An Approach to Innovation for Gender-equal Union Movement in Germany

A Case Study of the Women's Department and the Gender Policy Department within ver.di

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Abstract

For the past several decades, union membership rates in Germany have been declining to the extent that trade unions are now almost in the state of dysfunction. There have been many innovative attempts to ameliorate the situation but without major success, one of which is gender mainstreaming.

This paper aims to identify the possibilities and challenges of labor movements advancing gender equal policies, through a case study of ver.di, a multi-service trade union. It clarifies the different roles of the Women's Department and the Gender Policy Department and examines whether there exist organic linkages between the two. An analysis drawing on interviews and first-hand materials shows that policy and structural differences hamper their organic collaboration and cooperation. Based on this analysis, the paper provides a practical roadmap for the implementation of more dynamic gender policies in ver.di.

Key Words: German trade unions, Women's Department, Gender Policy Department, Gender mainstreaming

1. Introduction

The purpose of this study is to identify the possibilities and challenges of labor movements advancing gender equal policies in Germany. While the German Trade Union Federation,

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or DGB is Germany's largest national center and umbrella organization comprised of eight individual unions, ¹ out of those eight unions, I will take a close look at ver.di, which is a German multi-service trade union. ver.di is embracing "gender democracy" and implementing gender mainstreaming (henceforth, GM) through the leadership of Women's Departments² and Gender Policy Departments, which emerged from its structural innovation.

This case study draws on the first-hand materials published by the DGB and ver.di in Germany, as well as my face-to-face interviews in German with officials at the Women's Department and the Gender Policy Department within ver.di's Central Executive Council, which is a central body at the national level and others.³

This paper is organized as follows: Before going into the main topic, I will first provide background information on the situation of German unions and GM in the DGB. Then, I will focus on ver.di and clarify the roles of the Women's Department and the Gender Policy Department within ver.di. Next, I will show what hinders ver.di from achieving the goal to implement GM. Lastly, I will present the conclusions drawn from this case study of ver.di and provide a roadmap for more dynamic gender policies.

As is well-known, in Germany, collective agreements, which are inherent in the German industrial relations, are concluded between employers' associations and trade unions, following the principle of collective bargaining autonomy. However, union membership rates in Germany are on a constant decline. In fact, upon entering the 2000s, the union membership rate went down to 18.6% of all employees in 2010 (19.1% in 2008), and to 12.9% in 2008 in the case of women.⁴ These figures demonstrate that the basis for Germany's industrial relations is now in the state of dysfunction.

2. GM in the DGB

Let us now turn to the national center DGB. Situated within German trade unions where male blue-collar workers traditionally formed a fundamental basis known as "workers' patriarchy" (Pinl 1997; Koch-Baumgarten 2002), the DGB Women's Department has long been a driving force

for women's movements within trade unions (Yuki 2008). It has played a pivotal role in taking action to promote GM. Thanks to the contribution of the Women's Department, after the mid-1990s, gender democracy and GM gained a "core" position within the DGB through the overhaul of the Fundamental Program (*Grundsatzprogramm*) in 1997 (DGB 1997) and the amendment of the Bylaw (*Satzung*) in 2002 (DGB 2002).

What I would like to emphasize here is that although the framework for changes that accompany the introduction of GM has been prepared and GM has been fully recognized as an important political issue, self-gendering within the DGB itself has limitations as this requires creation of a gender department apart from the Women's Department, the appointment of gender representatives, and incorporation of a gender perspective into policies and programs in every field. As such, there has been no progress in its concrete measures to implement GM, which reflects the unequal power relations where the proportion of women members within the DGB is around 30% (Yuki 2008). Budget tightening arising from a dwindling membership also hampered GM.

Moreover, the DGB Women's Department is compelled to function as a "gendered" department in charge of women's issues" and the range of activities allowed within the DGB is quite limited. Such being the case, the Women's Department is solely responsible for dealing with "women's issues," including support for work-life balance, gender pay gaps, sexual harassment, and irregular workers.

Furthermore, trade unions have traditionally been male-centered organizations. Therefore, the biggest problem is that the gender awareness of male unionists and male union leaders does not change.⁵ DGB does not conduct any gender training and hence the male members of the DGB remain to hold a traditional view toward gender (Yuki 2009, 2010).

Now that men are increasingly losing their status as breadwinners, male-dominated labor movements are urged to change into the ones whose primary goal is to attain gender equality. How could this be undertaken? The author suggests fostering gender-sensitive male unionists should be the key.

