TRANSPORT WORKERS BUILDING POWER

Congress Theme Document

WELCOME

"On behalf of the ITF Singapore National Coordinating Committee, a very warm welcome to all our sisters and brothers to Singapore! We are honoured this year to be the host country for ITF's 44th Congress. This is a historical Congress as it is the first time in ITF's 122 years of history that the Congress is held in Singapore and in South East Asia. We are excited to showcase Singapore as a "Gateway" to Asia and the Pacific.

The Congress Theme Document recognises the impact that technology has on transport workers and we have to make policy choices to help our workers. Likewise, Singapore is not spared! Working together with our tripartite partners, a S$4.5 billion Industry Transformation Programme, consisting of 23 road maps covering the various industries in Singapore was launched. This is to address issues within each industry in moving towards a future ready economy. The importance of social dialogue is ever more critical in times of change brought about by disruptive technology and here in Singapore, we place great emphasis on the element of tripartism. It is in this spirit that Industry Transformation Maps (ITMs) for each industry are developed jointly with unions, industry partners, trade associations and government agencies to ensure all social partners' voices are heard.

In like manner, our transport workers will have a road map identifying the potential disruption to their industries and the specific skills required of them in the future in order to remain relevant and have good career progression. In fact, it is forecast that the ITMs will create more new and higher value jobs and increase productivity and real wages for our workers in the future. The robust presence of social dialogue in our system will allow for all parties to work towards the progress of the nation, while ensuring a fair transition for all workers in Singapore across all sectors.

We look forward to welcoming all ITF affiliates to Singapore, and hope that all delegates will have a fruitful Congress."

Mary Liew
Chairperson, Singapore National Coordinating Committee
General Secretary, Singapore Maritime Officers' Union (SMOU)

The ITF pays its respects
Hanafi Rustandi, President of Indonesian seafarers' union KPI (Kesatuan Pelaut Indonesia), passed away on 3 July 2017, having been with the ITF in Tokyo for International Bargaining Forum negotiations. Brother Hanafi was Chair of the ITF Asia Pacific region and had been a member of the ITF's Executive Board since Congress 2010. He was a champion who stood up for what he believed in and against injustice, he was much loved and his passing is a huge loss to the ITF family and the wider labour movement. He will be greatly missed.

WE ARE MiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiLLiONS OF WORKERS. WE CAN DO ANYTHING.

Steve Cotton
ITF General Secretary

Mary Liew
General Secretary
Singapore Maritime
Officers' Union

Paddy Crumlin
ITF President

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INTRODUCTION

At Sofia in 2014, ITF unions adopted From Global Crisis to Global Justice: Transport Workers Fighting Back as the Congress theme. The ITF family said it would fight back through the 4 levers strategy, and we have big achievements to be proud of.

1. Transportation is the foundation of global trade and growth in the economy. The global transport industry Is expected to generate $4.8 trillion in revenue in 2018, representing 6% of global gross domestic product (GDP). There are tens of millions of transport workers around the world that keep the global economy moving. In an era of growing inequality, transport is one of the greatest equalisers in society. The ITF has a unique role in ensuring transport is safe, fair and sustainable for all.

2. We have consolidated union power in hubs and corridors. Workers in key airports, ports, and international road corridors are organising in large numbers and sharing ideas about how to build power across their sectors.

3. Our campaigns for workers' rights at DHL, Ikea, and ICTSI show the ITF is taking on bigger and tougher lead industry players. And we continue to win industry wide standards for international seafarers through the International Bargaining Forum (IBF).

4. ITF unions have made activating mass membership a priority. In India railway unions have started training programmes for hundreds of thousands young members on how to respond to privatisation and a women's advocacy program to combat violence and harassment.

5. Affiliates have led the way in building mass membership amongst informal transport workers. More than 100,000 informal workers have been organised; three new unions have been launched to represent them; new collective agreements covering informal workers have been signed in six countries; and they have overseen a 300% increase in trade union membership of informal women transport workers[1].

6. We have responded to geographic shifts. Campaigning for union rights at Qatar Airways and the setting up the IFOMS union for seafarers in Myanmar has demonstrated that ITF unions are building power in high growth regions.

7. We have made progress with women transport workers' leadership and active involvement across all ITF work. We have made progress in promoting young workers' voices and increasing their participation in our campaigns and structures. But the strategy is long term and needs to continue, as transport unions face up to new challenges, including the fight for secure and decent work.

8. Automation and technological change is one of those challenges, but it's also an opportunity for workers. Jobs will intensify or shift to other parts of the economy. There are many things the ITF family can do to stop the harmful effects of technology. Workers can use new technology to organise. We can win new regulations for workers to take power over their data. Collective bargaining can ensure technology improves working conditions. By working together, the ITF family can make sure new technologies make working life better.

9. The ITF's plan to build power addresses the challenges facing transport workers, both old and new. Multinationals are still driving down working conditions. The geographic shifts in the global economy put pressure on workers in all regions. The deregulation model that has undermined standards in maritime is now appearing in civil aviation. Privatisation continues to weaken working conditions.

10. As our response, we will continue to grow and activate our membership in key hubs and corridors, and the high growth regions. We want more workers to join transport unions and more workers to take action for their rights.

11. We will launch innovative campaigns against the most important multinationals

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1   Content from submission from NETWON, Nepal

OUR VISION

Congress is a place where thousands of individual members join forces to form one collective voice. It's a stage where goals are defined and strategies are developed to turn them into real action with meaningful outcomes.

and high impact issues like technological change.

12. And we will fight for regulations, both global and national, that give transport workers the right to decent work in a fast changing world.

13. The ITF Congress is a place where thousands of individual members join forces to form one collective voice. Words are turned into action. Every member is invited to come with a pledge, a manifesto, a spirit to put their ideas behind something that can make a difference. Without your voices the Congress would be empty and without meaning. Our pledges of action and promises help form our vision for the organisation.

14. It's time to amplify these voices and build on the good work that has already taken place in our sectoral, regional, young transport workers, and women transport workers' conferences in the lead up to Congress 2018. Our vision and goals have been formulated through the Pathway to Congress process ensuring that affiliates own and govern the delivery of our work.

15. Our vision is one that sees transport workers building power, growing our ability to shape the future and achieving sustainable outcomes that make a difference to transport workers.

16. Failures of governance persist across the world. Over the decade following the 2008 global financial crisis, we have seen the extension of corporate globalisation and rising inequality; Oxfam tells us that 8 people own the same wealth as half of the

world's population. And we see an increasing disregard for workers' rights. These factors have fuelled a tide of disillusionment which is being exploited by populist politicians across the world.

17. In Sofia, we recognised that these challenges meant the ITF needed to change. In Singapore, we must agree on how to build on the progress we've made.

18. Over the last 4 years, we, as part of the global labour movement, have been leading the fight back. Our ability to influence, our capacity to respond, our declared membership; each year, each of these has increased. In a hostile world, we have grown.

19. Our priority projects have delivered. DHL are talking to unions and the ITF has successfully applied the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) complaints mechanism. Workers are coming together and winning better wages and conditions at key airports. In our public

"WITHOUT YOUR VOICES THE CONGRESS WOULD BE EMPTY AND WITHOUT MEANING. OUR PLEDGES OF ACTION AND PROMISES HELP FORM OUR VISION FOR THE ORGANISATION."

transport our policies are being heard, we are strengthening the leadership and representation of women and we are organising through pilot projects, including in the informal sector. In Panama we have organised dockworkers, logistics workers, and seen improved conditions for aviation workers; we are now more visible and better placed to dictate terms in a strategically critical global hub.

20.   Our Industrial Hubs programme's organising model has delivered membership growth and a sustainable methodology. Our Qatar Airways campaign led the Qatari government to acknowledge its discrimination and make changes to contracts, as well as to discuss worker representation and grievance. In LATAM and Avianca we continue to build our networks, our coverage and win agreements. Our campaigning on Maersk has led to an agreement that any vessel it charters must be covered by an ITF or similar agreement, which includes protections for crews on Flags of Convenience (FOC) ships. Our global alliance of DP World unions is raising standards, and International Container Terminal Services Inc. (ICTSI) is under increasing pressure to change its anti-worker practices. Our railway unions have fought privatisation, with notable success in India, and helped build numbers and power across sectors in the globally strategic Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) region. Workers in warehouses, terminals, container freight stations and similar logistics centres are of highest importance for our strategic approach to supply chains and complex logistics operations; our pilot project to organise these workers and give them a space and a voice within the ITF has become global in reach and will ensure this group of

workers will be a strong part of the ITF family and increase workers' power.

21.   On violence, our global advocacy programme has reached thousands of women in key countries and we are ensuring the voices of transport workers, both men and women, are in the middle of our push to secure an International Labour Organization (ILO) convention on violence and harassment at work.

"OUR GLOBAL ADVOCACY PROGRAMME HAS REACHED THOUSANDS OF WOMEN IN KEY COUNTRIES AND WE ARE ENSURING THE VOICES OF TRANSPORT WORKERS, BOTH MEN AND WOMEN, ARE IN THE MIDDLE OF OUR PUSH TO SECURE AN ILO CONVENTION ON VIOLENCE AND HARASSMENT AT WORK."

