



# DEVELOPING STRATEGIC CAMPAIGNS

**AN ITF MANUAL** FOR TRADE UNION  
ACTIVISTS, EDUCATORS AND ORGANISERS



This manual has been written for the ITF by Teresa Conrow, a labour educator based in the United States of America. Teresa has made extensive use of the original campaign curriculum that she developed with Andy Banks. The materials were influenced by the work of Augusto Boal, Dina Feller and Carin Zelenko. During the last fifteen years, the curriculum has been used and further modified by ITF trade union leaders throughout the world. The ITF would like to thank affiliates who contributed their stories and case studies.



Download the training material for each chapter of this handbook at:  
[www.campaignsmanual.org](http://www.campaignsmanual.org)

# TABLE OF CONTENTS

## Introduction

What is a strategic campaign?.....	5
Overview of materials.....	6
Terminology.....	7
Facilitating a strategic campaigns workshop.....	9
Developing a written campaign plan.....	12
Six campaign principles.....	14
Four reasons campaigns fail.....	17

## Ten campaign steps

One: Employer relationships.....	19
Two: Arbolitos (worker networks).....	25
Three: Union strengths and weaknesses.....	31
Four: Goals.....	33
Five: Campaign message.....	39
Six: Targets and allies.....	43
Seven: Strategies.....	51
Eight: Tactics.....	59
Nine: Calendar.....	69
Ten: Evaluation.....	73

## Campaign tools

Research.....	75
Factsheets.....	83
Appeals for justice.....	89
Campaign leaflets.....	95
Media.....	103

## Campaign case studies

DHL Turkey union recognition campaign.....	109
LAN Peru aviation mechanics contract campaign.....	117





# INTRODUCTION

The ITF manual *Developing strategic campaigns* is designed to help us take real and specific problems with employers or governments and turn them into detailed and workable plans for launching strategic campaigns.

Our world is facing a number of global crises – massive and growing inequality, climate change, and attacks on workers. Understanding how to confront employers and important decision-makers is as important as ever.

This manual will help workers to identify clear campaign goals and objectives, develop strategies and tactics, and create unifying public messages and timelines for our campaigns.

## What is a strategic campaign?

A strategic campaign (as defined in this manual) is a comprehensive effort to exert pressure on the various strategic relationships of an employer or decision-maker.

Campaigns help us build power in the interests of the working class. Workers in unions don't act alone, but share interests with other workers and community allies.

Unions can use this manual for large international campaigns; smaller workplace campaigns; to recruit new workers; and to win collective bargaining or union recognition. We organise strategic campaigns to improve conditions for all working people, both in the workplace and in the wider community.

*Developing strategic campaigns* will help us to think through and plan real campaigns.

There are always new and different things that we can do, but trying out new activities or methods in a campaign does not necessarily mean that you are using a strategy. Strategy involves carefully analysing your situation and deciding on actions that will have the most impact. These strategic actions may be 'old' or 'new' but they will be designed to best impact the employer or decision-maker.

There is no one 'right' answer for how to organise a campaign. Use your

### Learning from each other

In South Korea, the word 'struggle' is used more often than the word 'campaign'.

The South Korean rail union would say they are in a struggle against rail privatisation. The word struggle implies the systematic and long-term nature of the fight.

We usually plan campaigns for a designated time period, often on single issues.

However, it is important to remember that our struggles and campaigns usually began before us and will continue as part of larger efforts for structural change.

own knowledge and experience to decide how this manual can be used to fit your situation.

*Can you identify a strategic campaign that you and your union are involved in?*

*Who are your targets?*

*What do you hope to accomplish?*

*How might workers benefit from your campaign?*

A strategic campaign creates pressure to resolve specific problems of workers, while also educating allies and the public. There is a difference between what might be called 'educational campaigns' and 'strategic campaigns'.

The purpose of an educational campaign is to educate workers and the public. For example, an educational campaign might have a goal of educating

transport workers about HIV/AIDS. A strategic campaign would also include a demand to an employer or government to change a policy or practice regarding HIV/AIDS. Educational campaigns are very important but they are not the focus of this manual. The focus of this manual is on how to effectively target a specific employer or decision-maker in order to win improvements for working people.

*How do you define 'campaigning' in your union?*

*Is it similar to or different from this ITF definition?*

*Why and how is your definition different?*

In summary, this manual will work best when you have specific things that you want the employer or decision-maker to do, and when you have a good familiarity with the workers involved and the employer.

## Overview of materials

*Developing strategic campaigns* includes (1) this handbook and (2) corresponding training PowerPoint modules at **[www.campaignsmanual.org](http://www.campaignsmanual.org)** There is one PowerPoint training module for each chapter of this book.

There are 10 campaign steps that form the basic content of the materials. The 10 campaign steps help us slow down our thinking process so that we can thoroughly analyse the situation before planning our actions.

You can use the handbook to create a campaign plan for yourself by answering the questions in the **blue** boxes.

The PowerPoint modules will help you with a campaign planning meeting or workshop for a small or large group. Each module begins with an explanation of the particular campaign step. Participants are then given time to apply this knowledge to their own campaign using the activity sheets provided.

The modules include talking points for facilitators. The activity slides are clearly

marked. You may want to print them out for small group activities.

If you have a large group you can either plan one campaign together, or you can divide into small groups that each focus on their own campaign.

The materials are meant to be drawn from, not used in their entirety. You will need to adjust the PowerPoint modules each and every time you use them. If you have any questions about how to best adjust them to fit your particular situation, please contact the ITF for assistance.

## Case studies

There are two case studies that describe the 10 campaign steps as applied to the LAN Peru aviation mechanics' union in a fight for a collective agreement, and the DHL Turkey campaign for union recognition and a first contract.

## Terminology

Some terminology is particular to this manual:

A **target** or **direct target** is a specific entity that you are trying to impact. The target might be a non-profit employer, company, government, or any decision-maker that can give in to the demands of the workers.

An **indirect target** is an entity that is important to the main decision-maker or 'direct target'. For example, an indirect target might be the business class passengers of a specific airline. The direct target would be the airline.

**Employer** or **decision-maker** will be used to designate the direct target of your campaign. The majority of transport workers in the world are precarious or informal workers and may not have one specific employer. In this manual the words, decision-maker, employer, and direct target are used interchangeably. Feel free to adopt the words that best suit your campaign.

**Arbolitos** or **worker networks** are a recommended worker communication and action structure that helps the union involve workers more deeply in the campaign. If you are not already familiar with arbolitos and how they might be used in your union, please refer to the ITF organising manual.

## Ten campaign steps

1. Employer relationships
2. Arbolitos (worker networks)
3. Union strength and weakness
4. Goals
5. Campaign message
6. Targets and allies
7. Strategies
8. Tactics
9. Calendar
10. Evaluation

## Campaign tools

Research  
Factsheets  
Appeals for justice  
Campaign leaflets  
Media

An **appeal for justice** is a specific type of public letter addressed to a target and signed by a number of strategic allies.

Strategy is different from tactics. A **strategy** is a comprehensive effort to exert pressure on the various strategic relationships of an employer or decision-maker.

**Tactics** are the specific, usually collective, actions that take place on a particular date and location.

A **factsheet** is a one page factual document that provides background research explaining the campaign to the public, workers and allies in neutral language.

A **yellow union** is a union that is controlled by a company. Yellow unions are often formed in competition with democratic unions. Workers are often pressured or bribed to join. Sometimes the company will pay for the yellow union's activities.

### ITF organising manual

The *ITF organising manual* focuses on how to increase the involvement of the workers in the union. It is an essential tool for unions who are utilising the ITF manual *Developing strategic campaigns*.

One of the most common mistakes unions make is to begin a campaign or fight an employer or decision-maker without involving a solid base of workers. Be careful to not move the strategic campaign 'ahead' of the majority of workers in such a way that you will lose their support.

If the union wants to plan a strategic campaign but the workers are not participating due to fear, apathy or lack of information, the ITF organising manual will assist you.

*Would your campaign benefit from increasing the participation of workers in the union?*

*If so, you might want to refer to the ITF organising manual, particularly the chapters on:*

- *Mapping and list building*
- *Arbolitos or worker networks*
- *Education*
- *Workplace problems*

### ITF precarious workers booklet

The majority of transport workers in the world are informal, unprotected workers. If you are planning a campaign involving precarious workers the ITF publication *Organising precarious transport workers* can be used, along with the ITF manual *Developing strategic campaigns* and the *ITF organising manual*.

Sometimes precarious workers do not have a clearly established employer. You might need to target a criminal gang that is running protection or extortion rackets. Or your direct target might be a government entity including corrupt politicians, public servants or the police.

You may need to research the employment relationships in order to identify your real targets. For example, in a supply chain, it may be important to identify the lead company or companies that determine working conditions. The ITF factsheet on logistics in supply chains will help you.

**[www.itfglobal.org/en/resources/reports-publications/logistics-in-supply-chains](http://www.itfglobal.org/en/resources/reports-publications/logistics-in-supply-chains)**

## **Facilitating a strategic campaigns workshop**

The PowerPoint modules allow participants to develop written campaign plans in a group setting. The link from which you can download the PowerPoint modules is

**[www.campaignsmanual.org](http://www.campaignsmanual.org)**

Using real campaigns may require more preparation work but can make the educational experience immediately relevant and useful. This way of working draws on the work of the Brazilian educator Augusto Boal.

If participants are not sure which campaign working group they want to be in, make a list of all the possible campaigns. Write up the criteria for campaigns working groups:

- You must have specific **things you want to win** from your employer or decision-maker
- You must have real **knowledge of the workers**, their problems, and their workplaces
- You must have real **knowledge of the employer or decision-maker**

For each of the listed campaigns, write down the name of the employer, some information about the workers, and the overall goals of the campaign for everyone to see. Then ask participants to choose one of the listed campaigns.

When planning one large campaign, you might want to divide participants into small working groups by particular geographic areas, or parts of the company.

Participants will get the most out of the workshop if they know as much as possible about the employer. If the participants do not have sufficient information about the employer, you can assist them. The union might gather information about the employer into a report that can be presented to participants at the beginning of the workshop.

It will be difficult to create a campaign plan when the workshop participants are not familiar with the workforce. Workers should be included directly in the workshop and campaign planning process. If this is not possible, you could perhaps arrange for the union leaders to make worksite visits or interview workers prior to the workshop.

Do not make up information about employers or workers. When you don't have the necessary information, decide how you will obtain it. If you begin to make up information, the group will get off track, the PowerPoint activities will become confusing and creating a real plan will not be possible.

## INTRODUCTION

When you are planning a campaign, you will need to recruit a 'vertical slice' of the union for your workshop. A vertical slice includes top union leaders, rank and file workers, delegates, workplace representatives and union staff – anyone involved in the actual campaign. When top union leaders are present in the workshop, the campaign planning will be done in a way that meets the overall needs of the union leadership. When rank and file workers participate in the campaign planning workshops, they are more likely to volunteer and take responsibility for important parts of the campaign. Their presence will also make sure that your campaign plans are grounded in a thorough knowledge of the workers and their workplaces.

Make sure that any groups that may be under-represented in the union are included. Pay attention to the balance of gender, age, job types, race, language, nationality, geographic area, and other groups. Make sure that workers and lower ranking officials are able to talk freely and that top officials do not dominate.

Ask participants for their ideas on ground rules that will help the group function. Some possible suggestions are: start on time/end on time; plan realistically given your union's resources; rotate small group facilitation and reporting jobs; if you speak a lot, speak less and if you don't speak much, speak more; agenda flexibility; constant feedback; confidentiality; and respect.

If possible, plan for use of the internet during the course. Access to photocopying or printing will also help you share and review your campaign plans as they develop. Or participants might want to prepare their campaign presentations using PowerPoint.

*Which workers, union leaders and union staff should be involved in planning your campaign?*

*Involving as many workers as possible in the planning process will increase the strength of the union and your likelihood of winning the campaign. Can you increase the number of workers involved in planning the campaign?*

*What under-represented groups do you want to make sure are involved?*

## Programme for a strategic campaign workshop

The PowerPoint modules can be used independently and in a variety of time frames.

A five-day workshop is recommended to allow sufficient time for the working groups to plan their campaigns and share the results with each other.

A four-day workshop will allow you to cover all of the PowerPoint modules, except for the case studies, with a tight agenda.

A three-day workshop can work if you drop off some of the PowerPoint modules.

## Three day workshop programme

Day one	Day two	Day three
Introductions Programme review	Goals	Calendar
What is a strategic campaign?		Campaign evaluation
Break	Break	Break
Employer relationships	Campaign message	Appeals for justice
Lunch	Lunch	Lunch
Arbolitos (worker networks)	Targets and allies	Campaign leaflets
Break	Break	Break
Union strengths and weakness	Strategy Tactics	Participant presentations

## Four day workshop programme

Day one	Day two	Day three	Day four
What is a strategic campaign?	Goals	Tactics	Appeals for justice
Break	Break	Break	Break
Employer relationships	Campaign message	Calendar	Campaign leaflets
		Campaign evaluation	
Lunch	Lunch	Lunch	Lunch
Arbolitos (worker networks)	Targets and allies	Research	Participant presentations
Break	Break	Break	Break
Union strengths and weakness	Strategy	Factsheets	Participant presentations

### Preparing your research

Collect information about the employer or decision-maker before you begin planning your strategic campaign. The chapter on research will assist you. The chapters on employer relationships, targets and allies and strategy will help guide and prioritise your research plan.

### Developing a written campaign plan

You can use this handbook to create a written campaign plan. If you fill out the relevant section of the campaign summary form at the end of each chapter and answer the questions in the boxes, you will have completed your plan by the time you finish reading the handbook.

If you are facilitating a workshop, ask participants to fill out the relevant section of the campaign summary form at the end of each PowerPoint module.

During the campaign workshop, there is no need to do small group report-backs after each of the campaign steps unless time allows. Instead, at the end of the workshop, the participants can report on their complete strategic campaign plan. These final campaign presentations can be a key opportunity for participants and the facilitator to give constructive suggestions on each campaign plan and share experiences and skills.

The final campaign presentation at the end of the workshop might contain some or all of the following:

- Campaign summary form
- Diagram of the employer's relationships, with targets and allies identified
- Goals
- Campaign message
- Tactics chart
- Campaign calendar
- Factsheet
- Appeal for justice
- Campaign leaflet
- Media release

### Follow-up

You will want to schedule follow up events to discuss how the campaign is going and to provide an opportunity for evaluation, support and problem solving. The chapter on evaluation will help you with this.

### Share your ideas

If you have examples of effective strategic campaigns in your union, please share them with the ITF at [education@itf.org.uk](mailto:education@itf.org.uk)



## Campaign summary form

Employer or decision maker:

Target:

Indirect target:

Indirect target:

Allies:

Target:

Indirect target:

Indirect target:

Allies:

Target:

Indirect target:

Indirect target:

Allies:

Plan for arbolitos (worker networks):

Union strengths and weakness:

Goals:

Campaign message:

Evaluation plan:

Attach: Diagram of employer relationships showing targets and allies  
Tactic chart  
Campaign calendar  
Sample factsheet, leaflet and Appeal for Justice, and/or media release

# SIX CAMPAIGN PRINCIPLES

1. Everything starts with the workers.
2. Develop a global picture of your opponent. Think like the boss.
3. Express the campaign as a fight for social justice and include the broader community.
4. Impact the company's public image and create real financial or electoral costs.
5. Tactics start small and increase with intensity.
6. Never stop! Keep the pressure constant and changing.

## 1. Everything starts with the workers

Everything begins, develops and continues according to workers' needs. Strategic campaign actions that do not involve collective action and workers participation, do not build the union. The ITF places a heavy emphasis on the involvement of workers in all aspects of the union, including the planning of strategic campaigns.

If workers are not as involved as you need them to be, it is critical that you work to increase their participation in the union as you start your campaign. Lack of participation can be due to fear, apathy, and a lack of information and communication,

Make sure that you have good person-to-person communication networks that reach the vast majority of the affected workers.

You will want to know a lot about the problems facing workers who are involved in your campaign. These problems will be used to drive the campaign – particularly problems that are widely and deeply felt by workers and that are potentially winnable.

*Has your union ever won a campaign without workers being involved?*

*How did the workers respond to what the union did for them?*

*How might the workers have responded if they had been more involved in the planning and execution of the campaign?*

*To improve level of participation of workers in your campaign, take the time to review the ITF organising manual, in particular the chapters on:*

- *Mapping and list-building*
- *Arbolitos (worker networks)*
- *Education*
- *Workplace problems*

## **2. Develop a global picture of your opponent. Think like the boss**

To plan good strategy, we need to be able to think not just like a union leader, but like the employer. It is crucial that we understand what is most significant to our opponent.

We need to know a great deal about each of the specific relationships that are important to our direct employer or decision-maker. We also need to understand the employer's future business or electoral strategy.

## **3. Express the campaign as a fight for social justice and include the broader community**

There is not a single union demand that is not also a fight for social justice.

We need to translate workers' problems from the language and culture of unions to language that the general public will understand. For example, a demand for wage increases can be expressed as a demand for fair wages, justice and an improved economy.

The more that we are able to publicly expose the fundamental contradictions between capital and labour, the more we can engage working class interests beyond a particular demand or campaign and build the long term power of the labour movement. Even if we are able to win a campaign alone without any allies, we will be strengthening the labour movement if we include the broader community.

## **4. Impact the company's public image or create real financial or electoral costs**

The goal of a strategic campaign is to pressure the employer in areas that are important to them – most often through their public image, or their financial or electoral interests.

## **5. Tactics start small and increase with intensity**

Tactics should gradually build so that the campaign does not peak too early. We want the employer or decision-maker to fear that there is always something worse around the corner.

Look for low risk collective tactics or activities that match the culture of the workers and then build to more risky collective tactics as workers are ready.

Long pauses between tactics can slow a campaign. You can build campaign momentum by lessening the time between collective action tactics.

## **6. Never stop! Keep the pressure constant and changing**

If the employer believes that they can wait through the campaign, they often will.

It is critical that once you start a campaign you do not stop until you have won. Tactics will change and develop but the pressure must remain constant.

There is almost never a 'perfect tactic' or 'silver bullet' that will win a campaign. We often win our demands when the employer realises that they are spending more time dealing with the union's campaign than they are implementing their own plans.

Campaigns can be thought of as long term as well as short term. Think of the fights around the world against child labour that have lasted for centuries. A fight may change location and strategy over the years, but the campaign remains constant so long as the injustice remains.

# FOUR REASONS CAMPAIGNS FAIL

1. Incomplete buy-in by workers.
2. Incomplete buy-in by the union structure.
3. Thinking tactically – not strategically (checklist approach).
4. Campaign message not appealing to the public.

Extensive interviews with union leaders have identified what they believe are the four most common reasons that campaigns fail.

One might think that the strength of the employer would have been included in this list, but very few union leaders felt that was their main difficulty. Instead, the four common reasons campaigns fail all have to do with the union.

Unions have a tremendous ability to improve how we plan and run our campaigns.

## 1. Incomplete buy-in by workers

You might have significant numbers of workers decide not to participate in or oppose the campaign, while other workers want to move forward.

Education and communication with workers is the key to overcoming this weakness. You could hold a campaign planning workshop utilising these chapters from the ITF organising manual: mapping and list building; worker networks (arbolitos); organising committees; and workplace problems.

If you are not able to build worker involvement it might not be a good campaign. Campaigns without worker participation do not build the union.