With these concerns in mind, in this paper, I will take up the case of ver.di, or the United Services Union in Germany.

3. GM in ver.di

3-1 Overview of GM in ver.di

ver.di is a German multi-service trade union formed in March 2001 by a merger of five industrial unions, namely, the German Postal Union (*Deutsche Postgewerkschaft* (DPG)), the Commerce, Banking and Insurance Union (*Die Gewerkschaft Handel, Banken und Versicherungen* (HBV)), the Media Industry Union (*Die Industriegewerkschaft Medien – Druck und Papier, Publizistik und Kunst* (Die IG Medien), and the Public Services and Transport Union (*Gewerkschaft Öffentliche Dienste, Transport Und Verkehr* (ÖTV)), and the German White Collar Workers' Union (*Die Deutsche Angestelltengewerkschaft* (DAG)) (Müller, Niedenhoff and Wilke 2002).

ver.di is a trade union with 2.3 million members as of 2010.⁶ As a union of service industries where the percentage of women is high, women constitute the majority of ver.di members, with the percentage of female members at 50.54 in 2010.⁷ This percentage is exceptionally high among the eight industrial unions affiliated with the DGB.

Upon its establishment in 2001, ver.di specified in Article 5 of its Bylaw (ver.di 2001?⁸; ver.di 2001) the goal of achieving "gender democracy" through its "GM strategy," which was the first attempt of its kind among German trade unions (Schulz-Müller 2002).

In addition to its pioneering policy, ver.di has also an elaborate structure for promoting GM. As we have seen in the case of the DGB, each German trade union generally has a Women Department, so that women unionists themselves can represent women's interests. Apart from this Women's Department, ver.di has also a Gender Policy Department set up in November 2001 following ver.di's establishment in March 2001 (ver.di 2002a: 1).

ver.di is the only industrial union among the eight industrial unions that have both women's departments and gender policy departments. Likewise, IG-Metall, the Industrial Union of

Metalworkers, has also been striving for implementing GM since 2002, but unlike ver.di it takes a project-based approach and has no independent section specializing in GM.⁹

In sharp contrast with other trade unions in Germany, ver.di concentrates its efforts on promoting gender equality and addressing gender issues. Now, let us see the responsibilities of the Women's Department and the Gender Policy Department.

3-2 Women's Department

3-2-1 Institutional structure of the Women's Department in ver.di

ver.di has an established institutional structure to reflect the voice of women unionists in its policy and programs. That is, women unionists participate in Regional District Women's Conferences. About 200 women delegates elected from each regional district gather to attend quadrennial National Women's Conferences and pass resolutions. Depending on the contents, the resolutions adopted here will be passed on to one of the following bodies for further discussion: 1. the National Women's Council, 2. ver.di's field-specific sectors, and 3. ver.di's National Convention or the DGB's National Convention to place them on the agenda of the general body.¹⁰

At present, three women serve as union officials at the Women's Department at the national level, each responsible for different special fields, including labor market policies, social security, equal treatment at workplaces, and works agreement. According to the head of the Women's Department, these women union officials coordinate field-specific sections within ver.di, submit women's resolutions to ver.di's National Convention and the national center DGB's National Convention, and work hard for their adoption.¹¹

3-2-2 Promotion of policy for women by women

Thus, taking advantage of this women-exclusive organization, women union members enjoy the right to submit resolutions to the National Conventions of ver.di and the DGB and to participate in and vote at these Conventions. To promote gender equality through exercising these rights, the Women's Department makes policy recommendations for women, addressing such issues as gender pay gaps and work-life balance in which the present social structure places

women at a greater disadvantage. With its high percentage of women, ver.di successfully realizes gender equality that other unions are yet to achieve, for example, by introducing a quota in decision-making within ver.di.¹²

3-3 Gender Policy Department

3-3-1 The role of the Gender Policy Department

As mentioned earlier, the Gender Policy Department was established at the time of the foundation of ver.di to implement GM as part of ver.di's top priority policy. From its beginning up to the present, it is run by two persons: one man and one woman. Moreover, the Bylaw of ver.di provides in Paragraph 4, Article 59 that each field-specific sector and regional district shall have gender representatives (ver.di 2001; ver.di 2002b: 9). These illustrate that elaborate efforts are being made to disseminate GM to all sections within the union.

