



CARE and the Latin America Domestic Workers' Movement



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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

ASTRADOMES - *Asociación de Trabajadoras Domésticas* (Association of Domestic Workers) (Costa Rica)

ATRH - *Asociación de Trabajadoras Remuneradas del Hogar* (Association of Paid Domestic Workers) (Ecuador)

CARE LAC – CARE in Latin America and the Caribbean

CARE UK – CARE International UK (United Kingdom)

CCTH - *Centro de Capacitación de las Trabajadoras del Hogar* (Domestic Workers' Capacitation Center) (Peru)

CEM-H - *Centro de Estudios de la Mujer - Honduras* (Center for Women's Studies - Honduras)

CONLACTRAHO - *Confederación Latinoamericana y del Caribe de Trabajadoras del Hogar* (Latin American Federation of Domestic Workers)

CONAPRED - *Consejo Nacional para Prevenir la Discriminación* (National Council to Prevent Discrimination) (Mexico)

FENATRAD - *Federacao Nacional do Trabalhadoras Domesticas* (National Federation of Domestic Workers) (Brasil)

FENATRAHOB - *Federación Nacional de Trabajadoras del Hogar de Bolivia* (National Federation of Domestic Workers of Bolivia)

IDWF - International Domestic Workers Federation (*Federación Internacional de Trabajadores del Hogar* or FITH)

ILO - International Labour Organization (*Organización Internacional de Trabajo* or OIT)

NGO – non-governmental organization

NDWA - National Domestic Workers Alliance (*Alianza Nacional de Trabajadoras Domésticas*) (United States of America)

SINTRAHOGARP - *Sindicato Nacional de Trabajadoras del Hogar* (National Union of Domestic Workers) (Perú)

SINTRASEDOM - *Sindicato Nacional de Trabajadoras del Servicio Doméstico* (National Union of Domestic Service Workers) (Colombia)

SINUTRHE - *Sindicato Nacional Único de Trabajadoras Remuneradas del Hogar de Ecuador* (SINUTRHE) (National Single Union of Remunerated Domestic Workers of Ecuador)

UTRASD - *Unión de Trabajadoras Afrocolombianas del Servicio Doméstico* (Afrocolombian Domestic Service Workers Union) (Colombia)

INTRODUCTION

The domestic workers' movement in Latin America has grown and evolved, achieving key successes in the last 10 years, but also facing significant obstacles. CARE and other international NGOs have made important contributions to the movement, through different strategies and perspectives. CARE's accompaniment of domestic worker organizations has been characterized by a desire and commitment to learn more effective ways of supporting social movements in their quest to promote social change. Documenting the story of that accompaniment, and extracting lessons, good practices, and recommendations for the future, was the main purpose of the systematization workshop that took place in Conocoto, Ecuador, a town half an hour outside Quito, from June 9th-11th, 2017. The workshop was financed and organized by a team of staff from both CARE US and CARE LAC. Sarah K. Loose and Patricia Vazquez, facilitators with experience in participatory processes and social movements, and based in Portland, Oregon, were hired to design and lead a series of activities for a group of 16 movement leaders - from 9 Latin American countries - and 10 CARE staff members (see Appendix A).

This report (prepared by Loose & Vazquez) summarizes the findings from the workshop. We offer a brief chronology of the most important events in the domestic workers' movement over the last 10 years; a historical review of the relationship between CARE and the movement; and an analysis of the successes and tensions in that relationship, highlighting throughout the voices of those present at the workshop.

The leaders who attended the workshop are a mix of movement veterans and beginners, and we recognize that they represent only a fraction of those who have maintained and move forward this important work. There are many voices absent from this document and we hope that as systematization efforts continue, they also will participate in telling this story.



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HISTORICAL REVIEW

An Evolving Relationship: CARE and the Latin American Domestic Workers' Movement

The domestic workers' movement in Latin America has a long history of organizing dating back to the first decades of the 20th century. Organizations continued to be formed throughout the 20th century with multiple associations, unions and organizations functioning in almost every Latin American country until they started to organize as a regional movement, with the foundation of the *Confederación Latinoamericana y del Caribe de Trabajadoras del Hogar* (Federation of Domestic Workers of Latin America and the Caribbean or CONLACTRAHO) in 1988.

Thus, when CARE started engaging with domestic worker organizations in the late 2000s as part of what would eventually become the *Trabajo Digno* (Dignified Work) program, it was entering into a complex web of historical relationships, agendas, and existing organizations. Through initial analysis, CARE LAC (CARE in Latin America and the Caribbean) realized that domestic work was carried out in conditions of severe exploitation, domestic workers' organizing efforts received little or no support from non-government organizations, the issue of paid and unpaid domestic work was one that was largely absent from public debate, and in most countries, public policies did not address it properly, if at all.

Phase I: Exploratory Work (2009-2010)

In the early 2000s, CARE's staff in Latin America adopted a new strategy that shifted some of CARE's work in the region from direct aid and assistance to accompaniment of social movements. As part of an interest in positioning gender justice at the center of this work, CARE became interested in supporting the domestic workers' movement in Latin America and commissioned a survey led by Nicaraguan feminist Sofia Montenegro in 2009. Montenegro and her team had conversations with 65 leaders from the 7 countries where CARE was currently working - Bolivia, Ecuador, Peru, Nicaragua, El Salvador, Honduras and Guatemala - centered on the question: *What does CARE need to do to work with movement leaders and organizations as agents of change rather than as aid recipients?* A series of recommendations from this survey informed CARE's strategy for the following years, and two of the most significant were:

- To accompany the domestic workers' movement without a pre-established agenda.
- To share with the movement CARE's reflections regarding the sexual division of labor and its usefulness as a concept in understanding the complex challenges domestic workers face.

In 2010, a new Gender Advisor for Latin America was hired and CARE LAC started a year of learning and initial conversations with women and domestic workers' organizations in the 7 countries, to express the desire to meet and support them, and to share CARE's analysis around the sexual division of labor. In Ecuador, CARE started by contacting two of the country's largest women's organizations, the *Asamblea de Mujeres por la Vida* and the *Asamblea de Mujeres*

Populares Diversas. It was through these organizations that CARE LAC first became acquainted with domestic workers' organizations in the country. In Bolivia, CARE LAC came into contact with the *Movimiento Afroboliviano*, in which most of the workers were rural women doing domestic work in urban areas. In Peru, CARE had already established a relationship with the *Centro de Capacitación de las Trabajadoras del Hogar* (CCTH). In Nicaragua, CARE LAC approached the *Centro de Trabajadoras y Mujeres Desempleadas María Elena Cuadra*, which included domestic, factory, farm and sex workers. In El Salvador, CARE LAC initiated conversations with *Las Dignas* and *Las Mélicas* (*Asociación de Mujeres Mélida Anaya Montes*).

As CARE LAC built these relationships, the use of the sexual division of labor as an analytical framework became increasingly important for the organization, and a toolbox was developed to evaluate their work as they deepened their accompaniment of the domestic worker movement. After a year of exploration, an evaluation was conducted of the work done that included domestic workers from Peru and Ecuador. In this evaluation it became clear that the sexual division of labor provided a distinct lens to understand the problems domestic workers faced, to achieve shared responsibility, and to increase the visibility and valuation of domestic workers' social and economic contributions.

In the years 2011-2012, five members of the CARE regional team formed a *Comunidad de Aprendizaje* (Learning Community), a space to reflect and produce materials, tools and opportunities to invite the rest of CARE to understand the importance of the domestic worker theme. An important discussion emerged from this effort about the difference between economic and cultural changes, and their respective impact in the lives of domestic workers.

Phase II: Country-by-Country Accompaniment (2011 - 2014)

In 2011, the International Labour Organization (ILO) adopted the Convention Concerning Decent Work for Domestic Workers (Convention 189), thus setting international standards for domestic workers. Over the ensuing years, national domestic worker organizations throughout Latin America made it a political priority to ensure the ratification of the Convention within their own countries.

During this same period, CARE LAC decided to prioritize the accompaniment of domestic worker organizations in Ecuador, Peru, and Bolivia, countries in which the organization had more established relationships and the political conditions were more stable. At the same time, CARE initiated conversations with the *Movimiento de Mujeres Indígenas Tzunnunijá* in Guatemala to learn about the situation of indigenous domestic workers in that country. From 2011 to 2014, and with funds from CARE UK, the *Trabajo Digno* program was launched in the region. The program had two initial goals:

- Ensure the ratification of ILO Convention 189 and the alignment of national legal frameworks with international standards by strengthening regional and national associations and networks of paid domestic workers.

