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ORGANISING MANUAL

The organising globally programme was developed at the ITF Durban congress of 2006 and confirmed at the ITF Mexico City congress of 2010 as the optimal way to build stronger unions. Organising globally is at the heart of what the ITF does, as unions must rebuild the labour movement, build membership and create pro-active and democratic trade unions to ensure that workers have the power to influence employers, regulators and others.

Therefore, the ITF is working with our affiliates to increase union strength in key transport employers and industries. The ITF priority targets take advantage of the critical position of transport workers in the global economy, such as key transport operators, global or regional hubs, and sensitive global supply chains and multinational

passenger transport companies.

In order to support affiliates in their organising efforts, the ITF has changed to meet the challenges of globalisation. Innovative support is available to respond to affiliates' research requests, communication, network-building and campaigning requirements, as well as training needs. But... the ITF will not do the organising in the workplace; it is the affiliates, with engaged activists on the shop floor supported by proactive union officials, who will build stronger unions.

This manual is one of many contributions the secretariat makes to support its affiliates around the world.

Strategic organising works – it builds stronger unions.

Ingo Marowsky

ITF organising globally co-ordinator



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ITF ORGANISING MANUAL

INTRODUCTION

This handbook serves as both an overview and an introduction to the ITF Organising Manual. The ITF Organising Manual includes (1) this handbook and (2) more-detailed training modules in PowerPoint.

There is one PowerPoint training module for each chapter in this handbook. The PowerPoint modules are more extensive than the handbook, so if you have a particular interest in a topic, you can go to the corresponding PowerPoint module for additional content and details.

These materials are extensive and contain lessons from many different parts of the world. You will need to adjust them, often substantially, to fit any one situation. Some parts of the materials will be more useful than others. The materials are meant to be drawn from, not used in their entirety, so you will need to adjust them each

and every time you use them.

Whether you are not sure if organising is for you or you have been organising for many years, there is much to learn from other countries and contexts. You will find these materials useful if you want to engage workers in resolving a work-place problem, prepare for difficult negotiations, strengthen the union presence in works councils, or plan for a strike. Some workers may face physical violence and threats, while others may face a pervasive sense of apathy supported by the wider culture and media. These organising materials are meant to be used any time you want to increase the involvement of workers, whether you are working to win union recognition for the very first time or to increase member participation in a unionised workplace.

INTRODUCTION

Learning from each other

In organising, the first thing we do is to share information with our LAN cabin crew, to build deep confidence with each other and to build the real and deep solidarity of workers acting collectively. Organising is fundamentally about building the base of the union and the democratic structures. Organising helps make our unions more democratic.

Arlete Gay

ITF affiliate, Chile

WHAT IS ORGANISING?

Organising is increasing the participation of workers in our unions, with a goal of increasing union power within our workplaces and industries.

One of the most common weaknesses identified by unions worldwide is the insufficient involvement and participation of workers.

The vast majority of transport workers in the world are not members of unions.

If we are to take advantage of the strategic opportunities in the global transport industry, we need to organise.

- * How do you define "organising" in your union?
- * Is it similar or different from this global ITF definition?
- * Why and how is your definition similar or different?

WHAT IS A UNION?

A union is an organisation of workers acting collectively to improve working and social conditions for all workers.

The majority of transport workers in the world are informal, unprotected workers, often without a clearly identified company or government entity as their employer.

Especially in this globalised economy, transport worker organisations can take many forms and may vary from a traditional trade union collective bargaining model. The fundamental contradiction between labour and capital remains.

Our organising strategies and methodologies must reflect the different realities that workers are facing – the real risks and dangers – as we work together collectively to improve conditions.

HOW IS ORGANISING DIFFERENT FROM CAMPAIGNING, RECRUITING, NETWORKING, TARGETING, RESEARCH AND MOBILISING?

Our organising work cannot be separated from campaigning, recruiting, networking, targeting, research and mobilising, which are all part of the ITF organising globally

Learning from each other

In the beginning, in the Arab world, we had to explain the word "organising" to our unions. In Arabic, "organising" can mean drawing out organisational structures, like an organisational chart or diagram. Now we have a common understanding of the word.

Bilal Malkawi

ITF secretariat

INTRODUCTION

programme. Organising is the specific part of the ITF organising globally programme that focuses on increasing workers' participation in unions.

Campaigning helps us put pressure on employers and governments. Good campaigns which force employers to improve conditions are excellent opportunities to increase workers' participation.

Organising and campaigning are closely linked but different.
Campaigning focuses more on what we are doing to put pressure on the employer. Organising focuses more on what we are doing to involve workers in the campaign or work of the union.

Campaigning work is difficult to separate from organising work. We use campaigning to influence decision makers as part of our organising. However, if in campaigning we pressure the employer without sufficient involvement of workers, we will not have built the union. Even if we win substantial benefits for workers as part of a campaign, we may have

weakened the union rather than strengthened it if the workers were not involved.

The central focus of the ITF Strategic Campaign Manual is how to pressure the employer or decision maker. The ITF Organising Manual focuses on how to involve workers. Both manuals complement each other.

- * We need to organise to form union structures and win union recognition. We also need to organise where we already have union structures and union recognition, and we want more workers more involved.
- * Whom is your union interested in organising?
- * What do you hope to accomplish?
- * What workers does your union want to organise to get more involved in the union? Why?

Research helps us to identify clearly the employer or major decision makers and to learn their – and the industry's – strengths, weaknesses and points of vulnerability. Sometimes the

employer will not be the major decision maker (for example, with sub-contracted workers or informal workers).

Targeting is a process that unions use to decide where and when to organise. Targeting will always depend on the interest and ability of workers to organise.

Targeting will also involve a deep understanding of the employer and the industry, including their position within global or regional transport hubs and supply chains.

Networking helps us connect union structures and leaders globally and regionally within employer and industry structures. We need workers involved in our networks. A strong network is able to co-ordinate actions and solidarity on the ground as well as share information and different experiences.

Learning from each other

To understand organising in France, we often use the phrase "organiser dans le syndicat" or "to organise in the union". We will sometimes say "syndiquez-vous" when we are talking about joining the union as a member and "organisez-vous" to indicate participation and involvement.

Liliane Debeche

ITF affiliate, France

Learning from each other

The word for organising in Hindi is "sangathit". It is the same word in Nepal. It means organisation-building and the recruitment of new workers into the union structures.

Ajay Ray

ITF affiliate, Nepal

^{*} How do you define "union"?

^{*} Is it similar or different to this global ITF definition?

^{*} Why and how is your definition similar or different?

INTRODUCTION

Recruiting helps us sign up workers as members of our unions, which increases the size of our unions and our income. But if we just sign workers up and they don't participate, we have not done enough. Our ability to win improvements for these workers is limited, and they may become disillusioned. And if we only recruit certain age groups, certain races or ethnicities, or a certain gender, we may create divisions and weaken the union rather than strengthening it.

By defining organising as an important part of our union work, we do not want to imply that we have to organise before we begin campaigning, creating networks or doing research. Quite the contrary; unions will usually want to research the company and industry before they organise more workers.

Networks are frequently formed in order to support the organising of non-union workers. Campaigns are sometimes created to win the protections that workers need to be able to organise in the future.

No matter how strong we are as unions, we can always increase the depth of involvement of workers. Organising is an essential part of our union work. We need organising skills and strategies.

- * Sometimes unions have enough power to win improvements in conditions without involving workers.
- * We may win conditions, but will we have organised a union? What is the cost in terms of the future strength of the union?
- * As leaders, are there ways we can include more workers more often in our successes?

Organising takes skills, strategy, planning and perseverance. That's why we have an organising curriculum.

Organising is possible. As union leaders and activists, we all decided at some point to get more involved in our unions.

Organising is different in every union, and even within the same union, different groups of workers

organise differently.

What can we learn from each other? What can we teach each other?

The ITF Organising Manual includes lessons and stories collected from transport unions around the world.

The manual covers organising skills such as listening, overcoming fear and apathy, systematic personto-person communications, list-building, predicting the employer's actions, training and education, group planning and group decision making.

Organising strategy is also a key part of the manual, such as when to "go public" with your demands, how to stay "underground" while you build the base and how to use the full international and regional force of the ITF with all the strategic strength and solidarity of transport workers when it is time.

The ITF Organising Manual is designed to be used as part of a planning process. It gives us an opportunity to bring together top

Learning from each other

In South Africa, we use the word "organising". Organising takes place in the context of explicit class politics and is expressed through the union's policies and mandates. Organising involves targeting (based on extensive knowledge of the employer and linked to collective bargaining), electing shop stewards, negotiating recognition, dealing with individual cases, collective bargaining, consultation on non-bargaining issues and industrial action. For us, organising is supported by worker and shop steward education, including political economy and gender education.

Jane Barrett

ITF affiliate, South Africa

INTRODUCTION

Learning from each other

To meet the challenge of organising global logistics corporations, ITF affiliates are co-ordinating globally and investing in strategic campaigns.

From this experience, we have learnt that traditional recruitment approaches such as form filling don't organise workers, especially "flexible transport workers", who do not work in one company in one location. Only union activists communicating one-to-one with workers in their homes, workplaces and communities will build unions and embed the union in workers' hearts and minds.

Using the advantageous position that ITF unions hold in the global logistics chain, our transportation and warehousing union members can win workplace gains and organise new unions.

Alison McGarry

ITF Secretariat

union leaders, union members and workers who want to organise – whoever is able to participate and assist – to make an organising plan that suits the current situation.

- * How and why did you get involved in your union?
- * Can you identify a specific time or event when you knew that you wanted to be more involved?
- * How were you different from others who did not get involved?
- * What helps you stay involved, even when it is not easy?

WHAT IS THE ROLE OF THE ITF IN ORGANISING?

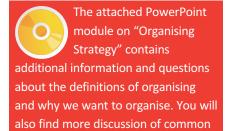
The ITF can provide assistance with research, education, multinational and regional networks, and mentoring for organising campaigns, particularly in key sectors of the transport industry.

The ITF cannot plan or implement affiliate organising.
Organising skills and strategy must be applied in each affiliate union's own context and culture by your own union leadership structures.

When it is time, the ITF will be available to provide regional and global campaign support in the public fight to win the organising demands of workers.

Written and developed by Teresa Conrow and the ITF education department.

The ITF education department would like to thank all of the ITF affiliates and members of the ITF secretariat who helped to develop these materials.



barriers to organising.

Learning from each other

In francophone West Africa, the word "organising" includes three levels of work:

- 1) Recruiting
- 2) Mobilising, training and motivating workers
- 3) Seeking co-operation and alliances with other unions and community organisations.

The word "organising" works well for us.

In anglophone countries in West Africa, we would describe organising as increasing membership and worker participation in unions. If we don't use the word "participation", people think we are only talking about recruiting members and many of them have automatic membership.

We need to explain and describe what we mean by "organising" in detail. It is very important that all regions think carefully about how they describe organising, redefine words and add words so that we can best educate ourselves, continually improve our organising skills, and learn from each other.

Nazi Kabore

ITF Secretariat

ITF ORGANISING MANUAL

FACILITATOR'S
GUIDE

WHEN TO USE THE ORGANISING MATERIALS

The ITF Organising Manual, which includes a handbook and PowerPoint modules, is an excellent resource for increasing our skills and gaining information about how to organise. Many transport unions are already using the methods contained in these materials to successfully strengthen their organising.

The materials are also designed to help participants to create specific organising plans. The course can be used (1) to plan to organise one group of workers or (2) to create several organising work plans covering different groups of workers. The planning can be done in small groups or one large group.

This planning methodology relies on using real organising examples brought by union leaders and participants. The materials will help participants develop an organising plan which can be presented and shared. Participants will need to bring with them an understanding of the organising situation and information about the workers and the employer.

Using real organising examples requires that facilitators spend adequate time with union leaders to prepare for the training. This methodology may at first require extra attention from the facilitators, but trade unionists will find that the methodology makes the educational experience immediately relevant and useful. Facilitators need to be familiar with union structures, decision-making, availability of resources, union organising strategy, and company and industry research.

Union leaders and facilitators will need to think ahead about how to best utilise the workshops and what follow-up will be needed.

FACILITATOR'S GUIDE

Aim to include participants who are union members and activists, union staff, elected union leaders and non-union workers. Include the union decision makers and also the people who will be doing the organising work.

OVERVIEW OF CONTENT

The training materials are organised in PowerPoint modules. Each module focuses on an important component of organising. But each organising situation is different, so the modules are designed to be used flexibly. They can be used in any order and in any combination. The facilitator will need to decide which modules best fit the situation and needs of the union and the workers involved.

Opposite is a diagram which shows the different modules and how they are organised. The first four modules cover the preparation and planning needed to begin organising. The next modules cover six key topics that are part of the organising process. The public

mobilisation is usually the final stage of the organising process.