## 2. Incomplete buy-in by the union structure

In this situation, not all of the major sections of the union agree that the campaign or campaign strategy are a good idea.

The ITF organising manual, particularly the chapters on benchmarks and work plans and organising committees will help you with decision-making and planning. You might want to involve the parts of the union that are in disagreement in a planning workshop so that there is an opportunity to air concerns in an educational setting. And of course, use the decision-making structures of the union to resolve differences.

If it is not possible to pull the key people together to make a plan collectively or to make the necessary decisions, it might not be a good time to start a campaign.

### **3. Thinking tactically – not strategically (checklist approach)**

This usually occurs when we go through the list of what is usually done and then repeat these activities without thinking about whether they will be effective or strategic. Or maybe you want to try out a new tactic that worked in another situation but you have not thought through how it will impact your particular target.

Working with this manual will help you develop an overall strategy rather than a checklist of activities.

### **4. Campaign message not appealing to the public**

Sometimes we do not translate our campaign goals into something the public will understand. Pay special attention to the chapter on the campaign message to help you with this potential problem.

### **Managing the legal risks**

You want to make an impact but you do not want to harm your union by attracting legal claims.

You may not realise you, and your colleagues working with you on a campaign, “own” certain risks, have related responsibilities and may be accountable.

If you want to reduce the risk of a successful legal claim against your union, you need to become conscious of risk and deal with it in an explicit, strategic and consistent way. It is imperative that you consider the legality of all campaign actions under your national frameworks as you do all union action that have potential legal impacts. Among other things, consideration should be given to defamation and intellectual property issues relating to campaign materials and to solidarity actions generally.

If in doubt, seek legal advice before proceeding with a particular action.



Download the training material for this chapter of this handbook at:  
[www.campaignsmanual.org](http://www.campaignsmanual.org)



# EMPLOYER RELATIONSHIPS

**CAMPAIGN STEP: ONE**

A strategic campaign is a comprehensive effort to exert pressure on an employer or decision-maker's strategic relationships.

To be strategic, we need to have a great deal of up-to-date information, not just about the employer but also about the key entities that are important to the employer or decision-maker. Good information will help us find new and effective ways to put pressure on them.

Strategy involves planning two or three steps ahead about what actions we might take, how the employer might respond, and what we will do then. If we know a lot about our opponents and can think as they do, we can predict their actions more accurately and plan accordingly.

Any company, employer, government entity or NGO has a number of key relationships. These are the specific entities, people or organisations that are important to them.

The relationships that are important to your employer or decision-maker will change as time passes and as events and circumstances change. A strategy that is effective at one time might not work the next. A good strategic plan will allow you to constantly adjust the campaign to changing circumstances and information.

### Diagram of employer relationships

There are many types of relationships that are important to employers or decision-makers. If we were to draw them in a chart, with the decision-maker in the middle, it might look something like this:





Be specific when you draw your diagram. Don't just say 'financial institutions'. List which exact financial institutions are most important to your employer. Leave out any of the categories that do not apply to your situation.

## Employer's relationship to its workers and unions

One of the circles you see in the diagram demonstrates the relationship between the employer and their workers or unions. When you draw your diagram, be specific about which workers and which unions are most important.

From the employer's perspective, customers, passengers, financial institutions or any of the other relationships might be more important than the workers and unions. This is why transport unions often reach out to other key relationships of the employer – we might appeal to passengers on a metro or airline, or contact freight customers about our demands.

Workers and unions might not be as important to the employer if workers can be easily replaced or if these particular workers are not central to the production of profit. In some circumstances, the amount of money a company spends on advertising might be more than it spends on wages. Perhaps the employer is more concerned about borrowing money from a financial institution or about a critical upcoming shareholders' meeting.

Workers who are able to strike or take industrial action that disrupts the logistics chain can be extremely important. We don't want to get lost in trying new strategies just because they are different. A strike might be your best option. You can always add other relationships to build pressure on the employer at the same time as striking, or as a build up to a strike.

Our job is to carefully analyse which strategies and tactics are best for our situation and not fall into a particular strategy simply out of habit or because it is familiar.

*Write down the name of the employer or decision-maker in the middle of a blank piece of paper.*

*What do you know about the organisations and entities that are important to them?*

*Draw a diagram of your decision-maker's key relationships. Be as specific as possible.*

*Has your union ever taken action based on what first comes to mind, or is most familiar, instead of thinking ahead and planning what would best put pressure the employer?*

*What was the result? Was it successful? Could you have taken additional actions to influence this particular employer?*

## One to three most important employer relationships

Once you have made your diagram as specific to your decision-maker as possible, you will need to identify which one to three relationships are most important from their perspective.

First analyse the self interest of your employer and determine what they care about the most. Usually the key relationships can be determined by which ones provide the most money or potential profit. In the case of a governmental entity, look at where votes can be affected in important upcoming elections. Look for information about the future business or election plan, as that is often where decision-makers focus their attention and resources.

To have the most impact you will want to start small and focus your energy in only a few strategic areas. Do not spread your campaign resources too thinly. Try and prioritise one and no more than three key relationships. You can always add relationships as you proceed with the campaign.

*Can you identify one to three of the most important relationships from the employer or decision-maker's perspective?*

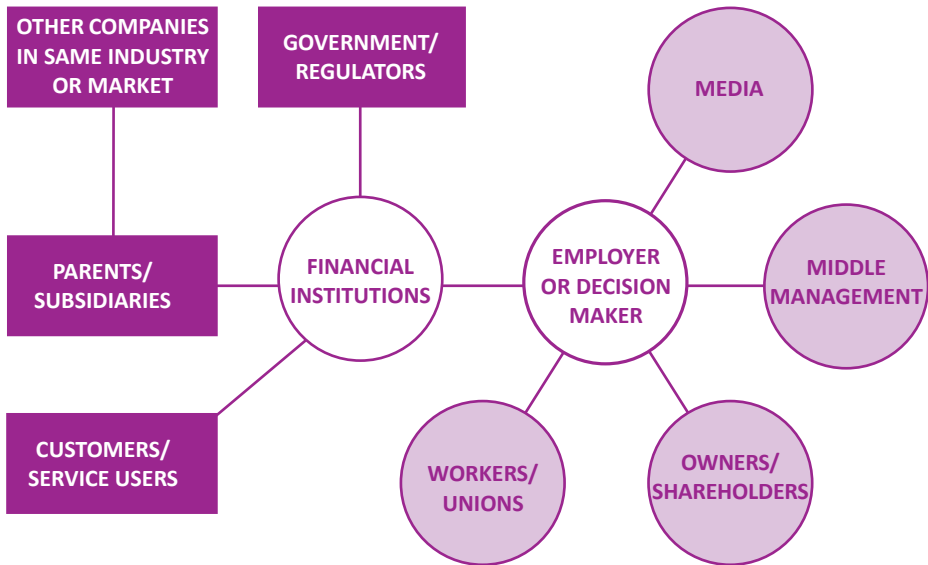
## Relationships of the relationships

In order to put pressure on an employer or decision-maker, we need to look not just at their key one to three relationships. We also need to also identify the relationships of each of these relationships.

It is not enough to know that a particular financial institution is extremely important to the employer. We need to examine which relationships are most important to the financial institution. With this information we can plan how to pressure the financial institution to pressure the employer.

We might have researched a particular bank that holds debt for our employer. We want to pressure the bank in order to pressure our employer. Perhaps the bank is a member of an industry association and their position within the broader financial industry is important to them. There might be an important upcoming industry event where leaders from our bank are speaking. A group of workers could attend the industry event and distribute leaflets describing any problems the bank has, as well as the problems the workers are having with one of the bank's major clients.

Yet another way to put pressure on a bank is shown in the diagram on the next page. In this case, the union went to the bank's customers and developed a leaflet that compared interest rates with competing banks with better rates. The union also went to regulators to object to the unfairness of the high fees customers were being charged. The leaflets and communications all contained information about the problem that the employer (whose banking relationship was important to it) was having with the workers.



A particular employer might have an important customer that transports a major food product that is sold in supermarket chains. We will need to learn about each of the supermarket chains. Do they compete mainly on quality, price or accessibility of their stores? Perhaps it is on price. Workers could leaflet the chain's outlets with information about lower prices at competitors and include information about the workers' labour problems.

In another situation the employer may have important customers that do not want delays in the delivery of their products. Workers could contact these customers and let them know that there might be delays due to labour difficulties. You could also identify the clients of these major customers. If the major customer is a seafood or fresh flower brokerage, their clients might include specific seafood restaurant chains or flower markets. Workers could go to the customers of the restaurants or markets, letting these customers know that their seafood or flowers may be delayed.

Business passengers might be very important to your airline. You might want to learn as much as you can about the top one to three companies that regularly use it to fly their employees. Learning about what is important to each of these companies will then help you put pressure on your airline company.

The possibilities are endless and the amount of information to be gathered and analysed can become overwhelming. The most important thing is to prioritise. You don't want to scatter your efforts by researching too many possibilities.

You have already decided on the one to three key relationships of the employer or decision-maker you are targeting. Now decide which one or two are key to each one

of them. You will now have determined the 'relationships of the relationships' for each of the key relationships.

*For the one to three of the most important relationships to your employer:*

- *What do you know about each of them?*
- *Extend your diagram to include each of their key relationships, the 'relationships of the relationships'.*

## Pressure enough to win

When we are planning a strategic campaign we want to be creative and put pressure on the employer in the areas that are most important to them. However, we don't want to destroy the very employers that we work for. Neither do we want to suffer job loss or harm the economy. We do want to make enough of an impact on the employer or decision-maker that they will change their behaviour and improve things for workers.

Don't hesitate to choose the strategic relationships that will have the most impact on the employer, financially or otherwise. When the time comes, we will find tactics that fit the situation and prevent negative consequences for workers.

## Researching employer relationships

You may need to do additional research in order to complete your diagram of the employer relationships. Look at the research chapter under campaign tools for help.

In addition to researching your own employer or decision-maker, you will need to research each of the companies, agencies or governments that is important to your main decision-maker so that you are informed about the 'relationships of the relationships' as well.



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# **ARBOLITOS** (worker networks)

## **CAMPAIGN STEP: TWO**

One of the most common mistakes that unions make is to run campaigns without the full support and involvement of the workers affected.

Improving worker communications is a key part of any campaign. When information needs to get from union leaders or staff to workers, or from workers to leaders, or from one part of the membership to another, we want to make sure that the information is communicated quickly, efficiently, accurately, and inclusively.

Transport workers are often on the road, in the air, or at sea. Many do not have fixed worksites. This can make it more difficult for workers to communicate with each other and to get information about the union campaign.

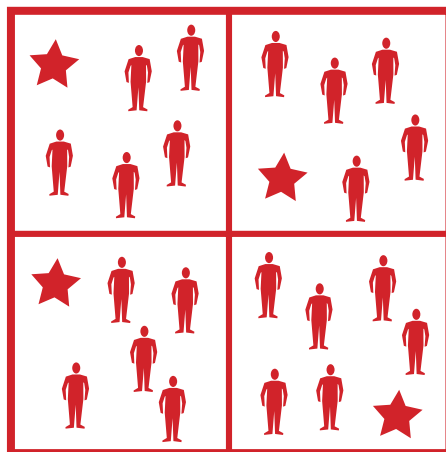
Arbolitos (worker networks) are a good way of improving communications during a campaign. They provide a structured and easy way for workers to participate in a campaign. 'Arbolitos' or 'little trees' got their name from ITF unions in South America.

Arbolitos are small worker action networks of no more than five to seven workers. One person in each group is responsible for communicating information about the campaign. Communication is person-to-person and one-to-one. The ITF organising manual will help you create and maintain arbolito networks.

The structures of arbolitos are very flexible and fluid. They will constantly change, adapting to the real life circumstances of the work and the campaign. Use your knowledge of the situation to adjust the structure, keeping to the basic principles.

You may not have the resources or the time to cover all workers in your campaign with arbolitos. Start by getting one area up and running and then begin on another one. You might want to begin in the area where workers are most active and grow from there. Workers can be grouped in many different ways, by home address or postal code, work teams, who knows who, work area, transport to and from work, shift or type of work.

### One communicator for 5-7 workers



To keep arbolitos active during a campaign, have each communication include a request for workers to commit to a specific activity, an action step. Begin with actions that are the most familiar, comfortable and low risk for workers. Regular report backs through the arbolito networks with the results of any activities will help keep workers involved and build campaign momentum.

If you already have arbolito structures, but they are not active, a campaign is the best time to activate them.

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

Arbolito structures support workplace delegates. It is often easier to ask people to get involved in communicating with their co-workers than it is to ask them to stand up to the boss. Often the arbolito communicators eventually become new workplace delegates and union leaders.

### **Learning from each other**

At RD Tuna Canners, a multinational fishing and cannery company in Papua New Guinea, the maritime union has recently been able to recruit over 2,200 new members and educate 200 workplace leaders.

The union first contacted community leaders in the area and asked for assistance in identifying workplace leaders in the canneries. These workplace leaders met and identified additional leaders for every work area and shift.

When it came time to take action the workers were able to immediately collect 2,200 signatures pledging their membership in the union and petitioning the government and the company for removal of the yellow union and official recognition, which they won.

100 of the new leaders have now been fully trained as official union delegates in a series of five three-day seminars. The remaining leaders continue to work as communicators in their areas. They have been confronting the company over problems with extremely low wages; heat and noise; and lack of safety equipment and procedures. These leaders are also reaching out to make contacts and recruit fish workers on subcontracted vessels, where the conditions are even worse.

Think about whether your campaign can help improve or expand the union's networks of workplace delegates. You might want to organise educational and training events or more fully utilise your union membership meetings. The *ITF organising manual* will provide you with instructions, ideas and support in all of these areas.

Campaigns are an excellent opportunity to increase worker participation. If the affected workers are not involved in the campaign, they are not able to fully share in campaign wins. They are also unable to fully appreciate the difficulties of the campaign or the resources the union is committing to the struggle.

When you are planning a large campaign at the national, regional or international level, build your campaign to support the local areas or workplaces where the workers are the strongest and most able to withstand pressure from the company. The campaign should support their struggles at the workplace rather than vice versa.

The most common reason large campaigns fail is because workers on the ground are not able to withstand the increasing pressures from the employer as the campaign progresses. This principle is clearly demonstrated in both the case study of the LAN Peru mechanics and the workers at DHL Turkey. Without the solidarity, strength and unity of the workers on the ground, both campaigns would have been failures.

### Learning from each other

Eight years ago there were no bargaining agreements for port workers at the APM terminals in Bahrain, Aqaba, Jordan; Port Said, Egypt; Tangiers, Morocco; or Salalah, Oman. The workers were young and for many of them it was their first job. They were not initially interested in the union.

With a great deal of organising work there are now four strong collective bargaining agreements with 95 percent union membership. There are collective bargaining agreements in place in all terminals except Salalah. The one that we will give as an example is the APM terminal in Tangiers.

Initial contact was made in one workplace and a few activists were trained who then approached other co-workers who were considered strong enough. Approaches were made systematically and carefully, one by one, by workers who knew each other well. Meetings and training were held in small groups to prevent exposure to the company. The contacts network grew to a majority status, at which time the leaders began confronting management.

Following a second successful strike and the facing down of police repression by the workers, the company finally agreed to dialogue and the workers are now for the first time protected by a strong collective agreement.

The APM port union leaders from Morocco are incorporated into a regional committee of young transport workers. This committee has also been gradually organised by personal contacts and education work.

A number of years ago, ITF transport unions in the region set a policy that for every three union leaders coming to an ITF meeting there must be a minimum of one youth and one women's representative. The youth leadership developing out of this policy reached out to others to create a youth committee.

The ITF Arab World youth committee is now the most active grouping of transport workers in the region. The committee has 20 leaders and over 100 network participants who meet daily on social media networks and in person at ITF events, actions, and training events.

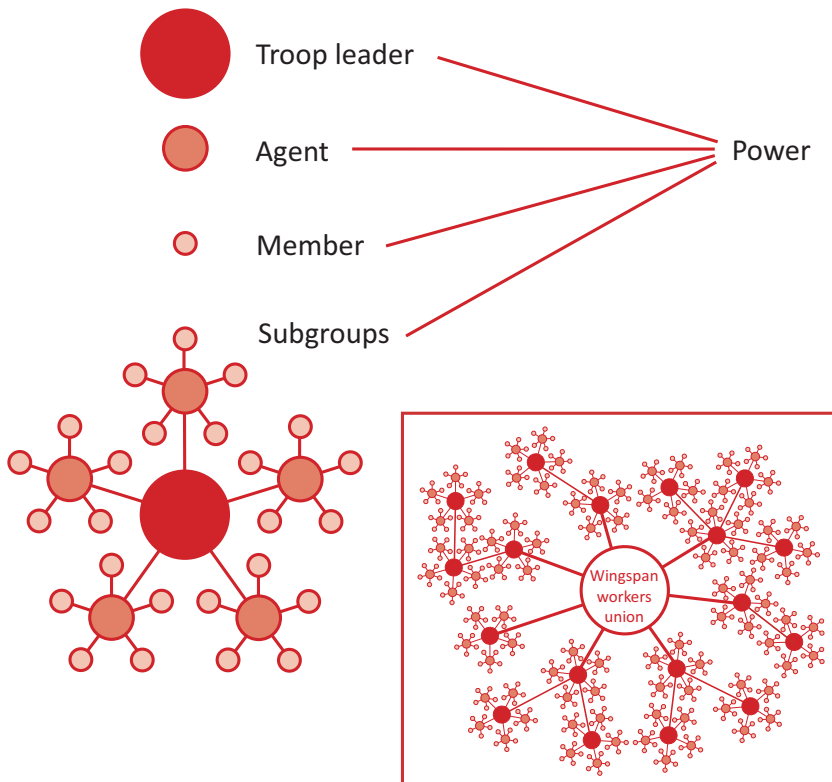
Person-to-person worker contacts or arbolitos are critical to increasing our strength, both in the workplace and within our union structures.



## Learning from each other

Thai Airways, a national carrier with a union collective agreement, created a low cost subsidiary, Wingspan, with no union and lower wages and conditions. The Thai Airways workers started reaching out to the Wingspan workers. At the beginning they had four Wingspan worker contacts. Wingspan workers are cabin crew, check-in and ground staff (catering, baggage and ramp services). Of the 4,000 permanent workers, over 3,000 received low daily wages (instead of monthly salaries), with no benefits. Workers had not received a pay rise in three years.

The Wingspan workers, with support from Thai Airways workers, built an extensive arbolito network, which enabled them to grow their membership, increase the education of the workers, and prepare for a strike. The new union now has the vast majority of the workers as members, has negotiated their first contract, and continues to organise.



## Learning from each other

Employers often react to pressure tactics by retaliating directly against workers. It does not matter how clever our campaign tactics are, they will not be successful if we are not working from a strong base. That is why arbolito structures and the education and solidarity of workers are so critical to all campaigns.

Retaliation against workers takes different forms depending on the legal and social framework.

Workers at DHL India have been fighting for union recognition for two years. As happened to DHL workers in Turkey, the company is falsely accusing leaders, sacking and disciplining them, as well as offering bribes to workers to leave the union. In both countries the company has held meetings with workers, individually and in groups, to turn them against the union.

In India, the company has also been transferring union leaders hundreds of miles away from their families, in so called 'punishment transfers'. In addition to being cut off from their families, this means the workers have to run two homes on one small salary. The company is also classifying couriers as 'managers' in order to avoid union recognition.