- Strengthen regional and national organizations for monitoring the enactment of policies regarding paid domestic work.

To achieve these goals, the following key activities were identified:

1. Strengthen seven national networks of paid domestic workers and one regional network (CONLACTRAHO).
2. Establish national dialogues and regional oversight mechanisms for the ratification of Convention 189 in seven countries.
3. Facilitate regional events for the ratification of the Convention in seven countries.
4. Support expansion of the membership of domestic worker associations.
5. Conduct communication campaigns and promote dialogue to raise awareness of the employment rights of paid domestic workers.
6. Raise awareness of the issue of unpaid domestic work and support the inclusion of unpaid domestic work in national accounts.
7. Strengthen partner organizations' work on paid and unpaid domestic labor issues, as well as associations of domestic laborers.
8. Raise awareness within the network of women's organizations about issues which indigenous women face around paid and unpaid domestic work.
9. Link domestic worker associations with the larger women's movement.
10. Establish alliances with other key stakeholders, such as U.N. Women, Oxfam and Belgian Cooperation, to jointly support associations of domestic laborers.

During this period CARE LAC supported domestic workers organizations in a variety of ways: providing direct financial support for operational and representation expenses (equipment, office rent, travel, stipends, etc.); finding consultants within and outside the organization to support with the creation of communications materials; providing methodological and logistical support for meetings, trainings and workshops; and technical assistance for the development of evaluation tools, grant applications and action plans. CARE LAC also saw the opportunity to use its position as a large NGO (non-governmental organization) to create spaces for decision makers (government, ILO, etc) to engage in dialogue with the domestic workers organizations in order to facilitate connections and lend domestic workers' issues greater political weight. Alliances were also built with other NGOs, especially through the *Mesa Regional de Acompañamiento a las Organizaciones de Trabajadoras Remuneradas del Hogar*, which brings together CARE, OXFAM, ONU Mujeres, *Centro de Estudios Ecuatorianos*, FOS-Socialist Solidarity and *Solidaridad Internacional*, and funds a communications campaign to support the ratification of Convention 189.

In working with individual organizations in Ecuador, Bolivia and Peru through the *Trabajo Digno* program, CARE's staff also identified the need to bring together organizations working in different countries to counteract isolation and feelings of weakness, to learn from each other's strategies, successes and challenges, and to analyze their shared agendas and differences.

Towards these ends, in 2011 the *Mesa Regional de Acompañamiento* organized an *encuentro* (gathering) for the leaders who were present at the Convention 189 adoption process in Geneva to share their experiences with other compañeras, analyze what was happening in each country in regards to the ratification of the Convention, and start defining next steps. CARE's first contact with CONLACTRAHO was made at that encuentro.

During this period, domestic worker organizations in the region achieved some important victories. In Bolivia, law 181 was signed in 2011, declaring March 30th *Día Internacional de la Trabajadora y el Trabajador Asalariado del Hogar* (International Paid Domestic Workers' Day) as a paid holiday for domestic workers. Convention 189 was ratified in Bolivia (2012), Ecuador (2013) and Costa Rica (2014). Meanwhile, other organizations in the region continued working towards ratification in their own countries.

Phase III: Regional Vision (2015 - present)

Until 2013, CARE organized its work in the region based around issues (i.e. reproductive health, climate change, economic empowerment), but with the creation of the *Estrategia Programática Regional* (Regional Program Strategy) that year, the focus shifted to subjects of rights. Four impact groups were identified: women doing domestic, farm and factory work; small producers with unequal access to the market and opportunities; indigenous and afrodescendant women and youth; and people affected by natural disasters and armed conflict. For each group, a theory of change was developed. There was increasing interest in the organization to develop a comprehensive understanding of the reality of women doing domestic work and their context, and the diversity of identities they carry. At this point CARE's work with the domestic worker movement became part of the organization's regional agenda, and a vision to support the development of a regional movement solidified.

When CARE UK funding ended in 2014 and was not renewed, the work went largely unfunded for a year. Starting in 2015, CARE US began to finance the work. A new regional director and a new president of CARE US played important roles in securing new resources for this work. In 2015 CARE's International Board Meeting was held in Ecuador, with the presence of the new CARE US president. CARE's work in the region acquired more importance and visibility as the new CARE US president learned, from the domestic workers themselves, about the impact of the partnership between CARE LAC and the movement in their lives.

CARE LAC defined a regional strategy (Impact Growth Strategy) with a long term goal: to give 10 million domestic workers in the region access to social security, minimum wage and respectable contracts (*contratos dignos*) by 2030. To achieve this goal CARE LAC decided to continue some of the work it had started in the 2011-2014 period: strengthen organizations; facilitate opportunities for sharing knowledge and learning; and support the movement to gain greater political influence. Three new strategies were added: 1) create communication campaigns (responsive to each country's culture and situation) to create behavioral changes among domestic workers' employers; 2) help organizations use CARE's seed money to mobilize greater financial

resources; and 3) evaluate the achievements made in these activities. At this point CARE LAC decided to focus its work in 6 countries: Ecuador, Bolivia, Honduras, México, Guatemala and Brazil.

The need to continue facilitating opportunities to learn from other countries and find inspiration in other processes remained, and in June of 2016 CARE organized another encuentro with two purposes: to celebrate the 18th anniversary of the formation of the *Asociación de Trabajadoras Remuneradas del Hogar* (ATRH) in Ecuador, and to open a space for dialogue after the division that organization had recently experienced. All “secretarias” from CONLACTRAHO were present at the Encuentro (from Nicaragua, Honduras, Guatemala, CR, Mexico, Colombia, Peru y Brasil) and CARE strengthened its relationship with the regional organization. The findings from the encuentro informed the design of CARE’s strategy for 2016-2017.

In October 2016 the *Sindicato Nacional de Trabajadoras del Servicio Doméstico* (SINTRASEDOM) organized, in collaboration with CARE, ONU Mujeres and the Oficina de Naciones Unidas para enfrentar la droga y el delito (UNDOC), the “*Migración, Trata, Tráfico y Trabajo Doméstico*” meeting in Colombia. At this gathering CARE proposed to CONLACTRAHO and the International Domestic Workers Federation (IDWF) to come together to discuss their tensions and find common ground. With technical and financial support from CARE, a meeting between the two regional organizations took place in Costa Rica in 2016, with the presence of the US-based National Domestic Workers Alliance (NDWA) and Solidarity Center. At this meeting CONLACTRAHO and IDWF agreed to develop a joint plan for the formation of new leaders. Later, the two regional organizations organized their first joint seminar/conference in 2017, in Chile.

Currently, CARE LAC continues its work to strengthen the domestic workers movement throughout the region, with dedicated seed funding from CARE US through 2018 and a commitment to secure longer-term financing from a diversity of sources.



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AN ANALYSIS: THE CARE-MOVEMENT RELATIONSHIP

Over the course of CARE's 7-year history working with and supporting the Latin American domestic workers' movement, CARE personnel and movement leaders alike have achieved an important alliance. In the 2.5 day systematization workshop exploring this relationship, several themes emerged. This section outlines these key dynamics of the relationship between CARE and the movement organizations it has accompanied over time:

1. Preparing the Ground: Initiating Relationships
2. Sowing Trust: A Relational Approach
3. Cultivating Autonomy: An Accompaniment Model
4. Cross-Pollination: Supporting a Regional Vision
5. Into the Weeds: Navigating Internal Movement Dynamics

1. Preparing the Ground: Initiating Relationships

Leaders in the Latin American domestic workers' movement have come to expect exploitation in their relationships with outside entities. They point to academics who come in and learn, write about, and thus become the "experts" on domestic workers' realities and movements, without any real material benefit to the individual movement leaders or organizations who provided the information in the first place. Leaders also recount past experiences with NGOs that have attempted to impose or coopt agendas. Guatemalan indigenous leader, Juana Sales Morales, explains:

We know we are not experts in many things but we are in many others. When [NGOs work on] formulating project proposals sometimes we feel under scrutiny; we are the ones who have the knowledge, who have the work experience, who understand the organization's dynamics and where we want to go. But they hire external professionals, and what they do is, first they "read you." Since they don't know the organization [...] they take from you as much information as possible in order to understand. [...] It's not only a CARE problem, but of all NGOs; when people come to learn about the dynamics of indigenous people, they dig deep and they take advantage of it [...] because later they become the experts on indigenous people, and who are we? We aren't experts.

