) about trade unions' and employers' policies and practices on different forms of discrimination. Julia teaches Sociology of Organisation and Gender and Work Issues at the Institute of Sociology, Warsaw University. She has published articles on trade unions policy on sexual harassment and feminist perspective in industrial relations. Julia took part in editing *White City Courier* – a free bulletin of Polish Trade Union Of Nurses and Midwives published during their White City protest in Warsaw in June–July 2007.

In 2006 Julia founded with Anna Pietruszka Drozd and Sylwia Chutnik the Foundation MaMa [www.fundacjamama.pl](http://www.fundacjamama.pl) – a feminist NGO focusing on problems of young mothers in public life in Poland. In 2008 Julia joined a Polish Feminist Think Tank. In cooperation with Ewa Charkiewicz she started 2009 a project on gender and care in health sector reform.

### **Rocío LLEÓ FERNÁNDEZ**

Rocío Lleó Fernández is a feminist, sociologist and gender and development expert from Madrid, Spain. She has been working with ACSUR Las Segovias since January 2007 on gender topics, mostly in the area of gender and development education and sensibilisation of the different Spanish society groups through seminars, courses, debates, publications, campaigns etc. She is additionally engaged as feminist activist in a local group called Tejedoras.

### **Francie LUND**

Francie Lund coordinates the Social Protection

Programme of the global research and advocacy network, WIEGO – Women in Informal Employment: Globalizing and Organizing ([www.wiego.org](http://www.wiego.org)). A strong research interest for a number of years has been the shifting boundaries between the state and the private sector in social provision, and the implications this has for women's caring work and labour market participation. She is also Senior Research Associate at the School of Development Studies at the University of KwaZulu-Natal, in Durban, where she taught the Social Policy course. She is particularly interested in the interaction of quantitative and qualitative research methods in exploring what really goes on in households, and in how people report on the informal work that they do.

She has been involved in the current UNRISD research programme, *The Political Economy of Paid and Unpaid Care Work*, working on the South African country research with fellow South African Debbie Budlender. She was closely involved with health and welfare policy reform in the transition from apartheid to democratic rule in South Africa. Soon after the 1994 elections she was asked to chair the Committee of Enquiry into Child and Family Support ('the Lund Committee'), which resulted in the introduction in 1998 of a cash grant to young children in poor households.

### **Kathleen LYNCH**

Kathleen Lynch is the Professor of Equality Studies at University College Dublin, where she also holds a Senior Lectureship in Education. She is deeply committed to equality and social justice, and to feminism in both theory and practice. Her work is guided by the belief that the purpose of scholarship is not just to understand the world but to change it for the good of all humanity. She has been both an activist and academic all her life.

She has published widely in the fields of equality, sociology and education. Her recent books include *Equality: From Theory to Action* (2004) co-authored with J. Baker, S. Cantillon and J. Walsh, and *Equality and Power in Schools* (2002) co-authored with Anne Lodge. She has focused especially on the issue of equality and care in her recent work and has published a number of papers in that field, including papers on the relationship between care and education and the gendered order of caring. Her most recent book (with her colleagues John Baker and Maureen Lyons) is titled *Affective Equality: Love, Care and Injustice* (2009) London: Palgrave Macmillan.

### **Jivka MARINOVA**

Jivka Marinova is the founder and present Executive Director of the Bulgarian NGO Gender Education, Research and Technologies (GERT). She has an engineering background and has been working for 15 years in the field of information analysis and communications. She joined civil society in 1998 and began working on women's rights, specifically on the issue of violence against women. Her work is focused mainly on raising the awareness of society on the existing issues and inequalities faced by women and children, such as violence, trafficking, and sexual exploitation, as well as the digital divide, economic discrimination on the basis of gender, ethnicity, and age. Jivka is the author of the Bulgarian report *Gender assessment of the impact of EU accession on the economic status of women*, published in 2003 within a UNIFEM-funded KARAT project. She is the author as well of the national midterm MDGs report on Goal 3, published in 2008. Researcher and committed activist for women's human rights, she was involved in UN ICPD+ and Beijing+ processes. She is also a member of international women's networks KARAT, ASTRA, APC/WNSP and WIDE.