The workers in India are fighting back. They remain highly visible in the workplace, wearing black bands in protest. The workers have engaged allies in over 25 countries, asking them to wear the same black headbands and send messages to the company telling them to stop the punishment transfers and firings. They have won support at the OECD (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development) level, but the fight on the ground continues.

In Delhi, the activists' group meets every Sunday to plan and evaluate their strategies and tactics. These activists then spend the week communicating in person with the other workers, keeping them informed and involved. A large 'dharna' (sit-in) was recently organised by DHL workers and their families, demonstrating their solidarity and visibility.

Employer tactics will sometimes vary by country and region, but the intention to avoid the collective strength of workers remains the same. All campaigns survive based on the strength of the workers and their families who, with the power of solidarity, daily and personally face down employers bent on weakening them. In India, as elsewhere, it is the worker communication networks (arbolitos) that strengthen the union to fight back.



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# UNION STRENGTHS & WEAKNESSES

**CAMPAIGN STEP: THREE**

### CAMPAIGN STEP THREE: UNION STRENGTHS & WEAKNESSES

To win campaigns we need to understand and analyse our own strengths and weaknesses, not just the employer's. If we analyse our weaknesses before we start our campaign, we can take steps to correct the situation and lead from our strengths.

**"If you know the enemy and know yourself, you need not fear the result of a hundred battles.  
If you know yourself but not the enemy, for every victory gained you will also suffer a defeat.  
If you know neither the enemy nor yourself, you will succumb in every battle."**

**Sun Tzu, The Art of War, 6th Century BC**

Decide if each of the following items is a strength or a weakness in your union. Add additional items to the list which might be important. Then select the one to three most important strengths and the one to three most important weaknesses.

	Strength	Weakness
Level of participation of workers		
Active workers networks (arbolitos)		
Unity amongst union leaders, staff and workers		
Support from parent union, federation or national centre		
International links with ITF unions		
Support from key segments of broader community		
Knowledge of decision-maker and their key relationships		
Person(s) designated and given responsibility and authority to coordinate campaign activities		
Resources (people, time and money)		
Other:		
Other:		
Other:		

*Discuss each of the union's key strengths and weaknesses. Are there practical things that can be done to build on its strengths and overcome the potential weaknesses?*



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**GOALS**

**CAMPAIGN STEP: FOUR**

#### CAMPAIGN STEP FOUR: GOALS

When we do not define our goals there may be different views on whether we lost or won because people had different ideas on what the campaign goals were. Disagreements on strategy and tactics during a campaign are often a result of lack of clarity about campaign goals.

Campaign goals need to be grounded in resolving workers' problems. To create campaign goals, begin by first identifying one to three workers problems, and then add one to three union problems. This list serves as the basis for formulating the goals.

Worker problems		Campaign goals	
Workers fired	➔	Reinstate fired workers	
Wages and conditions under attack	➔	Maintain wages and conditions	
Too many back injuries	➔	Let customers and public know impacts of back injuries	
Union problems			
Not enough shop delegates	➔	Train and support 5 new shop delegates	
Not enough worker communication	➔	Develop communication action network with 30 workers participating	

If we are clear about our goals we can keep our campaign focused and know when we have won. Knowing and understanding the moment we lose or win also helps us to make better decisions about what to do next in the campaign.

It is a common mistake to stop campaigning when we lose a fight. This is the most important time to be communicating with workers and allies, to help each other understand the situation and plan how to move forward.

### Worker problems

List the top one to three problems that workers are facing. Resolving these problems will be what drives the campaign. Some examples of worker problems are: low salaries, too many job related back injuries, unfair terminations, a lack of respect for workers, lack of protection for HIV positive workers, or too much overtime.

### Learning from each other

Determining the most important problems that workers are facing might not be as simple as it sounds. It is critical for union leaders to listen carefully to what workers are saying.

The Amalgamated Transport and General Workers union (ATGWU) organised taxi operators in Uganda, who are informal workers, at Entebbe airport. They now have 230 airport taxi members, mostly self-employed. Many of them virtually live at the airport, waiting for flights to come in.

The union has achieved a new parking area for the drivers and established a savings cooperative. It runs training programmes on the rights of drivers when confronted by the police, and gained Interpol certification for access to the airport. The union also runs HIV/AIDS programmes, which have proved popular with the drivers.

The union has learned some important lessons through their work, particularly that they need to ask informal workers what problems they are facing, rather than assuming that they already know. There is a range of services the union can provide to informal workers in addition to their collective bargaining role.

Workers face many problems. The problems we select for a campaign need to be deeply felt and important to them. They should be widely felt and important to a significant number of workers. It is good if there is some sense of urgency about resolving them.

Look for problems that are potentially winnable. We want at least a chance of gaining some positive result for workers. Any problem can be made more 'winnable' by breaking it down into smaller steps, things that we can achieve along the way.

*What do you know about the working conditions and problems workers are facing?*

*Which of these problems are widely and deeply felt by workers, and potentially winnable?*

*What have workers done in the past to try to address these problems?*

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

Speak about workers' problems as workers would speak about them. It is important to be specific. For example, "There are a lot of accidents when we drive long hours without breaks." is more clearly stated than "there are health and safety problems for drivers".

Make sure that the problem is understood by the <b>workers</b>	
<b>Cabin crew have health and safety problems.</b>	Cabin crew have problems with back injuries from lifting luggage into the overhead racks.
Make sure that the problem is understood by the <b>public</b>	
<b>Cabin crew want single rooms.</b>	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.

Don't avoid difficult problems because you might not be able to win. We can always win by giving voice to workers' concerns with the wider public.

## Union problems

Once you have determined the one to three worker problems, you will need to identify the problems the union is facing as an organisation.

Some examples would be: low participation in the union; not enough workplace representatives; lack of support from the public for workers' demands; or weak communications between union leaders and workers.

Union problems are, of course, closely related to workers' problems. If we improve the participation of workers in the union we are more likely to be able to get a decent salary increase. And if we get a decent salary increase, we are more likely to increase the participation of workers in the union.

In a majority of workplaces, workers do not necessarily link their problems with the problems the union is having. In a strongly unionised workplace, the distinction between union and worker problems will be small. Workers will understand that the problem is not just a low salary, but a need to strengthen their union to get a raise.

### Deeply felt problems are real

Examples:

- Harassment
- Workload and stress
- HIV/AIDS stigma

Some may be difficult to talk about.

*What are the one to three union problems that are central to your campaign?*



Campaigns can help both the union and the workers see and articulate the linkage between worker and union problems.

## Campaign goals

We are now ready to set our campaign goals based on our list of worker and union problems. All we need to do is turn the problems from negative to positive statements with an eye to what is potentially winnable.

The problem might be that the employer wants to reduce the workforce by half. Our goal could be to publicise the negative impact this will have on customers and the public. Or our goal might be to lessen the negative impact on workers, or to put a complete stop to the workforce reduction.

Think about how to set small goals while still keeping sight of the larger goal. The dockers' union in Mumbai ran a campaign where the overall goal was to oppose outsourcing. They also set a more tactical goal of getting displaced workers into a workers' pool for future jobs, while they continued the overall fight against outsourcing.

A fight against privatisation can have different goals depending on the situation. Your goal might be to stop privatisation, protest privatisation, protect the community from privatisation, or lessen the impact of privatisation. Or perhaps you will want to focus on stopping one particular negative aspect of privatisation. You can have both a shorter term goal to lessen the impact of privatisation and a long-term goal of stopping privatisation. Or you might want to focus everything on stopping privatisation.

### Learning from each other

Three years ago the maritime union of Papua New Guinea began expanding their efforts to organise fishery workers, with support from the ITF and the IUF (International Union of Food, Agricultural and Hospitality Workers). Their goal is to obtain a multi-employer collective bargaining agreement. Fishing is the largest industry in Papua New Guinea and is controlled by seven major multinationals.

On land, workers face extremely low wages, dangers from heat and noise. A lack of safety procedures has led to injuries and deaths. The workers are not provided the necessary safety gloves, hats, boots and overcoats. Many of them stand for 14 hours with only a 30-minute break. At sea, conditions are even worse.

The union began to focus on the workers' problems at the same time as working for a multi-employer collective bargaining agreement (CBA). To begin, the union took on the workers' most widely felt, deeply felt and potentially winnable problem – winning a raise in the minimum wage. With pressure on the companies through both rapidly increasing membership and activity in the workplace, and

persuasive arguments presented to the government, they were able to achieve a 65 percent increase in the minimum wage.

In one of the multinationals the workers have won a concession for pregnant women, who are now allowed a five minute break every hour. Workers in another company won the closure of an area of the cannery where the noise levels were dangerous. For the first time, union representatives in three companies will receive official health and safety training from the union during paid time. Workplace leaders in all of the fish canneries are reaching out to the more vulnerable subcontracted workers on the fishing vessels. All is part of an overall goal to win the multi-employer CBA.

When you are setting campaign goals, think about whether there are ways to secure wins in a collective agreement or law. This way the campaign is more likely to benefit future generations.

Be very specific about your goals. For example, if you do not have enough shop stewards, set a goal to train and support a specific number of new ones.

If there is a lot of fear or difficulties in your workplaces, set small goals that you feel you can meet, as you work towards larger goals.



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# CAMPAIGN MESSAGE

## CAMPAIGN STEP: FIVE

The campaign message describes the campaign briefly, in such a way that both the public and the workers involved understand and relate to it. A campaign message is usually one to three sentences in length.

The campaign message helps keep us on track during the campaign. It makes sure the public, the employer, and the union are all clear about exactly what our campaign is about.

Slogans are important mobilising tools and can contain key political statements, but they are different from a campaign message. A slogan is a short, catchy phrase that gets your attention. Often, when you are developing your campaign message you will come up with good slogans. Keep them for use in the campaign, but remember a campaign message is not a slogan.

### *Why have a campaign message?*

- *To inspire workers*
- *To define the central issues*
- *To send a message to the employer*
- *To win community and public support*

### **Campaign message**

**DHL workers in Turkey have a right to a workplace with decent working conditions and free from discrimination, intimidation, bribery and coercion.**

**The workers deserve the same equality, respect, and freedom as their German counterparts.**

**Slogan: Respect at DHL Turkey**

There is sometimes a tension between creating a campaign message that both appeals to the broader community and unites workers. What the workers care most about may be different to what the public cares the most about. You need to have a good sense of both the workers and the broader community.

The campaign message might include employer vulnerabilities that you plan to publicise as part of your campaign. For example, you might want to say in your message that the company is a multinational or the CEO is a millionaire.

## Creating your campaign message

*Gather the information you might want to include:*

- *Name of the employer or key decision-maker*
- *One to three workers' problems restated as social justice concerns*
- *One to three community or public problems, if relevant*
- *Geographic location, if relevant*
- *One to two employer vulnerabilities, if relevant*

*Start by imagining you have been asked to write a short headline or couple of sentences for the local newspaper describing your campaign.*

*Make sure that your campaign message is:*

- 1) specific to your situation*
- 2) appeals to the broader community and*
- 3) unites the workers.*

The campaign message from the LAN Peru mechanics' campaign includes both what the workers care about (low salaries) and what the general public cares about (possible delays and cancellations of flights).

## Campaign message

**Warning:** Possible delays and cancellations on LAN and TAM airlines.

LAN Peru aviation mechanics have not had a salary increase in 10 years and are only paid half of mechanics' salaries in Chile and Argentina.

Developing a good and clear campaign message is very important and is not as easy as it first appears. Brainstorm and share your ideas. Sometimes combining different ideas can give a good result.

*Test of a good campaign message:*

- *Appeals to the broader community*
- *Unites workers*
- *Fits the situation*



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# TARGETS AND ALLIES

**CAMPAIGN STEP: SIX**

## Direct target

A direct target is the person or entity that has the power to grant your demands. The direct target is often the key decision-maker in the company. It might be the chief of police, the chair of the local council, or a company CEO.

It is important to be very specific about your direct target. You may need to do additional research to determine who it is.

Sometimes the direct target will be obvious. If you are planning a campaign where the employer relationship is hidden it might be more difficult. You will still need to decide which entity has the power to grant your demands.

If there is more than one entity that could be your direct target, pick one to start with. This will keep your campaign focused and prevent your resources and efforts from being scattered. You can always change to a second direct target later in your campaign plan.

### Learning from each other

At the Niamey bus terminal and taxi station in Niger, a vast majority of the workers are informal ones. They are bus drivers, taxi drivers, loaders, mechanics, tyre-repairers and vendors.

There are a number of targets that could be pressured to improve working conditions for these informal workers:

- Bus terminal and taxi station management
- Police
- Vehicle owners
- Ministry of Transport
- Town Hall
- Mayor's office
- Prime Minister's office
- Licensing authorities

## Indirect Targets

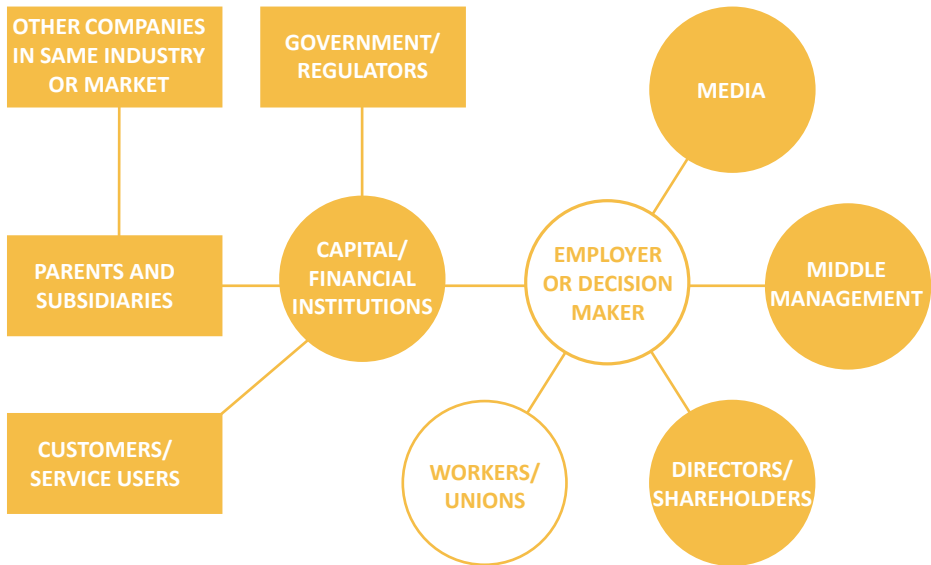
An indirect target is a person or entity who is in an important relationship with the direct target and who can help influence or persuade them to grant your demands.

For example, an indirect target might be a freight customer of a major shipping company with the direct target being the shipping company.

An indirect target is someone who may eventually become an adversary. An indirect target is not someone with whom you will want to share strategy.

In the diagram on the next page, the indirect targets are in yellow.





### Identifying direct and indirect targets

*Refer back to the diagram of employer relationships that you created for your campaign in the chapter on employer relationships.*

*Review your work and make sure the direct target is clearly identified in the central circle of your diagram.*

*The indirect targets will be the one to three most important employer relationships that you identified. Mark your one to three indirect targets clearly on your diagram.*

### Allies

An ally is a person or entity who shares an interest with your campaign goals and who can influence or persuade a target to grant your demands. The difference between an ally and a target is that you may eventually want a long term positive relationship with them. You may want to share information about one or more of your campaign strategies with them.

Look for allies who can help you create the most impact on the direct or indirect targets. Identifying your indirect targets and understanding what is important to each of them will enable you to easily identify important allies.

The bodies in the diagram below in red are 'allies'. These are all entities with which you would want to share campaign strategy and have a long-term positive interest.

## LAN Peru Aviation Mechanics Contract Campaign



The employer will expect you to have support from the ‘usual’ allies, the community groups and politicians who always support unions. When possible, look for strategic allies who are not the ‘usual suspects’, but who share your interests, and who can have an impact on your direct or indirect targets.

In the LAN Peru mechanics diagram above, the company did not expect to have the level of international support for the small mechanics’ union, so even though the allies were all unions, in this case, they were not the ‘usual’ ones.

### Finding strategic allies

*For your direct target and each of your indirect targets, identify one to three specific allies who can help you put pressure on each of them.*

*Add these allies to your diagram of employer relationships. You might want to use different colours to distinguish targets from allies on your diagram.*

Allies can help you in many different ways. You will want to develop deep working relationships with some of them. With others you might only ask for something as simple as a signature.

Make sure you know as much as possible about the individuals or groups that you might be asking for help. Understand your allies. Know their priorities and what goals they share with you. Be clear about what kind of relationship you are seeking. Listen and learn about their situation. Learn to look beyond your own issues, priorities and timeframe.

Depending on who you are speaking to – other unions, community allies, customers or service users – you will have different approaches and different asks.

Be specific about what you are asking people to do to support your campaign. You might want to start by asking for something small and build as your relationship builds.

You might want to survey workers in your union to find out what ally groups they are members of. Workers may know which organisations might be good to work with. You might create a written or verbal survey asking in which community, church and political groups workers are active.

### **Learning from each other**

Direct targets and allies may not always be obvious, especially for precarious workers.

For seafarers, it might not make sense to target the direct employer. Under the flag of convenience system, the shipowner might be a holding company that is no more than a piece of paper in an office somewhere in a faraway state.

The direct target might instead be a regulatory authority, such as the maritime authorities of a port state. In this case, the union could put pressure on port state control to use its regulatory powers to detain a ship and force its owners to improve working conditions. In other circumstances, the union might work with port state control as an ally.

In the shipping industry, our allies might not be the traditional ones. The ITF has been successful in campaigning for the adoption and ratification of the Maritime Labour Convention, 2006 (MLC - also known as the seafarers' bill of rights), which seeks to ensure minimum decent living and working conditions on board ships. The MLC was supported by those major shipowners who wanted a level playing field in the industry. They did not want substandard ship operators undercutting them. At this time, these particular shipowners were campaign allies. In other situations they might be targets, as they employ seafarers.

For every campaign, it is important to consciously think about whether each entity is one that you want to be treating as an ally or as a target.

## Differences between targets and allies

Sometimes targets and allies can look similar.

For example, the catholic church could be an ally, an indirect target or a direct target depending on your campaign and which part of the catholic church we are discussing.

If the catholic church is a body that may become your adversary in the campaign they are a target, either your main direct target, that can grant your campaign demands, or an indirect target.

If the catholic church shares some of your interests and you would want to share your strategy with them, they are your allies.

Regulatory agencies such as port state control bodies might be allies or targets depending on your campaign. Even employers can be your allies in some circumstances, particularly those that are unionised with good working conditions.

The reason it is important to know the difference between allies and targets is that you do not want to treat an ally as a target or vice versa. However, always be prepared for the reality that an ally might turn into a target in the future or vice versa.

### Learning from each other

The Kenya dockworkers' union developed a number of allies and targets during their successful fight against privatisation at the port of Mombasa.

The union had been involved in a very successful outreach project to young workers so that when the threat of privatisation began, the union was prepared to fight with additional energy and resources. The young workers were mentored by women leaders in the union.

The union identified and mobilised community and religious groups, and other NGOs, showing them how they would each be affected. They also organised joint activities with the long distance road truck drivers' union at the port. They worked with the media to share information and to keep the issue in the public arena.

The direct target of the campaign was the port's managing director. The union and their allies also pressured the president of Kenya, but indirectly, stating, 'the president might not have been adequately informed about the privatisation project.'