Operating within this broader context of exploitation and unequal power dynamics - and carrying with them CARE's own and complicated history, reputation and position as a large-scale, international NGO - CARE staff has had to take extra care when initiating relationships with movement leaders in order to overcome these dynamics and earn the trust of movement actors. Sometimes this process of initiating relationships has unfolded with relative ease. Other times it's been more challenging. At least one organization (Las Dignas, El Salvador), outright refused to collaborate with CARE, based on the perception that, as an international NGO funded by the United States, they were agents of imperialism.

In the workshop, movement leaders described some of these early moments in their relationship with CARE. Lenny Quiroz Zambrano shares her perspective on CARE's early work to build relationships with domestic workers in Ecuador:

*When I [first] met CARE I didn't like how they worked; but the good thing is that we were able to say so and bring it up, that we didn't like it because **they were imposing an agenda. We didn't like that way of doing things.** We had a lot of debate with the person who was directing CARE, heated debates, but we were able to get them to listen, to tell them how to benefit the organization and how they should support us. [emphasis added]*

Lenny describes an evolution in the relationship over time; eventually CARE developed a new way of working and earned the trust of Lenny and her colleagues in the ATRH. Maria Roa's description of how CARE recently initiated a relationship with the *Unión de Trabajadoras Afrocolombianas del Servicio Doméstico* (UTRASD) in Colombia (a description delivered with evident warmth and affection) seems to confirm this positive shift in CARE's approach:

*CARE comes to our organization, hearts and lives last year, October 2016. They come to Medellín sent by Marcelina Bautista from Mexico. We thank her very much for telling CARE about us: our movement, expectations, mission, and UTRASD's goals. [...] We have a meeting. They come and they say, "Maria, we come from an organization, Marcelina Bautista sent us." [...] They arrive very formally **but they treated us like equals, without protocols.** "We don't want to assume the role of protagonist, we want to learn about what you want, what you are doing, what kind of support you need," they said. [emphasis added]*

On the other hand, in initiating relationships with movement actors, CARE LAC staff also encounter - and must work to counter! - the legacy of assistance-based models of development (*asistencialismo*). This can play out in unexpected ways. For example, one movement leader recalled an incident in which she approached a CARE staff member at a workshop to ask how her country's organization might access CARE's support. Though delivered in a sweet, polite voice, the leader described the response by the CARE staff as blunt, as an "attack" or "aggression." "We don't give money," the leader recalled the CARE staff saying. In actuality, the leader wasn't even referring to monetary support, and felt that she had been misunderstood or unfairly judged.

When asked how CARE might best approach a potential new partner in the movement, one leader emphasized the need to pace the process appropriately (slowly!) and listen deeply:

The most logical thing is to map, to scan the area to see what is already there, what the needs are and start by strengthening those that are already more organized. Go slowly, and do what we are doing now, listening, to see how we feel in order to enter. Understand deeply, that way it's easier to work later on, like when you are preparing the soil to plant, first you clear the ground, add fertilizer and then you sow the seed. (Raquel Elizabeth Reyes Valencia, ATRH)

Indeed, this is similar to how CARE staff themselves describe their approach:

When CARE started working in Bolivia, the Federation already existed, it had years of history, of struggle. They had won a domestic workers' law, and they had many political advocacy processes underway. CARE had to respectfully accompany the compañeras, and we approached with a desire to strengthen [their efforts] and with a listening attitude, as an external agency and as a social movement. We do it from a place of profound respect for their rhythms, their time and their demands. We didn't come to form a Federation, but rather to strengthen an already large and strong organization that, from our perspective, needed to strengthen some lines of work. (Ruth Cintia Dávalos Saravia, former CARE staff)

Another important consideration is how CARE navigates internal movement structures and relationships. We'll explore this in more depth in a future section, but suffice to say here that it's not only important how CARE initiates relationships within a country or organizations, but also *who* CARE reaches out to, in relationship to local leadership and power structures. For example, IDWF Vice President María Ernestina Ochoa Luján explains:

Not all CARE facilitators are the same in each country; they don't all support the same. Technical staff sometimes go over the heads of the legal representative in the country; in the case of Peru there is a national union, with a political representative. [CARE shouldn't] go directly to the provinces; that generates difficulties, divisions.

While movement leaders pointed to certain instances in which the initial process of relationship-building was less than smooth, on the whole CARE staff seem to be quite respectful and adept at establishing these movement relationships. Indeed, at the workshop, experienced and newer movement leaders alike, with whom CARE is just beginning to build relationships, were quite positive about these emerging partnerships.

I like [CARE's] way of working, the activities; we worked together a lot last month. We didn't waste time and we accomplished all we set out to do. There are a lot of people who talk a lot and waste time [...] I like CARE very much and I hope we do much positive work in Brazil [...] CARE is marvelous and it's going to empower our compañeras in Brazil and provide very important support to the Federation (IDWF). (María Noeli Dos Santos (Brasil), Secretaria General CONLACTRAHO)

[Our relationship] with CARE has been more open [than with other NGOs]. It's not just arrive and ask what the needs are, no, it's about going beyond that: getting involved, participating, having our backs. I have been very impressed to see CARE working with us, not only with their technical ways of doing things, but learning our culture. When people speak too technically we don't understand what they are saying [...], what are we saying yes or no to. I like how you have been working with us, you have been very sincere. (María Roa, UTRASD)

Even the leader who shared the negative interaction with the CARE staff person (see above) was quick to qualify that interaction, explaining that in the handful of experiences she's had with CARE staff since then, she's felt much more mutual trust.

2. Sowing Trust: A Relational Approach

A critical factor in CARE LAC's success in establishing trust and maintaining fruitful working relationships with movement actors has been its emphasis on a highly relational approach to the work. In the absence of traditional capital and sources of power, social movements are strengthened and sustained primarily through relationships. "Solidarity advances at the speed of trust," remarked workshop participant, Maria Rohani of CARE USA. It seems that the CARE LAC team, informed by strong feminist values, has prioritized and valued the affective, personal, and emotional needs of movement leaders and developed genuine concern and regard for the women with whom they work, feelings which are clearly mutual.

Again and again throughout the workshop, movement leaders mentioned CARE staff by name and with great affection. For example, when encouraged by a former CARE staff person to share examples of times they've felt frustration in their interactions with CARE, one movement leader responded, "We've felt very happy with all the CARE staff. They've been there for us." "Yes," another chimed in, "We've had such a great relationship. Really fantastic."

Among the terms workshop participants used to refer to or describe CARE staff were: *compañera*, *friend*, *sweet*, *loving*, etc. Leaders often referenced and expressed gratitude for the support they had received from CARE - not only in a technical and financial capacity - but on a personal, emotional level. Reminiscent of sentiments expressed by other participants throughout the workshop, Neurali Corozo Ayovi of Ecuador's ATRH pointed to CARE staff's willingness to stay present and engaged with movement leaders even during hard times: "CARE has been such a fundamental support for us," she explained. "In the moments when we've been down, in tears, CARE has been with us. It's the only organization that extended a hand to us when we needed it most."

Developing and nurturing personal connections, attending to the affective nature of the relationship between CARE staff and movement leaders, bringing a willingness to be vulnerable and playful together, and this capacity to see and value individuals as people with full lives and stories and hopes and dreams (not just as leaders or representatives as a movement!), is clearly a strength of CARE LAC's approach.

We saw this demonstrated in the systematization workshop itself: after two full and demanding days of work, CARE team members organized an impromptu *convivio*, a celebration and cultural night for movement leaders and CARE staff. They bought snacks and prepared canelazo, a traditional Ecuadorian spiced hot drink, for the group. They invited movement leaders to share songs, poems, skits and dances from each of their countries and traditions. Movement leaders responded enthusiastically, bringing to the floor their creativity, cultural traditions, tears and dreams, and their dance moves! The shared celebration went late into the night, with playful and heartfelt exchanges between participants.



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Such simple but thoughtful details, and this attention to the affective needs of movement leaders, demonstrates and reinforces a sense of genuine concern, respect, and *amor*, that, in turn, facilitates collaboration on a more strictly professional plane.

At the same time, observing clear boundaries is also critical to healthy relationships, and this is no exception in the CARE-movement relationships. We heard mentioned several times that CARE is serious, accountable, strict. CARE staff have also been firm in defining and insisting on the parameters of their engagement: CARE doesn't "fund" the movement nor does it "run" the movement - it facilitates, accompanies, and supports (see next section on CARE's accompaniment model). While there has certainly been some pushback from movement leaders, to the extent that CARE has been able to clearly communicate and maintain these boundaries, it seems that this, too, has been part of how CARE has earned and maintained movement leaders' trust and respect.