22.   Our newly developed Union Building programme underpins our strategy. It aims at building strong, democratic unions with sustainable institutional capacity as well as organising, bargaining and campaigning capacity. Projects are based on a strategic target selection and building new unions where there aren't any; strengthening unions where they exist but want to become more powerful; or consolidating small unions into greater, more powerful organisations. The methodology empowers union leaders and members for activism, mobilisation, and fighting for their interests. We thank our partners, the Trade Union Solidarity Support Organisations, for their continued support.

23.   Our campaign strategies are more sophisticated, and getting better results. We are targeting economic employers in global supply chains for their impact on markets. Influence them and we influence markets; organising clients such as anti-union logistics company XPO is part of this plan. In Australia we took on global giant Chevron and exposed their tax practices, winning back millions for the tax payer and putting long-term corrective measures in place.

24.   The ITF and affiliates have successfully used capital strategies in our campaigns. Capital strategies utilise union power as investors to encourage more responsible corporate behaviour and shape business models. This is done directly, by mobilizing workers' capital in pension funds and other savings vehicles, and by coordinating efforts with other investors. This strategy was used during our campaign around Deepwater Container Terminal (DCT) Gdansk, where our global campaigning secured recognition and bargaining at a important port hub.

25.   We are building momentum, part of a global movement that is re-establishing trade unions as the solution to the issues that characterise our societies. Even institutions like the OECD and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) are discussing the link between declining trade union density, rising income inequality and stagnant economic growth; we must ensure this translates into tangible benefits for workers.

A global crisis continued

26. We are positioning ourselves as the global voice of transport workers and over the next Congress period we will continue to build transport workers' power, we will be equipped to tackle the challenges in front of us, and we will become more representative throughout our structures and campaigns. We can only take on the challenges, we can only be more relevant, if we are truly representative.

27. Of the challenges in front of us, technology, automation and the future of work has been identified across all our sectors and regions. For all of us, the future of transport work depends on how effectively we can fight for decent, secure jobs and challenge digital inequality. New technologies hold out potential for expanding productivity, enhancing the safety and comfort of work, reducing working hours, and boosting incomes. But these potential benefits will not automatically flow to transport workers. New technology can be harnessed to strengthen unions, organising and campaigning. We must use our collective power to shape technology and share its benefits. Technological change can build union power.

28. Of course, the future world of work is not just about technology; it is about tackling the enormous economic and political challenges facing society. At the international, regional and national level, we must be active at the heart of the debate so we can shape the changes for the benefit of working people and wider society.

29. The future of work will in many sectors be informal, and technology will increasingly play a role in informal models of employment. For example, platform work is a type of informal work that uses new technology as an intermediary. We must organise the unorganised – our fight for dignity, justice and power for informal, casual and precarious workers will help secure the future of transport workers globally. Unions in the Global South have organised informal workers for decades. Strategies, skills and tools successfully used for organising informal workers need to be shared with unions looking to organsie platform workers[2].

30. So our vision of transport workers building power, building on our fight back over the last 4 years, building on our successes, sees transport workers taking on the challenges and opportunities presented by technological change and winning across markets and sectors in the years to come.

2 Content from submission from NETWON, Nepal and submission from NUSI, India

31. Capitalism has been in crisis since the 1970s. The crisis expresses itself through overcapacity in many industries, growing unemployment, reduced wage share, increased inequality, deteriorating working conditions, and a reduction in productive investments. Thus, we are faced with a multiplicity of crises; economic; social; political; and environmental. Responses to this crisis have undermined wages and working conditions.

32. Economies and industries are being restructured all over the world. Capital and power are being concentrated, including in the transport industry, in the hands of a small number of transnational companies. They control increasingly bigger parts of the freight and passenger transport markets. The concentration of power goes hand-in-hand with increased deregulation, outsourcing, fragmentation and privatisation – with a massive downward pressure on wages and working conditions on those workers who actually carry out the transport services.

Globalisation and free trade agreements:

33. The redistribution of wealth from labour to capital, from public to private, and from the poor to the rich are the result of these policies. This redistribution has reduced people's purchasing power, and thus their ability to consume goods and services. The resulting overcapacity in many industries has led to an abundance of financial capital in search of profitable investments elsewhere. This represents a new phase in capitalism, characterised by globalisation (i.e. capital's strategy for the deregulation and restructuring of capitalism at the international level), deregulation of financial and other markets, and the financialisation of capitalism.

34. The global economy is being run according to a deliberately business-friendly set of rules and practices. The neoliberal vision of globalisation implies maximum protections for business interests: granting them freedom to move capital and production, and severely limiting the scope for governments, or civil society, to interfere. Corporate freedom of action is being enshrined in much of the global digital economy.

35. In the WTO, and in trade deals like the Trade in Services Agreement (TiSA), the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP) and the Transatlatic Trade and Investment Partnership (TTIP), trade is being developed to benefit multinational companies. These efforts are being led by the United States in particular, to ensure that the rules of trade allow digital companies (including Google, Apple, Facebook, Amazon and Microsoft) to command the world's data. Data is often said to be the 'oil of the 21st century', and its domination by private interests will further entrench the power of capital. These big companies are pushing for a digital trade framework which would, for example, allow companies not to register national offices – in effect denying governments the ability to tax or otherwise control them. They also oppose digital taxes and rules requiring them to hold data nationally. Some critics are calling these proposals a manifesto for 'digital colonialism'. For big business, since the future of the economy is digital, it makes sense to further entrench their existing dominance in the digital sphere. This is a clear transnational threat to workers' interests across the world.

Stagnation and Unemployment:

36. Central bankers have been forced to undertake unconventional measures to try to stop inflation from falling too low (or tipping into outright deflation), and to stimulate some growth in employment and purchasing power. Very weak levels of business capital spending in most countries (despite strong profits and falling company taxes) have also affected the economy. The credibility of neoliberal economic policy has been eroded. But its legacy lives on in the form of underused labour, persistent unemployment and underemployment, and continuing stagnation. Employers are introducing ever-more insecure work practices: including casual and contract work, the mis-use of independent contractors. The practices are finding a modern form in the so-called 'gig' economy of digital platforms.

Climate change:

37. Over the past century, the average global temperature has risen by roughly 1°C. Most of this warming has occurred just over the past few decades. It continues to accelerate, with 16 of the 17 warmest years on record having occurred since 2001. Rising global temperatures are putting the planet at increasing risk of dangerous changes to weather patterns, disruption of food systems, the proliferation of infectious diseases, and much more.

38. This warming has been caused overwhelmingly by emissions of carbon dioxide and other greenhouse gases (GHGs) from human activities. Energy-related emissions constitute around 60% of global emissions. Emissions from transport currently represent around 14% of total emissions, and are

expected to increase by 1.4% each year from 2012 to 2040.

39. If we are to avoid climate catastrophe, emissions have to be cut at a considerably higher rate than the Paris Agreement has promised so far. This can be done, but only if the energy sector is brought under democratic control and government and unions work together for a "just transition" for jobs, the economy and society. To this aim, the ITF must fight to secure the interests of the workers in the transition to a low-carbon society.

Changing power relations:

40. Alternative economic frameworks are replacing the failed fiscal austerity that followed the 2008 financial crisis. Governments around the world are beginning to address inequality and are investing in infrastructure to boost growth, pay and workers' welfare. Workers and their unions must develop and promote their own model of economic governance that addresses the failures of austerity and makes the digital transition of the economy sustainable for all.

The rise of right-wing political movements:

41. Neoliberal economic strategies have failed and led to economic stagnation, unemployment and public sector cuts. Jobs were moved from high-wage economies towards low-wage economies. The elimination of tariffs allowed subsidised food products from the Global North to flood into markets in the Global South, pushing millions out of the agricultural sector. Military interventionism has increased, leading to military conflicts that have created tens of millions of refugees both within and between regions.

"MILLIONS OF PEOPLE ARE FORCED INTO WORKING 'ILLEGALLY', IN DANGEROUS AND PHYSICALLY DEMANDING JOBS."

42. These refugees from economic and political catastrophe arrive in countries where workers are suffering from unemployment and poor working conditions, where labour market regulation is weak, yet where immigration rules are prohibitive. This forces millions of people into working 'illegally', in dangerous and physically demanding jobs, in highly vulnerable conditions and outside the formal economy. It does not necessarily drive down labour costs across the economy as a whole, but it clearly creates a working 'underclass' that is isolated, relatively unorganised and very vulnerable. This increasingly represents a downward pressure on many other groups of workers, not least in the transport sector. Meanwhile, the media often stokes xenophobia and disguises this suffering.

43. In the Global North the impact of the economic crisis has reduced living standards. Incomes have stagnated or fallen. Inequality has increased. Rising inequality in the wake of 2008 has led to widespread anger and disillusion. Politics has subsequently polarised, galvanising the far-right.

44. Across the world there is a tendency towards authoritarianism, and a tendency to blame democracy. Democracy has been

a hard fought for victory for working people. We must defend and improve it. History shows that authoritarianism in politics tends to be coupled with authoritarianism in the workplace. There is a clear danger that such regimes may in future abuse their access to digital data and use it to repress dissent, while companies will be allowed to use data to repress workers and trade unions.