HOW TO USE THE ORGANISING MATERIALS

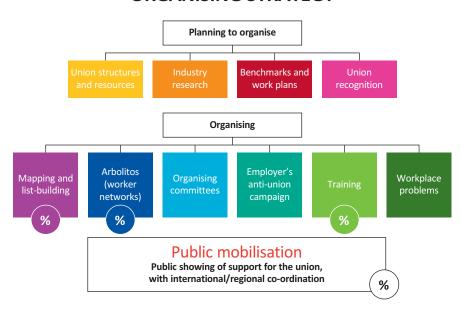
Each module has a PowerPoint presentation. The PowerPoint presentation includes notes for the facilitator below each slide.

At the beginning of each PowerPoint module, you will find:

- * Aims
- * Preparation
- * Activities
- * Suggested time frame

The activities for small groups need to be printed ahead of time, one copy for each small group. These slides are marked "Activity" in the lower left-hand corner of the slide.

In the facilitator notes below each slide, you will also find many additional opportunities for small working groups. Review the PowerPoint presentations carefully to plan which slides you might want to delete or add and how many of the extra small-group activities you will want to use.



FACILITATOR'S GUIDE

Learning from each other

Please share your strategies, stories and advice about how to organise and increase worker participation in unions. The ITF can assist with translation, writing and editing, and educational forums on organising. We can all learn from each other. Email your suggestions to education@itf.org.uk or organising@itf.org.uk.

When preparing for an education programme, you will want to use the handbook to decide which modules fit your situation. Even if you are only using a few modules, the handbook will help you understand all the concepts used.

You will need to delete modules and slides that are not relevant to your situation. For example, if you are organising a workplace where the union has a presence and structures, you will probably want to delete the module on "Union Recognition" and most of the slides from the module on "Employer's Anti-Union Campaign".

Distributing the handbook ahead of the programme will help participants prepare and participate. It will give participants a good idea of the content of the curriculum.



Employers are powerful. They have more economic and political resources than unions have, and they often control the way union issues are framed in the media, schools and our cultures.

When we are organised, workers are powerful. We have the ability to stop production or services. Transport workers are often in key positions to have an impact on global supply chains, which gives us tremendous power in the global economy.

Unlike corporations, workers create long-standing bonds with each other that go beyond our immediate individual self-interests.

The struggle for justice and solidarity surpasses geographies and cultures. Workers can link together regionally, nationally and internationally to have an effect on employers and decision makers.

But when we as workers are

not involved in unions, we are vulnerable. We get used to our fear and sense of isolation. We sometimes identify with the employer rather than our fellow workers.

With uninvolved members and unorganised workers, we need to plan carefully how to move from a position of individual weakness into collective strength. As worker participation in the union grows, the power relationship with the employer changes, sometimes slowly and subtly, sometimes forcefully. We must be especially strategic during this time to protect ourselves and our co-workers.

Strategy involves thinking ahead about what might happen – what the employer might do, how workers will respond – and then adjusting our actions accordingly.

^{*} How did you learn about unions and labour history?

^{*} Do you teach others about unions? How?

^{*} Has your union ever organised workers to participate in a mobilisation or to seek union recognition, without really thinking ahead about how the workers might respond or what the employer might do?

* What did you learn from this experience?

In most of the world, workers will face strong anti-union campaigns from the employer.

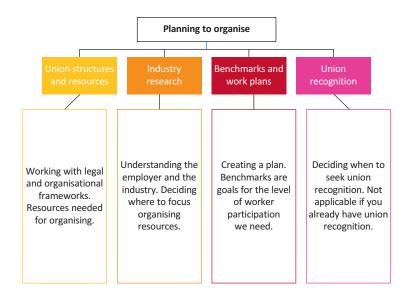
In parts of the world where unions are well established and strong, the pressure on the workers to avoid the union may be much more subtle.

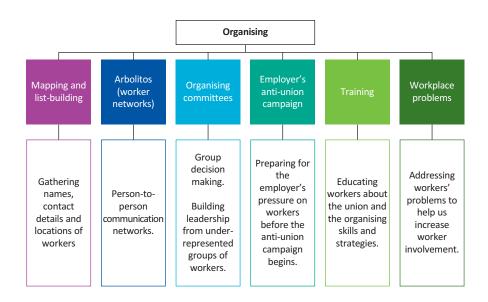
Whether workers will be facing an anti-union campaign from the employer or not, union leaders and workers need to see that there is a plan to move forward step-by-step to build the collective strength we need to win.

The ITF organising curriculum gives us a framework from which we can create our own organising strategy. There may be topics that are not relevant to your organising situation, and some topics may be missing.

Add to and take from the framework what is useful for your organising.

What might an employer do or say? □ Support workers' efforts to organise □ Befriend workers □ Promote union supporters to management □ Increase discipline or fire union supporters □ Discredit union leadership □ Start an anti-union "loyalty" committee ("yellow union") □ Give raises and make promises □ Terminate unpopular managers □ Threaten to close or threaten to lay off workers □ Meet with workers one-to-one	 □ Use physical violence □ Say "Give us a second chance, we promise to improve things" □ Say "We are all one happy family" □ Say "The union is the outside party" □ Say "it's not my decision" □ Yell and intimidate □ Hire an outside anti-union consultant □ Create such conflict and pressure in the workplace that workers will stay away from the union □ Other
☐ Meet with workers one-to-one	





Public mobilisation

Public showing of support for the union, with international/regional co-ordination

May include industrial action or large demonstrations, but often likely to be less risky activities, such as signing a petition asking the employer to resolve a workplace problem or a public showing of worker interest in the union.

There is a chapter in this handbook for each topic included in this framework.

- * Which topics in this framework interest you?
- * Which topics do you want to learn more about?
- * Which topics are not as useful to you?

The next four chapters cover the preparation and planning needed to begin organising.

If you already have union recognition for the workers you are organising, you can skip the chapter on union recognition.

The following six chapters cover six key components of the organising process.

- * Are these terms clear?
- * Do you need to adjust them to fit your organising situation?
- * What questions do you have?

You will need to adjust the framework to fit your organising situation. For example, you might want to map the workplace first in order to determine where the

workers are and what they are concerned about. Or you may want to start addressing workplace problems right away as a way to energise workers to become involved.

The public mobilisation is almost always the final stage of the organising process.

* What kind of mobilisation might you use?

BENCHMARKS

In our organising strategy, benchmarks are specific goals that measure levels of worker involvement that we need to meet.

You will set your own benchmarks. Set the benchmarks at the percentage that fits your organising situation. Benchmarks should be high enough to build strong union power for the future, not simply enough to meet a mobilisation event or a legal requirement for union recognition.

In our organising framework, there are four key benchmarks.

If there is no clearly defined workplace or group of workers,

FOUR KEY BENCHMARKS

Benchmarks are specific levels of worker participation we want to meet before we confront the employer.



benchmarks are important. The majority of transport workers in the world are informal workers. They may work individually or in small groups and without a central employer, work location or

gathering place. Benchmarks help us decide which workers we need to focus on for organising and how many workers we need to participate.

BENCHMARK EXAMPLE: Organising for union recognition

The next diagram shows how a union organising approximately 400 taxi drivers might set its benchmarks. In this example, the workers are seeking union recognition.

When there is fear or significant pressure on the workers from the employer, organising might need to be "underground": work quietly and with as little public exposure as possible. We would not make public announcements or send out media releases. We would keep to small meetings of two to five workers who trust each other and avoid holding larger meetings. Written union materials would be avoided, as they can be easily passed on to the employer. Once the organising becomes public, the employer is likely to make it harder for the union to reach workers and meet our benchmarks for worker involvement.

If the employer does find out, we can continue with our quiet "underground" strategy to the best

of our ability – mapping, talking to workers, training more organisers, social activities – without further engaging the employer and helping to strengthen the climate of fear. If the employer retaliates with firings or violence, we will need to publicly campaign against the violence and firings, but we still continue with the "underground" organising in areas of the workforce where that is still possible.

If workers will be facing pressure from the employer, confronting the employer with less than a majority of the workers can expose the workers and the union to unnecessary risks. When there is a strong anti-union campaign, our benchmarks might be 75 per cent and not 50 per cent. This is because once we publicly confront the employer, pressure against the workers will increase, and some workers will reduce their involvement, which undermines our majority support.

^{*} Will the workers you are organising face subtle or overt pressure to avoid the union?

BENCHMARK EXAMPLE:

Organising for union recognition

%
names and
contact
details

Names and contact details of 300 of the approx. 400 drivers one-to-one contact within 48 hrs

Two leaders who can contact 12 leaders

1

The 12 leaders able to reach 60 leaders

1

The 60 drivers able to reach approx. Five drivers within 48 hrs have basic knowledge of union

300 drivers knowledgeable about the union willing to publicly show support

300 taxi drivers agree to drive around a key business centre at specific time with clear demands

Local ITF unions and allies agree to leaflet and banner at the business centre

BENCHMARK EXAMPLE: Organising for a national mobilisation

The following diagram shows how a union might set benchmarks for organising approximately 4,000 workers to participate in a national mobilisation or strike.

Sometimes with preparations for a large mobilisation or strike, unions will skip the two middle benchmarks related to worker communications and training and go straight from gathering workers'

contacts to asking them to participate. We can successfully mobilise workers this way, but if we want to build workers' participation more permanently. then these two middle steps are critical.

Set the number you need to attend first (whether it is 4,000 or 40), and then set your benchmark percentage accordingly. If we need 4,000 workers at a national rally, we may need to get 3,000 of them

BENCHMARK EXAMPLE:

Organising for national mobilisation

contact within contact details 48 hrs Names and contact details of 3,000 of the approx. 4,000 workers

75% names and

Five leaders who can contact 24 leaders The 24 leaders able to reach 120 leaders The 120 leaders who can reach 600 leaders.

75% one-to-one

The 600 leaders who can reach 3.000 workers within 48 hrs

75% have basic knowledge of union

3,000 workers knowledgeable about the union and why national mobilisations are important

75% willing to publicly show support

3,000 workers pledged to participate in a specific national mobilisation

International ITE unions send letters of protest to national government and/or hold demonstrations at local embassies

(75 per cent) to commit to attend in order to create the necessary momentum to overcome apathy. Or perhaps you only need 50 per cent to create the momentum.

Make sure to focus your organising on the areas of your union where you want more workers participating. We all do important union work without increasing worker involvement.

Organising is for those situations and locations where the union

needs and wants more worker participation.

BENCHMARK EXAMPLE: Small workplace preparing for collective bargaining

Benchmarks help protect us from mobilising publicly against the employer before we are ready. They help us focus on key organising tasks.

There are many reasons why unions publicly confront the employer too early without enough

BENCHMARK EXAMPLE:

Small workplace preparing for collective bargaining

List building 30% names and contact details	Arbolitos (worker networks) 30% one-to-one contact within 48 hrs	Training 30% have basic knowledge of union	Public mobilisation 30% willing to publicly show support
Names and contact details of 10 of the approx. 30 workers in the department	One leader who can contact two leaders Two leaders able to reach 10 workers and gather written statements from each of them as to why a salary increase is needed	10 workers knowledgeable about the union and why speaking up during collective bargaining is important	10 workers join workers from other departments in delivering their written statements to the employer with media present

workers participating. The union may have run out of time and resources to do the organising work. Or maybe it seems that the workers will never be ready. Some groups of workers are ready to organise sooner than others, and that can create pressure on union leaders to move more quickly.

Sometimes we hope that worker support will increase once we have publicly confronted the employer, but the opposite is more often true.

If we are not able to meet our benchmarks in the time that we have planned...

- * We stick to our strategy but at a slower pace, continuing with our mapping, training more union organisers and keeping in touch with workers. We may need to decrease our resources to something we can maintain for the long term. We might want to assign union supporters to regularly keep in touch with other workers.
- * We might want to increase our resources, investing in the growth of our union. Make sure there is a

- realistic and well-thought-out plan so that our resources will be well spent.
- * We might wait for new developments. The employer may change their behaviour. Workers might become more interested in the union or gain more information about how to organise. There may be political or economic changes in the industry or our country.

If we do need to adjust our benchmarks, there should be clear reasons that are thoroughly discussed and debated. When workers understand and share in the decision making about benchmarks, it is easier to create detailed plans to increase or decrease resources.



UNION STRUCTURES ITF ORGANISING MANUAL AND RESOURCES

As trade unionists, we understand that everything we have achieved can be taken away if we don't continue to organise and involve more workers in our unions. In order to build power in the industry or supply chain, it is important that we (1) increase the involvement of our current union members and (2) invest resources in organising key non-union workplaces.

Deciding where we want to organise can be a very simple task if we are organising a group of workers who are familiar to us and with whom we have ongoing contact. Perhaps our goal is to increase the participation of workers who are already in our union or to prepare for a strike. Maybe we want to organise a group of subcontracted or informal workers within our industry who work near

ORGANISING TAXI DRIVERS...



our current active union members.