Politicians were canvassed and their interest in the privatisation plan was exposed to the public. This caused many candidates for public office to also support the workers.

## Asking allies for support

*Build a relationship with the group or individual. Listen and learn about their situation.*

*Decide what you will be asking the group or individual to help you with. Be very specific. Discuss what might be realistic and helpful.*

*Tell the story of your campaign and make your request. The following outline will help you create a short speech asking for assistance:*

1. We are   
(Who are we in relation to this particular audience? State how many and what kind of workers your union represents.)
2. Things were   
(How were things before they turned bad?)
3. But now   
(How are things getting worse? Or better?)
4. Because   
(Why are things getting worse? Or better?)
5. Things will get better when   
(What needs to happen to make things better?)
6. Together we want   
(What are our public demands, our goals?)
7. To accomplish this we must   
(What needs to change so that the problem is fixed?)
8. What we are asking you to do is   
(What concrete things can this audience do now to help? Be very specific in your request)
9. Together we will   
(What will working together accomplish?)



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**STRATEGY**

**CAMPAIGN STEP: SEVEN**

A strategy is the overall plan for how to win the campaign or a significant piece of it. Good strategies are based on good information. The vulnerabilities of the direct and indirect targets will drive your campaign strategy.

The list of strategy types was developed out of the diagram of employer relationships found in the chapter on employer relationships.

If it is a strategy type you do not know much about, now is the time to learn. Sometimes experienced campaigners get stuck in a particular strategy type that is familiar to them. They may be familiar with capital strategies and utilise them in all their campaigns, instead of finding the strategy that will have the most impact on the target.

### List of strategy types

- Worker/union strategy
- Customer/service user strategy
- Media strategy
- Public/civil society strategy
- Other companies in same industry or market strategy
- Parent/subsidiary strategy
- Owner/shareholder strategy
- Management executive/director strategy
- Financial institution strategy
- Government/regulatory strategy
- Political strategy
- Supplier/donor/subcontractor/vendor strategy

Once you have determined a strategy type that will best fit your campaign, stay within it until you have had a maximum impact.

The number of strategy types you choose is dependent on the size and resources of your campaign. Even a large, well-resourced campaign might not have more than one or two strategy types operating at the same time. Stay within your chosen strategy until you make the most impact possible on the target.

Campaign strategy is different from campaign tactics. Tactics are the individual elements of a strategy. Tactics are specific, usually collective actions that take place on a particular date and location.

If we do not think through what will most effectively impact our particular employer or direct target and instead focus on carrying out actions that are familiar to us, we are thinking tactically – not strategically. To prevent this common mistake, first choose the overall strategy that will have the most impact on your employer, then plan your tactics.

Below you will find a brief description of each strategy type and some examples of corresponding tactics.



## **Worker/union strategy**

All union strategic campaigns use a worker strategy. If a campaign does not include a worker strategy the campaign is not based on organising workers. Unions may sometimes try to win campaigns without involving workers, but this is not recommended.

In a worker or union strategy, the workers who are directly involved in the dispute take workplace action or affect production. Workers and unions in other locations might also demonstrate their support.

Examples of worker/union tactics: workers might wear stickers, send postcards, work-to-rule, march on the boss, take industrial action, or engage in collective action at the workplace. Workers in other unions might send solidarity letters, sign petitions, or engage in co-ordinated workplace actions.

The ITF can assist in co-ordinating solidarity action internationally.

During ITF action days, unions around the world co-ordinate to take action on a specific issue or set of demands.

## **Customer/service user strategy**

In a customer, product or service user strategy, the union and allies will appeal to the customers, clients or passengers of a target.

Examples of tactics: outreach to customers, leafleting retail outlets, warning passengers about potential delays or product and service deficiencies.

## **Media strategy**

A media strategy uses the media to expose the target's vulnerabilities. Companies sometimes spend more money on advertising than production.

Examples of tactics: using social and/or news media against the target.

## **Public/civil society strategy**

In a public or civil society strategy, key community and opinion leaders support the campaign and put pressure on the target.

Examples of tactics: neighbourhood, religious, women's, civil rights, parent, migrant, environmental, senior, gay and lesbian, consumer/passenger, or human rights groups taking action.

## **Other companies in same market or industry strategy**

In this strategy, a company in the same industry or market places pressure on the target.

Examples of tactics: research paper exposing the target's vulnerabilities within the industry, comparison with competitors on price, quality or service, actions at industry events, support for rival companies.

## **Parent/subsidiary strategy**

This strategy uses a company's parent or subsidiaries to exert pressure on a target.

Examples of tactics: actions at corporate headquarters, global campaigns against multinational companies.

The ITF can help you learn more about the ownership structures of a multinational company and can help connect you with other active unions around the world that are dealing with the same company.

## **Owner/shareholder strategy**

Owners or shareholders put pressure on the target.

Examples of tactics: actions and resolutions at shareholder meetings. Exposing the problems of the workers to owners and the financial media.

## **Management/executive/director strategy**

Executives, middle management or directors are held accountable regarding the problems of the workers.

Examples of tactics: charges against individual directors, managers and executives. Pressure on the directors' other companies where they hold positions. (The boards of directors of many large companies have directors whose primary work is as the head of a different company.)

## **Financial institution strategy**

In the financial institution strategy the vulnerabilities of the target are exposed to investors and lenders.

Examples of tactics: communication to lenders and financial analysts and investors, leafleting customers of financial institutions.

## Government/regulatory strategy

In this strategy, we assist government agencies that enforce laws and regulations

Examples of tactics: collective filing and/or publicising of official complaints.

The ITF represents transport workers at the following and other international agencies and may be able to assist with information and contacts:

The ILO (International Labour Organization) is a special body of the United Nations which deals with work. The ILO is tripartite – governments, employers and trade unions are all represented and have voting rights.

The ICAO (International Civil Aviation Organisation) is a specialised agency of the United Nations which oversees standards regulating international air transport.

The IMO (International Maritime Organization) is a specialised agency of the United Nations which is responsible for measures to improve the safety and security of international shipping and to prevent marine pollution from ships.

## Political strategy

With a political strategy, the political and electoral process is used to put pressure on the target.

Examples of political tactics: introducing legislation, mass lobbying, voter turnout, and ballot initiatives.

### Learning from each other

Different strategies build on each other; however, a “worker/union strategy” is always part of any union campaign. The worker/union strategy will need to be carefully coordinated and integrated into your other campaign strategies.

Because of their high sense of solidarity, European dockworker unions are very powerful when lobbying at the regional level against European Union (EU) decision-makers. When the circumstances demand it, dockworker unions can easily mobilise for marches, demonstrations, social unrest, strikes and industrial action.

The European Transport Workers’ Federation (ETF) focuses on the campaign strategy, the EU decision-making, lobbying and EU level coordination. The unions focus on national lobbying and supporting the campaign at EU level with co-ordinated industrial action and mobilising for demonstrations.

Using both a ‘governmental/regulatory strategy’ and a ‘worker/union strategy’, the ETF and its members contributed to the rejection by the European Parliament of two directives proposed by the European Commission, the so-called ‘port

packages'. The two propositions, drafted without proper consultation with the industry would have brought about further liberalisation and a general disinvestment climate for the sector.

The EU process was very closely monitored and actions were timed to fit the needs of the lobbying campaign. Workers and unions were consulted at an early stage to come to common positions. A variety of lobbying tactics were used, including lunch debates, public forums and conferences, postcards, an online petition and working with key stakeholders, including employer representatives and EU decision-makers.

EU-wide strikes were called in a coordinated timeframe and timed to coincide with EU decision-making events. In Rotterdam, the port was blocked for 24 hours by 10,000 people on the same day that a key committee of the European Parliament was due to have its first meeting about the port directive.

Industrial action varied by port depending on what national legislation allowed. For example, in one German port, information sessions were organised by the union at the beginning of each shift since German law is very restrictive on the right to strike. The meetings were held in facilities away from the port, which the port workers had to walk to, thus creating a significant disruption of services, without infringing laws regarding industrial action.

## Supplier/vendor/donor/subcontractor strategy

In this strategy important suppliers and vendors, donors or subcontractors are held accountable for the behaviour of the target.

Examples of supplier/vendor/donor/subcontracting tactics: picketing deliveries, leafleting the customers of key vendors, suppliers or donors. Actions at donor events. Exposure of the costs of subcontracting.

### Choosing your strategy

*Look at the diagram of employer relationships for your campaign.*

*Decide which one to three strategy types will have the most impact on your direct and indirect targets.*

*Think from the employer's perspective.*

*Make sure that you include a worker/union strategy.*

## Learning from each other

For over 20 years the truck drivers' union of Australia, the TWU, has been fighting for 'safe rates' for truck drivers and safer roads for all Australians. Safe rates guarantee that every truck driver has a well-maintained vehicle, won't have to risk falling asleep on the job just to make a living, and isn't trying to meet an impossible deadline.

The campaign is large and long, with three clear strategies: 1) the government/regulatory strategy 2) the customer strategy and 3) the worker/union strategy. The union has pressured the government and won safe rates legislation and a road safety tribunal. They have targeted large trucking customers who drive the economies within the industry, such as the Coles supermarket chain. It has fought for and won safe rates language in its contracts with major transport companies.

The central campaign message and the various tactics of the campaign fit the strategies.

On a national day of action, the union called on the Coles company to support safe rates. The union chose the day that the new Australian senate had its first sitting and the day that the new Coles managing director took office.

Coles had recently described the campaign in the media as a 'TWU money grab'. A leaflet for Coles' customers with the story of a truck driver's family kept the public focus on why safe rates are necessary.



**"IS TODAY THE DAY I GET THE WORST CALL OF MY LIFE?"**

**Imagine knowing that your loved one might not make it home safely from work?**

Like thousands of other trucking families, Eva lives with this fact – driving a truck is 15 times more dangerous than any other job in Australia.

So when her husband isn't home on time – her first thought becomes: "Is today the day I get the worst call of my life?"

Eva knows it doesn't have to be like this. But to make trucking safer, we need major transport clients like Coles to come on board.

Find out what Coles can do to help make sure truck drivers are safe at work and what you can do about it:  
[www.saferates.org.au/petition](http://www.saferates.org.au/petition)



The action started with a march of workers through the city, led by circus performers (the Coles CEO ringmaster with clowns on mini Coles trucks racing to meet unrealistic deadlines). When the workers arrived at the designated Coles store there was a smashed truck out front. Truck drivers and an ambulance driver spoke before a wreath was laid and a moment of silence was held for lives lost in truck crashes.



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# TACTICS

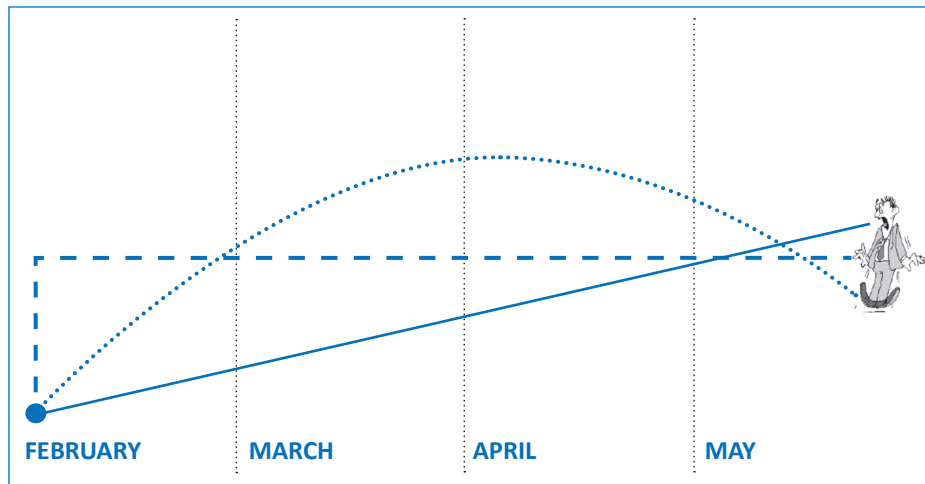
**CAMPAIGN STEP: EIGHT**

Tactics are specific, usually collective, actions that take place on a particular date and location. Tactics are the individual elements of a campaign strategy. Good strategies and tactics are designed to place the maximum pressure on your target.

## Escalation of tactics

Tactics should escalate from low to high in intensity for the target.

When planning campaign tactics, you want the tactics to gradually increase in intensity (like the solid line in the diagram). You do not want your tactics to peak too early and then keep up an even amount of pressure (as in the dashed line) or peak too early and decrease in pressure (as in the dotted line).



You will want to shorten the intervals between various tactics in order to build momentum for the campaign.

Choose tactics that will pressure the employer the most, financially or otherwise. Once you know what your hard-hitting tactic is, you can create less hard-hitting ones leading up to it.

For example, if you know you are going to strike, you might want to first do a short picket and call it a 'practice strike', or publicise the results of a survey showing that an overwhelming percentage of workers are ready to strike. Or maybe you want to deliver a truckload of picket signs to the office of a top decision-maker.

If you decide you want to picket a major customer, you might begin by distributing a leaflet in the workplace with information about this customer. Perhaps a group of workers deliver a letter to the customer's top executive requesting a meeting. Allies and workers together might then sit in the executive's office for a day demanding the meeting.



## Collective tactics

Good tactics involve workers and allies visibly in collective actions. If you do not involve workers and allies, you will not be building the strength and power needed to win your campaign.

A tactic can be a show of weakness rather than strength if not enough people participate. Set your own goal for how much participation is needed. 70 per cent of workers or allies participating will usually ensure success. If you cannot get enough people involved, look for another tactic which is less risky for the workers or which fits the culture better. Workers and allies will often feel more comfortable with higher risk tactics after they find lower risk tactics successful.

If you are not sure that enough workers will participate, survey the workers first to find out. The arbolitos will help you do quick informal surveys that will show how many people plan to participate in a particular action. Keep the results confidential and use them to make the best decision about what tactic to use.

The tactics that we plan for our campaigns must be ones that workers enjoy participating in. If workers believe that the strategy might destroy their jobs, it is not a good strategy. Union leaders need to educate workers about tactics and why they are being used. Be prepared for a misinformation campaign from the employer. Explain to other workers why the employer is trying to discourage them from using the tactic.

Some tactics can have negative consequences for workers and the communities we live in. In the past, in some countries, unions asked people to buy products made with 'white labour only'. Make sure your tactics are in line with working class interests.

Do not keep repeating the same tactic, or it becomes repetitive and is no longer enjoyable. The best tactics are ones that are fun, have a sense of humour and tell the truth about injustice all at the same time.

## Keep workers involved in planning tactics

Do not plan tactics without the workers and allies who will be implementing them being involved in the planning discussion. What may be low risk in one workplace may be high risk in another, depending on the particular supervisor, work rules, national laws or work culture.

Even if you come up with an excellent idea for a tactic on your own, that fits the culture and situation well, the other workers involved will not own the idea and will be less likely to participate in it.

It is very difficult to plan good strategies and tactics if workers are not informed and involved in the campaign. This means that unions must spend significant time on worker education. Workplace discussions, study circles, arbolito conversations, meetings, education programmes and ITF seminars can all give workers an opportunity to discuss and come up with tactics that fit their situation.

### Learning from each other

Tactics are what help make a local campaign become national or international. When tactics spread, they increase the power of workers wherever they go.

Said Elhairech, the general secretary of the Moroccan Ports Union was arrested on charges of ‘sabotage and endangering national security’. His arrest came immediately following his work supporting over 300 Moroccan seafarers who were stranded on seven ships in ports around the world without pay, food or transport home.

Following his arrest, unions immediately protested to the Moroccan government and provided support for Said and his family. In over 10 Arab countries, workers rallied support with press conferences, street marches, protests at APM terminals and ports in the region, and international delegations that attempted to visit Said in jail. Dockers and ITF transport workers around the world joined in under the slogan ‘Free Said’.

Said was jailed for over 100 days. His release was a victory, not just for himself and the Moroccan unions, but his struggle also increased the power of unions in the entire region and around the world.

### Making non-collective tactics collective

Sometimes, without thinking, campaigns utilise tactics that are not collective. Any tactic can be adjusted to involve workers.

An example of a non-collective tactic might be a shareholder resolution presented by top union leaders at a stockholders’ meeting.

*Think of a tactic that is not collective.*

*How could you make it more collective?*

To add some collective tactics, you might create a petition signed by workers and allies with similar wording to the shareholder resolution. Plan to deliver the petition at a shareholders’ meeting packed with workers and allies who are prepared to speak up. Workers could wear a badge in the workplace the same day as the petition and resolution are presented, or put posters up around the workplace with the upcoming date of the shareholders meeting next to a large question mark.

### Delivering the message

*Would any of these help your campaign?*

- Banners
- Billboards and signs
- Balloons
- Cakes with messages
- Games
- Video
- Social and news media

Once you have some collective tactics planned, you can supplement them with tactics that are not collective, such as using billboards, airplane message trailers, and signs and banners on benches, buses, walls or other strategic locations.

### **Learning from each other**

Good tactics often serve a dual purpose of both organising workers and putting pressure on targets.

The Maritime Labour Convention is being used by ITF affiliates as a tool to bring international attention to places like the Black Sea, where the appalling working conditions for seafarers on substandard ships are the norm. In addition to two reports entitled, *The Black Sea of shame*, ITF seafarer unions in the region have worked with a Turkish filmmaker to create an hour-long documentary about substandard shipping. The film is a tool to educate and organise seafarers as well as influence decision-makers.

The film is being distributed throughout the region and beyond. As well as engaging with maritime authorities, the unions in the region are actively reaching out to seafarers during weeks of action – visiting ships and educating seafarers about how and why to fight for their rights. The film will be delivered in person to hundreds of seafarers on ships in the Black Sea, helping to build relationships, conversations and knowledge between seafarers and ITF unions and inspectors.

### **Keep your relationship with the employer or decision-maker**

When possible go outside the experience of the target to an area that is unexpected. With an element of surprise, they may have a harder time countering your actions.

However, when you use new strategies and tactics, make sure to put extra effort into keeping your relationships with your opponents intact. You want them to know that you are rational and willing to talk about resolving the problems. You might want to give your opponent a chance to meet with you before you take action. Make sure that there is a reasonable solution that will resolve the problem, and that this solution is clearly communicated to your opponent and the public.

A carefully planned warning to the target that does not undermine your tactic can be effective. You could let an employer know that a small group of concerned citizens will be attending a hearing, especially if your group is large enough that you can overtake the event.

## Low risk tactics

Tactics that are low risk for workers, and also make an effective impact on the target, are critical to all campaigns. Humour and creativity will help you plan low risk tactics.

Anything that is done collectively by the vast majority of workers and fits the culture of the workers and the public can become a good tactic. The tapping of pencils in a meeting, done collectively, could have the potential to shut down the meeting and would show unity and determination.

*Could any of these ideas for low risk collective action tactics be adjusted to fit your campaign?*

- *Wearing the same colour clothes or armbands*
- *Petitions*
- *Distribution of information*
- *Leafleting large public events*
- *Not talking or talking about a particular problem in the workplace in a synchronised manner*
- *Competitions*
- *Social events and celebrations*
- *Badges or stickers*
- *Investigations and reports from ally groups (NGOs, women's groups, universities...)*
- *Songs/slogans*
- *Gathering at a border crossing*
- *Phone/email/postcard protests*
- *Appeals for justice from community allies*
- *Visible positive appreciation of workplace union leaders*
- *Anonymous worker stories*

Bringing media attention to any tactic may increase its impact. You might want to look at what the employer is saying in their own news releases and who their audience is. There may be media outlets and reporters that are specific to your industry or sector which could have more impact on your target than the general media.