45. We face a critical moment in the history of the trade union movement. In order to advance our demands for decent work, fair treatment and sustainable and inclusive growth, we have to undertake a more overtly political role. Those countries where the left remains strong or is recovering are precisely those where political parties have recognised the need for a new economics, a new social contract, and where unions are at the forefront of fighting for democratic and workers' rights. We cannot hope to win a more balanced and worker-friendly vision of technology and innovation without confronting right-wing populism and neoliberalism.

The challenges and opportunities presented by automation and digitalisation

46. Ownership, production, control and distribution are being reshaped by new technology. These fundamental economic and social changes demand a new social contract between capital and labour.

47. New digital technologies are being applied to an increasingly diverse and complex array of tasks and jobs – from mobile phone apps and process management algorithms, through to various types of automated machinery and robots. Artificial intelligence and machine learning technology will soon begin affecting a broad spectrum of jobs.

48. Corporate narratives wrongly tell us that automation will destroy jobs. Automation and new technologies will instead shift jobs to new workplaces, occupations, employers, sectors, skills, and employment models. Unions can help manage this digital transition.

49. False narratives can also serve to distract from other important issues, such as the crisis of globalisation, disenfranchisement, the rise of right-wing populism, poor working conditions, and wealth and income inequality.

50. Worries about technological unemployment are not new. Since the industrial revolution, workers have always had to face new machines or methods that can make work faster, cheaper, or better. But the historical record shows that technology has not produced mass unemployment or poverty – although suffering due to technological change can be severe for some groups of workers, and in particular regions.

51. Automation can present major challenges but also opportunities for women and young workers. Jobs occupied by women disproportionately involve automatable tasks, yet automation can reduce the physical requirements of tasks for women. Young workers are increasingly exposed to precarious and platform employment models; however, they are naturally better-equipped with the new, digital skills needed to compete in the changing job market. Unions must support young workers and provide training to ensure these digital skills are adapted to the difficult and changing labour market.[3]

52. Technological advances have saved countless lives. However, these advances have been made under a clear legal framework with defined safety standards. Without clear rules on ethical and safety standards, the owners and developers of technology are being left to program machines to make difficult and potentially life-threatening decisions. Rushing to introduce technology without a legal framework and safety standards undermines the long-term viability of modernisation and compromises the safety of road users.

53. The impacts of technology are always set by society, politics and government. Societies have a choice – will they use technology to enhance the lives of all, or will they allow technology to be used to benefit only a small elite, increasing all forms of inequality? The answer depends on how workers fight for a share of technological gains.

54. Our political systems are not currently set up to allow workers meaningful control over technology. Trade unions should develop a response to technology that incorporates it into a broader discussion around what type of workplaces, economy and society we want.

3   Content from submission from MTWTU, Ukraine

KEY CHALLENGES

Digital technologies are being applied to an increasingly diverse and complex array of tasks and jobs – from mobile phone apps and process management algorithms, through to various types of automated machinery and robots.

55. ITF Congress 2018 should therefore decide how ITF can continue to develop an alternative vision for technology within this broader political context.

New Technology and Jobs

56. Technological change is estimated to have caused half the decline of labour's share of national income over the past 40 years. If left unchecked, bosses and the owners of technology could increase their profits whilst workers endure menial tasks, informal work and falling pay.

57. Technologies can have the following direct impacts on workers:

- they can replace labour;
- they can intensify the labour in work processes; and
- they can allow the re-organisation of employment.

58. Technology is also used to monitor and discipline workers. These negative trends reflect the power imbalance in the employment relationship, in the context of an economy dominated by the profit-maximising actions of private firms.

59. Historical experience shows that pessimistic forecasts of unemployment due to technology are not inevitable. The labour-displacing effects of new technology will be reduced in various ways: including new work associated with new technology; reductions in average working hours; and the capacity of active socio-economic and trade policy to offset unemployment.

60. Automation displaces tasks, not jobs. Although specific roles and tasks will be automated, human labour will remain at the core of most jobs . We believe that most jobs will be affected by new technologies in the next ten to 15 years, but they will not be eliminated. Most workers will see their work intensified by a fully 'connected' workplace, the use of algorithms in managing a work process (like warehouse management systems), or by the introduction of new 'smart' or automated tools (like helper robots or smartglasses). Many administrative and data gathering tasks will be gradually automated, which will lead to job losses and new demands being placed on remaining workers. Most workers will see their employers' ability to supervise and monitor increase substantially.

61. Labour is still the driving force behind all production and services. This is true even in technologically advanced economies. The main impact will therefore be to restructure work. We must be aware of the risks and challenges posed to workers by accelerating technological change. Our response to the challenges posed by technology can be grounded in a complete and balanced assessment of the threats and opportunities associated with new technology.

62. Unions and government must work together to address potential gaps in skills, health and safety, and new forms of discrimination and inequality that may be opened by technological shifts in tasks and/or employment. Affiliates must cooperate and share policies and strategies to re-train and educate workers, and maintain or create good jobs.

63. Technology is not the only source of change in transport work – and is not even

the most important explanation of significant changes in job quality and stability that are already visible in the sector. Transport has been fundamentally altered by the erosion of traditional "standard" employment (full-time, permanent, year-round, with normal benefits and entitlements) and the expansion of non-standard employment arrangements (part-time, casual, self-employed, and contractors). This has been the direct result of the neoliberal drive towards de-regulation and the weakening of labour rights and unions.

64. 'Digital platforms' (often referred to as the 'platform' or 'gig economy') represent a significant and growing share of transport employment. In transport, digital platforms (or 'transaction platforms') are typically an online intermediary that connects and controls the flow of information between producers, distributors, employers, workers and consumers.

65. Our analysis of technology in transport must distinguish between changes genuinely driven by technology, and those due to other factors. We can better focus attention where our collective action (through membership building, campaigning, and influencing policy) can protect transport workers, and ensure that new technology improves our lives.

66. "Technology" refers to the accumulated knowledge that allows us to produce a broader range of goods and services, using better methods and tools. Technology allows us to work more effectively. By using more sophisticated tools, machinery, and other inputs in our work, we can make a bigger range, and quantity of goods and services. The process of technological change is as old as humanity.

67. The ongoing process of technological and economic development presents society with options. Technological progress can support a higher standard of living, reflected in higher incomes and higher rates of consumption (including public services and private and collective consumption). Since each hour of labour can now produce more output, new technology can also facilitate ongoing reductions in working time and more family-friendly working patterns. Workers have fought for (and won) both higher incomes and shorter working time – although in recent decades those gains have been rolled back by employers and employer-friendly governments. This was a policy choice. Today society again faces a choice regarding how the benefits of new technology will be shared. Income gains can be distributed broadly through society, through higher wages and reduced working hours, or captured mostly by a small elite.

68. None of these outcomes are predetermined by "technology"; they all reflect choices made by society. And in turn, those social choices reflect the balance of power between competing groups and classes within society. It is not inevitable that "technology" must reduce the incomes earned by so-called "low-skill" workers, nor lead to the expansion of insecure, precarious forms of work. Technology can be used by different groups to advance their interests. Since employers control investment and production, they obviously have the upper hand in this. But it is ultimately human beings – not machines – who determine how we work, what tools we use, what we produce, and how we share the fruits of our labour.

Technology and the Impact on Jobs

69. It is easy to conclude that any increase in the average productivity of labour should reduce the number of workers employed. In this framework, if technology allows the same amount of something to be produced with fewer workers, then that is sure to be the outcome. However, the relationship between technology and labour demand is more complicated than this; there are many other factors at play. For various reasons, new technology is not translating into higher realised labour productivity as quickly as many observers have expected; in fact, recorded labour productivity growth has slowed down since the 2008 crisis. And even if and when productivity does begin to grow more rapidly, several factors could serve to moderate the resulting impact on total employment:

70. Barriers to implementing new technology:
New techniques that can be demonstrated in controlled or laboratory settings (such as driverless vehicles, in the transport sector) may not be applied in real-world settings for many years in some countries and markets. Regulations may have to be amended to allow for the safe or reasonable use of new technology. Social attitudes and consumer acceptance may take time. The capital investment requirements associated with new technologies could delay installation of new machinery and equipment, especially in sectors characterised by smaller, less wealthy firms. For all these reasons, the expected uptick in labour productivity growth that should be the aggregate result of labour-saving technology may not always be achieved.

71. Work embodied in new technology and the creation of new jobs:
Technology itself is not some external force that transforms our work. Technology reflects human effort to develop new, more productive ways of producing goods and services. And technology itself requires large inputs of human labour: in innovation, engineering, design, manufacture, operation and maintenance of new machinery and equipment, for example. The introduction of new technology therefore creates some new tasks and jobs, even as it eliminates others (though there is no guarantee, that the two effects will be equal, or occur at the same time.) Entirely new types of job can also be created by new technology, and it can cause demand for new goods and services too. The potential difference and time lag between job destruction and job creation by new technology mean that it is important to make it easy for workers to transition from the old jobs towards the new.