Focusing on a small group of workers is less resource-intensive.
We can always broaden our organising goals once we have shown some success, built some momentum and can allocate more resources.

Focusing on a group of workers as large as your resources allow you to organise will help build power and increase our ability to have an impact on the employer.

We must be able to make contact with the workers we want to organise. If we cannot make contact with them, we cannot organise them. You might want to go to the non-union workplaces to see where workers gather, whether you can follow workers until you can get a moment to talk to them, obtain lists of workers, visit workers at home or at neutral meeting places like cafés, or organise social

ORGANISING SEAFARERS...



or industry events that non-union workers might attend. If there are job openings, you might want to have unemployed union members apply and develop contacts from inside the workplace. Current union members can help contact non-union or uninvolved workers.

- * What workers are you interested in organising?
- * What do you know about their

- location, numbers, current conditions and level of interest in the union?
- * Do you know who the employer or key decision maker is?

Before significant resources are allocated to organising, we should have a minimum of:

* Two or more worker leaders, from the employer or the industry, who are committed to organising

ORGANISING GNT TERMINALS...

Workers at the GNT terminals around the world?

Workers at the GNT terminals within a region?

Workers at the GNT terminals in a country?

Workers at a GNT terminal?

100 sub-contracted
workers at the
GNT terminal?

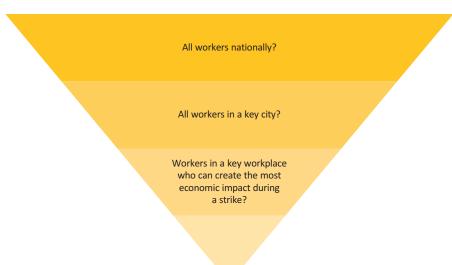
- * A union structure that is committed to supporting these worker leaders and to giving the new members a voice in the union
- * A good plan of how we will be able to contact workers
- * Sufficient resources to support the organising

We need to reach out to the members of the union to assist us.

Think about what might encourage union members to get more

involved in organising. It may be important to provide information about how the uninvolved members or non-union workers threaten wages and conditions. Look for opportunities for active union members to be in direct contact with less-active workers.

ORGANISING FOR A NATIONAL STRIKE...



Learning from each other

As a flight attendants' union in the United States, we have been on both sides of the outsourcing of jobs. We were recently contacted by flight attendants working in the United States for a foreign carrier. We do not have a negotiations relationship with this airline.

Our union is happy to organise the workers, but we would like to offer to work with the union from the carrier's home country to represent them. We are thinking that workers should be represented by the union which has the primary negotiations with the company. Internationally, we need to figure out how to co-operate about this.

Patricia Friend

ITF affiliate, USA

Learning from each other

SATAWU [South African Transport and Allied Workers' Union] organised thousands of casual staff as part of their bottom-up negotiations process.

General meetings are held once a month at the workplace. All members attend and shop stewards are elected to four-year terms. Workers set the policy and campaign priorities.

Together, they decide the negotiations mandate, the fallback position for negotiations, the point at which they will strike.

SATAWU is driven by mandate.
All elected leaders have a recall
process. If stewards do not follow the
workers' mandate, they can be recalled
with a majority vote at the monthly
general meeting.

During the 2009 negotiations for Metro Rail, casual staff who collect the entrance tickets convinced their co-workers that they were serious about organising.

In negotiations, Metro Rail
management agreed to an 8 per cent
wage increase and to make all casual
staff permanent. Certain provinces
were not in agreement on the wages
and wanted their provincial mandate of
10 per cent to stand, but the majority
mandate from all of the provinces was
8 per cent plus permanent status (with
all the benefits attached) for the
thousands of casual staff who had
been on fixed-term contracts for so
many years. After much intense
debate, the contract was settled with
the majority mandate.

If SATAWU had hired staff to organise the casual staff, it might not have yielded the same results.
Additional staff is not always the best way for unions to organise.

Patricia Peterson

ITF affiliate, South Africa

UNION STRUCTURES AND RESOURCES

- * Are union leaders, members and staff informed about and involved in our organising plans?
- * What are the decision-making structures that give us the mandate to organise?
- * Is it clear what resources are available to us for organising?

Union staff who are assigned to organising play an important role in the organising process. Staff can help us "jump-start" worker involvement. For many organising campaigns, having at least one staff person to co-ordinate the work is important. One organiser or a small number of volunteers cannot handle the demands of a large group of workers.

When there is an insufficient number of people working on a campaign, we tend to take shortcuts, such as relying on written materials to communicate with workers. We either have to allocate a sufficient number of personnel to organising large groups of workers or stick to organising small groups of workers.

Sometimes union constitutions or union decision-making structures need to be changed to allow us to organise new workers. There may need to be a new union or organisation formed for the new workers.

- * Is the union prepared to welcome an increase in involved members and leaders?
- * What union members, activists and leaders are willing to help with organising?
- * Are there non-union workers who are ready to organise?
- * Are there community organisations or other unions that could assist us?

Once we know where we want to organise, we need to have frank discussions to determine what resources will be available to help us and how long we can maintain these resources.

UNION STRUCTURES AND RESOURCES

The accompanying
PowerPoint module on
"Union Structures and
Resources" contains additional
information to help you decide where
you want to organise. A discussion
about gathering wider community
support for organising is included.

There is an activity that will help you determine what resources your union currently has available for organising and what additional resources are needed.

ITF ORGANISING MANUAL

INDUSTRY RESEARCH

We need to identify who the employer or decision maker is. This is the person or entity that can make a difference in working conditions. This is who we will need to pressure. Usually this will be the direct employer. Sometimes it will be a government entity. It may be the company that hires the sub-contracting company, even though the sub-contractor is the direct employer.

If there is no direct employer, we may have to force a decision maker to admit that they have control over working conditions.

We may even have to force a public entity to become the employer of the workers.

- * What do we know about the employer or decision maker?
- * Who controls the decisions?
- * Where does the profit come from?

Learning from each other

The Transport Workers' Union of Australia (TWU) has represented selfemployed truck drivers for nearly a century. Approximately 30 per cent of the membership of the national union are owner drivers.

The union has successfully targeted decision makers to win a part in the state government's regulatory framework, making the retailers as well as the contracting companies subject to inspections by the union and liable for prosecution.

TWU's research has shown that the Australian retail sector wields considerable power. Retail companies effectively dictate the pricing and delivery times with the major transport operators, who in turn subcontract to smaller operators and owner drivers.

TWU has organised under the theme of "Safe Rates". They have been able to prove the link between low pay rates and safety problems for drivers and the public. 3,000 delegates have been through formal union training. Owner drivers have succeeded by blocking bridges, organising for a "go slow" convoy to parliament, and lobbying politicians, academics and the public for support.

Sarah Kain and Michael Rawling Journal of Industrial Relations of Australia, Vol. 51:3

INDUSTRY RESEARCH

* If it is a government entity that is the decision maker, what voting groups are important to this entity?

In order to impact on the employer or decision maker, we need to know what entities and organisations are important to them. You will need to gather information about these entities.

Once we have gathered this information, we will have a better

idea of how we might be able to put pressure on the employer. We might want to form a research committee of interested workers.

Often unions will only use their direct relationship with the employer to put pressure on the employer. In reality, there are many relationships that the employer has which may be more important to the employer than the union, especially when the union workers can be easily replaced.

WHAT DO WE KNOW ABOUT THE EMPLOYER'S KEY RELATIONSHIPS?



Learning from each other

The two largest school bus companies in the United States are both multinationals from the UK. We decided to focus our organising on the largest one, FirstGroup. We reached out to the ITF, and we were immediately linked up with Unite, the bus drivers' union in the UK.

Unite typically has over 90 per cent membership in FirstGroup. In the US, our membership at that time was very low. Almost every time the drivers tried to organise a union, the company would threaten them or shut down the work.

We were able to make direct contact between the US school bus drivers and the UK bus drivers. Both groups were shocked at the difference in treatment and conditions.

Many of the workers in the UK own shares in the company, and they, along with some institutional investors, submitted a shareholders' resolution for a human rights policy that included workers' rights to organise.

Unite helped our drivers understand and make contact with UK parliamentarians, shareholders and the media. Together, we were able to use these key entities to persuade FirstGroup to adapt new policies.

When we began, we represented about 1,200 members at FirstGroup. Today we represent nearly 35,000 drivers in FirstGroup. Seeing the difference between how the workers in the UK [and the US] are treated has really motivated our folks to work harder so that we can get to the level with FirstGroup where we have a real working relationship. We have seen that this is possible – thanks to Unite and the ITF.

Tammy Edwards

ITF affiliate, USA

INDUSTRY RESEARCH

Learning from each other

The ITF ports of convenience (POC) database is an information gathering and organising tool for dockers' affiliates to share research internationally on ports, terminal operators and their parent companies.

This research is being used to identify and support the organising and campaigning work of dockers' affiliates in the international POC campaign.

ITF dockers' section

The relationships that are the most significant to the employer are the ones that will be most important to our strategy. Look for the relationships that are linked to current and future profit. If you have an elected decision maker, look for the relationships linked to current and future votes. For more in-depth information about how to put pressure on the employer, you will want to refer to the ITF Strategic Campaign Manual.

In addition to understanding the employer or decision maker, we need to understand the industry in which they operate.

- * Who are the main competitors?
- * How does the employer fit into the global supply chain? Are there key hubs or transport operators that the employer is sensitive to?
- * How does the employer or decision maker compare with others in the industry?

The majority of transport workers in the world are informal workers, and informal work is an ever-growing part of the global economy. Informal workers are those without a formal or standard employment relationship. They might be called unprotected, precarious, short-term contract, sub-contracted or contract workers. Informal workers might be selfemployed or "falsely selfemployed". They may employ others but not be in control of their work or profits. They may not have a "job", but they work.

We find informal workers in all sectors of transport. They might be seafarers, sub-contracted dock workers, taxi and bus drivers, flight attendants whose wage comes as a commission, railway ticket collectors, "porters" at the airports surviving on tips, or owner-drivers of trucks. They might be short-term contract workers, working right next to "normal" workers.

Understanding the industry can motivate union members to assist with organising. Union

members need to understand that their lack of participation can lessen what improvements the union is able to make.

If you are organising non-union workers:

- * In the <u>past</u> five years, how has the non-union sector affected union members?
- * In the <u>next</u> five years, how will the non-union sector affect union members?

If you are organising workers who have union representation:

- * In the <u>past</u> five years, how has workers' lack of participation in the union affected working conditions for all workers?
- * In the <u>next</u> five years, how will workers' lack of participation in the union affect working conditions for all workers?



ITF ORGANISING MANUAL

BENCHMARKS BENCHMARKS WORK PLANS AND WORK PLANS

Before you begin setting your benchmarks, you will need to know who the employer or decision maker is and approximately how many workers you will be organising. "Benchmarks" are specific goals that measure levels of worker involvement that we need to meet.

If there are external deadlines or constraints – for example, with contract negotiations or a threat of privatisation – it is essential that the union begins organising early. Too

often we wait or delay our organising work and then blame the workers if they are not involved when we need them.

For your organising, what do you

think the four benchmarks for
worker participation should be?
___% names and contact details
___% one-to-one contact within 48
hours
___% have basic knowledge of the
union
% willing to publicly show support

FOUR KEY BENCHMARKS

Benchmarks are specific levels of worker participation we want to meet before we confront the employer.



As we get closer to meeting our benchmarks, a false sense of security can occur. Workers from strong areas or shifts may not realise what other workers are facing. Some groups of workers may still be afraid to contact the union or may still lack information about the union. The union may lose sight of these workers because they are not in contact with them. The employer may be holding back its anti-union campaign because it is underestimating the union's strength.

Union supporters will want to imagine that momentum will build naturally. But usually workers slow down their involvement once the employer increases the pressure on them.

Planning is a key component of organising. There are many benefits. Planning helps us build the collective and can hold us accountable to each other. We need to know what everyone is doing and when so that we can co-ordinate our work. If we do not plan, we simply react, so without planning, there is no

strategy. Planning takes time and effort. It can show us our weaknesses as well as our strengths. And any plan is useless if not implemented.

We need to search out people in our union and our workplaces who have skills that can help us with organising. And then we need to delegate specific tasks to them. We cannot organise alone. Delegating helps us build new leaders and bring new ideas and energy into our work. Sometimes we resist the amount of planning and work it takes to delegate tasks, but if we are not delegating, we are not organising.

- * What skills do you have that can help with organising?
- * Who else can assist us? How can we get them involved?

To begin a group planning process, we will want to select a time period for your plan. It might be one week, three months or five years. List the tasks that need to be done. For every task, decide who will be responsible and when they

PLANNING PROCESS

Tasks	Who will be responsible?	When will they report to whom?