### Low risk tactics – worker stories

If workers cannot talk openly, you might want to publish anonymous stories about their problems.

You could distribute the stories at:

- The workplace
- Sporting or social events
- Fairs and markets
- Media events
- Central business or transport locations

Or you could use allies (universities, NGOs, industry experts) to write a report about what is happening to workers.

Surveys are an excellent low risk tactic. They don't need to be long, just one or two simple questions. You might ask workers whether their workload has increased over the last year and by how much. Then you can publicise the results; 85 percent of workers have experienced workloads that have more than doubled.

Use your arbolitos or worker networks to distribute and collect the surveys. If you carefully track where the surveys are being returned from, you will also see what areas of your arbolitos need improvement.

### Low risk tactics - surveys

- Keep the survey verbal and short, only one or two questions.
- Use your arbolito networks to distribute and collect the surveys.
- Report the results when you are ready.

*Has your workload increased in the last three months?*

☐ Yes ☐ No

*Has your workload had a negative impact on the quality of your work?*

☐ Yes ☐ No

Results: 85 percent of workers surveyed say that their workload has increased.  
75 percent say this has had a negative impact on the quality of their work.

## Indirect targets

When you are pressuring an indirect target, you will need to make sure that both your central campaign goals and the name of the direct target is always clearly communicated. Otherwise, your allies, the public, and even the indirect target could become confused about what your demands are.

If you are protesting at a supermarket, for example, have your leaflet focus customers' attention on what will put the most pressure on the outlet (high prices, poor quality of products...).

Include (in smaller print) the name of your direct target and your campaign goals. In this supermarket example, the direct target is International Trucking, and the campaign goal is to reduce the long working hours of the drivers.

### Link indirect target to demand of target

**Indirect target:** *Grocery store with high prices*

**Direct target:** *International Trucking Co.*

**Large letters/banners:** *HIGH PRICES at Apples Grocery Store*

**Small letters:** *We are here today protesting high prices. In addition to charging high prices Apples Grocery Store uses International Trucking Co. that makes drivers work long hours, creating fatigue and unsafe road conditions in our community.*

You may want to communicate with indirect targets before you take action. For example, you could show your leaflet to the Apples grocery store company ahead of time, perhaps offering them an opportunity to support your campaign by signing up to your demands to the International Trucking Company, or agreeing to discuss the issue with the International Trucking Company.

## Never stop!

Plan enough creative tactics so that you will always be able to keep your campaign active and moving forward. You want the target to know that you will never stop, and that the actions will keep getting worse.

If you work backwards from knowing your hardest-hitting tactic, you should be able to come up with lots of easy and creative tactics. For more ideas look at the list of possible tactics by strategy type in the chapter on strategy.

Make sure your tactics focus in on your targets. Stay on your chosen target long enough to make a serious impact, if not to win your demands. Flipping around between targets and strategies can lessen your power.

## Tactics chart

The tactics chart shows the development of low to medium to high tactics during a campaign.

### Complete the tactics chart

*In the top left hand corner, write in the name of your direct target.*

*Below this, list one to three direct or indirect targets.*

*For each of your targets fill in your low, medium and high tactics.*

*Include initial contact with your target (by letters or phone calls) in the low Intensity column.*

*When you are done make sure that the tactics:*

- *Impact your direct target*
- *Involve workers or allies in collective action*
- *Fit in with your strategy and campaign message*

## Tactic chart

Targets	Low intensity	Medium intensity	High intensity
Target No.1	1.	1.	1.
	2.	2.	2.
	3.	3.	3.
Target No.2	1.	1.	1.
	2.	2.	2.
	3.	3.	3.
Target No.3	1.	1.	1.
	2.	2.	2.
	3.	3.	3.



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# CALENDAR

**CAMPAIGN STEP: NINE**

A campaign calendar will help you implement your plans.

The campaign calendar needs to be realistic. As things change and new opportunities arise, you will revise the calendar many times. If the calendar is unrealistic to begin with, this process will be much more difficult.

Start with a small number of tactics and events and add more activity when you are ready.

If your calendar seems overwhelming, you may be planning too much with too few resources.

Your campaign may have more impact if you have fewer but successful events. Plan how to get more workers or allies involved in order to bring more resources to your campaign.

*1) Decide the number of months you would like to plan for.*

*2) Fill in blank calendar forms for these months.*

*Add holidays, major union events or ITF action Days. Include any fixed events that are important to your key targets and allies.*

*3) Review the tactics chart that you completed in the chapter on tactics.*

*4) For each tactic on the tactics chart:*

*Decide on one person who will be responsible for coordinating the tactic. Others can assist, but you will want one person who is responsible for making sure the tactic is completed successfully.*

*Write down each task that needs to be done on a separate post-it note. On each post-it note identify who is responsible for the task.*

*You might want to use different coloured post-its for different tactics or targets. If post-it notes are not available, use a pencil, so you can revise as needed.*

*5) Place the notes on the calendar, creating a realistic timeframe. You will find that you will need to move them around as you plan.*

*6) Continue with the next tactic until you have finished your calendar.*

*Task: recruit people  
to leaflet sports event*

*Responsible for task*

*-----  
Co-ordinator of event/tactic  
-----*

*Task: write and print  
leaflet for sports event*

*Responsible for task*

*-----  
Co-ordinator of event/tactic  
-----*

### **Learning from each other**

Although we plan for a campaign to last for a certain period of time, in reality there is no ending or beginning to the struggle of workers for justice.

In 2013, the dockworkers' union of Kenya organised against the privatisation of the port. They planned ahead, educating port workers on how to organise. They hired an expert to develop a detailed plan B on how to improve port productivity rates without privatisation.

The workers mobilised demonstrations and pressured and exposed the government and business interests, raising concerns about possible job losses. The union was successful in pushing back this round of the privatisation attempts.

Their campaign did not just begin with this particular fight in 2013. The government had also pushed for privatisation of the port in 2005 and again in 2011, when protesters marching against a port privatisation event were tear gassed. Each time, the union had mobilised and won the campaign, laying a groundwork of increasing strength during each fight.

Our campaigns are often fixed periods of struggle, within a larger time period and context.

Although we usually plan our campaigns for a period of months or years, the results of our work extend beyond our lifetimes and into the struggles of the workers who come after us.





# EVALUATION

**CAMPAIGN STEP: TEN**

An evaluation process will help your campaign.

Schedule regular times to monitor and evaluate your progress as the campaign changes and things work out better or worse than expected.

As the campaign proceeds, you will probably need to do additional research about the direct and indirect targets, as well as develop new strategies, targets and tactics.

Decide who should be present during your evaluation meetings and how often they will be held. An evaluation group can be large or small and might include workplace delegates, members of the arbolitos network, trusted allies, and union leaders.

Particularly if you decide on a small evaluation meeting group, think about how you can get input from different parts of the union prior to your meetings. You might gather feedback using email, discussion groups, or one-on-one interviews (in person or on the phone).

*Who should attend campaign evaluation meetings and how often should they be held?*

*Will you need to gather input about the campaign from different parts of the union?*

*Do you need to plan for a written report?*

### Sample agenda for a campaign evaluation meeting

- Review your campaign calendar. Go over commitments made at the last meeting. Discuss any new events.
- Each person writes down three things that are working well in the campaign, and three things that need to be improved.
- Share your ideas, post them on the wall and discuss them.
- Revise your campaign plan. Make commitments to specific tasks and add them to your campaign calendar. Only commit to things you can accomplish.



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# CAMPAIGN TOOLS RESEARCH

We need good information in order to create effective strategies.

You will need to research the direct target and each of the companies, agencies or governments that is important to it. For example, if you are planning to pressure customers, you will need to research each of the major customers and know what is important to each of them. If you get stuck, ask for help from your union or the ITF.

*Can you identify the direct target's name and their industry or sector?*

*Can you do the same for each of the one to three entities that you have identified as the key relationships of the main target?*

*Identify whether each entity you are researching is a:*

- *For-profit company that is publicly traded on a stock exchange?*
- *For-profit company that is privately owned?*
- *Public sector or government organisation?*
- *Not for profit?*

*Are any of the entities you have identified active at the regional or international level? (If so, ask the ITF for assistance.)*

## **Name of employer or decision-maker**

Identifying the name of the employer or decision-maker is not always easy. Look for the top entity that would actually make the final decisions about your campaign demands.

Employers may hide their ownership and decision-making structures for a variety of reasons. You could be a precariously-employed package delivery worker, employed by a large company that claims you are an independent contractor, in order to deny that they control your working conditions. Perhaps you are a taxi driver who owns your own cab, with many of your working conditions set by local government.

## **Industry or sector**

Understanding your industry or sector will help you to know more about the competition that your employer faces and the various trends and changes in the sector.

Even though you work in a particular industry or sector, the company you work for may be most active in another one. You will want to understand which of the sectors your company operates in are the most profitable.

For example, an airline might make more money with cargo than passengers. If that is the case, the cabin crew union might want to research the top cargo customers of the airline, rather than the top passenger companies.



## Publicly traded and private companies, non-profits and governments

Find out if the decision-maker and each of the key relationships you are researching is a publicly traded or a private company.

**Publicly traded companies** have common stock that is sold to the public through one of the stock markets such as the Tokyo Stock Exchange (TSE) or the New York Stock Exchange (NYSE). The reports they are required to file will be useful to you and should be available on the internet. These reports will give you a great deal of information, including an overview of the company's operations and finances; its executives, directors, and shareholders; a list of its legal liabilities; and a list of potential financial challenges it is facing.

The shares of **private companies** are held by a smaller group, often the company management or a family.

**Non-profit organisations** often file tax reports and sometimes publish annual reports.

If it is a **government or public sector** entity, you want to know who is elected and when. What were the recent elections like and what are the projections for future elections? Are there blocks of voters we need to know more about? Is there corporate interest in privatisation schemes? Information is often available through legal public reporting requirements.

**Every country has its own regulations on corporate filings.** Find out which government department holds the corporate registry, and which information is available. For example in India, the Ministry of Corporate Affairs makes all corporate records available for a small fee.

## Large public events

As you do your research, keep an eye out for large public events that are important to your decision-makers or any of their key relationships.

Corporate sponsored sporting or cultural events; shopping and convention centres or markets; industry trade shows; company events; shareholder meetings; or any large groups of potential customers or service users can provide opportunities for workers to leaflet, disrupt or otherwise engage the target.

*Can you identify any large public or community events that may be important to your decision-maker, or to one of its key relationships?*

## Where to look for information

Ask the employer directly for information. Employers are often willing to assist workers who want to better understand how their company works. If it is a large company you might want to approach the public relations office.

Workers often have a great deal of information about the company and how it really works, including which are the important customers, suppliers, vendors, governmental regulators and competitors.

If you are dealing with a multinational company, talk to the workers and their unions from other countries. The ITF will be able to assist with multinational employer research and can help you determine if there are international networks of unions within your company.

The internet is obviously a major source of information. Remember to look at financial analyst websites and industry and sector websites.

Friendly staff or students at your local universities, colleges or libraries may be able to help you gather information as well.

### 7 Key research questions

*These basic questions will help you focus on what you need to know about your direct target and each of your key targets.*

1. *Who are the key players and who owns and runs it?*
2. *Who suffers because of the workplace and social justice problems, and who cares?*
3. *Who are the key outside relationships? (eg, customers)*
4. *What is its financial condition?*
5. *What is its business strategy?*
6. *What are the challenges and prospects for the target and for this segment of the industry?*
7. *Are there production, operational or supply chain bottlenecks?*

## Research committees

Think about whether you want to develop a research committee for your union or campaign. You may find that there are workers in your union who enjoy working on the internet or seeking out information from other workers and company representatives.

## Research reports

You might want to prepare a written research report on the decision-maker, their key relationships and the relationships of their relationships.

*Do you want to form a research committee for your union or campaign?*

*Would it be helpful to create a written research report?*

### Understanding employer relationships

These are general questions about each of the categories of employer relationships:

#### Parents and subsidiaries (ownership structure)

Who is the ultimate decision-maker?

What is the ownership structure of the employer: parent or subsidiaries, major shareholders? (If public sector: what is the structure of the governmental entities?)

#### Owners/shareholders

Who are the employer's shareholders and owners? What relationships do they have with other business or community organisations?

When and where are shareholder meetings and who usually attends? What are the major issues and voting patterns?

#### Workers and unions

How many workers are there and where are the workers and the company operations located? What strategic importance does each group of workers have upon the employer's operations?

What are the workers' concerns/problems? What other unions represent them?

What is the status of labour relations in other countries?

#### Customers/service users

Who are the major customers or what are the sources of revenue? What are the products and/or services? Does the company have transport partners that deliver goods and services? What concerns do customers or service users have?

#### Other companies in the same industry or market

What are the most important changes in this industry? How will each change affect

this employer? What will be this employer's response to each change listed?

Who are the employer's major competitors? How does the employer stand in comparison to other companies within the industry/sector?

What are the employer's: prospects for new products, acquisitions, or markets? market share growth or shrinkage?

How does the employer's performance compare to that of others in the industry? How much debt does the employer have? How much revenue or profit? What is the employer's growth and profit-making strategy?

### **Management/executives/directors**

Who are the middle managers and what are their chief concerns and contributions to the company? Are there managers that have particularly good or bad relationships with workers?

Who are the company's executives and board members? Do they have ties to other companies?

### **Financial institutions**

Who are the important sources of financing for the employer? Which is the employer's main bank? How much debt does each creditor hold and how is it secured? Who underwrites the employer's securities? Does the company receive World Bank money?

### **Government/regulators**

What social and economic justice violations exist? Who regulates the company? Look for environmental record, community complaints, discrimination charges, and product safety. What types of relationships exist between the company and the government/ministers? Are there public subsidies or government contracts? At the international level are there relevant compacts or codes of conduct with the OECD, the UN Global Compact, global union federations, World Bank or the ILO? Is the company following its own policies?

### **Public/civil society**

Are there important civil or community groups that could have a significant financial (or electoral) impact on your company?

### **Suppliers/vendors/donors/subcontractors**

Who are the most important suppliers and vendors? If there are time delays, what is the impact? What subcontracting exists and what companies are involved? Have there been any changes in quality of product or service with subcontracting? Is

there any regulation of subcontractors? Are there plans for future subcontracting or privatisation?

### **Politicians**

Who are the political decision-makers that could impact your company or industry? What are their self-interests? Do any of them have important upcoming elections?

### **Media**

Where does the company advertise? How much is spent on which products or services? What news and social media outlets are most important to the company?

## **Keep it simple**

Keep your research as simple as possible. Prioritise the research on the employer's one to three key relationships and the most important relationships of each relationship.

Remember that understanding the employer and how to put pressure on them is not anything new to unions around the world. Build on what you and other workers already know about the company.



Download the training material for this chapter of this handbook at:  
**[www.campaignsmanual.org](http://www.campaignsmanual.org)**





# CAMPAIGN TOOLS FACTSHEETS

A factsheet is a one-page document that provides background information about the campaign in an objective format. Factsheets can be used in conjunction with leaflets and press releases at campaign events. They are often provided to allies and the media.

We often hear about the ‘facts’ of a campaign from the employer’s perspective. A factsheet allows us to provide our facts; the information about workers that is not always told. No arrangement of facts is purely objective. Factsheets should be as objective as possible.

Factsheets reduce volumes of information and research into an accessible, understandable format. A factsheet is divided into two major sections. The first half of the page usually covers facts about the employer. The second half describes the dispute and gives contact details for the union.

Do not make your factsheet more than one page or you are likely to lose your audience.

### What goes into a one-page factsheet?

*First half:*

- *Basic information about the direct target (name, address, telephone number and email)*
- *Type of company or entity*
- *Employer services, products and business strategy*
- *Relevant general statistics and issue-oriented statistics, such as profits, rank within the industry, regulatory violations, list of key customers*
- *Include all key indirect targets*

*Second half:*

- *What the dispute is about*
- *Description of the workforce (gender, ethnicity, number of years with the employer, worker injury statistics, if relevant)*
- *History of the relationship between workers and management*
- *Union name, address, principal officer, phone number, email*

A factsheet places the dispute in a larger context. Include facts about each of your direct and indirect targets even if you might not use all of them. This will help everyone involved in the campaign understand the relationship between your direct target and the indirect targets. A well-written factsheet will be able to be used throughout the campaign.



## LATAM AIRLINES FACT SHEET

### General employer information

Headquartered at Presidente Riesco 5711, 625653944, [www.latamairlinesgroup.net](http://www.latamairlinesgroup.net)

**LATAM is the largest passenger and cargo airline in Latin America.** LATAM provides domestic and international passenger service in Chile, Peru, Ecuador, Argentina, Colombia, Paraguay and Brazil. Cargo operations cover Chile, Brazil, Colombia and Mexico. LATAM will be a full member of the Oneworld Alliance in 2014. The group has bilateral agreements with American Airlines, Iberia, Qantas, Lufthansa, All Nippon Airways, Cathay Pacific, Japan Airlines, Air Mexico.

**LATAM actively promotes sports and South American tourism** particularly during the North American and European fall and winter seasons. LATAM is the preferred airline and sponsor for tennis in Miami and South America.

**LATAM cargo exports are concentrated in a small number of products, particularly seafood, fruit and flowers.** The US accounts for the majority of the cargo traffic both to and from Latin America. The international cargo operations are headquartered at a 36-acre site at the Miami International Airport.

### Specific facts of the dispute

**LATAM Airlines group reported an operational profit of 100 million USD, an increase of 605% from 2012.** LATAM revenue for 2012 was \$13,271,000,000 USD, making it one of the largest airlines globally in terms of revenue for that period.

**LATAM has experienced disruptions of passenger and cargo traffic. LATAM is especially vulnerable to delays due to their high aircraft utilization rate.** If an aircraft falls behind schedule it could remain behind schedule for up to two days. According to a 2014 El Comercio Peru article, "The airline will be facing an impasse with its unions, which means delays in certain flights."

**LATAM is the result of the 2010 merger of LAN Airlines from Chile and TAM Airlines from Brazil.** The company will continue to operate under two brands, LAN and TAM. As a condition to the merger the antitrust authorities in Chile and Brazil imposed mitigation measures.

**LATAM states that they have lower wage and labour costs than their competitors. Low wages could affect passenger service and security.** Pilots, mechanics, flight attendants, airport staff and all LATAM personnel are highly trained and are responsible for the service and security of passengers.

**The Cueto family from Chile controls LATAM.** Cueto family members own 26% of LATAM's voting share and the positions of LATAM CEO and LAN CEO. The Amaro family members (from TAM) control 14% of shares and the Bethia Group 6%. Combined these three shareholder groups control the majority of the seats on the LATAM Board of Directors. The Amaro and Cueto families are close. Enrique Cueto Plaza got his pilot's license, at the urging of TAM founder Rolim Amaro.

**Delays due to the problems with LAN Peru's labour relations are affecting the entire region and will continue to do so until the matter is resolved.** In Peru, LATAM workers are paid as little as 1/2 of the wages for doing the same work as LATAM workers in Chile. The Executive Vice President of the LATAM Airlines Group, Enrique Cueto, showed his preoccupation with arrival times for the upcoming World Cup in Brazil when he recently stated, "If on one day we do not arrive on time for a football match, the fans will hang us."