72. Changes in total demand for output:
Increased demand can lead to increased production in the wake of technological change, moderating the impact of higher productivity on labour demand. Past episodes of rapid technological advance often sparked strong investment, as firms rushed to take advantage of profit opportunities opened by the new technology. Strong capital spending, in turn, can create jobs (examples of this pattern include the introduction of railways in the 19th century, the expansion of mass production in the mid-20th century, and the microcomputing boom of the 1990s.) However, today most developed countries' economies are stagnating, and capital spending is down, so this source of job-creation may be less relevant. Higher incomes can also stimulate more consumer demand. In transport, strong growth in underlying demand for transport services will certainly help offset any unemployment effects due to new technology. However, the capacity of rising consumer spending to counter technological job losses is undermined by the austerity, wage stagnation, and general insecurity that have been imposed in most developed economies in recent years. Government spending to stimulate job-creation in the face of accelerating technological change could provide another cushion for total employment. The creation and shift of jobs will also be determined by the way we produce and consume products and services to address the threats posed by climate change.

73. Organisational priorities:
Workers freed up from existing tasks by new technology could be reassigned to perform other tasks within their organisations, even with no change in the total volume of production. For example, imagine a transport system in which workers selling or checking tickets are redeployed to perform new functions that enhance the quality or efficiency of service (like customised service for passengers who require extra help). In this example, the organisation would continue to make full use of its workforce, even though technology would conceivably allow a reduction in headcounts. However, this would require companies to put other priorities before profit, which is only possible if the economy as a whole does so. Many private employers would reject these priorities but it is certainly possible for organisations to implement new technologies while protecting employment levels – if they choose to.

74. For these reasons, it cannot be assumed that the introduction of new technologies will cause a general decline in demand for labour – and very dramatic predictions of widespread job loss and mass technological unemployment are not likely to be realised.

75. Moreover, there are many jobs in the economy (including in many service-sector occupations) that will not be dramatically affected by automation. This is not to disregard the challenges posed by new technologies in particular industries, occupations, and regions. And the application of technology within workplaces (including highly intrusive forms of automatic surveillance, monitoring, and oversight) could undermine job quality and the rights of workers in far-reaching ways. This analysis suggests, on balance, that new technology cannot replace work, in a general way, and is not likely to dramatically affect the overall level of labour demand. It will certainly change the nature of jobs, and the quality of work.

76. The labour movement's strategy, therefore, is not to try to "stop" technology, but to focus our power to influence what types of technology are introduced and how technology is applied at policy level. We must ensure it maximises its benefits for workers and society, limits or prevents exploitive applications (such as technologies that intensify or degrade work), and guarantees compensation and transitional support for workers who are negatively affected.

Applications of New Technology in Transport

77. Recent research on the employment impacts of technology has identified transport as highly susceptible to automation. Most analysts agree many transport jobs could experience the application of driverless transport systems, whereby vehicles can be controlled by automatic systems. These are already in operation in some controlled environments in which interactions with other vehicles and pedestrians are limited, and where guidance and communications systems can be closely integrated. Examples include controlled-access railway and metro systems, trucking operations within defined enclaves (such as mining or industrial settings), and small driverless shuttles or pods servicing limited, pre-programmed routes. The demonstrated potential of this technology (in controlled environments) has sparked predictions that a large share of drivers will lose their jobs in coming years – with consequent massive impacts on labour markets.

78. However, this will not happen any time soon. It will take many years for infrastructure, regulation, capital investment, and consumer acceptance to adapt. In the meantime, employment of drivers in most modes of

"DRIVERLESS SYSTEMS ARE ALREADY IN OPERATION IN SOME CONTROLLED ENVIRONMENTS IN WHICH INTERACTIONS WITH OTHER VEHICLES AND PEDESTRIANS ARE LIMITED."

transport is growing, not shrinking. At the same time, less dramatic applications of new technology are progressing in all modes of transport, especially in ancillary, management, and data-related functions. These applications do not require the same all-encompassing changes in infrastructure, regulation, capital, and public acceptance as driverless vehicle technologies; hence they can be implemented more immediately within individual businesses, with less public attention or concern.

Examples of these incremental applications include:

- positioning, localisation, and mapping capacities and functions;
- monitoring and surveillance technologies to track vehicle and staff locations;
- assisted driving, sensing, and perception supports (short of automated driving systems);
- connected vehicle technology allowing better coordination and communication across fleets;
- big data analytics, deep learning, and the use of algorithms (in planning routes, service, and customer contacts);
- extensive computerisation in data management, including by drivers (such as paperless document systems);
- automatic ticketing and payment systems in passenger transport; and
- automated maintenance and inspection capabilities, which reduce the need for manual inspection and repair.

79. Across the various modes of transport, the impacts of technology on production (and hence employment) vary greatly. But all work will be affected:

80. **Aviation:**
Technology can now allow the remote operation of air traffic control, aircraft and servicing vehicles, and the wider use of robots (on their own or alongside human operators). Jobs affected will include pilots, air traffic controllers, and support functions in airports (including baggage handling, customer service, and food service). While pilotless aircraft are still years away, significant investments are being made in automatic pilot-assisting technology to supplement the work of pilots in existing aircraft.

81. **Passenger rail:**
Urban metro systems have led the application of driverless technology. Jobs affected include drivers, customer service, and control system staff. The International Association for Public Transport (2016) reported 55 fully automated metro lines in 37 cities (mostly in Europe and Asia), operating a total of over 800 km of track – representing six percent of global metro infrastructure. The implementation of automatic train control and other communications advances is an important partial step that may also affect employment levels. The use of automated trains and ticketing in metro systems is expected to grow. Fully autonomous rail is becoming an increasingly common mode of operation in many countries. Drivers are expected to operate the train whilst at the same time being responsible for passenger safety. It is essential that the ITF supports rail unions who oppose the spread of fully autonomous rail operations to maintain safe standards for both passengers and rail staff. Campaigning with other organisations and passengers will build support for safe railways[4].

82. **Long-distance rail:**
Driverless long-distance trains are being

trialed in Germany, Switzerland, France, Australia, and other countries. Since they cover a larger and less controllable area, these trains require expensive multiple sensors and automated decision-making systems – including to detect obstacles on the track. These need to be harmonised across borders. Rail infrastructure also has a long life, which makes rapid change less likely. Jobs ultimately affected will include drivers, maintenance, and communications functions.

83. **Road transport (freight):**
Depending on the evolution of infrastructure and regulation, commercial platooning of road freight services (whereby several trucks operate in a tight "pack", similar to a train, controlled collectively by a single operator) may occur within five years. Other forms of driver assistance (whereby on-board drivers do not have to control moment-to-moment operation) are possible even sooner. Full automation of the driving task is not likely for a longer period of time. Jobs affected will include drivers, communication staff, logistics support workers, and others.

84. **Road transport (passenger):**
Small driverless pods and shuttles are already in use in several controlled-route applications around the world, including South Korea, London, and the U.A.E. Experiments with driverless cars are progressing rapidly, so far mostly in controlled environments, but their widespread application to real-world driving environments is still several years away. Many jobs will be potentially affected in this mode, including operators of heavy, medium and light goods vehicles, courier drivers, taxi drivers, communications and logistics workers, and more.

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4 Content from submission from RMT, UK

The Technology of Production and the Organisation of Work

85. Shipping and inland water navigation:
Remote operation of vessels is the most likely application of automation technologies in the near term. Ship captains, crew, navigation functions, and communications workers are among the occupations likely to be affected by this trend. Many on-board processes are partially automated already, and prototypes for fully automated ships are being developed, although this would require substantial reforms to international law. There are also developments in undersea drone technology.

86. Ports:
Longshore work has been one of the transport occupations most dramatically affected already by the application of automatic loading and shuttling machinery. Huge, centralised capital investments in ports, and their controlled environment, have allowed this sector to move more quickly than other modes in implementing automated production systems. Expect the automation of more ports in coming years, and the increasing automation of container yard operations, intermodal facilities, and other ancillary operations as well. Jobs affected include crane operators, loaders, control system staff, drivers, and more.

87. Delivery and warehouses:
Transport-related support services in warehousing, logistics, and related functions are also very susceptible to the application of automatic systems. Warehouse robots and digital labour management systems are already in common use in many highly-capitalised settings (such as the operations of Amazon). UPS, FedEx and DHL and multinational delivery companies are experimenting with technologies to reduce last mile delivery costs such as automated

pick-up centres, drones and driverless automated carts. Parcel drivers' jobs in urban areas will be affected.

88. Longer-term effects on employment will be enhanced if intermodal technologies, loading and unloading robots, and even wheeled delivery drones become common. Jobs affected will include warehouse operators, fork-lift and crane drivers, 'last mile delivery' drivers in urban areas, administrative and planning staff, and more.

89. The dramatic growth of e-commerce has been fuelled by its competitive advantage over traditional retail. Lower prices, speeds of delivery and control of data are transforming where and how parcels are delivered. Amazon and Alibaba are changing consumer purchasing patterns, and seek to control and disrupt supply chains. Large traditional retailers, such as Walmart and Ikea, are entering e-commerce and adopting similar business models. These disruptions are changing the location, intensity and means of employment, as well as delivery patterns along global supply chains[5].

90. Other transport industries:
Technological developments beyond the transport sector may also have a knock-on effect on transport. 3D printing and other technology creates opportunities for decentralised manufacturing plants to be relocated closer to home markets, which could potentially affect trade patterns. The development of digital platforms for coordinating transport and delivery tasks could lead to a shift in employment from traditional transport providers to alternative business models.