3. Cultivating Autonomy: An Accompaniment Model

- *[The process with CARE] has been a good process, it has helped us mature. Many compañeras have become stronger because we realized that we still needed to learn how to do reports, other things. And they were there. I always told them I am good at talking, but not at writing. "You have to create an agenda, give ideas so you can continue growing, because we won't be here forever." They taught us, they didn't [just hand things to us], we had to learn how to walk on our own. (Lenny Quiroz Zambrano, ATRH)*

- *[We came to an agreement] that CARE would play a role of cooperation, not cooperante.¹ They would cooperate [with the movement] in support of its actions. And take on a coordinating role only when necessary. So we never saw CARE as a donor. And never did they say to us, “Look, this is where the movement should go.” Never. They always respected the decisions of [movement leaders] and our movement structures. (Juana Sales Morales, Movimiento de Mujeres Indígenas Tzunnunijá)*
- *We didn’t know how to plan projects, or how to write project proposals. We said we aren’t going to be able to do this on our own. But they said, “Nothing is impossible.” That, yes, we could do it. They taught us how to plan, how to create a project proposal. And yes, we have advanced. [...] We’ve seen that, yes, we can do it. We don’t always depend on a cooperante. (Ana Canchingre, ATRH)*
- *We believe that CARE can give impulse to our projects, to our visions for the future, to help strengthen, grow and promote the movement of women doing paid (domestic) work in Honduras. (Zulema Cruz, Red de Trabajadoras Domésticas de Honduras)*

When making the decision to invest energy and resources in the domestic workers’ movement, CARE LAC was clear: CARE did not want to create dependency of movement organizations, infrastructure and leaders on NGOs, and they did not intend to define or drive the movement agenda or goals. Instead, CARE would enact an accompaniment model, focused on building the capacity of leaders and their organizations to achieve the goals that they themselves had identified.

The notion of accompaniment (especially within foreign aid and international development work) is often associated with the work of Dr. Paul Farmer, founder of Partners in Health, who in a May 2011 address to the Harvard Kennedy School of Government, described accompaniment as such:

To accompany someone is to go somewhere with him or her, to break bread together, to be present on a journey with a beginning and an end... We’re not sure exactly where the beginning might be, and we’re almost never sure about the end. There’s an element of mystery, of openness, in accompaniment: I’ll go with you and support you on your journey wherever it leads. I’ll keep you company and share your fate for awhile. And by “a while,” I don’t mean a little while. Accompaniment is much more often about sticking with a task until it’s deemed completed by the person or people being accompanied, rather than by the accompagnateur.

In their work with the domestic workers’ movement, CARE LAC has strived to play the role of the accompagnateur, entering into the relationship without a pre-established agenda, opting instead to lift up and follow the leadership of the movement organizations and unions that represent domestic workers in the region, and making a long-term commitment to the work. Miriam Moya, Regional Coordinator for Gender Equality, describes it like this:

They are the ones putting up their fight. We provide tools, technical support, we can amplify their voice in the spaces where they are not present, we can facilitate spaces with other actors for them

¹ A term in Spanish used to refer to a person (usually from a “developed” country) who is sent to another country (usually a “developing” country) to offer professional help or aid, often (but not always) as a volunteer.

to bring their issues to the table, we can provide evidence so they have material to increase their political capacity, and we can help in finding resources. But one thing we have tried, and we have tried to practice that in all spaces, it's to not be the protagonists. It has to be them. And if it's not them, well, it's not then. We stay there, at the level we have to be until they strengthen their own spaces, although that is much, much, much slower.

Movement leaders at the workshop, for their part, often described CARE as an ally in the movement, sometimes even qualifying that: “CARE is our #1 ally.” It’s worth noting here, as well, that many leaders who participated in the workshop seem to see CARE as *part of* the movement (albeit with a different role than that of domestic workers themselves and their organizations) as opposed to a purely outside entity. “CARE has been a great ally to the movement,” said one leader from Bolivia. “We see CARE as part of our movement.”

In concrete terms, CARE’s accompaniment work has taken various forms:

- Technical assistance (research, political analysis and leadership development, strategic and project/campaign planning & evaluation, grant writing, etc.)
- Communications support (with an emphasis on amplifying the voices of domestic workers’ themselves)
- Convening, bridge-building, fostering alliances (among domestic workers organizations across geographies, with other movements, with governments, etc.)
- Limited financial assistance (primarily in the form of financing leaders’ participation in meetings, workshops, assemblies, etc., and sometimes covering the costs of such events themselves, as well as funds to local organizations to cover operational costs such as office rent, equipment & supplies, stipends, etc.)
- Emotional support (as noted above)

In this sense, CARE aims to play the role of a facilitator within the movement, as opposed to that of a donor.² While financial assistance is an important part of the support that CARE has provided, it is clear that CARE staff and movement leaders alike see these other types of support as equally, if not more, important than monetary aid.

And while there is more progress to be made on this front (some movement leaders still perceive CARE as coming in with predetermined outcomes or projects), on the whole CARE clearly respects, and is acknowledged as respecting, the internal organizing processes of movement actors, their priorities and visions for the work.

Notably, the CARE team heading up this work is at the forefront of a larger shift within CARE, forging a new path within the institution, which might be characterized in terms of a shift from:

- a focus on issues to a focus on populations,
- an emphasis on implementation to an emphasis on facilitation, and

² CARE articulates the need to shift their role from one of “implementation” to one of “facilitation”. Staff also use the terms “catalyst” and “dinamizador.” One program publication describes CARE’s role in the movement as that of a facilitator, *dinamizador* (driving force, revitalizer), bridge-builder, technical support, and amplifier.

- from investment in projects to investment in processes

At first, Miriam Moya explains, CARE didn't know how to do this work. There were phases of seeing domestic workers as beneficiaries, not actors. Importantly, there was an openness within the institution that allowed for experimentation and permitted the CARE LAC team to advance a new way of working. Now the team has started to receive recognition within the agency for this work, sometimes even at the highest levels of the CARE hierarchy. Yet they've also encountered resistance and structural barriers along the way.

If a fundamental aspect of accompaniment is “sticking with a task until it's deemed completed by the person or people being accompanied,” then securing broader CARE commitment to both this accompaniment approach and the movement more generally, will be critical to avoid running up against institutional barriers that could derail the work thus far. *What if the funding for the program is suddenly cut off again? What if current staff are replaced by individuals who bring a more traditional aid & development vision to the work?*



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Movement leaders and CARE staff alike are conscious of the need to strengthen an organizational culture within CARE that supports this work. At the same time, CARE staff are clear that (in part because of this uncertainty, but also because of a sincere belief in the goal of movement autonomy) part of their role is to help create the capacity and conditions for the full self-governance and management of movement organizations.

4. Cross-Pollination: Supporting a Regional Vision

- *One of the ways CARE has supported us is by giving us the opportunity to meet at a regional level with other workers. That has been a very important support, which has allowed us to take our voice to the other side and also bring information back. To say to our compañeras, “Look, in Peru, or in Bolivia, or in Mexico, they are talking about this...” The fact that our compañeras are represented in CONLACTRAHO is thanks to the support of CARE and other organizations that have helped facilitate things so that we have a secretariat, leaders in CONLACTRAHO. (Lenny Quiroz Zambrano, ATRH)*
- *The most productive thing is the articulation between countries; I have met many compañeras y we write each other constantly. [...] They have so much experience and knowledge. For me, coming from an organization like the Red de Trabajadoras Domésticas Remuneradas de Honduras, we've been around for only two years and a few months, I need to know the strategies that these women*

have implemented to form a national or regional union, and the articulation they have with Latin America. (Zulema Cruz, Red de Trabajadoras Domésticas de Honduras)

A clear theme emerging from the workshop was the impact and significance of CARE's work to support the domestic workers' movement at the regional level. CARE's contributions in this plane can be described as twofold: first, facilitating the development of a *regional analysis* and vision, and second, strengthening the regional *movement infrastructure*.

Regional Analysis: First, CARE has invested in research to inform a more comprehensive regional panorama and movement analysis. This has included commissioning studies (some involving domestic workers themselves) to better understand the material and working conditions of domestic workers throughout the region, to describe and compare legislative and regulatory conditions across countries, and to analyze the political prospects, organizational strategies, and the infrastructure/capacity of movement organizations and unions themselves across the region.