### General union information

**LATAM's CEO, Enrique Cueto Plaza, controls key positions in the union.** Mr Cueto is on the board of the Oneworld Alliance (International Air Transport Association) Board.

For more information: [redlatam.itf@gmail.com](mailto:redlatam.itf@gmail.com)

**Member and LATAM director Juan José Cueto Plaza was fined by the Chilean courts for using privileged information in the purchase of shares prior to the public release of LAN's financial statements.**

**The European Commission and the US Department of Justice (DOJ) have fined LATAM companies for price fixing of cargo fuel surcharges.** Numerous additional investigations and class action suits have followed. LATAM pleaded guilty in Canada in 2013 and has received additional fines in other countries totalling approximately \$195 million USD. Legal proceedings from the Brazilian antitrust authority are still to be resolved.

**In 2014 LAN was fined for refusing to refund money owed to a passenger by the Superintendencia de Industria y Comercio in Colombia.**

**Prior to the 2014 World Cup, TAM Airlines fired pilots and cabin crews and cut routes in Brazil in order to increase profits.** This has generated worries that they will not be prepared for the avalanche of visitors to Brazil. 80% of TAM's management are new.

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**LATAM**  
Network  
Red Sindical

[www.organizatelatam.com](http://www.organizatelatam.com)  
[redlatam.itf@gmail.com](mailto:redlatam.itf@gmail.com)  
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[twitter @LATAMNETWORKITF](https://twitter.com/LATAMNETWORKITF)

Your factsheet will help the employer or decision-maker understand that the union has the knowledge and ability to affect them in additional areas, if necessary.

## Factsheet: OnTrac

### Business Overview

- OnTrac is the largest regional shipper in the country and operates in the western United States. OnTrac owns and operates 47 distribution centers and 20 satellite facilities along with 1,200 drop boxes. 250 General employer information
- Suite 201, Chandler, Arizona 85286. Phone: (602) 333-4470.
- OnTrac's President and CEO is Robert E. Humphrey.
- In 2012, OnTrac earned \$286.9 million in revenues and \$4.8 million in profits. OnTrac's revenues increased 19.8% from 2011 to 2012 and more than four times from 2000 to 2012.
- OnTrac is a privately held company with venture capital from Court Square Capital Partners. OnTrac operates as a subsidiary of Express Messenger Systems, Inc.
- OnTrac operates three divisions of delivery and courier services: OnTrac Ground, OnTrac Messenger and OnTrac International.
- The OnTrac Ground Division provides overnight and time-critical delivery throughout California and the metropolitan areas of Arizona, Nevada, Oregon, Washington and Utah.
- The Messenger Division of OnTrac provides same day and next-day messenger services in 15 states.
- The OnTrac International Division is a mail distributor specializing in efficient mail preparation for delivery to over 240 countries worldwide. OnTrac International is a USPS Postal Qualified Wholesaler.
- OnTrac's operations combine later pickup times, lower fees and fewer surcharges with a pricing structure of up to 40% less than national carriers (UPS and FedEx).
- Most of OnTrac's customers include e-retailers, commercial businesses, law firms, title companies, engineers, and architects. Some of OnTrac's major customers are Amazon, American Apparel, Nordstrom, Byram, Henry Schein and Office Max. There have been many customer complaints against OnTrac since it began delivering for Amazon. Other customers include Amway, Newegg Inc., Ingram Micro and McMaster Carr.

### OnTrac's Employees

- OnTrac has approximately 2,500 full-time employees and 3,000 contract employees in the United States. Specific facts of the dispute
- In February 2013 line haul drivers at OnTrac's distribution hub in Commerce, California voted in a government administered election to designate Teamsters Local No. 63 as their bargaining representative.
- In December 2013 line haul drivers at OnTrac's distribution center in Vancouver, Washington voted through an NLRB election to designate Teamsters Local No. 58 as their exclusive bargaining representative.
- In December 2013 a warehouse employee contracted by OnTrac through temporary agency Secure Staffing nearly lost his arm in a conveyor belt at OnTrac's distribution hub in Commerce, California. OnTrac is under investigation by CalOSHA for the accident.
- OnTrac's business model of outsourcing as much work as possible and owning few assets, results in wages and working conditions far inferior to those of industry competitors.
- OnTrac delivers to customers via several small contractors who in turn subcontract to couriers who are treated as independent contractors. Couriers are generally responsible for all business costs such as maintenance of vehicles and other equipment. After expenses, couriers sometimes make less than minimum wage.
- In February 2014, OnTrac terminated all its line haul drivers in Southern California who did not have union representation, and told them to attempt to find work with OnTrac's sub-contractors.
- Several hundred OnTrac employees are represented by multiple Teamster Local Unions. General union information
- OnTrac is negotiating to improve dangerous working conditions and unsustainable compensation for the employees and their families. Contact: Randy Korgan, Director of Organizing for Teamsters Joint Council 42. Phone: (909) 877-4760.

The factsheet will help allies know enough to feel comfortable supporting the campaign. It will help the media when they are writing stories or need background information about the campaign.

Factsheets also help workers and allies to see the overall campaign strategy in one short document. They help union leaders describe the campaign using facts as well as emotion.

Be sure that everything is accurate and legal. You want allies and the media to trust the factsheet so that they will quote from it as much as possible.

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For more information: [redlatam.itf@gmail.com](mailto:redlatam.itf@gmail.com)

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Indirect  
targets

There are many indirect targets listed in the LATAM factsheet. The indirect targets that were part of the LAN Peru mechanics campaign:

- LATAM shareholders
- South America travel agencies
- Tennis sponsorship in Miami
- World Cup in Brazil

The indirect targets that were not part of this campaign, but might have been:

- Oneworld Alliance
- Airlines with bilateral agreements
- Amaro family
- Bethia Group
- LATAM board of directors
- European Commission
- US Dept of Justice
- Brazilian anti-trust authority
- Colombian regulatory board
- Cargo customers
- Competing airlines
- IATA (International Air Transport Association) board



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# CAMPAIGN TOOLS APPEALS FOR JUSTICE

An 'appeal for justice' or 'appeal' is a very specific type of letter. It is addressed to a campaign target and signed by strategically-chosen individuals who will have the most impact on the target. The body of the letter appeals to the target's sense of fairness or justice and asks them to investigate or correct the situation.

Once you have gathered sufficient signatures, copy the signatures below the body of the appeal, with each person's name and organisation printed underneath their signature. Choose signatures that will have a powerful impact on your target.

### **Appeal for justice**

#### **Address:**

- Name, title, company, and abbreviated address of the target

#### **Bodytext:**

- Less than 150 words
- Easy for allies to agree with and sign

#### **Signature area:**

- Only leaders of strategically important groups sign
- Make sure names and organisations are spelled correctly.

#### **Instructions for returning the signed form:**

- Contact details for the union.

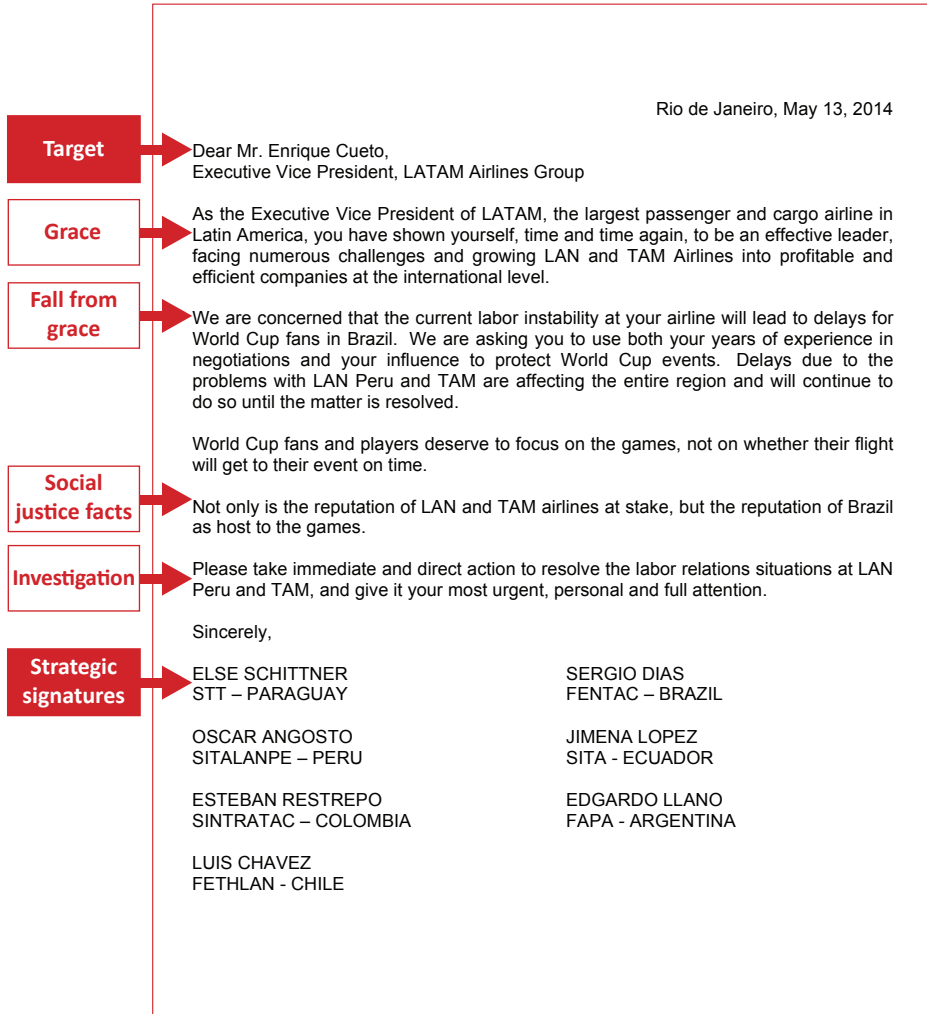
An appeal for justice is carefully worded so that it is easy for allies to sign. Think about the most conservative of your allies when you are writing the body of the appeal and create something they would put their name to.

The pressure on the target comes from the collection of signatures, not from the wording in the body of the letter. It shows the target some of the powerful forces you have organised on your side.

Begin the body of the appeal by gracefully reaching out to the target's better side. Continue with the 'fall from grace', describing the way the decision-maker has not lived up to his/her ideals or intentions. Include the hard-hitting facts framed within a social justice context.

End the letter with a request for the target to 'investigate the matter' or 'look into the situation'. By keeping what you are asking for to a minimum, you will be more likely to gain support from strategic allies.

Sometimes it is difficult to think of good things to say about our targets, but there will always be something. The target might be the head of a growing and successful company, or be a long-standing leader in the industry, or provide jobs in the community. The company may have made public commitments to customers or have core business principles that you could include.



This appeal for justice was signed by the unions and federations of the ITF LATAM union network at an international media event in Rio de Janeiro announcing potential delays of flights going into the World Cup. The appeal was addressed to LATAM CEO Enrique Cueto.

During the campaign, an appeal letter might also have been signed by frequent flyer first class passengers, travel agencies, or famous world cup fans and players. Another appeal could have been addressed to the Brazilian government, asking them to intervene to help settle the dispute, signed by political leaders in the region.

An appeal only contains an abbreviated address for the target so that the people who are signing send it back to the union and do not mail it directly to the target.

The signature form for your appeal should ask people to print and sign their names plainly and include their contact details. That way you can check on details such as the full and correct name of their organisation as well as keep them updated on the campaign.

Appeal for Justice at  
Henry Schein

Target

Stanley M Bergman  
Chairman of the Board and CEO  
Henry Schein, Inc

Grace

Dear Mr, Bergman,

Henry Schein Inc is the world's largest deliverer of products and services to dental and other health care practitioners, with an average of 120,000 packages shipped daily.

Fall from grace

Negative online reviews of Henry Schein's delivery company OnTrac, number in the thousands and often read like: "I have never had a worse shipping experience in my life" and "Ontrac claimed to have delivered my package when they didn't." When OnTrac workers formed a union to improve conditions, the company terminated most of them, risking strikes and other job actions that threaten everyone who counts on these deliveries.

Social justice facts

We can't afford delays. Dental emergencies need on-time deliveries. Please provide a fair and reliable delivery service.

Investigation /request

CONCERNED DENTISTS

Signature form

Signature\_\_\_\_\_

Print Name\_\_\_\_\_

City/State\_\_\_\_\_

Email Address\_\_\_\_\_

Phone Number\_\_\_\_\_

**FAX to 202 624 6910 or EMAIL to [smartinez@teamster.org](mailto:smartinez@teamster.org)**



This appeal to Henry Schein Inc, a distributor of dental products, is part of a Teamster campaign against OnTrac, a competitor to UPS and DHL. Henry Schein is one of OnTrac's key customers. The signatures are from dentists who are demonstrating their concern about the delays and unreliable service of dental products.

An appeal will help us build a coalition of strategic allies. Because the request is clear and defined it is easier for workers to gather signatures and it is a simple way for our allies to show their support.

An appeal is not a petition for everyone to sign. The strategic allies that you will ask to sign the appeal are the allies who will have the most impact on the target. For example, you might gather signatures from community groups and businesses in a geographic voting area that is important to the target.

You can emphasise certain aspects of the people who are signing. The line below the signature might say '10 year resident and frequent voter' or 'Customer of the \_\_\_\_\_ company' or 'Frequent flyer with \_\_\_\_\_ airline for eight years'.

Workers are often also customers, voters, or members of important community groups. If you are planning an appeal, you might ask workers what community or church groups they belong to, what stores they shop at, what banks they go to, and where they live. This way you can quickly create the signatures that you need.

Since the appeal is easy to agree with, you should be able to obtain support from a variety of places, including even conservative or anti-union organisations. Workers are sometimes able to use established relationships with important regular customers or local community, political and business leaders.

### **Outline of body of appeal**

#### *Grace*

- *Begin with the company's positive contribution*

#### *Fall from grace*

- *The target has not lived up to their intentions*

#### *Social justice Facts*

- *Use hard-hitting dramatic facts*
- *Appeal to a sense of fairness and justice*

#### *Investigation*

- *Ask the target to use their influence to help solve the problem, or investigate the situation*

An appeal can be made into a leaflet, presented to the target as part of a media event, enlarged into a poster or billboard, or published in a local or industry newspaper. An appeal made into a leaflet and distributed door-to-door in a key voting area may have more impact than a paid newspaper advertisement in a large newspaper. Think about what method of distribution will have the most impact on your target.

### How to create an appeal for justice

*Decide whether your appeal will be addressed to the main decision-maker or an indirect target.*

*Make a list of strategic allies who might sign the appeal. Include the allies that will have the most impact on the target.*

*Draft the body of the appeal (150 words) and include:*

- 1) Grace
- 2) Fall from grace
- 3) Social justice facts
- 4) Request for an investigation.

*Add the abbreviated address of the target at the top of your appeal and the signature form and full contact details of the union at the bottom.*

If you are planning to write an appeal in a large group you can use this method:

- Make four signs on paper: 1) Grace 2) Fall from grace, 3) Hardhitting social justice facts and 4) Investigation/request for action, and post them on the wall.
- Ask participants to write down their ideas for what should be included in the appeal, each idea on a single blank sheet of paper. Have them use block capitals, five to seven words, and markers.
- Cluster the ideas on the wall, placing each in one of the four categories.
- After the ideas are posted, ask one or two participants to work together to write an appeal, using the ideas on the wall



Download the training material for this chapter of this handbook at:  
[www.campaignsmanual.org](http://www.campaignsmanual.org)



# CAMPAIGN TOOLS LEAFLETS

Campaign leaflets challenge the image, product or service of the target and help focus public outrage in a meaningful way. They put pressure on a specific target, and are different from educational or informational leaflets. Campaign leaflets can give you an effective, low cost and high impact pressure tactic.

## Creating a campaign leaflet

When you are creating a leaflet, focus on the target. What do they care about the most: image, price, quality, voters? Can you raise questions about any of these issues in your leaflet?

You may want to parody the company or decision-maker's own advertising or political campaign. Or perhaps you can compare your company's price, image, or quality unfavourably with a competitor.

If you want your leaflet to be hard hitting, look for what might scare someone from wanting to use the target's product or service. Research public records regarding transport safety concerns, food poisoning, restaurant closures, or quality of product.

Use large letters and graphics to draw the reader's attention to the scariest part of your message. Use small letters in the body of the leaflet to explain the links between an indirect target and the demands of the direct target.

When you are creating a leaflet you can sometimes ask a question more easily than state facts. The question 'What has gone wrong at \_\_\_\_\_?' is generic enough to be used in many different campaign leaflets. More specific questions might also be good, such as 'Could your flight be delayed?' 'What's wrong with the quality at \_\_\_\_\_?' or 'Is it too high a price to pay at \_\_\_\_\_?'

You will want to keep the written content of your leaflet to less than 150 words.

Use factsheets in combination with leaflets to provide more detailed information to the media, the indirect target, or curious members of the public.

*How can you raise questions about what the company/entity cares about the most (image, service, price, quality, safety or delays)?*

- ☐ *Consumer reports or reviews*
- ☐ *Governmental and regulatory agencies*
- ☐ *Company's own research*
- ☐ *Surveys of customers*
- ☐ *Parody company's own advertising or election campaign*
- ☐ *Comparison with competitors*

## LAN and TAM Airlines passenger leaflet

The passenger leaflet in the LAN Peru mechanics campaign was distributed in airports throughout South America and at a tennis match in Miami that was sponsored by LAN Airlines. These leaflets could have also been distributed at any large event or convention with an audience likely to fly LAN or TAM airlines.

You will not usually want to include the target's contact details. It will be a sign of weakness if they only receive a few calls or emails. An exception for this was during the LAN Peru mechanics campaign when the passengers were already calling the company about delays due to the extensive media coverage and the urgency of the situation.

If you decide you do need to use the target's contact details, organise a large number of calls or emails to the target at the same time as you are leafleting.

Headline

→

Graphic

→

Description of problem

→

**PASSENGER WARNING!**

**DELAYS AND CANCELLATIONS**

**ON LAN and TAM AIRLINES**



Throughout the month of June, industrial action and strikes may affect flights wherever LAN and TAM fly, including flights to the **FIFA 2014 WORLD CUP IN BRAZIL.**

LATAM Airlines fly to 135 cities in 22 countries. Lima is one of the main points of connection in South America and will be one of the most affected. The majority of the 350 international flights authorized for the World Cup originate in Argentina and are likely to be affected.

Passengers are likely to face extended flight delays and cancellations if the company continues with its ongoing refusal to negotiate with the workers.

As workers, our interest is in your security and ensuring that your trip is efficient and comfortable, but we must be compensated for our labor. The company has postponed improving our conditions for too long, obligating us to mobilize ourselves.



**Demands of  
direct target**

- LAN is engaging in social dumping. For example, an aviation mechanic in Peru is paid half of the salary for doing the same work as in other countries where the company operates.
- The workers in Peru have not received a salary increase in over 10 years.

**If you think your flight might be cancelled or delayed, call the company at one of the following toll free numbers:**

TAM	LAN
Argentina: 0810 333 3333	Argentina: 0810 9999 526
Australia: 1 800 558 129	Australia: 1 800 556 129
Brasil: 4002 5700	Brasil: 0 300 570 5700
Chile: 600 526 2000	Chile: 600 526 2000
Colombia: 1 800 094 9490	Colombia: 1 800 094 9490
Ecuador: 1 800 84 2526	Ecuador: 1 800 84 2526
Paraguay: 21 6595 000	Paraguay: 21 6595 000
Perú: 2138200	Perú: 2138200
España: 902 11 2424	España: 902 11 2424
UK: 845 098 0140	UK: 845 098 0140
USA / Canada: 1 866 435 9526	USA / Canada: 1 866 435 9526

**Union**

**LATAM  
Network**  
Red Sindical  
redlatam.itf@gmail.com  
facebook/latamnetworkkitf  
@LATAMNETWORKITF

This leaflet is not intended to nor does it ask any employee to cease work or delivery. Please do not litter - recycle.