### **Michaela MARKSOVÁ-TOMINOVÁ**

Michaela Marksová-Tominová works as a Head of Department of Equal Opportunities in Education at the Ministry of Education, Youth and Sport. She worked as a Head of Department of Family Policy and Equal Opportunities at the Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs of the Czech Republic 2004–2007. In 1997–2004 she worked as a Managing Director in Gender Studies (NGO) in Prague – an information, education and advocacy centre on gender issues and women's rights, which possesses the biggest library on these issues in the Czech Republic. She is a member of the Governmental Council of Equal Opportunities of Women and Men. She worked as an external advisor on equal opportunities for the Minister of Labour and Social Affairs in 2000–2002 and as a gender focal point (part-time) at the Office of the Government of the Czech Republic in 2002–2004. She is Chairwoman of the Association of Equal Opportunities, which unites about 15 Czech women's organisations founded after 1989, and board member of KARAT Coalition. She writes articles and comments for printed media, and appears in TV and radio.

### **Mayra MORO-COCO**

Mayra Moro-Coco is Policy and Advocacy Officer at Ayuda en Acción. She is a PhD candidate in Political



Science at the University of Montreal (Canada) and holds a Master's in International Relations from the Autonomia University (Madrid). Her education has been completed at the London School of Economics (London), Columbia University (NY) and NYU (NY) in International Relations and Political Science. As a researcher, feminist activist and consultant on international NGOs and at the UN, her career has focused on women's human rights, gender and development, sexual and reproductive health and rights, conflict and violence against women. She also has published in several academic reviews and has lectured on the political economy of African wars and power relations on African conflicts in English, French and Spanish.

### **Patricia MUÑOZ CABRERA**

Patricia Muñoz Cabrera has been collaborating with WIDE since 1997 as strategic and policy adviser on gender, trade and sustainable development issues. Amongst other activities, she participated in the project EU–LA Trade Agreements and worked as advocacy support in particular following up on SIAS (Sustainable Impact Assessments) of Trade Agreements. Between 2002 and 2004 she joined the WIDE board as Treasurer.

She began working in the field of development co-operation in 1995, with specific focus on sustainable livelihoods, agriculture and food security/sovereignty. Between 1994 and 2000, she also had the opportunity to work on policy analysis related to debt and World Bank poverty reduction policies. Between 1997 and 2003 she worked for Oxfam Belgium and Netherlands (NOVIB) as programme manager for Central America and the Caribbean. She just submitted her PhD at the Free University of Brussels, Belgium. Her main area of research is theories of empowerment and their link with emancipatory narratives. She has chosen the experience of US black women writers and feminists as a case study.

Examining pathways to women's empowerment and their capacity to influence decision-making, which has a direct impact in their livelihoods, has been a major concern throughout her life, both personally and professionally. With this idea in mind, it is with enthusiasm and commitment that she is applying to become a Board member. She sees her role as contributing to WIDE's ongoing process of analytical thinking. Importantly, she also sees herself as contributing to the enhancement of WIDE's strategic vision and planning, as well as to supporting WIDE's process of institutional development.

### **Karin PAPE**

Karin Pape is the Regional Coordinator for Europe of WIEGO. She has been a works council member at Jacobs Kaffee (now Kraft Foods) in Bremen, Germany and an activist in the German Food and Allied Workers' Union (NGG) for many years. She is an economist by profession. Since 2002 she has been working on informal and precarious employment at the Global Labour Institute (Switzerland) with a special focus on home-based work. Previously she worked as an international consultant on industrial relations and informal workers' projects in Russia, Germany and South East Asia.

### **Rhacel Salazar PARREÑAS**

Professor Rhacel Salazar Parreñas is Professor of American Civilization and Sociology at Brown University. Professor Parreñas is known for her work on women's labour and migration, speaking on this topic to audiences throughout the United States, Asia, and Europe. She is the author of *Servants of Globalization: Women, Migration, and Domestic Work*, and numerous other books and articles. Her research fields include gender and feminist studies, the family, migration, international development, and labour.

### **Ito PENG**

Dr. Ito Peng is a Professor at the Department of Sociology and the School of Public Policy and Governance, University of Toronto. She is also currently the Director of the Dr. David Chu Program in Asia Pacific Studies at the Munk Centre for International Studies at the University of Toronto. She teaches Political Sociology, and Comparative Social and Health Policy, specialising in gender policies and East Asian welfare states. She has written extensively on gender and welfare states in Japan and Korea, and political economy of social policy reforms in East Asia. Her current research includes: 1) UNRISD project on political and social economy of care, which looks at the changes in the nature of paid and unpaid work and care and their implications for gender equality; 2) SSHRC-funded project comparing social investment policies in Canada, Australia, Japan, and South Korea; and 3) an international comparative research project with Kyoto University on changing public and intimate spheres, which examines changes in family and gender relations, intra-regional care migration, and social policies in Asia. Ito is an Associate Researcher for the UNRISD and a Research Fellow at the Ontario Ministry of Health and Long-Term Care. She received her PhD from the London School of Economics.