5   Content from submission from International Brotherhood of Teamsters (IBT)

91.   Over the last few decades, there have been enormous changes in the organisation of work internationally. The changes reflect the vast shift that has taken place in economics and politics from the late-1970s: economic crisis, the transition from Keynesianism to neoliberalism, deregulation, and increasing internationalisation of the economy. This has changed the international division of work, the structure of business, technological developments, and working conditions. Power relations have shifted dramatically from labour to capital, and from trade unions and institutions for democracy to multinational companies and financial institutions.

92.   Work in all sectors has been transformed in recent years by the growth of insecure or precarious employment. Precarious work exists in many forms: including temporary or casual jobs, irregular or "zero-hours" contracts, greater reliance on "independent" contractors and other forms of self-employment, and the use of digital or online platforms to recruit and organise labour. The growth of precarious work poses fundamental challenges to the traditional model of employment – and to traditional methods for regulating work and ensuring minimum standards. For example, traditional labour regulations often exclude temporary or independent workers; and it is certainly harder to effectively enforce those standards in a poorly regulated digital economy. In some cases, evading traditional regulations and employment responsibilities motivated the growth of precarious employment relationships in the first place.

93.   It is important to distinguish between changes in the technology of production (which allow a greater quantity and quality

of goods and services to be produced) and changes in work practices and employment relationships (which determine how work is organised, managed, and paid). Technology is often used as an excuse to change the organisation of work, which mostly reflects social processes. Negative recent trends in the modern world of work are often "blamed" on technology – such as the stagnation or decline of workers' incomes, the growth of precarious or insecure work, including work for digital platforms. But these trends are not strictly driven by technology; instead, they reflect evolution in the social relationships and power hierarchies that shape the organisation of work.

94.   The transport sector has led in the application of insecure models of employment. The desire and ability of employers to access flexible and insecure labour, shift costs and risks to workers, and evade traditional employment obligations and responsibilities, is driving precarious employment. New forms of technology may facilitate this – but that does not mean the changes in work organisation were caused by technology.

95.   The use of independent contractors in many types of transport work (including courier, taxis, and trucking) has a long history. The development of more complex vertical supply chains in transport and logistics work has further contributed to instability in transport jobs. More recently, the transport sector has become a leading proving ground for the development of digitally-based platforms – including the most famous (or infamous) platform business, the Uber ridesourcing service. The growth of other platform-based transport businesses (including ridesourcing, courier

and delivery services, and intercity parcel and freight delivery) has raised concerns that the transport sector could be more broadly disrupted by digital platforms. In other cases, transport jobs could be collateral casualties of disruptions to the businesses of existing transport customers: for example, the growth of on-line retailing could undermine demand for existing transport providers (such as bulk shippers for large retail chains), at the same time as stimulating demand for others (namely small courier and delivery services).

96. It is important to examine carefully what is actually new about these new models of insecure work. The major features of modern precarious work are not novel. These practices have been used regularly in paid employment for hundreds of years: since the dawn of wage labour in the early days of capitalism. Instead, the growing precarity of jobs, including work associated with digital platforms, primarily reflects the evolution of social relationships and power balances, not technological innovation in its own right.

97. Consider the major characteristics of modern precarious work:

- work is performed on an on-demand or as-needed basis. Producers only work when their services are immediately required, and there is no guarantee of ongoing engagement;
- work is compensated on a piece-work basis. Producers are paid for each discrete task or unit of output, not for their time;
- producers are often required to supply their own capital equipment;
- the entity organising work is often distinct from the end-user or final consumer of the output, implying a triangular relationship

between the producer, the end-user, and the intermediary (such as a labour hire agency or a digital platform); and
- some form of digital intermediation is often utilised to commission the work, supervise it, deliver it to the final customer, and facilitate payment.

98. Other than the use of digital devices for organising and managing the employment relationship, all of these features have a long history in competitive labour markets. Their use has increased or decreased during previous decades, depending on a wide range of economic, political, social and technological factors.

99. Several factors have facilitated the expansion of precarious forms of employment (including independent contracting, self-employment, casual or temporary jobs, and digital platform work) in recent years. To be sure, technology has played a role: by allowing employers to more easily tap pools of underutilised labour, assign them to tasks, and supervise and compensate them. Broader economic conditions have also been important. In particular, the ongoing existence of a large pool of underutilised labour (visible in high numbers of unemployed, underemployed, and discouraged workers) is a precondition for insecure staffing strategies on the part of employers. If they were not so confident that labour resources could be quickly and effectively recruited when needed, employers would feel more pressure to offer more secure and permanent jobs. Another factor facilitating precarious work has been the generally passive, inconsistent application of labour regulations and minimum standards. Regulators have been slow to recognise the risks posed to the quality of work by

the expansion of precarious work and the evasion of traditional labour regulations; they have failed to change regulations so as to cover workers in these growing categories of insecure, nominally "independent" work.

100. The blurred overlap between new technology, and new employment relationships, is clearly visible in the well-known case of Uber (and other participants in the growing ridesourcing industry). These businesses are displacing traditional taxi work on the strength of an effective digital dispatch system and lower prices. Drivers are not considered employees, but are usually self-employed contractors (although that status is being contested through legal actions in several countries). Uber sets the fare; collects payment from the customer (using its proprietary app; cash payments for Uber rides are not permitted in most jurisdictions); supervises, disciplines, and discharges drivers; and compensates drivers with a portion of revenue based on pre-determined distance and time factors. In sum, Uber exercises a great deal of direct control over work and production, undermining its claim that its workers are truly "independent." Again, this pattern of "dependent contracting," whereby large firms effectively employ workers without accepting the normal obligations typically associated with employment, has a long history in other industries.

101. The actual production process in ridesourcing is no different from a traditional taxi: a driver collects a passenger in a vehicle and delivers them to a chosen destination. The on-line dispatch app is more convenient, for many users, than traditional systems (such as manually hailing a taxi, or phoning a dispatch office). But taxi services could

readily employ a web-based dispatch system, without adopting the same precarious labour strategies as Uber (in fact, many traditional taxi companies have also implemented similar dispatch technologies). What fundamentally distinguishes Uber from traditional taxi companies is the organisation of work within its business. Uber drivers provide their own vehicles, pay for all related expenses (including amortisation, fuel, and maintenance), and are compensated by Uber on a per-fare basis (with no guarantee of hourly or daily income). This model allows Uber to appropriate profits from provision of taxi services, but without the capital outlays associated with owning and operating vehicles, purchasing licenses, and other input costs. Its centralised control over the dispatch service, which drivers need to find customers, gives the company the power to capture this revenue. The development of this new business model is thus based on the power of a private employer to use a new technology in ways that enhance its profit, while undermining the incomes and stability of the workers producing the service. In short, the disruptive effect of Uber on taxi work should not be ultimately ascribed to its technology. The same distinction between pure technology, and the nature of employment relations, is visible in other digital businesses.

102. Transport employers in all modes, and at all stages of the supply chain, continue to develop new strategies for mobilising insecure labour on a "just-in-time" basis, without incurring the risks and obligations associated with the traditional employment relationship. The implications of the resulting precarity are experienced by workers, their families, and communities in various ways: lower and more variable incomes, greater family stress and

instability, disharmonious work-life balance, poorer health outcomes.

103. Even public transit operators are experimenting with models of precarious work (including those organised through digital platforms). Indeed, some political leaders have seized on digital platforms to facilitate the entire privatisation of public transit systems; several U.S. cities, for example, have abolished public transit altogether, replaced with a system of subsidies paid to residents for the use of Uber or other private ridesourcing services. Yet again, this association between digital technology, precarious work, and privatisation is hardly inevitable. For a public transport system oriented around the goals of public service (rather than cost-cutting and private profit), on-demand digital technologies could be wielded in ways that enhance the quality and flexibility of this public service, while preserving a commitment to secure, decent work for transit employees.

104. The broad shift to non-standard and precarious forms of work is likely to continue in coming years, without major changes in the direction of business strategy, macroeconomic conditions, and labour regulations.

"UBER EXERCISES A GREAT DEAL OF DIRECT CONTROL OVER WORK AND PRODUCTION, UNDERMINING ITS CLAIM THAT ITS WORKERS ARE TRULY 'INDEPENDENT'."

The growth of precarious work poses fundamental challenges to the traditional model of employment – and to traditional methods for regulating work and ensuring minimum standards.

Shaping Technological Change

105. We have argued that threats to the quality and stability of transport work should not be understood as being driven primarily by technology. Instead, it is changes in the relationships between employers, workers, governments, and regulators, and the evolving balance of power between these groups, that explain the direction of change.

106. We can fight for technology to be applied in ways that do not harm workers or society more broadly. This requires different criteria to guide the whole process, rather than the current narrow focus on cost minimisation and profit maximisation. And that, in turn, will require the efforts of a strong, focused, and strategic labour movement which wields its membership base, its campaigning power, and its ability to influence policy, to achieve a more balanced and beneficial vision of a high-tech transport sector.