## Creating a campaign leaflet

*Select a direct or indirect target and a good location for your leafleting.  
Follow the format:*

- *Attention-grabbing headline*
- *Graphic*
- *Short description of the problem and link to the direct target (150 words)*
- *Name of union or coalition*
- *A legal disclaimer, if needed.*

## Link your demands to the target

Leaflets can expose an important vulnerability an indirect target has that is seemingly unrelated to the union's problem with the direct target.

You will need to explain (in small letters) the link to the union's demands of the direct target, especially when the direct target is not the main focus of your action. This can easily be done by adding one sentence to your leaflet that states the name of the direct target and what you are demanding.

Make sure both your demands and the name of the direct target is always clearly communicated.

## Shareholder Meeting Leaflet – DHL Turkey

**Headline** → **Why are customers alarmed about DHL's workers' rights record?**

**Description of problem** → For many customers in the pharmaceutical and clothing sectors, DHL's alleged violation of ILO (International Labour Organization) core labour standards in Turkey is a major concern.

According to an independent audit by Professor John Logan, 36 DHL Turkey employees have been fired in the context of a trade union organising drive. So far Turkish Courts have found that 12 of these firings were linked to trade union membership, while other cases are pending. DHL customers are concerned their own codes of conduct are being violated by DHL's actions.

Customers that have contacted DHL about potential labour rights violations in Turkey include:

<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> C & A	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Arcadia Group
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Tom Tailor	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Astra Zeneca
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Fast Retailing (Uniqlo)	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Johnson and Johnson
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> H & M	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Merck Sharp Dohme
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Marks and Spencer	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Hugo Boss
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Ikea	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Adidas
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Ann Taylor Stores	

**Graphic** →

**Demand of direct target** → Shareholders, are you concerned that DHL's treatment of workers in Turkey is compromising its global business?

**Union** →

www.respectatDHLturkey.org

**respect@DHL**

## DHL shareholder leaflet

This leaflet with the photo of packages on it was distributed at a DHL shareholders' meeting. The companies listed were major customers, whose loss would have an impact on profitability.

The question 'Shareholders, are you concerned that DHL's treatment of workers in Turkey is compromising its global business?' links the demand to the direct target.

Think about where a different kind of leaflet, a customer leaflet, might have been used in this campaign. Who might the target audience be? What large events could you leaflet? Some possible headlines might be 'What is wrong at Ikea?'; 'Is it too high a price to pay for Adidas?'; 'What is wrong with quality at Ikea?'

## DHL London Fashion Week leaflet

**Headline** → Making Workers' Rights Fashionable

2013

**Graphic** →

**Description of problem** →

*Hello London Fashion Week visitor*

We know you care about where your clothes come from and that they're ethically sourced and produced.

But what about the companies that deal with the delivery of fashion? Do they care?

Delivery company Deutsche Post DHL is a major sponsor of London Fashion Week and its official logistics provider. DHL employees are a crucial part of the fashion supply chain.

But... did you know that **DHL** has *illegally fired* workers in Turkey and used *lie detectors* against staff in Colombia, Panama and South Africa? Did you know that it has relied on agency workers to work on *lower wages* and with *no job security* in the UK, Malaysia, Indonesia and India? One DHL company was even fined after staffing a US factory with students who thought they were on a cultural exchange.

If you love fashion and don't like what you're hearing why not visit [www.respectatLFW.org](http://www.respectatLFW.org), where you can raise your concern with DHL management? Or you can find out more at [respectatdhl.org](http://respectatdhl.org), our "Respect at DHL" facebook page, and on Twitter [@respectatdhl](https://twitter.com/respectatdhl).

**Demand** →

Thanks for your time today

**Union** →   
<http://itfglobal.org/>  
 UNI global union  
<http://uni.globalunion.org/>



In the customer leaflet you would need to include a statement showing the demand to the direct target. One possibility could be ‘Adidas, are you concerned that DHL, your delivery service, is mistreating workers in Turkey and is compromising your business?’ or, ‘Is it any wonder that with high prices at IKEA furniture store, they also use DHL delivery service, where workers in Turkey are treated unfairly?’.

## Accurate and legal

Remember that everything you say must be accurate and legal. You will want to have a legal representative check your wording.

In many countries, informational and consumer leafleting of indirect targets is more protected legally than picketing indirect targets. You may find that a legal disclaimer such as the following will be useful: ‘This is a consumer awareness leaflet. It is not intended to ask workers to cease work or prevent the delivery of goods.’

## Leafleting locations

Deciding where to distribute your leaflets can be as important as writing them.

*Look for opportunities to leaflet, disrupt or engage your target at large public events:*

- ☐ *Sporting or cultural events*
- ☐ *Markets, shopping and convention centres*
- ☐ *Industry trade shows*
- ☐ *Company events*
- ☐ *Large groups of potential customers or service users*
- ☐ *Shareholder meetings*
- ☐ *Airports or transport hubs*

## Learning from each other

The Transport Workers’ Union of Australia (TWU) has been campaigning for ‘safe rates’ for drivers. They have targeted large trucking customers, focusing on the Coles supermarket chain.

The union determined that Coles’ growth plans were based on being able to redevelop a large number of local stores into regional hubs in a short time frame.

The union went to the local residents’ association about a proposal for one of these new stores. The truck drivers were concerned that despite a massive increase in freight, there was no planned increase in loading docks – forcing them to idle on suburban streets. Local residents were angry that the redevelopment would see the destruction of a 125-year old cork tree (one of only a handful worldwide).

The union worked with the local community to co-ordinate materials, media conferences and actions at the local council. The leaflet was used by union members going door-to-door and the residents' association to increase turnout. The council rejected Cole's application.

**Headline**

**Description of problem**

**Union**

## COMMUNITY CONCERNS OVER COLES DA


Coles recently submitted an application to radically redevelop the Norwood Mall.

Rather than consulting the community about what we want, Coles pushed forward a redevelopment scheme to:

- Destroy Norwood's historic cork tree
- Provide insufficient parking
- Increase traffic congestion
- Increase pollution from idling cars and trucks

On Thursday March 20, our Council will consider Coles' application.

Join us at this meeting to make our concerns heard!



**Norwood Town Hall**  
**6:30pm**  
**Thursday March 20, 2014**


**Let's send a message to Coles and the Council that our community comes first!**

**Graphic**

**Demand**

**For more information contact: [info@twusant.com.au](mailto:info@twusant.com.au)**

Authorised by Tony Sheldon, National Secretary, Transport Workers' Union • [twu@twu.com.au](mailto:twu@twu.com.au)





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[www.campaignsmanual.org](http://www.campaignsmanual.org)



# CAMPAIGN TOOLS MEDIA

Media is important in many of our campaigns, both traditional news media and also social media.

Identify the radio, television, newspaper, social media, magazine, industry or business media that will make the most impact on your target. Do not overlook industry and business media, as they can put significant pressure on the target. Decide whether local, regional or international media are most important to you.

### **Format for a media release**

*Letterhead*

*Date*

*Headline*

*Opening sentence or two includes who, what, where, when and why*

*Body text*

*Be concise.*

*Include key facts.*

*Avoid jargon or technical words.*

*Use short clear sentences.*

*Include quotes from workers and leaders.*

*Make sure everything is accurate and legal.*

*Contact details: name, phone, email address*

Contact the reporter or editor soon after you have sent your media release. With television, ask to speak to the assignment editor for the day of your event.

Develop personal relationships whenever possible. Look for reporters who have covered stories related to your campaign. Let reporters know that you appreciate their story and also what they might have missed. You might want to assign specific union leaders to specific reporters or media outlets.

Attaching your factsheet to your media release will give busy reporters the background information that they need. Often reporters will quote directly from the factsheet, or sometimes even include the entire factsheet in their story.

## Preparing a media release

Select a campaign event to which you would like to invite the media.

Make a media contact list. Plan how you might improve this list.

Write a draft media release for your campaign.



Conflict with LAN and TAM Airlines Not Resolved

Headline

## Airline Workers Strike Scheduled for June 26

Opening sentence

**On June 26th, a planned strike of the Peruvian mechanics' union (SITALANPE) will begin.** The union represents 70 percent of the workforce, and the strike is likely to affect flights in the country and the region. Licensed aviation mechanics are required to certify all aircraft.

The SITALANPE negotiating team led by **Oscar Angosto**, Secretary General; **Juan Carlos Talavera**, Press Secretary; and **Freddy Nakashima**, Secretary of Defense, are working with the assistance of the Labor Ministry of Peru, to convince the company that they need to provide improved and just salary and working conditions to the aviation mechanics responsible for the security of LAN and TAM airplanes.

Key facts

### LAN Peru Mechanics

LAN Peru mechanics have not received a salary increase in over 10 years. The mechanics are paid approximately half of what other mechanics from Chile and Argentina are paid for doing the same work in the same company.

If the approximately 200 mechanics of LAN Peru vote to accept a written offer from the company that improves their salaries and working conditions the planned strike and solidarity actions could be averted. Until that occurs the LAN Peru strike scheduled to begin on June 26th will move forward with full support and legal solidarity actions from South American aviation unions.

### LAN Argentina Cabin Crew

Aviation unions in South America remain on high alert as the Argentinean flight attendants continue to suffer delays in their collective rights. Since 2005, when the company began operations in Argentina, LAN has refused to sign a collective agreement to regulate cabin crew working conditions.

### ITF LATAM Network of Unions

In the words of **Dina Feller**, Coordinator of the ITF LATAM Network of Unions, "The company needs to bring the Peru aviation mechanics closer to a measure of equality within the

For more information contact ITF press and editorial manager, Sam Dawson, direct line: + 44 (0)20 7940 9260. E-mail: [dawson\\_sam@itf.org.uk](mailto:dawson_sam@itf.org.uk)

INTERNATIONAL TRANSPORT WORKERS' FEDERATION – ITF: HEAD OFFICE, ITF House, 49 - 60 Borough Road, London SE1 1DR. Tel: + 44 (0) 20 7403 2733, Fax: + 44 (0) 20 7357 7871, Email: [mail@itf.org.uk](mailto:mail@itf.org.uk) Web-page: [www.itfglobal.org](http://www.itfglobal.org)

### Quotes

industry. Passengers, workers and the company need an improved level of labour stability at LAN and TAM Airlines."

**Oscar Angosto**, Secretary General of the LAN Peru mechanics union (SITALANPE) stated that "Our union is grateful for the full support we have received these last few months. It is not an easy time for the LAN Peru mechanics. We pride ourselves on providing the highest level service and security to our passengers and customers of LAN and TAM Airlines. We are fully prepared to strike on June 26th with the support of aviation unions throughout South America."

**Juan Carlos Talavera**, SITALANPE Press Secretary explained, "As mechanics, as aviation workers and as Peruvians, we are very proud of the leadership our union has taken in this dispute. SITALANPE is leading the struggle to improve working conditions for all aviation workers in South America."

**Dario Castillo**, President of the LAN Chile union of mechanics stated, "We have a very strong and deep level of unity within the unions of the LATAM Airlines Group. We are happy to be here today supporting our Peruvian coworkers who do the same work as us, but for much less in pay. We are very proud to stand in support of the strength of the Peruvian mechanics union SITALANPE and their effort to raise the standards within this airline group."

ENDS

**Facebook:** <https://www.facebook.com/people/Red-Latam-Itf/100008053089507>

**Twitter:** @LATAMNETWORKITF

**For more details please contact:**

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**Dario Castillo**, President, Sindicato de Mantenimiento LAN Chile. Tel: +56 97807 1060

**Sam Dawson**, ITF communications, London. Tel: +44 (0)20 7940 9260 . Email: [dawson\\_sam@itf.org.uk](mailto:dawson_sam@itf.org.uk)

### Contact details

## Social media

Social media sites are important as campaign tools. They provide an opportunity for up to the moment live interaction with campaign supporters and allies.

Be careful. Do not join social media sites that you don't have the resources to be active in. You don't want outdated or stale information, as it will show weakness.

This meme from the LAN Peru mechanics campaign was spread through social media in Spanish, English and Portuguese.

### LAN Peru mechanics

Twitter and Facebook spread information about delays to:

- Passengers
- Airports
- Journalists
- Tourism companies
- LAN and TAM company sites
- World Cup fans

### PASSENGER WARNING! DELAYS AND CANCELLATIONS ON LAN and TAM AIRLINES

FLIGHT CANCELLED

FLIGHT CANCELLED

FLIGHT CANCELLED

Throughout the month of June, industrial action and strikes may affect flights wherever LAN and TAM fly, including flights to the FIFA 2014 WORLD CUP IN BRAZIL.

Social media sites require interaction. Do not expect that you can simply post information without engaging in online conversation. You will want participants to respond to the information and pass it forward. The more personal and individual the online interaction is, the better.

### Using social media

*Identify the top one or two social media sites most of your members and allies use.*

*Who will be responsible for*

- *Setting up the site?*
- *Managing the site?*
- *Posting information to it?*
- *Responding to comments?*

*Write down one to three steps that you can take to improve each social media site.*

### Linking social and news media

The instructions on how to support the LAN Peru mechanics on social media were sent out to workers and allies at the same time as the news media press release about the upcoming strike date. Social media and news media can be linked together to build on each other.

**LATAM Airlines are refusing to deal with the injustices faced by their workforce in Argentina and Peru. As a result LAN Peru workers are set to strike next week on 26 & 27 June.**

[Send a protest here](#)

Use social media to let passengers know that any possible delays are due to the inability of LATAM airlines group to provide a stable working environment.

1. Ask LATAM awkward questions.
2. Send a protest here (LINK TO LS appeal to follow)
3. Encourage everyone you know to do steps 1,2 and 3.

#### **Facebook:**

LAN Peru's aviation mechanics may strike next week for equality with workers in neighbouring countries. If you're travelling to the world cup, or are worried about delays, then check out the @ITF LATAM Network for the latest updates.

#### **Twitter:**

- Get the latest on any possible #worldcup travel disruption – follow @LATAMNETWORKITF #TAMdelays #TAMdemoras RT
- #WorldCup travel disruption possible? LAN Peru workers are fighting for equality #TAMDelays #TAMdemoras

#### **Awkward questions via twitter**

- Can you explain why my world cup flight might be is cancelled? @LAN\_NEWS @TAMAirLines
- Why haven't you given Peruvian workers a raise in ten years?@Lan\_news @LAN\_NEWS @TAMAirLines

Copy, paste and post this URL to help raise support for the campaign:

<http://www.labourstart.org/go/latam>

## **Learning from each other**

In their struggle against the government's privatisation plan, the railway workers union of Korea gathered one million signatures online. The union didn't have a particularly sophisticated social media strategy. Individual union members, however, used their own social media to act as 'informal spokespeople' for the union's message against privatisation. It was also significant that the union spent a year prior to the strike building up a coalition of over 1,000 community, political, social justice, environmental and democracy organisations that operated at both the national, regional and local level and made rail privatization a major issue in the last presidential elections.



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[www.campaignsmanual.org](http://www.campaignsmanual.org)





# CASE STUDIES DHL TURKEY

# DHL TURKEY UNION RECOGNITION CAMPAIGN

## Background

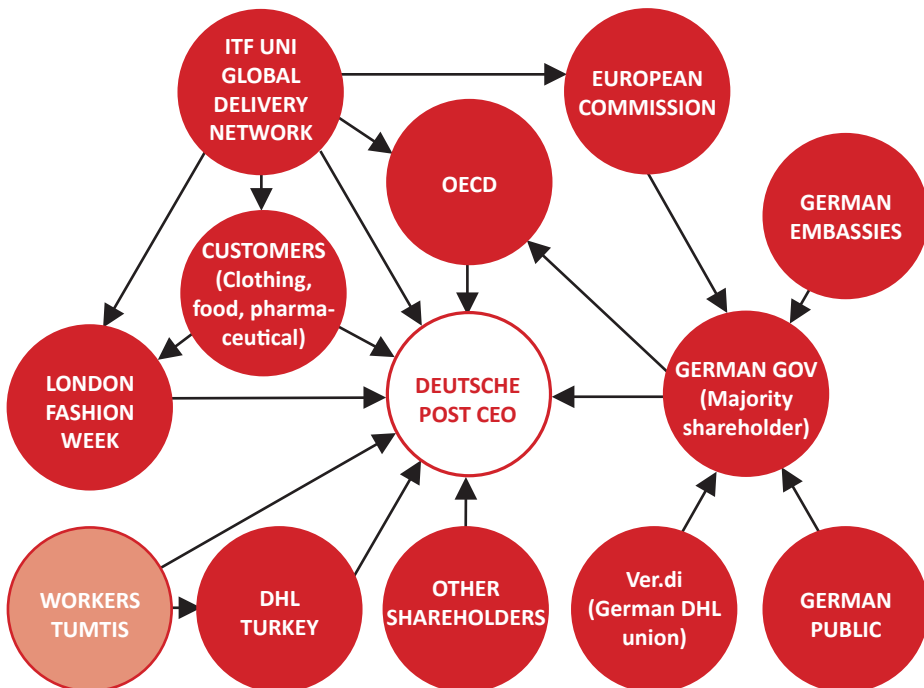
Deutsche Post DHL is headquartered in Germany. The majority shareholder is the German government. Ver.di is the German DHL union.

When DHL workers began to organise in Turkey with their union TUMTIS, they were fired and threatened. Workers were offered bribes to join a rival company union.

TUMTIS had targeted DHL following a successful campaign against UPS, as part of a plan to organise the industry.

The ITF and UNI (the global union federation for postal and logistics) co-ordinated an international network of unions in delivery companies known as the ITF-UNI global delivery network, which holds multinational global delivery companies to account. DHL and other companies such as TNT, UPS and FedEx are big players in express delivery and freight transport.

## Employer relationships



The direct target of the campaign was the CEO of Deutsche Post, Frank Appel. The employer was DHL Turkey.

In the diagram of employer relationships, there are two key clusters, one of customers, and the other surrounding the German government.

The German government is the majority shareholder in Deutsche Post. German government shares are held by the KfW Banking Group. The German representative on the OECD played an important role in the dispute. He was tasked with responding to the ITF and UNI's OECD complaints.

DHL customers in various business sectors were important. For example, the IUF, the global federation for food workers, pressured Unilever. Major pharmaceutical and automotive customers were involved in the dispute.

## **Arbolitos**

TUMTIS members contacted DHL workers. They approached workers as they arrived at and left work.

From the beginning there were systematic daily one-to-one conversations with workers and their families. These were led by the 300 TUMTIS workplace delegates from union workplaces (including UPS) and 20 TUMTIS staff who worked on the campaign in addition to their other duties.

A picket line of fired workers was set up in front of the company early in the dispute. This allowed for additional conversations between the current workers, the fired workers, and TUMTIS leaders. The company tried to prevent workers from going near the picket line during their lunch breaks.

TUMTIS leaders visited the workplace daily. They spoke to workers before work started, at lunch breaks and after work. Informational sessions were held at cafes close to the workplace.