The main tasks imposed on the Gender Policy Department are to familiarize both union members and union officials within ver.di, with the concept of GM and to increase their gender sensitivity. For this purpose, the Department offers various gender seminars for union members as well as union officials and at the same time holds gender training sessions to urge the participants to increase their gender awareness.¹³

3-3-2 Gender seminars and gender training

Gender seminars and training have been conducted since the very start of the Department; they are generally held four times a year, two are allotted for the acquisition of basic knowledge about GM, and the remaining two cover specific themes such as work-life balance. The two officials of the Gender Policy Department give these seminars and training; they are certified gender trainers who have received half-year training at the Heinrich Böll Foundation, known for its particular emphasis on gender democracy, before taking a post at the Gender Policy Department.¹⁴

These programs take place at ver.di's seminar house. They are often offered in an intensive overnight two-day course. According to the materials obtained from the Gender Policy Department, between 2004 and 2009, a total of 203 people (151 women and 52 men) attended the gender seminars.¹⁵ Trends show that more women participate than men, but recently they

An Approach to Innovation for Gender-equal Union Movement in Germany

are also working on the themes targeting which calls men to recognize the importance of work life balance.

4. Obstacles to Gender Mainstreaming Confronted by ver.di

Despite those efforts, ver.di has not achieved its goals mainly because of the transition of the Department itself and the relationship with the Women's Department.

4-1 The transition of the Gender Policy Department

Next, I would like to point out four specific changes observed within the Gender Policy Department.

1) Reduced needs for gender seminars and training

As a male official at the Gender Policy Department attests demands for gender seminars and training have been steadily declining within ver.di. He says: "At first, union members showed keen interest in GM, and the Gender Policy Department in response continued to work for the promotion of GM, for example, through distribution of various publications. However, around 2004 or 2005, things began to change for the opposite direction."

Although it is difficult to estimate the effectiveness of gender seminars and training, the male official's wishful thinking was that the changing trend was a sign of growing acceptance of the concept of GM within ver.di. ¹⁷ However, compared with the huge size of ver.di with two million members, the number of seminar participants is not necessarily high enough. Besides, attending seminars just once or twice would not likely raise people's gender awareness. Therefore, it is difficult to reach the stage where we can identify various problems from a gender perspective.

This male official pointed out the problem lies in a small number of participants from current union members. That is, many of the seminar participants are retired union members, such that gender seminars do not have any impact on daily union work. There is also an intergenerational difference in the degree of gender sensitivity. Young people, including young men, are more flexible to reform their way of thinking.¹⁸

The budgets to be allotted to each section have been cut as a result of a decline in union memberships. The Gender Policy Department is no exception and faces unfavorable consequences.

2) Decrease in the number of gender representatives

At the time of the establishment of the Gender Policy Department, as many as ten some union members served as gender representatives (Genderbeauftragte) on the regional district level. Although the bylaw stipulates the mandatory post of gender representatives, aside from two officials at the Gender Policy Department at the national level, currently there are only two gender representatives. Part of this reason is that union members are reluctant to accept the post of gender representatives, because in many cases gender representatives concurrently serve other representatives, which is a heavy workload. Gender representatives have the duty to periodically check union activities from a gender perspective and control them, which requires additional time and efforts on the part of gender representatives.

3) Personnel reduction among union officials, which may lead up to the dissolution of the Gender Policy Department

Another emerging problem with the Gender Policy Department is personnel reduction among officials. At present two officials at the Department allot half of their work hours to conduct the Department's work as part timers. Besides, in all likelihoods, the currently independent Gender Policy Department will merge into a new section responsible for the issues of gender, immigrants, and sexual minorities respecting the concept of diversity.²¹

4) Publicity by the Gender Policy Department

Relative to lesser demands for the Gender Policy Department within the union, the areas of its activities have changed. The mission of the Department in today's context is to keep those outside the union informed of the fact that ver.di is implementing GM on all levels as one of its important policies and thereby improve the images of ver.di, because ver.di is the only union in Germany to advocate GM. In other words, the Department began to speak out to those outside the union rather than inside.²²

4-2 Differences between the Women's Department and the Gender Policy Department

Let us see whether the Women's Department and the Gender Policy Department are successfully cooperating with each other through an organic linkage and whether each fulfills beneficial roles.

Frankly speaking, the answer seems to be no. I will cite some excerpts from my Interviews which suggest possible reasons for this.