SAMPLE 3 MONTH WORK PLAN

Tasks	Who will be responsible?	When will they report to whom?
List Building Create list of workers we are in touch with including contact details	Richard	Give list to Sangam by March 1 with copy to Sharon
Communication Networks Keep in regular contact with 30 non-union workers	Sangam (with the help of the participants present who agree to keep in touch with 5-7 workers each)	Every 2 weeks detailed written report to Sharon
Education Request time at the next membership meeting to discuss organising	Sharon	Union officers and union education committee

will report to whom. The person responsible does not have to do all the work but is responsible for working with others to get it done. Be specific and realistic. Include an evaluation plan.

The next step is to create a calendar. Again, decide on a time period. Write in all major union events and holidays. Then add the tasks and deadlines from your work plan, and adjust your calendar as needed.

Whom would you need to involve in planning?

- * Flected leaders
- * Union members
- * Non-union workers
- * Union staff

How often would you meet to plan?

Learning from each other

There must always be a second layer of leadership so that we are ready for succession if anything happens. And the organising must include knowledge about trade union issues such as privatisation. All leaders must be able to represent the interests of the union and be involved locally in organisations such as our national federation, COSATU [Congress of South African Trade Unions].

We must have 90 per cent membership to build the union; until we reach that point, I am not truly satisfied that we have built the union.

Veronica Mesatywa

ITF affiliate, South Africa



The accompanying

PowerPoint module on

"Benchmarks and Work

Plans" contains activities that will help you create your benchmarks, an initial work plan and calendar, as well as additional information about delegating and planning.

Learning from each other

In English-speaking Africa, the labour requirement for a union to get and keep recognition is usually a union membership of "50 per cent plus 1" (simple majority). What we are doing now is encouraging the unions to recruit 75 per cent so that if anything happens, the union is still safe. Many unions are happy with this because we all know that employers can be very tricky. Employers have sacked workers who have joined the union or transferred them to a parent company to defeat the "50 per cent plus 1" (simple majority) requirement.

Before we seek union recognition, unions keep the recruitment forms secret to help protect the workers from intimidation. It is easier to recruit before the employer knows. We need to extend this secret period of time.

We should not just go with "50 per cent plus 1" (simple majority) because that's what the labour regulation is.
We need to do what is best for the workers and the union. In most cases, once the union gets the recognition, more workers usually join because their jobs are secure, and they feel safer, but we can't rely on this. Sometimes something changes in the company — a merger or an ownership change or the shop steward changes.

When you have "50 per cent plus 1", you are just there, just enough, but if you have 75 per cent, you have the momentum with you.

Anna Karume

ITF secretariat

ITF ORGANISING MANUAL UNION
RECOGNITION

UNION RECOGNITION

Winning union recognition is part of the process of organising nonunion workers.

Unions sometimes allow legal frameworks to control their organising strategy. We need to understand our legal frameworks but not be trapped in them. Our benchmarks and plans should be set by our situation, not by the legislative framework. When workers face employer pressure or repression, we will usually need to meet a higher standard of worker involvement than the minimum the law allows

In India, a registered trade union of workers "shall at all times continue to have not less than 10 per cent or one hundred of the workers, whichever is less...".

Once the union has 10 per cent membership, it can register with the labour board or it can wait until it reaches its benchmarks for worker involvement and then register. In India, there are also legal protections that give workers the right to organise: freedom of

association and core labour standards. The laws are strong, but delays are common. We need to think carefully about which protects the workers best. Sometimes we need not just the law but also higher levels of worker participation in the union. In Argentina, the law protects workers who are elected as union delegates from termination. In a workforce of 400, the union would be allowed to elect five delegates. The legal protection for the elected delegates allows these workers to communicate with their co-workers without fear of discipline. This can help with organising. The problem is that this can prevent workers from becoming involved, because they wait for the five elected delegates to do the work. The ideal might be to first meet our benchmarks for organising, then elect the delegates and move to publicly confront the employer.

In much of English-speaking Africa, the law provides for recognition once the union has signed up 50 per cent plus one (a simple majority) of the workers as union members. The union can lose recognition if it falls below a simple majority membership. Some unions sign up 75 per cent before they seek recognition in order to protect against the employer increasing pressure on workers, especially when the membership is close to the "50 per cent plus 1" threshold.

Informal or precarious
workers may not be covered by
labour laws. When we organise in
the informal sector, we need to be
aware of other laws that affect
workers and working conditions. We
will also need to create our own
benchmarks according to the level
of worker involvement we will need
to win improvements in conditions.

Spend time studying the legal framework for union recognition and other laws that affect your organising. Train workers to know both the law and how to use the law to support organising.

Once you have met the minimum legal requirements for union recognition, what is your plan?

- ☐ To take the legal steps for union recognition
- □ To meet our benchmarks first and then seek legal recognition
 Why?

ITF ORGANISING MANUAL

MAPPING AND MAPPING AND LIST-BUILDING

Mapping identifies where workers are located. Mapping can be done on numerous scales: workplacewide, company-wide, industry-wide, national, regional and international. Mapping helps us build sustainable union structures. It is an ongoing process, and it never ends.

In order to gather mapping information, we might visit workplaces, ask the employer for information, look on the internet and read industry publications and

listings. The ITF can assist with information about which unions represent workers in your company at the regional or international level.

To create a map, first draw a physical layout of where the workers are. Include information that you already have about management offices, briefing rooms, staff rooms, hotels, cafeterias, lounges, parking areas and rest areas – anywhere we might find workers. Add the numbers and

MAPPING EXAMPLE: Royal Jordanian Cabin Crew Terminal 1 Car Parking * Crew Centre Shuttle Bus Public 750 cabin * Lounges crew **Briefing Rooms** Cabin Crew 470 female * Cafeterias Parking 85% union * Duty Manager members * Dispatcher In-flight Car Parking * Mail Boxes Management Cockpit Crew Terminal 2

MAPPING AND LIST-BUILDING

locations of workers, sub-contracted or precarious workers, union members and leaders, non-union workers, any other unions in the workplace, and workplaces from other countries and regions. Discuss together what information is missing and how we will obtain it.

We will need to keep lists of workers regularly updated. One of our key benchmarks is for list-building.

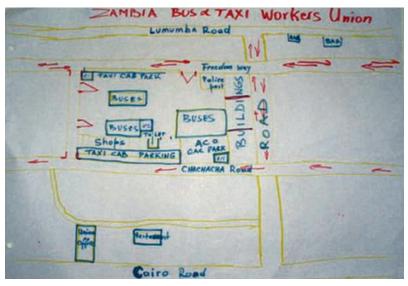
* What do you think your listbuilding benchmark should be?

Lists include information about workers' relationships and connections with each other.
Include who knows who, who workers rely on if there is a problem, who works with who and attendance at union events.

Be careful about where you keep your lists. To prevent

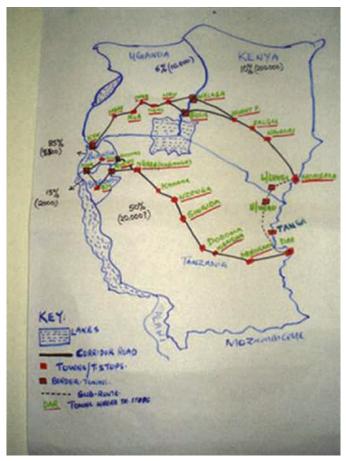
MAPPING EXAMPLE: BUS DEPOT

Zambia Bus and Taxi Workers' Union



MAPPING EXAMPLE:

East Africa Highways and Port Links



MAPPING AND LIST-BUILDING

duplication and to increase security, you probably want one person to be responsible for updating the list.

Lists also contain an assessment of each worker's level of union involvement.

These assessments are not based on judgements but on workers' actions. They are based on what workers do, not what they say about the union. Do not include gossip. You will not want to keep anything on your lists that you would not want other workers to

see or hear about.

Assessments will change.

Workers will increase and decrease their involvement in the union as the organising moves forward.

Assessments need to be constantly updated.

Assessments help us keep our focus on the undecided and unknown workers. As more workers become involved, do not overlook the workers we are not in contact with, the "unknowns". Because we are more likely to be talking to the

List Building

Indentify what information you want to keep updated

- * Contact details
- * Job category
- * Direct employer
- * Employment status
- * Terms and conditions including temporary / permanent contracts
- * Shift / working time
- * Physical work location
- * Composition of the different categories of workers (eg age, gender and social interests)
- * Union membership / delegate / activist
- * Problems / concerns
- * Level of union involvement attendance at union events and activities

MAPPING AND LIST-BUILDING

union supporters, we may feel that we are stronger than we are. Keeping very accurate numbers and assessments is critical to planning our strategy.

Building your list:

- * What information will we want to keep?
- * How will we gather the information?
- * Where will we keep the list? (Computer, individual cards, chart paper, etc.)
- * How will we keep our list updated?

ASSESSMENT OF UNION INVOLVEMENT

0 INSUFFICIENT INFORMATION	No one-on-one contact yet.
1 PUBLIC YES	Participates consistently. Supports union publicly and explains why.
2 PARTICIPATES	Attends sometimes but consistently and not always publicly.
3 TALKING ABOUT UNION / UNDECIDED	Speaks about the union but does not participate in public activities. Might say they are with union, or might say they are undecided.
4 PUBLIC NO	Publicly anti union.

LIST WITH MONTHLY ASSESSMENT NUMBERS

	# Jan	# Feb	Who knows who	5.6.2010 Aviation Law Event	Mobile/ Email	Comments
Eva	3	1	Sylvia	Attended		Rest time on Lima flight
Maria	0	4	Sylvia	Attended		Past history of union

ASSESSMENT NUMBERS HELP US ANALYSE OUR ORGANISING

Assessment	January	February	March
0 Unknown	492	390	142
1 Active Publicly	2	20	42
2 Participates	46	62	94
3 Undecided	126	144	264
4 No	116	156	220
Total	782	772	762

MAPPING AND LIST-BUILDING

Learning from each other

We are used to building strong relationships with workers. In Turkey, we follow the workers from work and speak to them in a café or at their house. We spend time with them, getting to know them and their families. The company provides a bus to take workers to the workplace, so we follow these buses. We also look at parts of the city where the workers are more likely to be. For example, we might look for some workers in the heavily commercial areas.

We might help drivers unload,

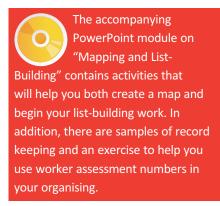
introduce ourselves and discuss working conditions. Sometimes they don't want to talk, and sometimes they say yes.

Once we know them, we ask the workers to organise a meeting with three to five other sympathetic people at their home.

We ask our union members if they have contacts in the companies. And if the company is hiring, we will send unemployed union members to the company to apply.

Kenan Ozturk

ITF affiliate, Turkey



ITF ORGANISING MANUAL

ARBOLITOS

(WORKER NETWORKS)

Worker networks, also known as "arbolitos", are small. No more than five to seven workers are assigned to one person, the communicator. Communication is person-to-person and one-to-one. Worker networks help us identify and develop leaders and hold these leaders or communicators accountable for a small but most

important task: communicating with their co-workers. You will need to designate at least one person to coordinate and keep in touch with and support the communicators.

Worker networks are called "arbolitos", or little trees, by ITF unions in Argentina, Chile, Ecuador and Peru. This name helps us remember that worker networks

Learning from each other

When flight attendants from Jordanian Air decided to organise, we knew that face-to-face was the only way. The union had already tried just putting information and forms in the crew mailboxes, only to find the literature thrown in the trash. The vast majority of the crew were convinced that nothing would change.

At the first organising committee meeting, only one person came, then two, and finally six. The six cabin crew began approaching flight attendants quietly and individually – often in the galley, also before the flight, while waiting for the transport bus, and in the crew centre before and after flights. We often spent one hour talking

to just one person. We asked friends to talk to friends. As we gained momentum, we scheduled days off to talk to their co-workers. It took over three months of very hard work for us to develop enough participation to contact 750 people. 30 per cent of the cabin crew are non-Jordanian, and we made an extra effort to ensure they were involved.

By the time we went to management, we already had the support we needed to win. Eventually, we negotiated the right to speak to all new flight attendants for 45 minutes during the company initiation programme.

Sawsan Ibrahim *ITF affiliate, Jordan*

require a lot of gardening and patience. There are lots of branches, and there is a constant need for pruning. Trees start small and trees grow.

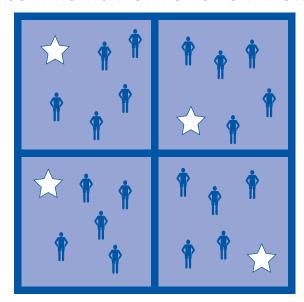
In union workplaces, usually the largest group of workers are the uninvolved workers, not the anti-union workers or the union activists. These uninvolved workers are the ones we need to reach.

There are many methods that unions use to communicate with

workers: newsletters, leaflets, websites, telephone calls, email messages, text messaging, social networking websites, media, meetings and person-to-person contact. The most effective method when workers lack knowledge about the union or are afraid is person-to-person contact.