The company began to offer bribes for workers to join a 'yellow union'. The workers refused. This built the strength of the union.

Press statements from the union supported the growing unity of the workers and publicised the situation of the fired workers. Charges were filed in Turkish courts.

When the workers had built their strength and it was time to go to the labour ministry to petition for recognition of TUMTIS, the workers joined TUMTIS en masse.

## **Union strength and weakness**

The strengths of the TUMTIS DHL campaign included:

- Support of the workers and their families for a long-term fight.

## CASE STUDY: DHL TURKEY

- International labour movement and allies
- Media support

The potential weaknesses of the campaign were:

- Not every worker was able to stay strong under constant pressure of firings and monetary rewards.
- Difficulty of maintaining a campaign for two and a half years.

## Goals

Workers problems	Campaign goals
<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Wages below poverty level</li><li>• Excessive overtime, speed ups and unfair discipline</li><li>• Subcontracted work</li></ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>■ Wage increases and improved working conditions in a collective agreement with TUMTIS</li></ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Firing of 37 union workers</li></ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>■ Reinstatement of the sacked workers</li></ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Pressure to resign from union and join company union</li></ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>■ End the campaign of intimidation in DHL Turkey and world</li></ul>



## Campaign message

DHL workers in Turkey have a right to a workplace with decent working conditions and free from discrimination, intimidation, bribery and coercion.

The workers deserve the same equality, respect, and freedom as their German counterparts.

Slogan: "Respect at DHL Turkey".

The campaign message contained information about what the workers most cared about, it helped create public sympathy and it spoke about the inequality between Turkish and German workers, a key pressure point in the campaign.

One of the campaign slogans was: 'Respect at DHL Turkey'.

## Targets and allies

Key targets were:

- Clothing and other customers
- Unilever
- Automotive companies
- London Fashion Week event
- Shareholders
- German government (majority shareholder)
- OECD
- German public
- German embassies
- European Commission

Key allies included:

- Ver.di (German DHL union)
- International unions
- ITF-UNI global delivery network
- Garment industry NGOs

## Strategy

Three strategies were central to the campaign:

### Worker/ union strategy

The workers' resistance to the bribes and pressure to join the company union was a key point in the campaign. Workers marched and rallied. The picket line held strong for two and a half years. Visits to the picket line by international union leaders supported the fired workers and kept union leaders from around the world directly connected with the workers. The difficulties of the workers were documented in two academic reports criticising DHL Turkey and Deutsche Post. These reports were released to the media and to key customers.

### Shareholder strategy

The German government is a majority shareholder in Deutsche Post. It was put under pressure by Ver.di, the German public and through the OECD complaints. Demonstrations were held at German embassies in Turkey and elsewhere.

## Customer strategy

Letters were sent to clothing companies by an NGO in London. Unions pressured key unionised customers, such as Ford and Unilever. Press coverage and actions were organised around London Fashion Week. Further demonstrations were planned for an upcoming Berlin Fashion Week.

## Tactics

	2011	2012	2013
Target: DHL Turkey	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Workers organise</li> <li>• Picket lines of fired workers</li> <li>• Turkish Labour Courts</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Workers resist pressure of company union</li> <li>• International unions attend picket</li> <li>• Solidarity photos from around the world</li> <li>• Media exposure in Turkey</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• International solidarity actions for families and workers</li> </ul>
Target: Deutsche Post		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• ITF investigate report sent to shareholders &amp; investors</li> <li>• Picket DHL in Belgium</li> <li>• Ver.di workers sign petition</li> <li>• OECD complaint lodged</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Shareholders meeting – media, leaflets, Turkish migrants, fired worker</li> <li>• German media exposure</li> <li>• European Commission concerns</li> <li>• OECD pressured to mediate</li> <li>• Protests at German Embassies</li> </ul>
Target: Customers		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Investigate report sent to pharmaceutical customers</li> <li>• UK NGO contacts clothing customers</li> <li>• Pressure on large customers – Ford and Unilever</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Fashion Week action and leaflet</li> </ul>



Fired workers and their families told their stories to the media, to shareholders and to union allies around the world.

## Leaflets

A leaflet was distributed at the DHL annual general meeting. The companies listed were major customers, whose loss would have an impact on shareholder profits. The title of the leaflet was 'Why are customers alarmed about DHL's workers' rights record?'.

A London Fashion Week leaflet was handed out by union allies, and by models dressed in DHL packaging materials



## Media

Media coverage was significant in Turkey and Germany. A German television exposé of Deutsche Post's treatment of workers in Turkey drew on campaign materials including *Aggressive and unlawful: a report into Deutsche Post DHL operations in Turkey*, which was produced by the ITF.



## Campaign settlement

- First collective bargaining with DHL in Turkey
- 730 subcontracted workers made permanent
- Regulation of subcontracting
- Family leave and social stipends.
- Wage and bonus increases of 32-46 percent
- Vast majority of fired workers returned to work
- 90 percent membership in TUMTIS



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[www.campaignsmanual.org](http://www.campaignsmanual.org)





# CASE STUDIES LAN PERU

# LAN PERU MECHANICS CONTRACT CAMPAIGN

## Background

The Cueto family from Chile controls LATAM, the largest airline in Latin America. The company operates under two brands, LAN Airlines and TAM Airlines.

LAN Peru aviation mechanics were being paid half of the wages for doing the same work as LAN mechanics in Chile and Argentina. They had not received a salary increase in over 10 years.

The ITF network of LATAM unions includes 25 unions and five union federations in seven Latin American countries (Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Ecuador, Paraguay and Peru), plus Spain and Australia.<sup>1</sup> All aviation sectors are represented.

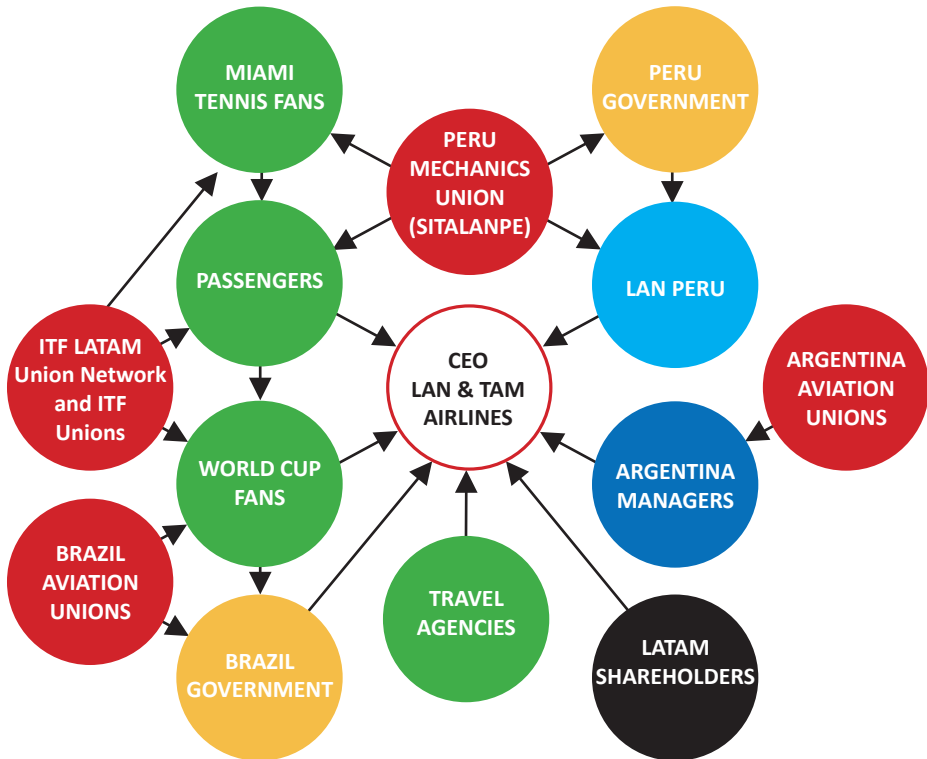
The union density within the network of unions in LATAM grew by 193 percent between 2008 and 2013, laying the groundwork for the LAN Peru mechanics campaign.

Sector	Union members in LAN Network 2008	Union members in LAN Network 2011	Union members in LATAM Network 2013
Pilots	380	570	1,391
Cabin crew	1,228	2,594	3,920
Administratives/ white collar and sales	1,078	1,520	7,757
Maintenance/ technicians and mechanics	725	1,050	3,740
<b>Totals</b>	<b>3,411</b>	<b>5,734</b>	<b>16,808</b>

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<sup>1</sup> For a video about the history of the ITF LATAM network of unions, go to:  
[www.youtube.be/iboK5OZBy4U](http://www.youtube.be/iboK5OZBy4U) (English)  
[www.youtube.be/1BI\\_gb5Wg90](http://www.youtube.be/1BI_gb5Wg90) (Spanish)

## Employer relationships



This is a diagram of the employer relationships in the campaign:

- Red circles: unions
- Light green: service users
- Light blue: LAN Peru subsidiary of LATAM
- Orange: governments
- Blue: management
- Green: shareholders

The union's direct target was the CEO of LATAM, Enrique Cueto. The mechanics work for LAN Peru.

The LATAM network unions informed passengers going to the World Cup in Brazil about possible delays and cancellations.

Months prior to the world cup, the LATAM unions went to Miami to leaflet passengers at a large tennis match (LAN Airlines was a sponsor), informing them of possible delays and cancellations. This sent a strong message to the company about the unions' potential to create pressure during the upcoming World Cup.



Travel agencies important to LAN and TAM were contacted about potential delays and cancellations.

The Brazilian government was informed about the labour disputes in Peru as well as those in Brazil.

In Argentina, unions leafleted with photos and information about the LAN Argentina managers who were being sent to LAN Peru and other locations to repress the union.

Peruvian civil society and the government were engaged in the dispute regarding the impact of a Chilean multinational company on Peruvian workers and the economy.

South American unions protested at the annual shareholders' meeting in Santiago, Chile.

## Arbolitos

In 2012, two years before their contract would expire, the LAN Peru aviation mechanic's union, SITALANPE, began preparing and organising a base of approximately 220 workers. A leadership team of four aviation mechanics led the organising. This team eventually expanded to six.

The leadership team talked to workers in the workplace, with union leaders working the major shifts. They spoke to workers all day long and then in the evening on the phone and via Facebook.

The purpose of these initial conversations was to lessen everyone's fear, and develop deep personal relationships. The leaders created videos and shared information with their co-workers. They explained the company's profits, compared the wages of LAN Peru mechanics with those in other countries, and talked about the importance of learning to stand up for their rights, not just for their sake, but for the future of their families and for Peruvian workers.

The second series of conversations was about the workers' legal rights to organise and how to fight for their rights.

The company began their pressure campaign. They removed the union leaders from jobs where they had contact with other workers.

The leadership team responded by going to the airport and waiting for the workers at the beginning and ends of every shift. They talked together for hours, on the transport vans and outside the airport.

When the company fired the first two workers, the leadership team explained that this was part of the company plan to break the will of the mechanics. The company could not fire everyone. To fight back against the firings, the mechanics worked to the company rules. Seven of them were fired during the dispute.

The company changed tactics and tried to buy the workers off. The leaders explained that the workers should hold out for more money and a contract. They talked about why the company offer was too little and how by staying united they could get more. Everyone refused the bribes. This was a very strong moment for the union.

As negotiations approached, the union held assemblies for all workers. In order to protect the safety of the meeting space, mobile phones were collected at the door. The meetings were large. As the campaign intensified and negotiations began, the assemblies were held more frequently, every 10 days.

The leadership team continued going outside the airport to talk to co-workers, four times a week, covering all the shifts and staying all day on Fridays and Saturdays.



## Union strength and weakness

The strengths of the LAN Peru mechanics campaign included:

- Informed, active and militant workers
- Close relationship between the union leadership and workers
- Strong and clear campaign goals
- Unity of the ITF LATAM union network
- The union's ability to inform passengers about potential delays and cancellations.

The potential weakness of the campaign were:

- The company hired new mechanics on fixed term contracts and placed them in strategic locations and work groups to destabilise the union.
- The company believed that the mechanics' union could be isolated from the rest of the workers, ITF LATAM network unions, and the public.
- The workers and the union were under constant and increasing pressure, with firings, bribes, the detention of their leader, and legal threats to the union.

## Goals

The goals for this campaign were very clear.

Workers' problems	Campaign goals
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• No wage increase for 10 years</li> <li>• Paid half of what mechanics paid elsewhere</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>■ Wages equal to LAN Chile and LAN Argentina mechanics</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• New hires on temporary contracts</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>■ End to temporary contracts</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Seven workers fired</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>■ Rehire fired workers</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Risk loss of union</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>■ Win long term power for union</li> </ul>

## Campaign message

Warning: Delays and cancellations on LAN and TAM airlines.

LAN Peru aviation mechanics have not had a salary increase in 10 years and are only paid ½ of mechanic salaries in Chile and Argentina.

This campaign message worked well with the public and the media who needed the information about potential delays and cancellation of flights. The workers related strongly to the statement about the low wages. Both parts of the message were included in campaign communications.

## Targets and allies

Key indirect targets for the campaign were:

- Tennis and World Cup fans
- LAN and TAM Passengers at airports
- LATAM shareholders

Key allies were:

- ITF LATAM network of unions
- ITF unions – Miami, Los Angeles, Sydney
- Peruvian civil society
- Sports, travel and business media

## Strategy

Two strategies were central to the campaign.

### Worker/union strategy

Workers marched on LAN Peru headquarters in Lima, worked to the company rules, and collectively withstood the firings and intense pressure from the company to leave the union.

### Customer/passenger Strategy

The entire LATAM union network leafleted airports and sporting events and used the media to warn passengers about potential delays and cancellations. News media and social media were used extensively to focus the attention of passengers on potential delays.

The unions also used tactics that involved shareholders, civil society, and governments, although these events did not develop into key campaign strategies.





## Tactics

CEO of LATAM	May 2012 - April 2014	May 2014	June 2014
	Low	Medium	High
Target: LAN Peru	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Worker communication and education</li> <li>• Workers resist company pressure to leave union</li> <li>• March on LAN Peru headquarters</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Second larger march on LAN headquarters</li> <li>• Mechanics work to the company rules</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Mechanics vote overwhelmingly to strike LAN Peru</li> <li>• Warnings of delays and cancellations in South America</li> </ul>
Target: Airport passengers, tennis and World Cup fans	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• At the Sony Open Tennis in Miami, leaflets and airplane banner warn of delays and cancellations</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Stickers in South American airports about delays and cancellations</li> <li>• Contact travel agencies</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Leaflets in airports, press releases and social media inform passengers of delays and cancellations</li> </ul>
Target: LATAM CEO and shareholders	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Letter to LATAM CEO from leaders of mechanics unions in South America</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Banners, leaflets and media at annual shareholders meeting in Chile</li> <li>• Appeal to CEO from unions in all 7 countries before World Cup</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Leaflets and protests at LATAM management meeting in Buenos Aires</li> </ul>

## Calendar

The success of the campaign was both dependent on the aviation mechanics being able to stay united under intense pressure for a long period of time, and on the LATAM aviation unions in the region mobilising to support them.

The campaign had a very long time frame, with the ITF LATAM network of unions taking seven years to build to this level of strength. The LAN Peru aviation mechanics union (SITALANPE) planned and organised for two years in advance of the actual dispute.



## Evaluation

During the campaign there was daily contact between the mechanics' union and the coordinator of the LATAM network to evaluate and discuss the campaign strategy, tactics and messaging.

Conference calls were held with the leadership of the LATAM unions in the region to plan strategy and tactics.

Campaign planning and evaluation discussions are held twice a year, during the international meetings of the LATAM network unions.

## Factsheets

The campaign factsheet was given out along with leaflets to interested passengers and was picked up by the media. It was helpful in providing background about the dispute to union leaders and workers.

The factsheet described additional company vulnerabilities that the union was prepared to utilise if necessary. For example, the factsheet contained information about the fines LATAM companies received in the United States and in Europe for price fixing of cargo fuel surcharges.

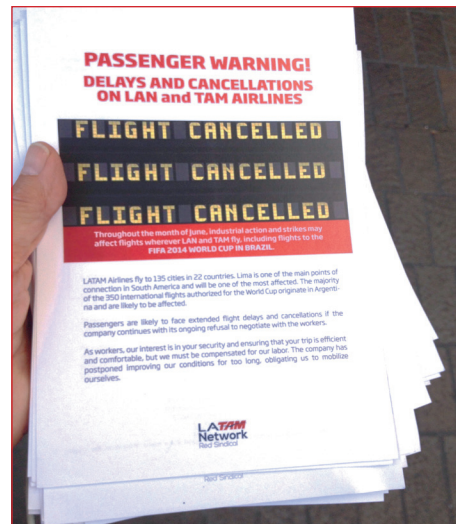
## Appeals for justice

The appeal for justice was signed by the unions and federations of the ITF LATAM union network at an international media event in Rio de Janeiro that announced potential delays to World Cup flights. The appeal was addressed to LATAM CEO Enrique Cueto.

## Leaflets

The passenger leaflets about possible delays and cancellations were distributed in airports in numerous countries, and also at the LAN-sponsored Miami tennis match.

Another leaflet was handed out at Buenos Aires international airport to expose the involvement of LAN Argentina managers in oppressing workers in Peru and in the region. The leaflet said 'Embarrassment to Argentina. These Argentinean supervisors are making LATAM workers suffer'.



# VERGÜENZA ARGENTINA

Estos gerentes argentinos **generan sufrimiento en los trabajadores** de LATAM

**PASMAN**  
HERNÁN ALBERTO



GERENTE EJECUTIVO  
LAN COLOMBIA

**SEEBER**  
GUILLERMO ALFREDO



GERENTE MANTENIMIENTO Y CALIDAD  
LAN PERU

**MUZIO**  
JAVIER HERNÁN



SUBGERENTE PRODUCCIÓN  
LAN AIRLINES CHILE

**ANTELO**  
FÉLIX



GERENTE GENERAL  
LAN PERU

**FERRAR**  
JAVIER



GERENCIA INGENIERÍA MANTENIMIENTO  
LAN AIRLINES CHILE  
LAN COLOMBIA

**BUENAÑO**  
AGUSTÍN



DIRECTOR SERVICIO A BORDO  
LAN AIRLINES CHILE

**QUEROL**  
PÁBLO HERNÁN



DIRECCIÓN ASUNTOS CORPORATIVOS  
GRUPO LATAM AIRLINES

**MYLER**  
SEBASTIÁN ANDRÉS



GERENCIA INFRAESTRUCTURA  
LAN AIRLINES CHILE

## Media

Due to the attention being given to the World Cup, the campaign received regular coverage from mainstream media and tourism and business media.

The unions and allies used both Twitter and Facebook to spread information about delays to passengers, airports, journalists, tourism companies and World Cup fans.

The LAN and TAM company Facebook sites were updated regularly with information about potential delays and protests. At one point in the campaign, Miami airport began following our Twitter feeds.

## Campaign settlement

LAN Peru reached an agreement with SITALANPE immediately prior to a strike that would have had a huge impact on the World Cup.

- Four year contract unanimously ratified
- Temporary workers given fixed term contracts
- Majority of the workers received 50 percent or more in salary increases
- Performance bonus converted to a flat sum that is equal for all
- Improved career steps
- Signing bonus
- Reinstatement of four workers that were fired during the struggle, three additional cases to be settled in the courts



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**[www.campaignsmanual.org](http://www.campaignsmanual.org)**



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