107. There are some general principles that we should follow to allow workers to benefit from new technology. These are:
- democratically planned development. At the moment our economies are governed by the short-term interests of a handful of corporations which are introducing technology without regard to broader consequences. We need people to participate in political decisions on economics in order to reverse this process;
- to achieve this, we need to push for more democracy within the workplace. Only by dealing with the issue at both social and workplace level can workers ensure technology is applied to the benefit of all;
- to guarantee that workers get a direct say in what happens in the economy, and in the workplace, fairer forms of ownership are necessary. Ownership would allow

workers a decisive say in what technologies should be deployed;
- since data is key to planning, and information is power, workers should also strive to own the data they produce. This requires unions to push for national laws on data; and
- for workers to make informed decisions around technology, they must understand it. This requires access to information and expertise about technology.

108. For new technology to benefit workers we must fight for the following:

i) Facilitating job mobility:
It is clear that some transport jobs will be eliminated by new technologies. But there will also be significant new work associated with new technologies. One response to this problem is to help displaced workers to fill new positions by providing notice, support, and access to training and adjustment programmes. Young workers are disproportionately affected by the changing world of work so their access to the resulting support and training should be prioritised[6].

ii) Establishing benchmarks for skills and qualifications:
New technology-intensive jobs in transport will require a wide-ranging set of new skills, particularly for young workers entering the labour market. Formalising and regulating the skills and qualifications necessary for particular tasks will allow easier regulation, including of wage levels. Employers and unions should work closely with standards bodies to specify and catalogue the requirements for new jobs. Transferable certifications will assist workers and employers in identifying and acquiring

6 Content from submission from MTWTU, Ukraine

needed skills, and developing a ready supply of qualified workers who can work in different firms and sub-sectors. Strengthening the use of high-quality apprenticeships in transport is another critical aspect of preparing for new skills requirements.

iii) Facilitating decent retirement:
The advanced age of many transport workers can be an advantage in a time of transition. Downsizing employment can be part-managed by allowing older workers unwilling or unable to retrain or adjust to leave. Bridging benefits and early retirement incentives, with government support, could help to ease this transition to retirement for many workers, and avoid involuntary job losses.

iv) Negotiating technological change:
Adaption to change is more feasible and successful when all parties have a genuine say in how it is implemented and managed. In this regard it is important for unions to demand a process of information sharing, consultation, and negotiation around new technology. Workers and their unions should be notified of company plans for new technologies from the earliest stages. Discussions should occur within workplaces regarding the timing, scope, and effects of new investments in technology. Workers should have early input regarding what kind of technology should be developed, where new technologies could be used, and how the change should be managed. Collective bargaining should cover new technology and its application, providing an opportunity for employers and unions to agree the main features of technological change.

v) Protecting standards and benefits:
The growing insecurity of work, and the expansion of non-standard and precarious

employment, are already challenging standards of job quality, entitlements, and compensation – quite distinctly from the impacts of new technology. This harms all workers. Transport workers and their unions must fight to ensure that universal standards and entitlements apply – including to those in non-standard, independent, or platform employment. And we must campaign for innovative policies and regulatory tools to achieve a more level playing field in standards and entitlements.

vi) Preventing false self-employment:
Preventing false self-employment: many digital platforms and systems that subcontract work to "self-employed" workers in practice use traditional employment models. These false employment relationships must not be allowed to avoid government regulations or tax obligations by using digital platforms.

vii) Preventing technological exploitation:
In the wrong hands digital technology could cause an intolerable deterioration in working conditions. Without proper laws on labour, digital data and privacy, employers could use technology to intensify the production process, and impose tighter surveillance on workers, with negative impacts on health (including mental health), safety, and dignity. Campaigning to prohibit abusive and intrusive forms of monitoring and surveillance, and to protect workers against "digital punishment" (and protecting due process in supervision and discipline), will be an increasing priority as the application of monitoring and speed-up technologies expands.

viii) Reducing working hours:
Rising labour productivity creates the foundation for the reduction of working hours.

Conclusions: unionism in the digital economy

Shorter working time, broadly shared, could offset at least some of the labour-displacing effects of new technology, while enhancing the quality of life of working people – and supporting environmental goals at the same time (since leisure time is potentially a less polluting way to capture the benefits of increased productive capacity). Lifetime working hours can be reduced through many different strategies: including a shorter work day or work week; expanded annual leaves and vacations; access to extended leaves for education, child-rearing, caring responsibilities, and other life events; and early retirement. All are worthy goals for the labour movement.

109. Work will be increasingly affected by technology in coming years. Yet technology is not an uncontrollable force, and its impacts on work are in no way inevitable. The directions of new discovery reflect the priorities and interests of those who fund and manage innovation. New technology is never neutral and is always contested. How technology is applied in the workplace is open to debate, negotiation, and struggle.

110. We reject the claim of employers and governments that technology somehow requires workers to give up things. The problem lies in unequal distribution, not in production. Technology should open the prospect of better lives, with more security, higher incomes, and more leisure time. Technology can be misused in ways that damage the lives of many people (including workers), but those uses reflect deliberate social choices.

111. It is impossible to predict the impact of technology and automation on labour demand. Some jobs will be eliminated, many

jobs will be changed, and some jobs will be created. There is no reason to expect any "balance" between the number of jobs lost and the number of jobs gained; and no reason to expect that a deregulated, competitive labour market can ensure displaced workers are reallocated to other productive functions.

112. History suggests that it is not technology itself that creates mass unemployment, instead unemployment is the direct result of social and political choices. The economic, political, and social context of technological change is therefore crucial to determining whether it enhances the lives of working people, or is used to undermine it. Is the economy structured around social needs, around sharing goods fairly across society? Is policy centred around reducing unemployment to a minimum? Do labour laws and regulations compel employers to negotiate the timing, process, effects, and responses to technological change with workers? Do laws protect workers against abusive applications of technology, including intrusive surveillance and monitoring, other forms of undue work intensification, and unsafe practices?

113. Workers need power – at the workplace, in their industries, and in society as a whole – to participate meaningfully in debates and choices around technological change in order to enhance their benefits for workers, and reduce the costs. For workers to have power we must build stronger unions, make alliances with friendly political movements, and insist on reforms that make democracy more participatory and that extend it into the workplace. We must fight for fairer ownership structures. And we must confront right-wing populism.

"THE ECONOMIC, POLITICAL, AND SOCIAL CONTEXT OF TECHNOLOGICAL CHANGE IS THEREFORE CRUCIAL TO DETERMINING WHETHER IT ENHANCES THE LIVES OF WORKING PEOPLE, OR IS USED TO UNDERMINE IT."

114. Many of the changes affecting transport jobs today do not result from technology alone, but rather reflect negative changes in work organisation and employment relationships. This is particularly obvious in the case of digital platforms and their link to the growth of insecure work, contingent work, "gig" jobs, and other forms of precarity. The legal and political context allowing companies to use online platforms to undermine job security, stability, and compensation, and shift risk and cost to workers, is not a "technological" outcome. It is important for workers and their unions to appreciate the difference between technology and work organisation, so we can be most strategic and effective in choosing our priorities for campaign and struggle.

115. New technology is one of several vital challenges facing the labour movement across the world today. Each of these challenges: new technology, the rules of trade and the rise of the populist right, can be overcome, but they will require us to change.

Unions must play a part in developing a new economic and political vision for the world. Unions must resist and overcome the legacy of neoliberalism in our national economies and in international trade deals. We must fight for a more participatory democracy in which we can make use of our rights. And we should use technology to help us do this.
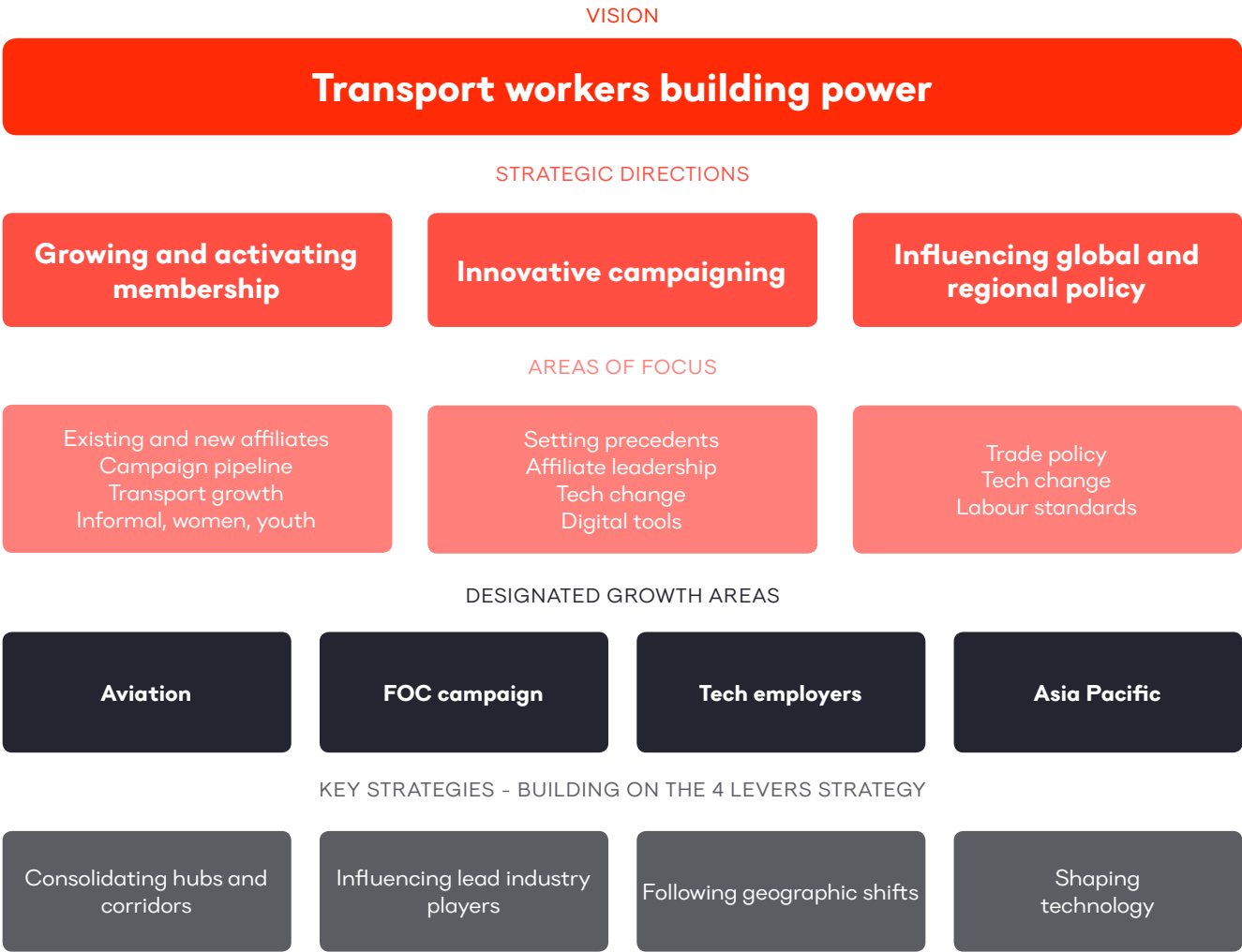
116. We can campaign hard to have a say in how the economy is structured, how technology is managed, to protect labour standards in the face of technological and organisational innovations, to reduce working hours over time to enhance workers' quality of life, to prohibit abusive misuses of technology. To achieve these goals will require a labour movement that succeeds in all three of the strategic directions that guide the ITF's activity: growing and activating membership; innovative campaigning; and influencing regional and global policy.