* What do you think your benchmark for arbolitos should be?

ONE COMMUNICATOR FOR 5 TO 7 WORKERS



To form arbolitos, we can sort workers by home address or postal code, work teams, who knows who, work area, transport to and from work, shift or type of work.

Arbolitos strengthen and structure our person-to-person contacts with workers. We will need communicators, the people who will keep in touch with five to seven workers. If our arbolito is large enough, we will also need coordinators, the people who will keep in contact with the communicators.

One of our key benchmarks is for arbolitos:

____% one-to-one contact within 48 hours.

If you do not have an antiunion environment, but you want to increase the level of worker involvement in the union (perhaps in preparation for a difficult set of negotiations or a problem that workers will need to take action on), you will want to set benchmarks for your arbolitos. Asking workers to communicate with a small group of their coworkers is a simple and clear

Learning from each other

Arbolitos (little trees) were developed by South American unions to describe the person-to-person, five-workers-toone-organiser communicationnetwork system of organising.

Arbolitos emphasise the constant need for gardening, nurturing and fertilising of worker communication networks.

Dina Feller

ITF affiliate, Argentina

leadership task. Later, these "communicators" might take on other leadership roles in the union – delegate, steward, works council member – but begin by allowing workers to participate at a less intense level of commitment.

Accountability is critical. You will want to get regular reports from all communicators. Find out the total number of workers who have been spoken to or who have participated in an activity. Record

this and what the workers are saying. Use this information to build your lists. Do frequent spot checks to make sure that the correct message has been communicated.

After major actions or events, have communicators ask workers for feedback. For workers who did not participate, include questions about why they did not attend or get involved. For those who did participate, make sure that the communicators reinforce the

We will need communicators, the people who will keep in touch with the 5-7 workers.

If our arbolito is large enough, we will also need **co-ordinators**, the people who will keep in touch with the communicators

importance of their contributions.

If a communicator does not speak to their people, reassign the work or leave it undone until someone else comes forward.

If a communicator does speak to their people, give support, recognition and educational opportunities.

Here are two sample forms, one to be filled out by the communicators and one for the co-ordinators (below and on the following page).

If you need to keep the arbolitos underground, each communicator can keep in contact with only those workers they trust and one organiser. You might want to keep the arbolitos even smaller and quieter, with two to three workers instead of five to seven. The organiser should be a trusted person, preferably someone who does not work directly for the company and, therefore, is not subject to pressure. Only the

the 5-7 workers they are talking to: **Contact Details Tasks** Name: Survey complete: $Y \square N \square$ Date: Date of first contact: Met me to talk: $Y \square N \square$ Date: Work location and type: Will talk to others: $Y \square N \square$ Date: Hours of work: Who did they speak to? Reason given for inability to Concerns and comments:

complete a task:

To be filled out by **COMMUNICATORS** for each of

organiser knows which workers are supporting the union.

When workers will be facing pressure from the employer, communicators do not need to talk openly about the union. The arbolitos can be used to strengthen social relationships and discuss working conditions or any other topic of interest.

We need to find people who can be communicators and coordinators, workers who will lead the organising. Leaders are not necessarily the most outspoken or even the ones most in favour of the union.

There are two easy steps to finding leaders:

- Ask workers who they rely on when there are workplace problems and also who organises social events.
- 2) Ask workers to do small tasks, and then you can spend time with those who complete the tasks.

To be filled out by CO-ORDINATORS for each of the communicators:		
Communicator Contact Details	Communicator's Tasks	
Name of communicator:	Total surveys given Date:	
Best time to call:	Total surveys completed: Date:	
Concerns and comments:	Total workers the communicator met with one-to-one:	
	Reason given for inability to complete a task:	

Arbolitos can be used to target specific groups of under-represented workers to get them more involved. Identify the types of workers who are under-represented in the union (by age, work location or area, shift, type of work, language, culture, gender, etc). Plan to recruit communicators who can talk to workers in their own languages and are familiar with their cultures and subcultures.

Arbolitos support union structures and workplace leaders; they do not replace them.

Workplace delegates and union leaders help recruit, train and support the arbolitos.

Communicating with co-workers is usually one part of the workplace delegate's job. Arbolitos can assist workplace delegates.

To create arbolitos:

- * Think about the workplace leadership structure of your union. How will we involve these union leaders in the creation of the arbolitos?
- * How many communicators will we need? How many do we have

- now? Do we need people to coordinate the work of the communicators?
- * How will we recruit, train and support these people?
- * What information will we need to collect, and how will we keep and maintain records?
- * What problems might arise from setting up this network? How will we overcome these problems?

The most important thing to remember when talking to apathetic or fearful workers is to not talk but to listen. An organiser should be listening about 80 per cent of the time and talking not more than 20 per cent of the time. If you don't know the answer to a question, tell the person that you will find out and get back to them.

When workers are afraid of firings, retaliation and violence, remember to listen deeply. Simply providing an open ear, support and solidarity is most important. Workers will make their own decisions about how much risk to take and when, and their risk levels are likely to change with time and circumstance.

Learning from each other

One-to-one contact is key to getting young workers on board.

Marco Steinborn

ITF affiliate, Germany

Ask workers open-ended questions that will get them talking about their working conditions, themselves and the possibilities for change. Ask them to commit to small things that will get them more involved, whether they can remain open to more discussions with you or if they know someone else you can talk to. When the worker says no, do not get into an argument or try to convince the worker. You want the worker focused on what they are concerned about, not all the reasons why it is so difficult to get involved.

Workers get involved in unions for many different reasons. Be able to share your own story of why you are involved. Find out if people have been involved in social activities or unions in the past and what that experience was like for them. Have they ever wanted to change things? Do they have a vision of what is needed to improve things for workers? Sharing with each other deepens our relationship.

Workers have to trust the information they receive from the union more than they trust what the employer is saying, what the media is saying and perhaps what their friends and family are saying. Worker networks help us deepen our relationships with each other and place these deeper relationships within a union structure. The more workers trust each other, the easier it is to organise.

The employer is likely to take actions against workers or pass around misleading information.

We need to be able to counter the employer's anti-union campaign quickly and effectively. One-to-one contact with workers, systematically organised so that we can contact them within a short period, is critical.

ITF ORGANISING MANUAL

ORGANISING ORGANISING ORGANISING

There are many reasons to have an organising committee. Organising committees help spread the work around, develop leaders and increase commitment and ownership. They help hold us accountable to each other. Within the framework of the overall union decision-making structures, the organising committee usually makes daily decisions about organising strategy and work plans.

Learning from each other

Unions should concern themselves equally with women and men in the workplace. In my opinion, a union which does not represent women or young workers is only doing half its job.

Kalthoum Barkallah

ITF affiliate, Tunisia

ORGANISING COMMITTEE

Hardworking people, usually complete tasks. Includes the arbolitos or communication network communicators and key supportive union leaders.

> Hardworking, always completes tasks

Hardest working, always do more

Usually a minimum of 15% of the workers. reflecting all jobs, genders, languages, ages and ethnicities

Includes key union leaders and decision makers who are able to support the work of the committee. The organising committee cannot be separate from the union and union leaders.

ORGANISING COMMITTEES

Forming an organising committee:

- 1. Make a list of everyone who is working on organising. Include the arbolitos (worker networks) and union leaders. Are there any under-represented groups that you will need to focus on?
- 2. Discuss when, where and how often to meet. The hardest-working people can meet more often, but they will want to report in regularly.
- Discuss how the organising committee fits into your union decision-making structures. Discuss who can perform the facilitation and record-keeping jobs.

You will want to create tasks for the organising committee that fit what workers are able and willing to do.

Do not form the organising committee too early. Use arbolitos (worker networks) first to build support. If your first meeting is too weak and not representative, it could give the impression of a small clique. Once the committee is formed, continue to focus on workers where union support is weak.

Once the committee is formed, do not make the mistake of spending most of your time with the active union supporters. Spend time

EXAMPLE I want to be a member of the LAN Airlines organising committee I'll take responsibility for: Attending committee meetings once a month Speaking to one or more LAN workers about what they like and dislike about working for LAN Helping in the union office once a month Attending soccer games Attending social events Helping organise soccer games Helping organise social events Making calls to union members from the union office Keeping 5-7 union members updated about organising

with the workers and the areas of the workforce where union support is weak.

Keep the meetings brief, discuss who was able to do what, plan the tasks ahead of time, and give out assignments. Make sure that people do not commit to more than they can do. Develop a culture of helping each other.

If someone does not complete the work they agreed to do, designate someone to contact them and find out why. You might want to set a policy for removal from the organising committee after a designated number of absences or if no work tasks are completed. Encourage rejoining after attendance at two or more meetings or completion of work tasks.

Two important jobs are facilitation and record-keeping. These responsibilities can be shared or rotated, but it should be clear who is responsible for doing them.

Sometimes there are groups of workers who are underrepresented in our union structures and organising committees. They might be a certain age group, gender, ethnicity or race. Perhaps the day-shift workers are less

Sample organising committee agenda

- 12:00 Attendance / Sign in
- 12:05 Report results of previous assignments
 - Give recognition to people who completed assignments
 - Plan what to do about work not done
- 12:10 Discussion of the next phase of the organising
- 12:20 Practice next assignments
- 12:50 Assignments
- 13:00 Adjourn

ORGANISING COMMITTEES

involved than the night-shift workers. Work classifications, language or length of time on the job might divide us.

Employers will often use existing divisions in the workforce to further divide workers. They may reward or punish some groups to divide workers. Sometimes this will be done subtly, sometimes not. The more united the workers, the stronger the union.

- * Think about an under-represented group that is important to your organising.
- * What problems might occur as they become more involved?
- * If we did nothing about these problems, what would be the consequences?
- * How might we go about changing the situation?

Organising-committee
members will want to share their
visions of the union. What should
our union be like at our workplace?
What are the rights and
responsibilities of union leaders and
members to each other? How is our

union involved in our industry, the economy and politics – both nationally and internationally?

You will want to spend time thinking about ground rules for your organising committee. Some common ones are: start on time and end on time; confidentiality; no public showing of weakness or division, especially to the employer; and even participation (if you speak a lot, speak less; if you don't speak much, speak more).

You will need to stick with a clear and democratic decision-making process and use participatory teaching methods to involve everyone and generate ideas and discussion.

There will always be some committee members we don't trust. This can be difficult to deal with, especially if there is fear of employer retaliation or violence. Employers benefit from an atmosphere of secrecy and mistrust; unions need trust to build the collective.

Share information openly in meetings unless it will directly harm your organising. Keep your

METHODS FOR MAKING GROUP DECISIONS

Vote	By hand / informal ballot / formal ballot
Consensus	All members share in the decision and take responsibility for implementation. Those who disagree, show willingness to experiment for a period of time or try alternatives.
Consensus plus vote	An effort is made to reach consensus within a given timeframe. A member can then call the question by asking for a show of hands or ballot vote.
Group decisions are mandates	Once a group decision is made and becomes a mandate, any changes must be taken back through the collective decision-making process.
Other	

GATHERING IDEAS

Brainstorming	Define the subject or question. Take a few moments for everyone to think quietly. Call out ideas or go around the room. Sort and discuss ideas	
All on the wall	Write down your ideas on pape One idea per paper, block letter words. Gather the papers, sort, post or	rs, print clearly and about 5-7
Advantages and	When you have to decide between two alternatives: * Divide into small groups * Identify as many advantages and disadvantages as possible * Share and discuss	
disadvantages	Advantages to #1	Advantages to #2
	Disadvantages to #1	Disadvantages to #2
Small groups	Divide into pairs or small groups. Return to larger group, share ideas and discuss.	
Other		

ORGANISING COMMITTEES

suspicions to yourself until you know for sure, and do not overreact.

Spend personal time getting to know workers you don't yet trust. Give work assignments to them that will not cause harm, such as gathering information about the industry or employer, or attending union events. Do not create an atmosphere or culture of mistrust because of one or two individuals.

Conflict will arise. Have clear decision-making processes. Think ahead about what conflicts might arise. Discuss potential conflicts early. Create a culture where we can respect and learn from each other's differences. Practice deep listening. Find out what is behind the differences. Continue to build strong personal relationships of trust – before, after and during conflict.

Above all, keep your organising committee meetings hardworking and fun. The culture that you develop as you organise will affect the culture of the overall union.

The accompanying
PowerPoint module on
"Organising Committees"
contains activities that will help you
(1) plan how you want to form your
organising committee, (2) create a
plan for recruiting under-represented
workers to the committee, and (3)
practice decision-making in a group.
There is a sample organising
committee agenda and an
opportunity to conduct a practice
organising committee meeting.

ORGANISING COMMITTEES

Learning from each other

NETWON is organising trekking guides in the tourism industry. The union made a significant achievement in lobbying the government for a tax on the tourists who go trekking. A portion of the tax is the workers' share, and the union will have input into deciding how it will be used.