Similarly, CARE LAC's work to articulate the concept of the sexual division of labor has brought a new framework for movement leaders and members to analyze their own lives and struggles. Given the significant differences in political and legislative context between countries and organizations, having such fundamental and shared categories of analysis has the potential to unify organizations and facilitate the construction of shared platforms and demands. That said, reflections from workshop participants (and sometimes the lack thereof!) suggest that this analytical framework has yet to be embraced and utilized by movement leaders. Similarly, it's unclear to what extent the broader notion of gender justice is informing the movement; in one workshop activity, significant differences surfaced between the perceptions of movement leaders (who seemed to agree that the movement is advancing gender justice) and CARE staff (who expressed a need for much more work to effectively incorporate a gender justice lens).

CARE LAC staff point to the utility of these studies and conceptual frameworks in the formation of their own regional analysis and strategies for accompaniment and intervention. Nonetheless, more work must be done to ensure that the information and analysis generated in and through these studies is shared with and appropriated by movement actors themselves. Indeed, while significant progress has been made towards the articulation of an actual regional *movement* (as opposed to the simple existence of a regional organization or association, important an achievement as that may be), discussions and activities throughout the course of the systematization workshop revealed that many of the movement leaders who participated still struggle to conceptualize their organizing as part of a broader regional movement. It was also unclear to us, as workshop facilitators, to what extent the movement organizations have actually been able to articulate or develop a true regional platform and strategy. Claudia Sánchez, CARE LAC's Regional Coordinator for Program Quality & Impact, shared similar concern:

There is work to do to build a vision for regional accompaniment, and the relationship between the regional [organizations] and the base. I've heard a lot of, "We haven't been consulted, we don't know what CONLACTRAHO is doing." We are working a lot to support their planning and we have to make sure that it's a more democratic and participatory process, something that won't generate future conflict. [...]... On the other side, there is the relationship between these movements that

country to country have differences, different degrees of progress. We have to help them with other actors, not only CARE. How can we connect them with other organizations? We have to work more on that. And the last part is that CARE has big goals for Latin America, we are talking about changing the lives of 10 million women, and to achieve that is the same struggle as theirs, seeking change in their political influence and the laws. What else can we do to support the work that is happening in each country? [...] In some countries the legislation is more clear, in others it's just starting. [...] How to support each country in their differences, but working together, without losing the regional vision?

Movement Infrastructure: CARE's contributions toward the development of a stronger regional movement infrastructure - that is, the set of institutions, relationships and processes that provide the foundation for collective action and power - are equally, if not more valuable than CARE's research and conceptual contributions. Particularly significant are CARE's efforts to get movement leaders together in person. At times organized directly by CARE, and at other times organized by movement leaders but with financial, technical or methodological support from CARE, these gatherings, trainings, meetings, and assemblies play a critical role in:

- Building affective bonds between movement leaders
- Sharing information, analysis, skills and strategies across countries and organizations
- Breaking isolation, and fostering a sense of shared struggle, unity, community, and solidarity
- Creating space for movement leaders to dream and strategize together
- Surfacing and addressing internal movement tensions, divisions, and conflicts
- Connecting national players to regional entities like CONLACTRAHO and IDWF

In the words of CARE LAC staff member, Erik Rubén Quiroga Velásquez:

There are many ways in which the contact at the international level has an effect, not only on the local agenda, but also the impact on the compañeras themselves, as individuals. [...] There is a qualitative value; meeting domestic workers from other countries not only facilitates building a similar agenda. Meeting other people with shared experiences and challenges is refreshing emotionally, a motivation to continue the struggle, to know they are not isolated, that they are not alone, and that they can unite around common goals. I would say that there is an emotional impact on the compañeras; it helps them continue in the work, but it also helps them understand themselves as politicized women that are part of a movement”

Leaders shared similar sentiments. Maria Roa of UTRASD shared, “These gatherings fill us with satisfaction and motivation, to continue in the movement, in the struggle as domestic workers, for we have been dispossessed, discriminated against, victims of violence.” Another participant’s description of CARE’s work seemed to resonate with her colleagues, when she described CARE’s contributions as “an injection of vitamins to our network.”

Also important are CARE’s efforts to build the capacity of CONLACTRAHO which, despite its 30-year history of connecting domestic worker organizations in the region, is still perceived by many as relatively weak. In this regard, CARE seems poised to help facilitate CONLACTRAHO’s

development into a much stronger and more influential political player in the region and movement overall.

Finally, CARE plays a critical role in connecting domestic worker organizations to other stakeholders, social movements, NGOs, government officials, etc.

5. Into the Weeds: Navigating Internal Movement Dynamics

Working within and alongside social movements means entering into a complex web of relationships, personalities, and power dynamics. As CARE's work with the Latin American domestic workers' movement has taken on a more relational and committed character, CARE has, inevitably, encountered internal movement tensions and divisions. Further exploration is needed to draw definitive conclusions about how CARE has navigated these tensions and to what effect. Nonetheless, three anecdotes came up in conversations at the workshop that provide some insight into CARE's work in this arena and raise important questions for future consideration.

a) An Intra-Organizational Crisis: In 2015, some 15 years after its founding, Ecuador's ATRH experienced a moment of crisis. As movement leaders describe it, eventually three key leaders left the organization and those who remained (though a majority), suffered disappointment and disillusionment. One of the leaders who remained described how CARE handled the situation:

As for the rupture and the decision that the organization took, CARE first said, "That's an internal problem of yours, figure out how you will solve it. We aren't going to comment on that. Figure it out." And they let some time pass and then we called them and they responded. [...] And she said, "Well, CARE will take care of that, and you will have to do this." We were filled with confidence and they had confidence in us.

While the full nature of the crisis and what led to this internal division is not clear to us (as workshop facilitators), the reflections of movement leaders involved suggest that: 1) CARE staff was careful to give leaders the space to work through their own issues rather than jump in and try to "fix it" for them, 2) CARE was willing to step in and support leaders when asked to do so, and 3) the local leaders who stuck with the organization were profoundly grateful for CARE's support through a difficult moment.

b) Inter-Organizational Tensions: There are longstanding tensions between the movement's two organizations with a regional presence, CONLACTRAHO and IDWF. Initially, because CARE's work happened largely at a country-by-country level, CARE staff had virtually no contact or relationship with these regional entities. However, as CARE began to assume a more active role in strengthening a regional movement, CARE staff began to build relationships with leaders within CONLACTRAHO and IDWF, and also learn more about the internal issues each organization faced and the escalating tensions between them.

These tensions came to a head during an October 2016 movement gathering in Colombia, and CARE staff decided to intervene, proposing a joint meeting between representatives of the two regional organizations. That initial meeting resulted in an agreement to come together in December in Costa Rica to talk through their differences in more depth. CARE provided technical and financial support for the gathering, together with the US-based National Domestic Workers Alliance and Solidarity Center. According to CARE staff, the methodology employed for the gathering allowed both organizations to air their concerns in a frank, but not aggressive manner. Ultimately, IDWF and CONLACTRAHO agreed to develop a joint plan for the development of new leaders, a process which is advancing (albeit slowly) with CARE's continued support (economic and technical).

What seems significant about this situation is that: 1) CARE staff had earned enough trust from representatives of each of these regional organizations to get them to come to the table together, and 2) CARE has been willing to invest significant time, energy, and financial resources into addressing internal movement dynamics with a vision towards building a stronger and more unified movement for the long haul.

c) Exacerbating Tensions? A final situation that came up in the workshop relates to CARE's own process of prioritization and decision-making around which movement organizations to support. As CARE staff describe it, such decisions depend on multiple factors: Do solid working relationships between CARE and the organization already exist or seem possible to develop? Are there CARE staff in the country or region who share a movement vision? In which countries can we have the greatest impact (either because of the sheer numbers of domestic workers who stand to benefit from CARE's interventions, or because of favorable political conditions within the organization or country)? Do movement leaders/organizations share a commitment to democratic organizing practices? (During the workshop, CARE staff mentioned to us their decision to not work with particular leaders who seemed particularly "toxic" or authoritarian.)

However, workshop participants didn't seem to have much insight, if any, into this decision-making process. Moreover, they expressed concern over whether CARE's decisions to support particular organizations or countries and not others could intensify existing rivalries or divisions within the movement, or even create new ones (even if inadvertently). They point to examples such as México, where there are three different domestic workers' organizations, but CARE has provided support to just one. IDWF Vice President, María Ernestina Ochoa Luján, explains:

The proposal is that [CARE] doesn't work with only one organization in that country, but for example, in Colombia there is not only Maria Roa, but other organizations that are affiliated with IDWF and CONLACTRAHO. They shouldn't benefit only one organization, but others. Why? Because otherwise conflicts arise. [...] And we are working on a process of unity, we have to be united, we are a single voice, and we don't want conflict in this journey.