OUR STRATEGY

Four years on from the Sofia Congress the ITF is now ready to further define its strategies to meet our key challenges.

ITF GLOBAL STRATEGIC PLAN

VISION

Transport workers building power

STRATEGIC DIRECTIONS

Growing and activating membership	Innovative campaigning	Influencing global and regional policy

AREAS OF FOCUS

Existing and new affiliates Campaign pipeline Transport growth Informal, women, youth	Setting precedents Affiliate leadership Tech change Digital tools	Trade policy Tech change Labour standards

DESIGNATED GROWTH AREAS

Aviation	FOC campaign	Tech employers	Asia Pacific

KEY STRATEGIES - BUILDING ON THE 4 LEVERS STRATEGY

Consolidating hubs and corridors	Influencing lead industry players	Following geographic shifts	Shaping technology

Strategic framework

117. Four years on from the Sofia Congress the ITF is now ready to further define its strategies to meet our key challenges. The Sofia Congress adopted the 4 levers as the basis for focusing the work of the ITF. This strategy has seen successful implementation of campaigns and projects across sections, regions and departments and seen an overall growth of ITF declared membership. It has seen the ITF become increasingly influential and, given the challenges we face, we must build on the Sofia outcomes.

118. This Singapore Congress will further refine our strategic framework as the basis for addressing our key challenges.

119. This is our global strategic framework for the ITF for the next Congress period years. Our sections, regions and departments will also use this framework to shape their work. This will ensure alignment right across the ITF.

Purpose

120. Our purpose is clear: Transport Workers Building Power. This defines everything we will do. It is the focus of our work.

Our Strategic Directions

121. To achieve our purpose we need to focus our resources in a limited number of strategic directions that reflect the best ways to build transport workers' power. Three strategic directions have been developed, drawing on our experience since the Sofia Congress, the recent survey of ITF leaders, and affiliate experience.

Growing and activating membership
122. Our affiliates are focused on growing their membership numbers. The ITF has a responsibility to work with affiliates to increase their membership and therefore the ITF's membership. We also want to work with affiliates on activating their membership to be more active in affiliate campaigns, solidarity actions and all aspects of trade unionism.

Innovative campaigning
123. Since the Sofia Congress we have committed many resources to winning campaigns; both those led by the ITF and those led by affiliates. We are trialling new campaign strategies, techniques and resources that we can share with our affiliates.

Influencing global and regional policy
124. Global and regional regulatory and policy frameworks directly and indirectly impact on transport workers. Our affiliates told us that they need support and assistance at a global and regional level to confront these regulatory and policy challenges.

"TO ACHIEVE OUR PURPOSE WE NEED TO FOCUS OUR RESOURCES IN A LIMITED NUMBER OF STRATEGIC DIRECTIONS THAT REFLECT THE BEST WAYS TO BUILD TRANSPORT WORKERS' POWER."
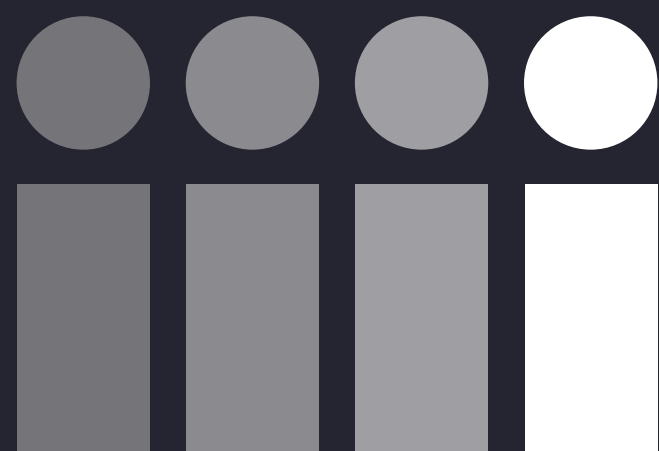
GROWING AND ACTIVATING MEMBERSHIP

Goals

125. By the next Congress, we will have:

- increased ITF declared membership by 10% - 5% will be from increased declaration from existing affiliates - 5% will be from new affiliates
- actively engaged affiliates in ITF campaigns and solidarity
- developed an organising model for platform workers and deployed it in at least 3 organising campaigns
- increased unions' sustainability – including through mergers – in priority countries and/or sectors
- ensured that ITF unions are well informed about technological change within their sector and its impact on workers

Areas of focus

126. We will work with existing and new affiliates to help them grow, using ITF and affiliate campaigns as a basis for member growth. We will focus on areas of growth in the transport sector, being more active in the informal sector and with women transport workers and young transport workers.

127. In growing and activating membership, there will be special focus on:

- unions that are important for current or future priority campaigns
- countries with high transport industry growth/low union membership, the mega economies of the future and logistics city states

- unions with potential for high membership amongst young workers and/or women workers
- unions with potential in designated growth sectors (see below)
- unions with innovative organising models, e.g. for informal workers, tech employers

INNOVATIVE CAMPAIGNING

Goals

128. By the next Congress, we will have:

- achieved industry-changing wins with at least 3 ITF priority campaigns, including at least one tech leader or employer and one lead industry player in aviation
- developed campaign leadership capacity in key regional affiliates
- developed, supported and promoted digital campaigning tools
- established the ITF as a centre for campaigning innovation

Areas of focus

129. We will win campaigns that set precedents for workers' rights in the transport sector globally, regionally and locally. We will support affiliates in their campaigns through building affiliate campaign capacity and leadership. We will win campaigns in new areas of automation such as platform workers and develop, use and share new digital campaign tools.

130. In our campaigning innovation, we will focus on:

- Adopting innovative approaches, in ITF global campaigns and/or within affiliates' campaigns
- Securing gains for workers by setting precedents at industry level (e.g. challenging business models)
- Developing campaign leadership capacity and participation amongst affiliates

- Finding innovative responses to technological change, at a global, regional, and national level
  - Job losses from labour replacing technologies
  - Fundamental principles on technology in the workplace
- Leading the union movement in the use of technology – using and developing digital tools for innovative union campaigning
- Contributing to joint global union federation (GUF) work around platform working and technology
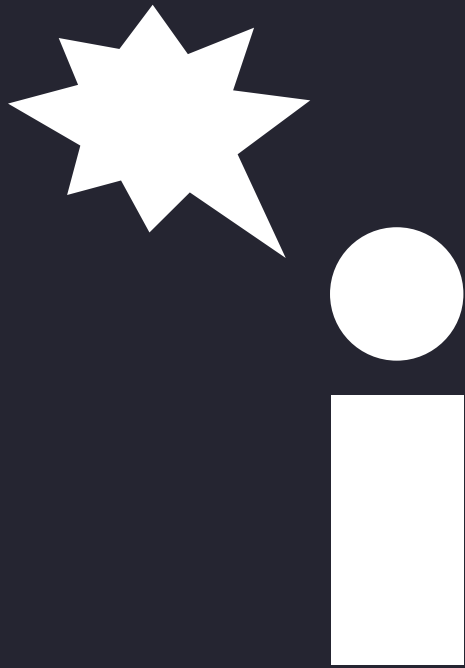
INFLUENCING GLOBAL AND REGIONAL POLICY

Goals

131. By the next Congress, we will have:

- strengthened the ITF as a credible global voice
- leveraged our reputation in the maritime sector to increase our influence within other areas of the supply chain
- campaigned for an international standard enshrining the rights of supply chain workers to access labor rights and enshrine the responsibility of economic employers to ensure those rights
- influenced national governments through our affiliates, on issues that affect workers and unions

Areas of focus

132. In our work to influence global and regional policy, we will focus on intervening to promote higher regulatory standards for workers in the following areas:

- Trade policy and agreements (e.g. TiSA)
- Investment policy and decisions
- Technological change (e.g ILO, World Economic Forum – WEF), including just transition frameworks and fundamental principles on technology in the workplace
- Global labour standards (e.g. ILO, International Maritime Organisation – IMO, OECD, International Civil Aviation Organization – ICAO)

Designated Growth Areas

133. While our campaigning and organising support for affiliates will be global, we also have designated specific areas of growth; areas that offer the most potential for transport union organising and campaigning.