There are about 9,000 licensed trekking guides, but there are many non-licensed guides. The government has not checked this trend. There is no compulsory system for official insurance for the trekking guides and no social security. The trekking companies do not provide the necessary equipment for the workers. There is not a permanent system of employment in the companies.

The union organised a three-day education seminar to discuss problems in the industry, what a union is and what a democratic union is like. The 22 participants from the seminar then recruited 200 members by talking to their friends in the workplace. The union keeps in touch with the 22, and they came into the office every few days to meet and plan. After about a year or more of person-to-person conversations with workers, we will hold a founding congress which will form a national organising committee. The newly elected leaders will hold a two-day education programme and continue to organise and educate more workers.

Ajay Rai

ITF affiliate, Nepal

ITF ORGANISING MANUAL

EMPLOYER'S

ANTI-UNION

ANTI-UNION

CAMPAIGN

The fundamental conflict between labour and capital will result in some effort by the employer to keep the workers away from the union. Predict what your employer is likely to do, whether it is positive or negative. You will want to explain the employer's campaign before it begins.

Stay on the offensive. If the union gets stuck continually responding to the employer's message, we will lose. Keep the

focus on improving working conditions.

The employer will want to focus on dues, strikes and unions, using scare tactics and temporary fixes.

The union will want to focus on improving working conditions and having worker input in decision-making.

Don't be defensive.Responding directly to the employer's false charges can give them legitimacy and importance.

WHAT WOULD YOUR EMPLOYER SAY ABOUT UNION DUES?

Your employer might say:	Your employer won't say
The union can raise your dues or charge you other assessments whenever it feels like it.	Only union members can decide to raise the dues. The facts about the amount of union dues and the union finances.
You can't afford to pay union dues.	You can't afford not to have a union. And you want a union that's financially stable.
The union will just spend your money on corrupt schemes and big salaries.	Union members decide how to spend our dues on services.
The union is only interested in your money.	The union exists to organise and serve workers.

WHAT MIGHT YOUR EMPLOYER SAY ABOUT STRIKES?

Your employer might say:	Your employer won't say
Unions love strikes.	Workers join unions to improve working conditions. Strikes are sometimes necessary.
The union can force you to strike.	Workers decide to strike.
Union strikes are violent.	What violence has occurred during past strikes and why.
Strikes are long.	Give facts on length of time of past strikes.

WHAT MIGHT YOUR EMPLOYER SAY ABOUT UNIONS?

Your employer might say:	Your employer won't say
The union will fine you for misbehaviour or for not attending meetings or voting for certain political candidates.	You will want to come to union meetings and participate. If there are fines, what they amount to and why they exist.
When you sign a union membership card the union will tell you what to do and how to act.	Signing a union membership card simply means you want a union.
The union won't let you take a problem directly to management.	The union will help you talk to management when you ask for help.
The union will make false promises.	The union will answer all questions honestly.
The union leadership is not good.	The union leaders will meet with you at any time to discuss any issue or concern.

WHAT SCARE TACTICS MIGHT YOUR EMPLOYER TRY?

Your employer might say:	Your employer won't say
We won't ever sign a collective agreement even if you get a union here.	Your employer will be legally required to negotiate. If the employer believes they won't have to agree to improvements, why argue against the union?
You will lose wages and working conditions.	Unions work to improve wages and conditions. Better to negotiate together as a united group.
Union supporters will lose their jobs.	It is against the law and wrong to punish anyone for supporting a union. We will work locally, nationally and internationally to defend the rights of workers to organise.
We won't be one big happy family anymore.	Most union members have better relationships with their employers after they are unionised.
We will have to close or move the company.	The decision to close or move a company is rarely done simply because the workers unionise. The facts about company and industry finances.

WILL YOUR EMPLOYER TRY TEMPORARY FIXES?

Your employer might say:	Your employer won't say
Give us another chance, we will change.	A union is the only way to make sure the employer changes.
We have procedures for hearing your complaints.	Without a union, the employer still has the last word.
We'll change a few things that are really bothering you.	If you can get changes just by talking about a union imagine what you can get once you have joined.

EMPLOYER'S ANTI-UNION CAMPAIGN

Learning from each other

- * Fear is a small word with a powerful meaning.
- * We have all lived with fear.
- * We always live through it.
- * We are intelligent people who have organised and educated ourselves about our rights.
- * This is not a time to be manipulated, divided and oppressed by fear.
- * We know what we need, we need to organise.

Manny Tavarez

Union organiser

Learning from each other

Six railway workers were dismissed in Thailand for participating in industrial action in protest against a fatal accident. Immediately after the accident, the government blamed the workers. They didn't see the fact that safety devices weren't working properly. These dismissals are union busting.

Pinyo Ruennpetch

ITF affiliate, Thailand

If you have already discussed the issues with workers, you won't need to respond defensively to each employer "fact". If you have to respond, be clear, brief and positive. Refocus the discussion on the workers' problems and what the employer can do about them.

Strengthen the arbolitos
(worker networks) and the
organising committee. Workers
need to get information from
someone they know and trust who
is also informative and honest.
Make sure that organising
committee members are always
informed.

Don't let the employer divide workers, especially by gender, age, work area or ethnicity. Plan social events that allow for more contact. Talk to workers and share information across the divide.

Focus on the undecided workers. Don't alienate undecided workers by over-appealing to union supporters.

One of the first things that the company will do is try to get workers to stay away from the

union and union supporters.

Gather any still missing names and contact details of workers. This will be harder and harder to do as the anti-union campaign develops. You will need the contacts to keep building trust through person-to-person conversations.

Encourage workers to keep in touch with the union, no matter what happens, as there may be a lot of misinformation and rumours. If workers are fired or treated unfairly for supporting the union, it will be very important to maintain contact between them and the union and give them support. If the employer improves working conditions, it will be important for workers to know that it is a result of union activity.

You may need to prepare workers for meetings with supervisors. List what might be said. Plan together how to respond. Take turns practicing, one playing the role of supervisor and one the worker. Supervisors may be trained to gather information from workers. Share only information that you

Learning from each other

In Mumbai, a number of port trucking contractors in Maersk's GTI terminal responded to union organising of port drivers with violence.

In one incident, four drivers were abducted by thugs and severely beaten for wanting to join the union. In another, company thugs beat workers with hockey sticks and steel rods on a company bus to persuade them to join a "yellow union".

The union organised against the attacks, with strong international support from the ITF. A collective agreement for port drivers was eventually signed with the largest contractor, firmly establishing the right to union representation.

Transport & Dock Workers Union, Mumbai

ITF affiliate, India

In Australia, a home-grown unionbusting company, ACIL, a think tank linked to the right wing national Howard government, tried to break the MUA [Maritime Union of Australia] during its historic ports dispute with Patricks in 1997.

EMPLOYER'S ANTI-UNION CAMPAIGN

Learning from each other

As soon as management becomes aware of our organising work, they react quite fiercely, attacking our union and the union workers.

Right now, we have 156 workers dismissed from UPS for organising.

The workers are picketing in front of transport centres, and this is not an easy thing to do, because they are under huge pressure. The workers who are still working inside are also under tremendous pressure.

The company has not succeeded in getting even one worker to resign from the union.

The local management of UPS works closely with the police. They detain union leaders as well as workers quite frequently.

We have been very successful organising in these situations in the past because of our deep and strong relationships with the workers, combined with our international pressure.

Kenan Ozturk

ITF affiliate, Turkey

want to go back to the company, no matter how friendly the approach. Supervisors are often pressured to pressure workers.

You may need to prepare for an anti-union "loyalty" committee or "yellow" (company) union.

Attacking the workers in the antiunion committee directly or
individually plays into the
employer's hands. It makes the
workers fight against each other
instead of focusing on the need to
improve working conditions. You
might consider sending an open
letter to the employer. The letter
can remind the company that
economic aid from an employer to a
union is illegal and/or immoral and
that the real focus needs to be on
improving working conditions.

Violence may occur. Share with workers any history of violence that the union is aware of in your industry or with your employer. Discuss fear and predict what could happen. Prepare support teams that workers can contact in case of an emergency. Include trusted community and religious leaders.

Learning from each other

Unite, the British transport union, decided to organise the low-cost airline Flybe as part of co-ordinated sectoral strategy. The company hired the Burke Group, notorious union busters, to try and break the union from the start of the campaign.

The union used organising teams of full-time organisers, peer-group stewards and union officers to target the workers. All the organisers were trained in core cabin crew issues of workplace environment, crew complements, scheduling arrangements, allowances and wage structures. Additionally, the company's ownership, operations and workforce demographics were mapped. Organisers visited and mapped worksites, setting up organising committees at each workplace as the campaign progressed. Meetings, national and local newsletters, petitions and sticker days were implemented. All grievances raised by the workers were dealt with by the union, including pay, scheduling, cleaning, rest breaks and premium crew issues.

Organisers spent time preparing workers for the management tactics they could expect, including union busting presentations from the Burke Group and anti-union messages. "We had to immerse ourselves in the operations of the company," says Sharon Graham, director of organising for Unite. "By the end, the workforce really understood what the union was about."

The union put pressure on Flybe to get rid of the union busters. It looked at all aspects of the company's market and work activities to target reputation risk. The union continued to demand that company money was spent on resolving crew issues, not on unethical union busters whose purpose was to deny workers a decent wage.

The work paid off. When the workforce was balloted, there was an 89 per cent turnout, and 93 per cent came back with a yes vote for the union. The union strategy to organise the majority of new members from young women under the age of 30 had been successful.

Unite

ITF affiliate, Great Britain

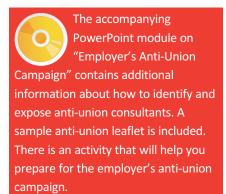
EMPLOYER'S ANTI-UNION CAMPAIGN

If there is a threat of violence, keep the arbolitos (worker networks) quiet and "underground". Work hard to stay underground and to build collective strength before confronting the employer. Select a trusted organiser (perhaps someone who does not work directly for the company) to keep each arbolito informed and educated.

If violence occurs, quietly and systematically stick to our plan: mapping, training more leaders and organisers and continuing to stay underground wherever possible. At the same time, prepare for public action against the violence with ITF regional and global support.

You may be facing an antiunion consultant. Anti-union consultants or law firms counsel or direct the employer's anti-union campaign. The US's \$4 billion [£2 billion] union busting industry is extremely profitable and growing globally. In summary, we need to remember (1) to keep focused on the demand to improve working conditions and (2) that informed and involved workers are our best protection against the employer's anti-union campaign.

(Information from the AFSCME (American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees) booklet entitled "We Won and So Can You" was included in this chapter.)



ITF ORGANISING MANUAL TRAINING

Learning from each other

I am a flight attendant at Jordanian Airlines. When I first got involved in the union, no-one else was ready to participate. The leader of my union recommended that I attend an ITF education seminar on "Training the Trainer".

With the help and encouragement of my fellow participants, I gathered ideas about how to educate my co-workers about unions. One of the participants became my mentor and friend.

I was able to recruit a small group of my fellow flight attendants to assist me, and within a year we had won.

My education began with a oneto-one conversation followed by a seminar and then a mentor. I am now helping others in my union.

We need to take the education of our leaders and co-workers seriously. Every worker needs to have opportunities to increase skills, share ideas and learn from each other.

Sawsan Ibrahim

ITF affiliate, Jordan

Without training and education, workers will not know what a union is and how it can best function.

If we do not train workers, misinformation in the workplace will increase. Leaders may not grow in skills and experience. It will be harder to recruit additional leaders if we do not support our current leaders. We will have too few people who are skilled at doing the organising work. Making decisions and resolving conflicts become more difficult.

Through training and education, we can...

- * Exchange information, skills and perspectives.
- * Develop and understand our organising plans together.
- * Help recruit additional leaders.
- * Build deeper relationships amongst workers.

One of our benchmarks is for union training.

There are three key topics that workers may need training in:

 The organising plan and how to get involved in organising

- 2. The union, including the union's history and vision
- 3. The company, the industry and the economy

Training can be done in a variety of ways. It does not need to be in a classroom or at a meeting. Songs, quizzes, games, poems and even just interesting questions that help start conversations can be good educational tools. We will look at several different methods for training workers.

Most people learn through one-to-one, person-to-person relationships. These one-to-one relationships must be built on honesty and trust. Workers do not usually commit to the challenge of getting involved in a union based on written materials.

Education in small groups is part of strengthening our arbolitos (worker networks). Small group meetings can take place in workers' homes, cafés or other safe locations. The meetings should be fun and build the sense of the collective. They should be a safe place to share questions. The small groups can

either be informal and social or be run with an agenda (as in a study circle).

Mentoring supports the deep sharing of experience and knowledge. Mentors and mentees should meet regularly and might need a list of topics to cover. Both participants should be willing to challenge habits and assumptions and be open to new ideas. And both need to provide praise and support for each other. Clear, direct and honest feedback should be given with kindness.