SUMMARY OF GOOD PRACTICES

There is significant variation from country to country in the quality and character of the working relationships between CARE staff and movement leaders depending on the particular personalities and styles of the individuals involved and political conditions. Variances notwithstanding, when CARE LAC is at its most effective, here is a summary of the practices that it has developed and strived for in its relationship with the Latin American domestic workers' movement:

- CARE starts by listening, taking time to learn the unique dynamics, players, relationships and needs/hopes of movement leaders and organizations in each country. They work at a respectful pace and don't try to rush the process.
- There is a strong relational component to CARE's work. The development of personal connections and healthy, horizontal relationships with movement leaders built on a foundation of trust and mutual respect is a priority.



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- CARE respects and reinforces movement autonomy in decisions regarding political agendas, definition of demands, etc.
- CARE's role vis-a-vis the movement is well-defined: providing technical and financial assistance and facilitating processes in order to build the capacity of movement leaders and their organizations.
- CARE is serious. They bring high expectations to the work and hold individuals and organizations, as well as themselves, accountable when they provide economic and other forms of support.
- CARE promotes alliances and facilitates direct communication and relationships between movement leaders/organizations and other entities (government officials, foundations, other NGOs, decision-makers, etc...).
- CARE has played a significant role in strengthening the regional movement.
- CARE is committed to a long-term relationship with the movement. CARE LAC staff have demonstrated this commitment to the work and found ways to maintain relationships and support, despite periods of uncertain support from CARE International.
- CARE is willing to address conflict within the movement and facilitate processes of conflict resolution with a focus on building a stronger, more unified movement.

CHALLENGES & RECOMMENDATIONS

1. Recognition and mitigation of structural inequities
2. Advancing movement organizations' autonomy
3. Greater flexibility in funding
4. Increased transparency in decision-making
5. Co-development of projects
6. Strengthening an anti-oppressive practice and culture within CARE
7. CARE's posture in relationship to national governments
8. Sharing risk & risk management
9. Attending to movement participants' psychosocial/affective/emotional needs
10. Research & dissemination
11. Deepening a regional analysis
12. Expand the network of support

1. **Recognition and mitigation of structural inequities:** A plea that we heard expressed more than once and from multiple movement leaders in the workshop was for CARE to: a) consider the needs of movement leaders/members as mothers, heads of family or household, etc. rather than only as domestic workers, b) be more cognizant of the significant sacrifices (economic, especially, but also other types) that movement leaders have made in order to participate in the movement (and specifically, in the workshops and trainings that CARE has helped convene or facilitate), and c) be more proactive in working to address or mitigate the economic disparities and social inequities that accompany and are sometimes even reinforced by domestic workers' engagement in movement spaces and with CARE. Concrete actions might include:

- a. Providing stipends for child care (or offering child care at events), lost wages, and other costs that movement leaders incur when taking days off or leaving their homes to participate in movement events.
- b. Generating and offering paid work opportunities to movement leaders for movement work like data gathering and analysis about the movement (Movement leaders ask: *Could we be the ones conducting the surveys? Why do you hire "experts" outside the movement? Are we considered experts?*)
- c. Recognize and support leaders' educational and professional aspirations to develop their skills and support the movement in different/new capacities (i.e. one workshop participant expressed interest in becoming a lawyer)

Along these same lines, workshop participants brought up the issue of inequities in salaries within the movement: *Are contracting processes equitable? Are wage scales equal and fair? Why is a higher value placed on monitoring positions over field staff? What are the consequences when staff of domestic workers organizations are performing roles very similar to those of CARE staff but their wages are significantly lower?*

2. **Advancing movement organizations' autonomy:** Given the nature of domestic work, domestic workers' organizations and unions face significant barriers in building and maintaining their organizational capacity and sustainability. The fact that many of the movement organizations are financially dependent on NGOs and outside entities to meet even their most basic operating budgets, compromise their autonomy. Movement leaders in the workshop reiterated the hope that CARE will support them in developing and implementing practices and models to ensure their organizations' economic stability and self-sustainability. This could take the form of a social enterprise model (such as a union-run employment agency for domestic workers, or a cooperative service center for workers) but further research and investment in pilot projects are necessary to test the viability of these strategies and ensure that they don't detract from organizations' movement-building and political advocacy work.

Similarly, CARE might consider ways to build into all programmatic efforts and spaces the development and reinforcement of self-management. In practice, this might include: an even stronger emphasis on leadership development and leadership transition, continuing to develop organizational capacity in the areas of fundraising, project planning and management, supporting movement leaders to develop "soft" as well as "hard" skills (for example, learning how to speak and use the language of donors, politicians, NGOs, etc. without changing one's political position or compromising one's values), and being even more intentional about the transference of specific skill sets and relationships (incorporating a train-the-trainer element to every workshop, meeting, project, etc.).

3. **Flexibility in funding:** The fact that there are certain things that CARE cannot or will not invest in generates some frustration and complications for movement leaders. For instance, leaders from Ecuador's ATRH pointed to specific strategies they wish CARE would invest in, such as resources to mobilize their base or to implement educational or organizing campaigns with members and potential supporters. Leaders generally seemed to understand CARE's reluctance to pay movement/union leaders and CARE's preference (policy?) of not providing direct operating support to movement organizations. But it is still hard. To paraphrase one workshop participant: "CARE is great at teaching us how to facilitate workshops. But then we want to replicate these workshops with our base members, and we hardly have the resources to offer participants a simple glass of water."
4. **Increased transparency in decision-making:** Movement leaders in the workshop expressed a lack of clarity around how decisions get made within CARE, particularly with respect to the process and criteria used to decide which organizations and countries to support and at what level. "What we question CARE about," explained Ernestina Ochoa, "is why do they prioritize some countries over others? Or, why are they going to support Mexico, and only one organization, if there are three? Why not share in that country?" Similarly, Maria Noeli Dos Santos recalled telling CARE about the challenges that compañeras in Paraguay's unions were facing in trying to achieve the ratification of Convention 189, and hearing from CARE that they couldn't support those unions. But she didn't seem to know why.

While movement leaders expressed differing opinions on how they think CARE ought to operate in this regard (e.g. CARE should support all organizations within a particular country equally, CARE should prioritize support to organizations that are politically weak, CARE should direct its resources towards those organizations that don't have relationships with or assistance from other NGOs, etc.), a greater level of transparency surrounding these decisions seemed to be a common desire among leaders in the workshop. *What might be the benefits and/or drawbacks of more deeply engaging movement leaders themselves in these decisions which, indeed, are strategic in nature? In what ways does CARE's structure allow for or impede this?*

5. **Co-development of projects:** It is unclear to what extent this is a shared concern, but at least one movement leader expressed frustration that movement leaders aren't more involved in conceptualizing and developing CARE's project proposals and grant applications. "CARE's staff prepares project proposals and they get presented to us, [but there's] no opportunity for us to give input," complained Prima Ocsa, of FENATRAHOB in Bolivia. *What would it look like to engage movement leaders more deeply in this process and level of decision-making, priority-setting and strategy development? In what ways might this strengthen the movement? Are there ways it could backfire or detract from other movement priorities and activities?*
6. **Strengthening an anti-oppressive practice and culture within CARE:** CARE has invested in processes to address racism, sexism and other forms of oppression within the organization. Of course, with work of this nature the work is never "finished", and both CARE staff and movement leaders alike in the workshop pointed to the need for more work in this area. Juana Sales Morales (who is both a movement leader and a former CARE contractor) raised concerns based on her own experience of internal contradictions within CARE, for example, witnessing how men within CARE make sexist jokes. She points out that it's not "functional" to try to address issues of oppression externally, when internally the organizational culture still tolerates oppression. She asks, "How at the institutional level [is CARE] creating sensitivity around our issues? [...] How do CARE staff treat their domestic workers? Because surely, some of them are employing [domestic workers]. And how do they see indigenous rights? [...]" It's not only program coordinators that need to be conscious, but also all admin staff."

Ongoing efforts to bolster CARE's commitment to an anti-oppressive practice and culture *internally* and across all levels of the organization are necessary to ensure the continuity, sustainability and integrity of CARE's *movement* commitments. Ultimately, this will allow CARE to more effectively accompany movements in these same struggles.

7. **CARE's posture in relationship to national governments:** Several movement leaders in the workshop highlighted the importance of CARE's work to help open doors with government officials and create platforms for dialogue. Here's Zulema Cruz, a leader with the Red de Trabajadoras Domésticas de Honduras:

I'm fully conscious of the closed and negative attitude of the Honduran government. But CARE is recognized internationally. And international organizations make noise and exert pressure in

our country. The government won't listen to us, but when international organizations talk, they listen, because the current government doesn't like to feel under international scrutiny. CARE can be a bridge, because its recognized not only in Latin America but globally.