134. The areas we have designated are:

Aviation
135. Our research shows the rapid growth of aviation – not just currently but well into the future. It is a very complicated area as there are many different elements – low cost carriers, airports, legacy carriers, Middle Eastern carriers, airport services, cargo, outsourcing including labour hire. Employment growth in aviation and aviation connected services is expected to rise everywhere. Many of these employers are unorganised. If we are to build transport workers power we must organise this sector and realise that growth.

Flags of Convenience (FOC) Campaign
136. This campaign has now been waged for many years. It is critical to ensure transport workers power in the maritime sector is expressed through improvements to collectively bargained rates of pay, safety, and terms and conditions, above the minimum standards set by the Maritime Labour Convention. While automation is changing many aspects of shipping, the absolute need for this campaign continues as a basis for growth in maritime.

Automation/Technology
137. There is a rapid and ongoing growth in work in the transport sectors which are being directly affected or disrupted by new forms of technology and automation. These workers need to be organised despite their forms of employment. This requires new ways of thinking about organising and campaigning. It may need unions to consider new models of unionising.

Asia Pacific
138. As was noted at our Sofia Congress, the Asia Pacific region offers both huge challenges to transport unions but also huge opportunities for growth. We must continue that focus for growth in this region through these next years.

Key Strategies

139. At Sofia we decided to focus on four key strategies (the four levers).

140. These have now been modified based on our collective experiences since that Congress. We have retained three and replaced one (activating mass membership) with a new strategy – shaping technological change.

141. This new strategy reflects the need for automation/technology to be shaped to benefit workers and not just employers as at present. The ITF needs to utilise this strategy to ensure its affiliates and their members actually gain from automation.

142. Our four key strategies are:

- **CONSOLIDATING UNION POWER IN HUBS & CORRIDORS**
- **INFLUENCING LEAD INDUSTRY PLAYERS**
- **FOLLOWING GEOGRAPHIC SHIFTS**
- **SHAPING TECHNOLOGICAL CHANGE**

143. To support the delivery of this new strategy, the following SRD priorities for the next inter-Congress period will be proposed to each of their respective conferences at Congress in Singapore:

Section / Region / Department	Growing and activating membership	Innovative campaigning	Global and regional policy
Dockers	• Complete organising campaigns in Poland • Win collective bargaining agreements (CBAs) in major terminals in Turkey • Develop and run organising campaigns in other key hubs	• Secure global minimum standards in DP World • Secure APMT RFA on minimum standards in Arab World & Latin America • Raise industry standards	• Support affiliates to win union agreements on automation • Enforce higher standards on health and safety through leverage campaigns • Implementation and enforcement of the ITF "Dockers Clause"
Seafarers	• Promotion and retention of women and young seafarers • Investing in maritime skills and seafarers career path	• Seafarer's mental health • Effective implementation of on board seafarers safety committees	• Influence the impact of technological change through strong guidelines • Advance working and safety standards at ILO and IMO
Special Seafarers Department	• Full implementation of Mexico City policy and increase activism in cruise lines and oil and gas terminals	• Increase the number of vessels covered by ITF agreements and improve standards for seafarers through the IBF negotiations, influencing the Maritime Supply chain and targeted company operations led by the worldwide ITF Inspectorate	• Promote and enforce cabotage regulations • Social dialogue with multinational shipping conglomerates • Raise Health & Wellbeing profile for seafarers by ensuring the inclusion in maritime academies' curriculum and through negotiations with employers

OUR PRIORITIES

Priorities for the sections, women workers, young workers and regions.

Section / Region / Department	Growing and activating membership	Innovative campaigning	Global and regional policy
Fisheries	• Establish and obtain recognition of a fishing union to organise / represent national and migrant fishers in Thailand • Organise 35% of regular migrant workers in the Irish fishing industry	• Establish protections for fishing in EEZ and for migrant fishers through country projects • Establish ITF as representing fishers amongst fish supplying global suppliers	• Increased ratification of ILO convention 188
Inland Navigation	• Establish affiliate-led tug boats network for mapping, organising and promotion of best working practices	• Campaign towards framework agreement with river cruise operators	• Implementation of best practice examples of health and safety regulations in countries without existing models
Civil Aviation	• Organise key airport hubs and share good organising methods	• Challenge unfair competition from non-union airlines through union organising and campaigns that challenge unfair subsidies	• Promote good regulation of global aviation through a stronger voice at ICAO to protect national regulation, resist social dumping and FOCs, and promote training for young aviation workers
Railways	• Strengthen unions and organise in restructured and privatised railways • Strengthen unions in CIS region	• Tackle privatisation through diverse campaign strategies including rapid response solidarity	• Influence the impact of technological change through strong guidelines • Protect public ownership of railways
Road Transport	• Organise strategic corridors and young workers, the latter focusing on platform and precarious workers • Coordinate work on MNC and retail	• Establish supply chain accountability and 'safe rates' to achieve 'local work for local conditions', employer neutrality and organising rights	• Secure transnational CBA for decent work in supply chains
Tourism Services	• Engage tourism unions in airports organising projects	• Expand cooperation at global level including European Trade Union Liaison Committee on Tourism and other GUFs	• Promote use of ICAO crew guidelines on training to prevent human trafficking

Section / Region / Department	Growing and activating membership	Innovative campaigning	Global and regional policy
Our Public Transport (OPT)	• Organise urban transport workers and leverage employers involved in metro, bus-rapid-transit (BRT) and integrated public transport	• Win employment and organising rights for workers in public and private urban transport and linking to passenger and community alliances	• Leverage key global and local decision makers on social and labour issues through new or existing agreements, and promoting a modal shift to public transport and decent jobs
Union Building	• Build capacity of unions by strengthening democratic structures, organising women and young workers, bargaining, campaign skills • Prioritise unions in mega economies in Africa and Asia-Pacific, and Civil Aviation as well as lead industry players and along transport corridors • Support ITF sections, regions and departments (SRDs) in their priorities with Union Building methodology	• Develop local, regional and global campaigning skills, particularly digital tools for Union Building and campaigning • Develop local, regional and global leadership skills	• Support SRDs which aim at influencing policy decision makers, for example (although not exclusive to) sub-regional regulatory and policy-making bodies along corridors
Women Transport Workers	• Strengthen the our public transport, warehouse, hubs, and informal workers' programmes by promoting gender equality policies and supporting women's leadership and organising women workers	• Expand the violence against women campaign to include new regions and target employers	• Achieve an ILO convention on violence in the workplace • Target employers, (particularly urban transport and maritime employers), and government bodies, (including international financial institutions), to reduce gender based segregation in the workplace

Section / Region / Department	Growing and activating membership	Innovative campaigning	Global and regional policy
Young Transport Workers	• Increase membership and build youth structures across supply chains and the informal sectors in line with relevant sections' priorities; increase leadership development	• Protect and empower young workers affected by technological change by harnessing new technology and developing innovative responses	• Coordinate with ITUC and other GUFs to develop coordinated organising strategy and campaign platform to address technological change and unemployment challenges
Africa	• Build membership in urban transport including bus rapid transit and amongst informal workers • Develop new technologies for union building such as mobile phones to collect union dues	• Build leverage for unions organising in corridors that link road, rail and port workers such as the Southern Africa and Central Africa corridors	• Ensure World Bank policy on bus rapid transit promotes decent work and core ILO standards
Arab World	• Targeted organising within road transport and civil aviation sectors • Organise in hubs including active leadership from women and youth	• Secure worker representation in Gulf state airlines • Utilise a violations survey to campaign for trade union rights in particular around violence against women and war and disputed zones	• Influence the impact of technological change at national, regional and global level • Secure regional standards targeting passenger multinationals and maritime • Promote workers rights at regional employer, regulatory and policy-making bodies
Asia Pacific	• Achieve membership growth targets for each country, prioritising women and youth	• Campaign in aviation and airports to secure union rights, fight against hostility to unions and organising specific target airports	• Engage with the Singapore government and World Economic Forum (WEF) Asia to promote future skills agenda and policy development
Latin America and Caribbean	• Organise young workers, women and other workers in high growth, low membership targets, such as aviation, platform, e-commerce and logistics	• Campaign to set industry precedents for democratic unions, CBAs, social and labour benefits and automation • Increase participation and promote union leadership	• Raise regulatory standards and oppose free trade agreements to prevent social dumping and strengthen freedom of association

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