Industry events are usually held away from the union office and without a union "label" in order to provide safe space for the workers before they are ready to publicly confront the employer. Possible venues include radio stations, industry training centres, hotels or conference rooms, a church or community facility, or a college or university. Topics are varied. There might be an interest in industry law, particularly as it affects workers, a comparison of conditions, or safety information

TRAINING

about injuries and how to prevent them.

Surveys use the arbolitos (worker networks) communication structures to gather data of interest to workers. Possible topics might include (1) knowledge of the law or regulations covering working conditions or (2) information about specific conditions or problems (for example, the frequency of back injuries). We might collect

information about resources and needs for childcare. The survey can be from a college or university, a social group, a Facebook group, an NGO, an industry academy or training organisation, the ITF or a union. Include a request for workers' contact details. Promise to provide the final results to each worker participating in the survey.

Social events should be well organised and fun. You can either

Learning from each other

There are 80,000 seafarers in Turkey, with 40,000 of them waiting for a job. The work is casual, usually with sixmonth contracts. None of the Turkish seafarers were with the union.

It took eight years to develop the team that would organise the seafarers.

One place that seafarers get together is in their training courses. Eleven trainers were our nucleus. Officers are trained for two years, which was enough time for the trainers to develop deep relationships with them. Each trainer recruited approximately 150 officers who they kept in touch with over the eight-year

period by phone, email and during rest times. We shared friendship, politics and helped each other with problems. There was no status, no money and no elected positions for any of us. By the time we were ready, we had a group of about 800 trained seafaring officers ready to act.

Last year, we were able to negotiate 152 collective bargaining agreements, and we now have 800 members who pay fees.

We understand that not everyone has eight years. Our advice is to spend the time on educating and training. You need a committed team that deeply trusts each other.

ITF affiliate, Turkey

create your own events or tap into others' social events. They might involve sports, nightlife, dinner parties, fundraisers, or shopping. You will want to maximise opportunities for one-to-one, person-to-person contact with the workers. For example, you might go for drinks after you play soccer together or you might want to organise group transport for shopping. Make sure to follow up

Learning from each other

ITF-affiliated drivers' unions in West Africa are distributing music videos and cassettes to raise awareness of drivers' problems, such as long hours and police corruption. The music project promotes union messages to drivers. More drivers are now showing an interest in joining unions.

Germaine Ouedraogo

ITF education project co-ordinator

Who will we need to train?

Union Members
Especially those who
have contact with or
can relate to non-union
or uninvolved workers

Non-union or uninvolved

Union leaders and staff

Training can help build links and trust between workers

TRAINING

Planning a training programme

Who would participate?
Who would teach or lead? What
facilitation training and support
might they need?

How will you recruit participants? What training methods would you use?

- □ One-to-one, person-to-person
- ☐ Small groups
- □ Mentoring
- ☐ Industry or educational events
- □ Surveys
- □ Social events
- □ Union events
- \sqcap Other

Learning from each other

In Sweden, audio books have been produced to educate truckers about HIV/AIDS. This is an ideal format for reaching union members on the road.

ITF affiliate, Sweden

Learning from each other

We had a three-week strike at Air France of baggage handlers, check-in staff and all the ground staff. We have legal access to workplaces as long as we do not impede the work.

In France, we have one hour free to train workers in the workplace. The shop stewards contact the company to set the location and date, and then we post a notice regarding the topic and the location. We had lots and lots of these one-hour meetings to mobilise for the strike. We talked to workers in rest areas and lounges but not in front of passengers. We used this time to recruit members as well.

We had all three national union federations working together on the strike, with inter-union meetings, joint pamphlets and a joint strike date. We had 70 per cent of the staff stop working. We won the strike and there was more confidence and trust in the union afterwards.

Liliane Debeche

ITF affiliate, France

systematically with the new contacts that you make.

We can use union events to educate members about organising. You might make a short announcement at a well-attended union event, asking if anyone knows anyone at the unorganised company. Or plan a five-day workshop to discuss organising strategies. Try to always include specific ideas of what union members can do to help.

* What do you think your benchmark for training should be?

Our training benchmark is a measure of the percentage of non-union or uninvolved workers who have a basic understanding of the union.



Learning from each other

We need to get out there and educate workers about what the union really does. It's not enough to say we're the union and leave it at that.

Tami Ray

ITF affiliate, Bermuda

TRAINING

Learning from each other

More than 3,000 seafarers attended an ITF seafarers expo at the Luneta Seafarers' Center in Manila, the heart of the Philippines' seafaring community.

Seafarers interacted with their unions, signed international ITF petitions, wrote messages about key workplace issues and participated in a range of other activities – free medical check-ups, quizzes and raffles. They received information about the benefits of trade union membership and the employment terms and conditions on board vessels covered by the ITF.

It was a fantastic event, and one we will be replicating in other regions of the world.

Graham Young

ITF secretariat

Learning from each other

We have to educate our members about collective bargaining, their rights, union dues, everything.

We represent seafarers and fishers in Indonesia. Seafarers are always moving. The union goes to the manning agents and the shipping companies and we advertise a three-day course for the seafarers to attend while they are ashore. During this time they are visiting the manning agency and looking for work.

The union pays for the transportation and food and accommodation. We hold this training every three months. You must be a member to go. When you join our union, we have a form, it is like a contract with your name and contact details and your certification. It lists the members' responsibilities:

- * I will attend the three days of training and all other union education courses including the advanced courses
- * I will pay my membership dues
- * I will attend congress and the education and branch meetings that occur before congress and all other

union education courses including the advanced courses

The union keeps a list of members who have and have not attended. We send out warning letters. If you are paying your union dues and you do not know about the union, you are unhappy. You will not be able to go to congress. We have one delegate for every 250 workers. Other members will laugh at you because you are not able to keep up with the discussions.

We now have 35,000 members with 5,000 of them in the fishing industry. We are the major labour supplying country for seafarers. There are companies that do not use our members and they have a problem; the workers will not have accident insurance for example.

We send our members, our educated members to the companies where they will get more pay. They all must attend the union training course before they can join a ship. The members' knowledge of the union is the most important.

Hanafi Rustandi ITF affiliate, Indonesia ITF ORGANISING MANUAL

WORKPLACE WORKPLACE PROBLEMS

Workplace problems are the fuel that drives organising. Many workers get involved because they want to help solve problems and improve conditions. Some examples of workplace problems are: low salaries, HIV/AIDS stigma, no collectively negotiated agreement, or a lack of respect, and poor morale. If you are organising to gain a collective agreement or take industrial action, this discussion of workplace problems may help you

prioritise one to three issues for bargaining.

- * What do you know about the working conditions and problems that workers are facing?
- * What have the workers done in the past to try to address problems?

Workplace problems motivate workers to get involved. Resolving problems or even sharing

PRIORITISING WORKPLACE PROBLEMS

Look for workplace problems that are most:

widely felt	The number of workers who are concerned about this problem.
deeply felt	How deeply and emotionally important the problem is felt to be by the workers.
winnable in part	We need to have at least a chance of winning some positive result for workers.

WORKPLACE PROBLEMS

information about problems can show that by working collectively, we can make a difference. There are many problems in any workplace, so we need to decide which problems to focus on.

We can make a workplace problem more widely felt if we communicate, educate and find a common cause around it. If we want a problem to be more deeply felt, we will need to appeal to the workers' sense of justice and

fairness. And any problem can be made more "winnable" by breaking it down into smaller steps, things that we can win along the way.

You will need to describe workplace problems clearly so that both the workers and the general public will be able to understand and relate to them. To make a problem clearer to the workers, ask some of them to discuss the problem whilst you take notes. To make a problem clearer to the

MAKE SURE THAT THE PROBLEM IS UNDERSTOOD BY THE WORKERS

Cabin crew have health and safety problems

Cabin crew have problems with back injuries from lifting luggage into the overhead racks.

MAKE SURE THAT THE PROBLEM IS UNDERSTOOD BY THE PUBLIC

Cabin crew want single rooms.

No one, including cabin crew, should have to sleep in the same room next to someone they do not know, who may smoke, act irresponsibly or violate your safety.

general public, get feedback from people who are not involved in the workplace or industry.

Deeply felt problems are real. They may be more difficult to talk about. Examples of deeply felt problems might be discrimination or harassment based on race, ethnicity or gender; the stigma of HIV/AIDS; workload and stress; or access to education for our children. Concrete solutions can sometimes be difficult, but giving a voice to the voiceless can be a powerful beginning.

If workers cannot openly talk about their problems, you might want to publish anonymous stories describing what workers are facing. These can be distributed in the workplace or wider community.

If there is a likelihood of a strong anti-union campaign by the employer, we might not want to talk about workplace problems openly right away. If we begin to organise around workplace problems too early, we may risk retaliation. Even increased discussion among workers about their problems may alert the employer. We risk

Learning from each other

We surveyed women locomotive drivers to find out more about their problems. The drivers raised toilet facilities, the need for separate restrooms, ergonomic design of cabs, and opportunities for flexible working related to childcare. The survey committee then made recommendations to the union about how to address these problems.

Grethe Thorsen

ITF affiliate. Norway

It is difficult for seafarers to take action. They are isolated and have few rights aboard ships. But an international online ITF petition to end piracy allowed seafarers to show support for an issue they care about. Having a petition which was also supported by shipowners made it easier to involve the seafarers. Over half a million seafarers signed the petition.

ITF seafarers section

WORKPLACE PROBLEMS

Learning from each other

In the past, the union would wait for the workers' anger to build and then call a strike, without planning ahead. There weren't many ways for the workers to participate in the union until they reached the stage of striking.

We are always looking for shared problems that are easy for the workers to get involved with. We did a survey to find out how many are affected by unsafe practices during the typhoon season. We had almost 600 questionnaires returned. We received feedback from the respondents that some workers were asked to keep lashing even when it is clearly dangerous, and there are not enough shuttle buses provided to get the workers out of the terminal to safe ground.

We held a seminar at the Mariners' Club in Hong Kong and invited workers and government officials. The government said it would be too difficult to have legislation for a specific industry, which increased the anger of the workers. At the meeting, the group decided to leaflet the workers about their right to stop work in unsafe conditions and to continue to lobby the politicians. We also committed to gather more documentation about the unsafe practices. We are putting our demands to the employer association. And if we do not get results, we are prepared to then go to the public and the media.

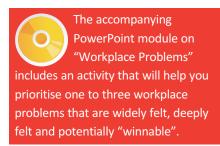
Now the terminal operators have been holding longer briefings for workers about the coming typhoon season and have purchased safety equipment and hired more shuttle buses during typhoons. It is a start. We are making progress, and more workers are getting involved.

Doris Hiu Yan Sin *ITF affiliate, Hong Kong*

losing, rather than gaining, momentum. Instead, spend time carefully and fully listening and learning about the problems that workers are facing so that we will be ready to act when the time is right.

If we are facing a strong antiunion campaign or violence from the employer, we might not use even anonymous worker action. There may be too much risk.

Organising to improve working conditions never ends. Once we resolve some problems, we look for other problems that the union can work on.



Learning from each other

Sometimes organising can happen quickly. We had a small success at Cathay Pacific Airways in Hong Kong. The company unilaterally announced a change in the rules on swapping flight duties, giving only one day's notice. The 4,000 affected cabin crew were very angry and wanted to go on strike. In ten days, we were able to get 600 more workers to join the union. We directed the anger against the CEO. Some 850 members rallied against the company and stopped traffic as we circled Cathay's headquarters. The company withdrew the policy. We were able to use the anger from this issue to organise more participation in the union.

Becky Kwan

ITF affiliate, Hong Kong

WORKPLACE PROBLEMS

Learning from each other

We are organising the bicycle couriers in Toronto in the same-day courier-service industry. They were not union. We knew that we would have to build the union from the ground up, and it would not be a quick process.

We talked to the couriers and asked them what they wanted, what we can help them with. We have spent the year getting to know them.

They needed a clothes dryer and a courier worker centre in downtown Toronto. One problem they have is that they sweat when they are delivering, the sweat freezes and then they have to go to a public laundromat to dry their clothes. They can't carry extra clothes with them on their bikes when they are working. So we helped them set up a centre with a clothes dryer. The centre holds workshops and information sessions for couriers on a regular basis, and couriers can come there to learn more and get involved in the union.

Valère Tremblay

ITF affiliate, Canada

Learning from each other

A few years ago we were not talking about HIV/AIDS in our unions in the Arab World. This is a very sensitive issue for us. There is a myth that HIV/AIDS happens to other people, that it is a problem of Western and African countries.