### Shahrashoub RAZAVI

Dr. Shakra Razavi is Research Co-ordinator at the United Nations Research Institute for Social Development (UNRISD), where she oversees the Institute's Programme on Gender and Development. She began her collaboration with UNRISD in 1993, after completing her Doctorate at Oxford University.

She has conceptualised and coordinated global comparative research projects in a number of areas, including on Agrarian Change, Gender and Land Rights; Globalisation, Export-Oriented Employment for Women and Social Policy; and Gender Justice, Development and Rights; Gender and Social Policy; and The Political and Social Economy of Care. In 2004–5, she coordinated the preparation of a UNRISD flagship report, *Gender Equality: Striving for Justice in an Unequal World*, which was the Institute's contribution to the Beijing +10 process.

### Annemarie SANCAR

Dr Annemarie Sancar holds a PhD in social anthropology on Ethnicity. She worked in the field of ethnic identities among refugees and did research on different topics around migration and 'integration' of immigrants. She coordinated a study about the situation of immigrant women in the canton of Berne with recommendations for policymakers and the administration, and used to work in the feminist NGO CFD as an expert in critical communication, deconstructing discursive practices around topics like immigrant women, Muslim culture, racist and sexist forms of explaining exclusion etc. She was an elected member of the city council of Berne for the Green Union party. For the last six years Annemarie has been Senior Gender Adviser for SDC (Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation) with a main focus on rural development, access to assets and questions of care economy, time use and women's employment.

### Sarah SCHILLIGER

Sarah Schilliger holds an MA in Political Sciences and Sociology from the University of Zurich and has been teaching and researching since 2006 as a Scientific Assistant at the Institute of Sociology, University of Basel. She is particularly interested in precarious labour and migration. Her current research focuses on migrant care workers from Eastern Europe to private households in Switzerland, especially in private elderly care. She works closely with migrants' organisations, women's movements and trade unions at the local and

national level. Sarah is part of the board of WIDE Switzerland and is an active member of ATTAC.

### Helen SCHWENKEN

r. Helen Schwenken holds a PhD in Social Sciences and works at the University of Kassel, Germany. Her research interests lie in the field of labour migration, feminist theory and gender studies. In her book *Without rights, but not without a voice* she analysed political mobilisations of undocumented migrants, among them domestic and care workers. She teaches at the Global Labour University a global Master's programme for trade unionists and is affiliated with the RESPECT network Europe of and for migrant domestic workers, a network bringing together domestic workers groups, migrants' organisations, academics, trade unionists and NGOs. In the German Association for Political Science she is a co-speaker of the research committee on gender and politics.

### Brigitte SCHNEGG

Dr. Brigitte Schnegg holds a PhD in History and an MA in History and French Literature from the University of Berne. Since 2001 she has been Director of the Interdisciplinary Centre for Gender Studies of the University of Berne and member of the Academic Board of the Graduate School 'Gender: Scripts and Prescripts'. She teaches theory of Gender Studies at the University of Bern. She is responsible for a current research project on 'Welfare, Marginality and Gender. Social Work in late 19th and 20th century Switzerland' and for the country study on Switzerland within the UNRISD Study on Care Economy. She is Associate Professor for History at the Department for Social Work of University for Applied Sciences of Berne and held numerous teaching positions in History and Gender History at several Swiss universities during the last two decades. In 2009 she was a member of the Swiss Delegation at the Commission on the Status of Women (CSW) in New York on 'Equal Sharing of Responsibilities between Women and Men, including Care-Giving in the Context of HIV/AIDS'.

### Stephanie SEGUINO

Stephanie Seguino is Professor of Economics at the University of Vermont, USA. Her research explores the macroeconomic relationship between inequality, growth, and development. Recent work develops a unified framework for understanding the macroeconomic role of race and gender inequality; explores the differ-

ential unemployment effects of contractionary monetary policy on women and ethnic subaltern groups; and considers the relationship between gender and macro-economic outcomes in countries with balance of payment constraints to growth. For the past two years, she has taught in the African Programme on Rethinking Development Economics (APORDE), a training programme in development economics for policymakers, researchers and civil society representatives from Africa and other developing countries.

### **Barbara SPECHT**

Barbara Specht holds a Master's degree in Political Science and has been working since 2001 for the Brussels-based women's network WIDE, a European network on gender, trade and development issues. As Advocacy and Information Officer, her current focus of work lies on the relationship and links between gender and trade.