4-2-1 Difference in policy targets

Both of the officials at the Gender Policy Department say cooperation is difficult because of policy differences between women's policy and gender policy. According to a female official at the Gender Policy Department, the Women's Department is concerned with hammering out policies for women, whereas the Gender Policy Department fosters gender equality for both men <u>and</u> women. This difference sometimes makes it difficult to maintain a framework for cooperation. For example, in case of family policies, the Women's Department considers more about women's interests, but the Gender Policy Department recognizes them as a matter which concerns both men and women.²³

"Oftentimes, women rather than men are suffering from disadvantages, so I heartily agree with eliminating them. However, the situation has changed such that not all men necessarily benefit from the present social structure." For this reason, the male official emphasized the need to grasp gender problems commonly faced by men and women. In addition to this difference in policy targets, he also pointed out that traditional women's movements not only fought for women's rights but later shifted their focus to gender equality but men were often excluded from this move toward gender equality.²⁴

4-2-2 Structural differences

The head of the Women's Department summarizes the difference between the two Departments as: "The Women Department vastly differs from the Gender Policy Department in having an institutional structure to reflect the voice of solely women unionists in its policies." She is saying that, unlike the Women's Department, the Gender Policy Department lacks its

own system to gather the voice from bottom to reflect it in its policies.²⁵ This indicates that the Department does not possess the right to put its policy proposals on the agenda. The male official quoted earlier also regards this as a strategic weakness of the Gender Policy Department. In making policy proposals, the Gender Policy Department is forced to take one of the two approaches. One is to request a relevant field-specific sector to reflect the Department's policy proposals on the sector's resolutions and the other is to directly ask the National Executive Council to put the Department's policy proposals on the agenda.²⁶

5. Conclusion

The following conclusions can be drawn from the case study of ver.di.

- 1) Contrary to strong advocacy for GM, there is a decline in both the personnel and interest to advance GM as shown in a smaller number of gender representatives and lesser needs for gender seminars and training within ver.di.
- 2) The fact that ver.di has attained gender equality cannot be solely explained by the outcome of gender seminars and training. In contrast to the DGB, ver.di maintains a stable power balance, with the percentage of women reaching 50 percent. In terms of number, women members of ver.di have the enough power to articulate their demand related to women and gender. As an actor in women's labor movements, ver.di runs its organization in a way that a high percentage of women's demand would be met.
- 3) Within the structure of ver.di, the Gender Policy Department belongs to the National Executive Council. That is, although it attempts to promote GM in a top-down manner in compliance with the principles of the union, in reality it takes a bottom-up approach by strengthening the gender sensitivity of union members.

The Gender Policy Department does not have the right to put policy proposals on the agenda. The only way left for the Department is to sensitize rank-and-file union members to gender issues so that both men and women members would be able to introduce a gender perspective into their own activities, reexamine their problems from a gender perspective, and put resolutions on the agenda. However inefficient and roundabout this approach may be, there would be no progress in the implementation of gender policy unless these steps are taken. The decline in the number of gender representatives capable of contributing to the development of gender policy implies that resolutions made from a gender perspective are very unlikely to be on the agenda. In fact, even today, many of the resolutions addressing gender issues are submitted by the Women's Department. As long as ver.di takes this problematic approach and at the same time publicizes its presence as "a union strongly advocating GM," we would have to say GM is not yet anchored in German trade unions.

- 4) We can still recognize the raison d'etre of the Women's Department. Even in Germany, from the 2000s on, backlash movements against gender and women and a trend of anti-feminism began to emerge. One of my interviewees says: "During the discussion on the structural reform of the DGB which was brought up in 2009, there began a movement to disempower the DGB Women's Department, as male unionists sought to defend their power. They are completely obsessed by the idea of sexual division of labor. Outside the union, they say GM is mandatory from political considerations, but within the union, they are reluctant to formulate substantial policy." Under such conditions, women's departments still have an important role in promoting substantial gender equality.
- 5) Regrettably, the Women's Department and the Gender Policy Department seem to have been unsuccessful in organic collaboration and cooperation. One of the possible reasons for this is difference in their targets. The Women's Department mainly targets women, while the Gender Policy Department targets men and women. Even though the Women's Department advances women's policy incorporating a gender perspective, its main policy target is women, but not men. Therefore, while the Women's Department contributes to the promotion of gender equality, it cannot introduce measures to change the gender structure of men and women. Depending on policy contents, the two Departments may be able to cooperate. However, the situation would not improve unless the Women's Department adheres to demands "for women". The strong impact of women's movements and women's institutional structure may possibly be hindering linkage with the Gender Policy Department.

- 6) Finally I would like to propose a roadmap for more dynamic gender policies.
- 1. to give the Gender Policy Department the right to put policy proposals on the agenda so that it will be able to directly deal with the issues.
- 2. to overcome the separatism to build organic linkages between the Women's Department and the Gender Policy Department.
- 3. to place more focus on gender issues faced by men. In the present social structure, not all men enjoy male supremacy. Even among men, we can see a widening gap. In other words, so long as unions prioritize the interests of workers and core workers, a growing number of non-regular workers who are left out of the majority will feel distanced from the union.