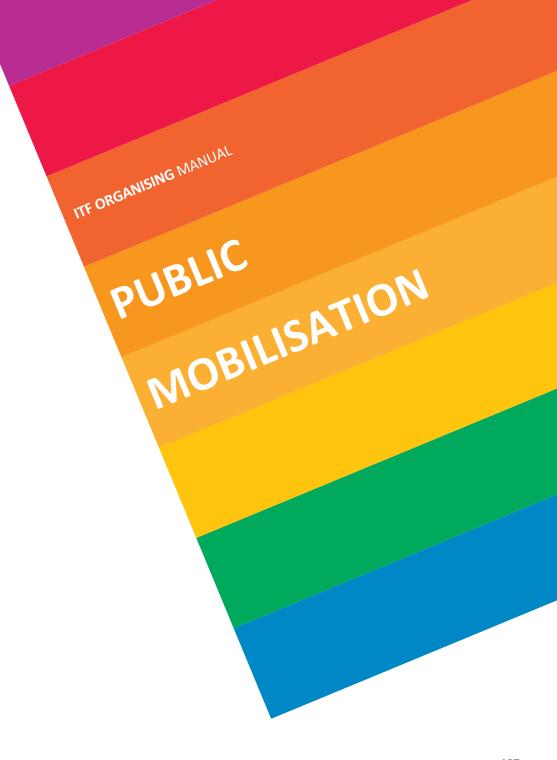
We held two national education seminars, one in Jordan and one in Egypt. There were men and women in both seminars.

In Egypt, there were three women and 20 male participants. At the beginning, the men stopped the women from asking questions. However, by the third day, the women were educating people in the passenger van on the way to the seminar.

HIV/AIDS is an occupational health issue. It affects our members deeply, and we must educate each other and learn how to talk to each other about this and other difficult topics.

Bilal Malkawi

ITF Secretariat



PUBLIC MOBILISATION

The public showing of support for the union to the employer or decision maker may take many forms:

- * Delivery of a petition about a workplace problem
- * Delegation of workers to the employer or labour ministry
- * Strike, demonstration or industrial action
- * Surrounding a decision maker's office with taxis or trucks
- * Other

The public mobilisation benchmark ensures that our public action will be a showing of strength, not weakness.

* What do you think your benchmark for public mobilisation should be?

If it is difficult to meet our benchmark, we might want to look for a different action that will show support for the union, one that a sufficient number of workers will participate in. Meanwhile, we can keep organising to build for the more difficult action. For example, if workers are not yet ready to strike,

you might first have them sign a petition supporting the strike demands as a way to build toward a strike.

We will want to collectively review our other benchmarks to see if we need to strengthen our list-building, our arbolitos or our training programmes.

To plan our public mobilisation, we will need to be clear about who the decision maker is and what our public demand is.

The public demand might include:

- * One to three clear workplace problems that are widely felt, deeply felt and possibly "winnable"
- * Recognition of the union and collective bargaining
- * No retaliation against the workers for union involvement
- * Who is the decision-maker you might be confronting?
- * What would your public demand be?

We will need to survey the workers to make sure we have maximum support and involvement

We have organised nearly 35,000 nonunion school bus drivers in the last 10 years. In the US, we have to organise them by location, usually between ten to 250 workers at a time.

We focused on the largest company first, a UK multinational called FirstGroup. In each yard, we stay on the ground and "underground" until we have 75 per cent support. We develop lists and meet with every worker in their home and assess their level of union support. We share information about the union and make links with union drivers. We build an active and representative organising committee

Without 75 per cent support and a representative committee, we will not take the next steps to more publicly organise the union. We might go with a few points less, but it is very, very rare. We used to strike or threaten to strike, hoping to gain more support, and the company would close down the yard or engage in legal processes

that cost thousands of dollars and hopeless delays.

Once we are ready for the public mobilisation, we move rapidly. The 75 per cent of the workers sign the petition saying they want Teamster representation. The workers, together, sign and deliver a letter to the manager demanding they follow the law and treat union supporters fairly. We distribute a leaflet with a photo of all the workers who are supporting the union. We use community and religious leaders to support us and to help document unjust treatment. Then if the company tries their usual threats and promises against us, we fight them, with the full support of the workers, all the way to the shareholders.

We have now succeeded in moving the company to refrain from pressuring the workers, but we stay with our 75 per cent standard. We still need the majority support and see no reason why we would build a union without it.

Tammy Edwards

ITF affiliate, USA

PUBLIC MOBILISATION

before we take action. We can use our arbolitos (worker networks) communication structure to contact the workers

We do not want to leave the level of worker involvement to chance. We need to know in advance who will be participating.

We will want to escalate from low-impact to high-impact pressure on the decision maker, always planning activities that the majority of the workers will want to do. The activities should gradually increase in intensity (see solid line); it should not peak too early and then keep up an even amount of pressure (see dashed line) or peak too early and decrease in pressure (see dotted line).

You might want to give the employer or decision maker a chance to meet your demands before you escalate. This is very important, particularly if workers

SURVEY THE WORKERS

"Would you be willing to participate in [action] on [date] if everyone else did?"

"Can you do anything additional to help on that day?"



When the Rail and Maritime

Transport Union of New Zealand settled its collective contract for unionised railway workers at 2.2 per cent plus a range of balanced conditions, the employer immediately moved to undermine the settlement by offering non-union workers 3 per cent but without the conditions (penalty rates, overtime rates, etc.) contained in the contract.

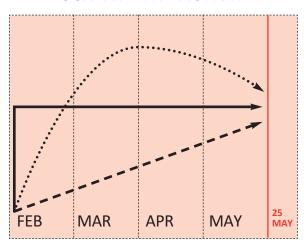
To counter this anti-union move, the union produced a badge for union members to wear in the workplace: "2.2% and proud of it". It was worn with pride and defeated the employer's attempt to divide workers and undermine the union.

Today, the union represents 89 per cent of the total workforce.

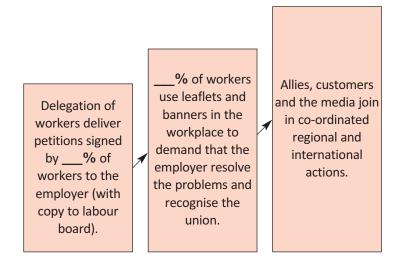
Eddie Dickson

Retired official of the Rail and Maritime Transport Union of New Zealand

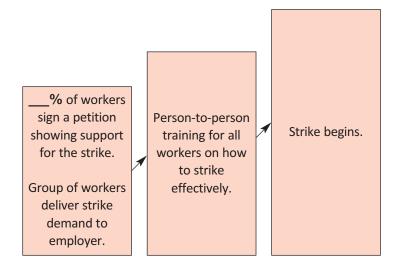
ESCALATE THE ACTIVITY



EXAMPLE: DEMAND FOR UNION RECOGNITION



EXAMPLE: STRIKE



have not confronted the decision maker collectively before. It makes the employer aware of our strength so that they are more likely to meet our demands. It also helps workers and our allies to defend the union and to know that we are taking the correct steps. And it enables us to take the offensive: The employer has to respond to us and our timetable.

Sometimes employers will make improvements in working conditions to show workers that they do not need the union. If this occurs, make sure to claim it as a victory for the union and as another reason why we need to continue to organise.

Employers sometimes delay their responses, hoping that the workers will get discouraged. Let the workers know ahead of time to expect delays. Give the employer deadlines, and back up your demands with escalating activities.

Allies from the community can assist us. We can survey workers to find out what community organisations they are

involved in. There may be important industry, social or community events that can be used to publicise workers' concerns. Look for what organisations might help us to influence the employer.

Think about what your message is and who your audience is. You might prepare to contact news media sources (print, TV, radio, web, etc). You might want to use leaflets, banners, posters, letters, stickers, balloons or other tools to spread your message.

The accompanying
PowerPoint module on
"Public Mobilisation"
includes an activity that will help you
review your benchmarks to ensure the
maximum involvement of workers
prior to a public showing of support
for the union. A second activity will
help you plan your public mobilisation
or showing of support.

PUBLIC MOBILISATION

Learning from each other

We can stick to our benchmarks even in the face of public confrontation and industrial action.

LAN Airlines flight attendants in Argentina have been able to obtain 95 per cent of the contact details of their co-workers and have grown their arbolitos, or worker networks. When the company learns who the union leaders are, they have been disciplined, harassed and even terminated. There is a "yellow union" present and a strong anti-union campaign.

The collective agreement is expiring for the unions representing LAN ground crew, pilots, supervisors and flight attendants. These unions are preparing for joint industrial action if fired flight attendants are not put back

to work and if improvements are not made in salaries and working conditions for all LAN workers.

Flight attendants would be affected by the possible flight cancellations but will not be asked to participate directly in the stoppage. They will be kept updated and informed, sharing information about the union and the negotiations process. We are continuing to build and strengthen our relationships and communications with the flight attendants and work on problems such as fatigue, stress and scheduling. Ex-LAN flight attendants and flight attendants from other companies are the public face of the organising committee for right now.

Dina Feller

ITF affiliate, Argentina

Learning from each other

CSAV (Compañía Sud Americana de Vapores) is the largest publicly traded shipping company in South America. The ITF ran a successful campaign to improve conditions for seafarers on board CSAV and CSAV-chartered vessels. ITF inspectors visited vessels and reported on conditions. New

agreements were won, and over 1,000 seafarers are now covered by ITF pay and conditions. A survey asking seafarers how their conditions had improved as a result of the campaign allowed seafarers to share the successes and see the benefits of union organisation.

ITF seafarers section

We have made contact with a majority of the workers at a sub-contractor of a global delivery company. We were shocked at how hard they are working for so little money. If we mobilise publicly against the company now, the risk is very high that the workers will be laid off or the delivery company will get rid of the sub-contractor.

Instead, we are connecting our union workers with each of the subcontracted workers. They are keeping in touch and building social relationships. Meanwhile, we are making contact with workers at the other sub-contracting companies.

The usual process for our union would be to elect a works council as soon as we had contact with workers. In Austria, when people talk about organising, it is often either about marketing to increase

membership or to elect a works council.

We can provide legal protection for the works council delegates, but without strong union density, the employer usually fires the works council candidate. We win the legal case, but it can take two years. Meanwhile, there is conflict and fear at the workplace, and the union's access to the workers is closed off. Often the employer knows they will lose in the courts, so they settle. The settlement will include a new election for the works council, but this new works council is by now neutralised from taking action against the company.

The way we are organising now in the global delivery branch is slower, but we think it will yield good results and will provide better protection for the sub-contracted workers.

Harald Voitl

ITF affiliate, Austria

We started to organise Maersk port workers in Aqaba, then Tangiers and Bahrain and finally Casablanca. Maersk was a new company in Casablanca. There are 780 workers working eight cranes. The workforce is young – most are in their twenties – and for many of them, this was their first experience of working life. So we watched them quietly for one year. We have union members at the port authority in Casablanca who kept in contact with them.

Then the company sent 30 Moroccans to Agaba, Jordan, for training. The union members at Maersk in Agaba were able to get us a list of 30 names and contact details. I made personal contact with the two that were reportedly the strongest. When they heard my name, they were uncomfortable, because my name is so associated with the union. So I didn't talk to them about the union: I talked about the new equipment in Tangiers. The conversation gradually got into salaries, and they asked me for a comparison. They were shocked at how much higher the other salaries were. The workers also understood that their

individual contracts allowed either party to cancel, so in fact the workers could be terminated without notice.

We gradually developed more contacts. Six workers were sent from Casablanca to work in Tangiers where the Tangiers union port workers made connections with them. By then, we had 20 to 30 workers coming in and out of the union office. We didn't want to catch the attention of the company, so we told people to come in small groups after shifts.

We held a seminar on the "Social and Professional Effects of the Global Financial Crisis on APM Workers". We listed the problems that workers face and divided them into those that (1) can be solved by law or (2) need the union to solve. Workers left the meeting strongly in favour of the union.

Once we had sufficient support from the workers, we finally confronted the company, with the support of the ITF Maersk union network, at an ITF meeting in Copenhagen where Maersk was talking about how much they respect workers' rights to be organised in a union.

Said Elhayrash

ITF affiliate, Morocco

We organise taxi drivers in Cartagena. We started out having meetings at gas stations and at the car wash.

We put pressure on the city to create taxi staging areas (yellow areas). Without an official staging area, the authorities were fining the drivers and towing their taxis while we were waiting outside of hotels for passengers. We got involved in the electoral process to pressure the mayor and the council. We held a grand march of taxis around the city council. We won, and this formed the foundation of our union.

Once we became stronger, we held assemblies in each region of the city. We elected representatives from these regions to form the main leaders of the union. There are 5,741 taxis, and 3,200

are now affiliated with us as members. We are still growing.

We face repression for our organising. Our leaders are given death threats; some have died and some are in exile.

We are working now with the national authorities to implement social security, health care, accident insurance and work-injury insurance for taxi drivers. The companies are not complying with the law in this area.

The authorities respect us now because they know we are able to create stoppages in the tourist zone as well. The city is surrounded by water, and all the hotels have only one entrance and one exit to the airport.

Orlando Olier

ITF affiliate, Colombia

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ISBN No: 1-904676-46-4