### **Silke STEINHILBER**

Silke Steinhilber has worked as a researcher, consultant and trainer on gender equality in employment and social policies in Central and Eastern Europe and the European Union since 1999. She has worked for international organisations such as the International Labour Organization, the Council of Europe, UN/ECE, as well as trade unions and women's organisations in Europe – among them KARAT Coalition and WIDE. A feminist political scientist by training, she has mainly addressed gender and social security reforms, gender and the labor market, and gender mainstreaming in social inclusion policy. Her dissertation at the New School for Social Research in New York is on family policy reforms in Poland and the Czech Republic. She has two daughters, four and one years old, and lives in Berlin, Germany.

### **Ana TALLADA**

Ana Tallada, sociologist and feminist, has worked for over 25 years with women's organisations; she has a diploma in Populations and Development. She has a large experience in directing and managing NGOs, in national civil society networks, creating dialogue spaces between the state and civil society actors and articulating networks at an international level. She is currently in charge of the coordination of two projects: 'Small urban and rural women's producers and trade liberalisation' and 'Women producers and leaders of social organizations: A proposal for economic and social action'.

She represents civil society organisations from Peru in the Hemispheric Council of the Social Forum of the Americas. She is part of the Committee of National Conference for Social Development (CONADES). Ana has done extensive research on inequality, gender, and care economy and market liberalisation. She is author and co-author of the following publications: *Women from the fields and the City: Actors of Development*, *Domestic violence: new millennium and old pains*, *Women's exclusion as an invisible sign of poverty in Poverty & Development in Peru*.

### **Heike WACH**

Heike Wach currently works as a freelance gender consultant with a thematic focus on fair trade and sustainable production. After a training as a nurse she completed a degree in Nutrition and Home Economics with a specialisation in world food politics, followed by an MA in Gender and Development at the Institute of Development Studies (IDS) at the University of Sussex, UK. She has worked in Benin, West Africa, for three years and is now based in Switzerland, where she has been involved in the foundation of WIDE Switzerland. She co-manages care for two sons aged four and six years.

### **Christa WICHTERICH**

Christa Wichterich holds a PhD in Sociology, is a patchwork economist in the informal sector and a caretaker of her elderly mother. She works as a freelance journalist, author of books, guest lecturer at universities and consultant in development cooperation. She spent some years as lecturer at universities in India and Iran, and as foreign correspondent in Kenya. As researcher and author, her main topics are economy and women's work, ecology, women's movements and international women's policies, globalisation and gender. Starting with the Third World Women's Conference in Nairobi, she got involved in the NGO side in the sequence of UN and WTO conferences. She is a member of the academic council of attac, Germany, and of WIDE.

### **Ester WOLF**

Ester Wolf is currently working as Policy Adviser on the right to food at Bread for all, the Swiss Protestant Churches' development agency. Until 2007, she was working as Programme Coordinator for the Swiss section of the international human rights organisation FIAN in Geneva. She is member of the board of FIAN Switzerland and board member of the Ecumenical

Advocacy Alliance (EAA) and its food strategy group. Former activities: consultant at the Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights, consultant at the Ecumenical Water Network, intern at the gender desk of FIAN International in Heidelberg. Examples of publications: Renate Schüssler, Ester Wolf, Mylene Saluta, Human Rights primer, Rural women and the right to food in the Philippines, FIAN Philippines, Quezon City, April 2006; Maike Gorsboth, Ester Wolf, Identifying and Addressing Violations of the Human Right to Water, Applying the Human Rights Approach, 2nd revised and updated edition: 2008, FIAN International and Bread for the World; Ester Wolf, Miges Baumann, Solutions pour sortir de la crise alimentaire, Collection Repères 2/2008, Pain pour le prochain et Action de Carême.

### **Anna ZACHOROWSKA-MAZURKIEWICZ**

Dr. Anna Zachorowska-Mazurkiewicz is a member of Feminist Think Tank, a Polish foundation that aims to enhance the impact of women by developing action-oriented research and analysis, courses, workshops and seminars. She is also an Assistant Professor at the Institute of Economics and Management, Faculty of Management and Social Communication at Jagiellonian University in Krakow, Poland. She holds a PhD in Economics. Her research interests focus on institutional and feminist economics. She has written about the economic situation of women in the EU and transition economies, especially Poland, social and economic inequalities, as well as women and globalisation and economic integration. She was a fellow of the GEM-IWG Gender and Macroeconomics Summer School.









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