Now that men's position as a breadwinner is being undermined, labor movements which in the past focused on regular male employees are urged to address not only women's gender issues but also men's. As the first union to deal with unstable employment and demand minimum wages, ver.di is expected to lead innovative union movements in the future.

Notes

- 1 IG Bauen-Agrar-Umwelt, IG Bergbau, Chemie, Energie, Gewerkschaft Erziehung und Wissenschaft, IG Metall, Gewerkschaft Nahrung-Genuss-Gaststätten, Gewerkschaft der Polizei, EVG, ver.di-Vereinte Dienstleistungsgewerkschaft.
- 2 Officially called "Women's and Gender Equality Departments"
- 3 The title of the interviewees given in this paper is as of the date of the interview.
- 4 Source: ICTWSS Database 3, May 2011, available at http://www.uva-aias.net/207 <accessed on Sept. 11, 2011>
- 5 Based on the author's interview with the Director of Women's Department within DGB, conducted in Berlin on Feb. 9, 2008.
- 6 http://international.verdi.de/ver.di_fremdsprachig/was_ist_ver.di_eine_einfuehrung (in German) <accessed on Sept. 11, 2011>
 - $http://international.verdi.de/ver.di_fremdsprachig/was_ist_ver.di_-_eine_einfuehrung_auf_englisch \\ (in English) < accessed on Sept. 11, 2011>$
- 7 http://presse.verdi.de/pressemitteilungen/showNews?id=9f6c4c14-2483-11e0-6d07-001ec9b05a14 <accessed on Sept. 11, 2011>
- 8 The author estimates it was published in 2001 since the author obtained it shortly after ver.di's Gründung Conference (Foundation Conference) in 2001.

An Approach to Innovation for Gender-equal Union Movement in Germany

- 9 Based on the author's interview with the head of the Equal Opportunities Department within IG Metall conducted in Berlin on March 7, 2006.
- 10 Based on the author's interview with the Director of the Women's Department within ver.di, conducted in Berlin on Aug. 27, 2010.
- 11 Based on the author's interview with the Director of the Women's Department within ver.di, conducted in Berlin on Aug. 27, 2010.
- 12 Based on the author's interview with the Director of the Women's Department within ver.di, conducted in Berlin on Aug. 27, 2010.
- 13 Based on the author's interview with a male official of the Gender Policy Department within ver.di conducted in Berlin on Sept. 8, 2010.
- 14 Based on the author's interview with a male official of the Gender Policy Department within ver.di conducted in Berlin on Sept. 8, 2010.
- 15 E-mail correspondence from a male official of the Gender Department within ver.di on Sept. 10, 2010.
- 16 Based on the author's interview with a male official of the Gender Policy Department within ver.di conducted in Berlin on Sept. 8, 2010.
- 17 Based on the author's interview with a male official of the Gender Policy Department within ver.di conducted in Berlin on Sept. 8, 2010.
- 18 Based on the author's interview with a male official of the Gender Policy Department within ver.di conducted in Berlin on Sept. 8, 2010.
- 19 Based on the author's interview with a male official of the Gender Policy Department within ver.di conducted in Berlin on Sept. 8, 2010.
- 20 Based on the author's interview with an official of the Women's Department within ver.di conducted in Berlin on Sept. 6, 2010.
- 21 Based on the author's interview with a male official of the Gender Policy Department within ver.di conducted in Berlin on Sept. 8, 2010.
- 22 Based on the author's interview with a male official of the Gender Policy Department within ver.di conducted in Berlin on Sept. 8, 2010.
- 23 Based on the author's interview with a female official of the Gender Policy Department within ver.di conducted in Berlin on Sept. 8, 2010.
- 24 Based on the author's interview with a male official of the Gender Policy Department within ver.di conducted in Berlin on Sept. 8, 2010.
- 25 Based on the author's interview with the Director of the Women's Department within ver.di, conducted in Berlin on Aug. 27, 2010.
- 26 Based on the author's interview with a male official of the Gender Policy Department within ver.di conducted in Berlin on Sept. 8, 2010.
- 27 Based on the author's interview with the Director of the Women's Department within ver.di, conducted in Berlin on Aug. 27, 2010.

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An Approach to Innovation for Gender-equal Union Movement in Germany

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Remarks

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