Juana Sales Morales challenged CARE to go beyond bridge-building and take a more proactive role in political advocacy:

[The support from NGOs] can't be halfway. If I bring forth an initiative and want to demand the government's support, but the organization says, "We can't push for that. We can't push for that because we have a good relationship with the government here," Like, "We support you, but ..." One foot in and one foot out. "I don't want to create problems with such-and-such Minister because we get funds from them." It's all or nothing. It's not easy; some NGOs have been persecuted or criminalized for supporting us. But I think they have to take a stand. And I do think CARE has done that, so this isn't a frustration per se, but I'm lifting it up as a theme that merits further discussion.

How can CARE use its power and reputation to further advance the movement's agenda in particular countries? Are there arenas in which CARE could take a more principled and public stand in support of movement organizations it supports?

8. **Sharing risks and risk management:** As activism in many Latin American countries is further criminalized and new legislation is created to crackdown on social movement activity, movement leaders face greater risks. CARE staff in the workshop referenced the example of Zulema in Honduras, who runs the risk of being charged with terrorism for her organizing, and asked, what are we going to do if she is arrested? Furthermore, the more that CARE assumes the role of a movement player, the greater risks the organization and its staff faces. In light of these issues, CARE staff have identified the need for a country-by-country risk assessment, and the development of risk management and security plans. To take the conversation a step further, we might ask: *are there ways that CARE might use its power and privilege to help mitigate or minimize the risks that movement leaders face, even if that entails CARE taking on some of that risk themselves?*
9. **Attending to movement participants' psychosocial/affective/emotional needs:** Many domestic workers have survived and continue to experience violence and trauma in their workplaces and lives. CARE staff need to be attentive to and aware of these dynamics. An appropriate role for CARE may be to partner with other organizations with expertise in this area to encourage spaces for healing, as well as to support the wisdom and cultural practices that many domestic workers themselves bring to this work of recovery and healing.
10. **Research & dissemination:** Support new research to provide updated and more accurate data on the conditions of domestic workers in each country and on policy implementation & enforcement (or the lack thereof and why). Ensure that this research is shared back with movement actors themselves in a format that is accessible and usable with their base. Create platforms and support communication strategies to disseminate this research with key stakeholders, government entities, and civil society more generally.

11. **Deepening a regional analysis:** Continue working with movement organizations to strengthen a regional analysis, regional platform, and regional movement identity. Greater communication between movement organizations in the region should be encouraged and facilitated, as should communication between regional entities (CONLECTRAHO, IDWF) and their bases.
12. **Expand the network of support:** CARE has played and can continue to play an important role in raising the profile of the movement among other NGOs, foundations, and actors and, importantly, facilitating direct communication and relationship between movement leaders and these entities.



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AREAS for FUTURE/FURTHER EXPLORATION

Listed below are a few themes and questions that were raised as part of the workshop, but discussed only briefly, and merit further discussion and analysis.

How CARE staff and movement leaders see themselves and one another: During the “Images” exercise (see Appendix C), there was a notable discrepancy between how CARE staff stated that they see movement leaders and how movement leaders think that CARE staff see them. When movement leaders were asked how they believe that CARE staff see them, their initial responses all tended to be fairly negative (e.g. disorganized, not serious, lacking clear objectives, etc.). With encouragement from the facilitator, leaders eventually included more positive descriptors (e.g. intelligent, change agents, empowered, etc.). But overall, movement leaders seemed to believe that CARE staff see them in a negative light. In contrast, the list of attributes that CARE staff shared about how they see movement leaders was, on the whole, quite positive. It may be worth further exploration as to the reasons for this discrepancy. *What is it about the interactions between CARE staff and movement leaders that leads movement leaders to believe that CARE staff see them in such a negative light? To what extent are these perceptions based in reality? Do CARE staff hold competing views of their movement colleagues? Are CARE staff reluctant to openly share their critiques with movement leaders? What structural issues might be at play here (e.g. internalized oppression, etc.)?*

The Concept of the Sexual Division of Labor: CARE LAC has attempted to introduce the concept of the sexual division of labor within the movement. *How and to what extent has this concept been appropriated, mastered and used by movement leaders themselves? How has this conceptual framework influenced or impacted organizing and strategy development within and across movement organizations? What further work might be done to share this concept more broadly and toward what ends?*

Embracing Intersectionality: We noticed tensions, widely varying perspectives, and areas of significant disagreement in the workshop related to the rights and respect of indigenous peoples within the domestic workers’ movement, and also related to the movement’s relationship to other movements (feminist movement, LGBTQ movement, etc.). We also heard comments from a few leaders which led us to think that, a) there is resistance and some degree of ignorance with respect to cultural rights among some movement leaders, and b) there is a need to work more deeply to address homophobia, transphobia, and anti-indigenous racism within the movement. *Might there be an opportunity here for CARE, in coordination with movement leaders, to introduce a stronger lens and practice around intersectionality? Is there work to be done internally within CARE along these lines as well?*

Leadership Development & Transition: There seemed to be a general consensus in the workshop that more work is needed to develop a new generation of leaders in the domestic workers’ movement, and to support long-term/more experienced leaders in sharing power within their organizations. Questions worth exploring might include: *Where in the movement do we see success in sharing leadership and developing new movement leaders? What can we learn from*

these experiences? What type(s) of leadership/leaders does our movement require? What role has CARE played in supporting leadership development and transition - and to what effect? Are there ways in which CARE reinforces entrenched power structures within the movement?



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APPENDIX A: List of Workshop Participants

MOVEMENT LEADERS

1. Petra Hermillo Martínez (México), Secretaria de Actas y Comunicaciones CONLACTRAHO
2. Juana Sales Morales, *Movimiento de Mujeres Indígenas Tzunnunijá*, Guatemala
3. Zulema Cruz, *Red de Trabajadoras Domésticas de Honduras*
4. María del Carmen Cruz Martínez (Costa Rica), President, CONLACTRAHO
5. Maria Roa, *Unión de Trabajadoras Afrocolombianas del Servicio Doméstico en Colombia* (UTRASD)
6. Lenny Quiroz Zambrano, *Asociación de Trabajadoras Remuneradas del Hogar* (ATRH), Ecuador
7. Ana Canchingre, ATRH, Ecuador
8. Maria Cruz Sánchez Corozo, ATRH, Ecuador
9. Lourdes Frías Hernández, ATRH, Ecuador
10. Raquel Elizabeth Reyes Valencia, ATRH, Ecuador
11. Neurali Corozo Ayovi, ATRH, Ecuador
12. Paulina Luza Ocsa, *Sindicato Nacional de Trabajadoras del Hogar*, (SINTRAHOGARP), Peru
13. María Ernestina Ochoa Luján (Peru), Vice President, International Domestic Workers Federation (IDWF)
14. Prima Ocsa, *Federación Nacional de Trabajadoras del Hogar* (FENATRAHOB), Bolivia
15. Fátima Gutiérrez Malale, FENATRAHOB, Bolivia
16. Maria Noeli Dos Santos (Brasil), Secretaria General CONLACTRAHO

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17. Miriam Moya Herrera, Latin America & the Caribbean Region
18. Carlos Mayanquer, Latin America & the Caribbean Region
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APPENDIX B: Latin American Domestic Workers' Movement Timeline

What follows is a modestly edited version of a collective timeline (and list of future challenges) created by domestic worker movement leaders and CARE staff during the June 2017 systematization workshop. It should be seen as a work in progress; additional research is needed to fill in gaps and add key movement moments and achievements from organizations and Latin American countries not represented in the workshop.

1988

- CONLACTRAHO, the *Confederación Latinoamericana y del Caribe de Trabajadoras del Hogar*, is formed.

1990

- The *Asociación de Trabajadoras Domésticas* in Costa Rica (ASTRADOMES) is created.

1993

- The *Federación Nacional de Trabajadoras del Hogar in Bolivia* (FENATRAHOB) is created.

1997

- The *Federacao Nacional do Trabalhadoras Domesticas* in Brasil (FENATRAD) is created.

1998

- The *Asociación de Trabajadoras Remuneradas del Hogar* (ATRH) in Ecuador is created.

2003

- The Law to Regulate Paid Domestic Work N° 2450 is approved in Bolivia. It's not regulated.
- The 27986 domestic workers' law in Peru is approved.

2006

- Ecuador becomes part of CONLACTRAHO's Secretariat.
- After 40 years of organizing work, the *Sindicato Nacional de Trabajadoras del Hogar in Perú* (SINTRAHOGARP) achieves official status.
- Domestic workers in Brazil win 30 days of vacation and bonuses, holidays, one hour of lunch break, and expanded maternity leave (from 120 to 150 days).

2008

- Domestic worker organizations in Ecuador start to develop alliances with unions and women's organizations.
- In Brazil legalized penalties are established for employers who do not sign contracts.

2009

- Costa Rica's Labor Code is reformed in favor of domestic workers.
- In Mexico domestic workers come together to participate in the proposal-process for Convention 189 and send recommendations to the International Labour Organization (ILO).
- The International Domestic Workers Network (IDWN) is launched at the International Labour Conference in Geneva.

2010

- Domestic workers in Costa Rica launch a campaign to win enforcement of the law approved in 2009.

2011

- Domestic worker leaders from Latin America travel to Geneva for a month to put pressure on decision makers at the ILO for the adoption of Convention 189 and Recommendation 201 on Decent Work for Domestic Workers .
- The ILO adopts Convention 189 and Recommendation 201.
- In Ecuador, the government undertakes a popular consultation to address the following question: If employers do not register domestic workers for social security, should they be jailed? Vote in favor.
- In Bolivia law 181 is signed, declaring March 30th the International Day of Paid Domestic Workers, and making the day a paid holiday for domestic workers.

2012

- The ATRH in Ecuador engages in informational campaigns, flyering, members' trainings, media coverage (radio, tv, newspapers).
- Bolivia ratifies Convention 189.
- The IDWN formalizes as a federation and changes its name to the International Domestic Workers Federation (IDWF).

2013

- Ecuador ratifies Convention 189.
- The *Unión de Trabajadoras Afrocolombianas del Servicio Doméstico en Colombia* (UTRASD) is created.

2014

- ATRH in Ecuador begins work in the countryside to train members to create organizations in the following provinces: Esmeraldas, Ibarra, Machala, Manabi, Los Rios, Pichincha.
- A census is conducted in Ecuador to understand how many domestic workers are registered for social security. From 400 samples, not even 1% were registered. Meetings are held with the Labor Ministry and other authorities.

- In Costa Rica ASTRADOMES joins forces with unions and NGOs in the collection of 5000 signatures to demand government ratification of Convention 189 and Recommendation 201.
- Costa Rica ratifies Convention 189.
- In Mexico a directory of social programs that benefit domestic workers is created.

2015

- Mexico reforms federal laws (*Ley Federal del Trabajo*, chapter XIII) to include and unify domestic workers. The *Consejo Nacional para Prevenir la Discriminación* (CONAPRED) conducts a survey regarding the situation of domestic workers, including salaries, working hours, social security.
- The *Red Nacional de Trabajadoras Domésticas de Honduras* launches its “Somos Trabajadoras” (We Are Workers) public awareness campaign.
- The Municipal Council in La Paz, Bolivia approves a Municipal Law for Domestic Workers, but it goes unregulated.

2016

- A study is conducted on how the ATRH can achieve economic sustainability.
- The *Sindicato Nacional Único de Trabajadoras Remuneradas del Hogar de Ecuador* (SINUTRHE) is created. The SINUTRHE starts working on a sustainability project.
- In Mexico the Servicio de Administración Tributaria (SAT) states that domestic workers must pay taxes.
- In Costa Rica Convention 189 goes into effect and ASTRADOMES joins a commission to approve a law for part-time domestic workers to gain social security benefits.
- In Honduras, the movement develops stronger connections to other organizations, such as the *Centro de Estudios de la Mujer - Honduras* (CEM-H), *Red Nacional de Defensoras de Derechos Humanos de Honduras* and CARE.

2017

- In Ecuador salary rules are amended to include domestic workers. Child labor is forbidden.
- In Costa Rica the law for part-time domestic workers to gain social security benefits is approved. The movement works to increase awareness among employers and domestic workers to secure the law’s enforcement.

Future Challenges:

- There is a lack of political willingness among many governments of the region to recognize and uplift domestic workers' rights.
- In many countries, including Honduras and Mexico, Convention 189 has not been ratified.
- Some countries (i.e. Brazil and Ecuador) have legislation that is superior to Convention 189, and yet organizations in those countries recognize the importance of fighting for ratification of the Convention to support countries in which the Convention has greater significance in the absence of local laws.
- International and local laws (including Convention 189) are largely unenforced: Employers do not sign contracts, do not provide vacation time, do not register domestic workers into social security systems; labor ministries are not enforcing laws regarding domestic work and workers.
- Domestic workers in the region have limited time to participate in organizing activities (schedules and the nature of the work prevents them from attending meetings and organizing efforts).
- A lack of economic resources limits domestic worker organizations' growth.
- Domestic worker organizations have difficulty conceptualizing themselves as part of a regional movement, and divisions persist. They perceive themselves as diverse, and yet they struggle to: a) understand the particular challenges and discrimination that indigenous and migrant women experience within the movement, and b) recognize and include unpaid domestic workers as part of the movement.
- Domestic worker organizations have identified the need to:
 - eliminate private employment agencies,
 - generate economic resources in order for organizations to gain autonomy,
 - broaden the number of unions and affiliates,
 - expand membership, and
 - include domestic workers in national labor laws.

APPENDIX C: Images Exercise

During the workshop, we split participants into two groups: CARE staff and movement leaders. We asked each group to come up with a list of attributes in response to three questions: *How do you see yourselves? How do you think the other group sees you? How do you see the other group?* The following charts are a record of the groups' responses, organized according to the group being described.

Movement Leaders

How Movement Leaders see themselves:	How Movement Leaders think CARE staff see them:	How CARE staff see Movement Leaders:
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Strong • Organized - fighters • Leaders • Empowered – growth plan • Utopian dreamers • Unionists • Political but not partisan • Bringing a spirit of solidarity (<i>solidarias</i>) • Multicultural and diverse • Migrants • We create bonds of sisterhood • Proactive, active • Entrepreneurs • With difficulties (divisions, rivalries, competitions, excessive leadership of leaders) • Need to demand more of the state • With aspirations to hold public office and assume leadership positions within trade union centers 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Disorganized, disunited, lacking an action plan • Lacking clear objectives • Lacking resources, not economically autonomous • Lacking technical support, there's no financial plan, resources with challenges • Not serious • As an important political movement in the region • They believe in the work and our potential • Invisible to the state • Change agents • Diverse, intelligent, allies (sharing a common agenda) • As equals • Strengthened change agents • Empowered, willing to fight and achieve our goals • Numerous, we are millions 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • As <i>compañeras</i> of learning and collective construction • As a movement still in conflict, with tensions surrounding leadership and interests. We see this as a learning opportunity. • A group with very strong leaders and strengths, very impressive, with a lot of history, commitment and militancy, who have managed to sustain themselves despite the difficulties • With great sensitivity and sisterhood, leaders accompany one another • We see them as leaders of the processes, with their own voice, very jealous of their spaces, but sometimes a little closed to other groups

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How CARE staff see CARE:	How CARE staff think Movement Leaders see CARE:	How Movement Leaders see CARE:
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Respectful of organizational processes • As learning from the movement, and what we learn we use for other initiatives • But on other levels, we still feel we hold the power and we can impose things • Lack of knowledge about domestic work (paid or unpaid); it's believed to be an issue only in LAC, when it's a global problem • We have a regional and national model, which collects learning and with movements, which can be replicated in other regions, but taking into account the different contexts, we need to share this model more widely • We have not yet achieved in all our interventions a more facilitative role than a implementation role (facilitator vs. implementer) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • As an effective ally • As donors • It depends on the country, in some we have more of a presence than others • As a link to others (bridge) • As an organization that provides knowledge and learning in different countries and methodologies • As facilitators - of spaces and exchanges of experiences • The relationship is built country by country, and trust too, it's a work in progress in each context • The image of CARE has matured from the role of providing assistance to the role of a facilitator 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Support is uneven [across countries/orgs] (not only in resources but also in the level of accompaniment and strategic help provided) • Willing to support (but here are some recommendations: a. include domestic workers in project planning. NGOs get grants under the name of domestic workers, but workers do not benefit, b. invest in long-term and long-term processes and not just projects) • Facilitators • In Solidarity • Offering technical and financial support • Promotes alliances with other NGOs, cooperation • Regional Leadership • In Peru, CARE went directly to the provinces without going through the organizational head - CARE shouldn't bypass the established channels • Imposes agenda and does not listen to organizations • They have their own limitations • They distrust some organizations • A lot of administrative bureaucracy • Must adapt to needs - flexible projects • No recognition of work hours [lost by our participation in the movement]

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