# TUC CAMPAIGN PLAN 2016-17 BUILDING BACK STRONGER



## INTRODUCTION

he TUC's new Campaign Plan sets out how we plan to respond to the events of 2016: both the profound consequences of the decision by the British people to leave the European Union, and also the significant impact for our member unions of the passage of the Trade Union Act.

Our movement approaches the TUC's 150th anniversary in 2018 in good health, united, and determined to act as one in defence of working people. You will see throughout this plan our determination to grow stronger and bigger. And our commitment to equality for women, BAME people, LGBT people and disabled people underpins everything we do.

Adopted at Congress 2016, this Campaign Plan supports and enhances the specific priorities and campaigns of our member unions in their industrial sectors.

It will succeed only if it is the plan for all of our movement – member unions, workplace reps, grassroots members, and our allies too. Everyone can contribute to building our movement's strength and resilience.

The outside environment is changing fast – both the world of work, and the political context too. So this Campaign Plan sets out our priorities, and over the coming months we will supplement it with detailed plans including ways to get involved.

I look forward to campaigning alongside you all in the year to come.

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Frances O'Grady TUC General Secretary

Our movement approaches the TUC's 150th anniversary in 2018 in good health, united, and determined to act as one in defence of working people.

## THE SITUATION WE FACE

As this plan is published, the UK has just voted to leave the European Union. We are now in a period of political and economic instability – which may be prolonged. Over the longer term, job losses and lower wages are likely if the UK does not maintain a strong economy and access to the single market. The EU has also played an important role in improving workers' rights in the UK. Laws on working time, health and safety, equality, family leave, rights for parttime, temporary and outsourced workers, and collective rights to information and consultation could all be up for review.

The referendum debate has heightened tensions around immigration and national identity, exploited by unscrupulous politicians. It also brought to the fore once again the inequalities between the regions and nations of the UK and the harmful impact that uncontrolled globalisation and years of deregulation, cuts and underinvestment have had on less prosperous communities. We must ensure that the response of a Conservative government to the economic crisis facing the UK does not once again penalise ordinary working people.

The trade union movement has also just completed the fight in parliament against the Trade Union Act – the biggest assault on working people's rights to organise and to strike in a generation. Whilst the Act passed, it did so with significant amendments as a result of the trade union movement's determined opposition, detailed lobbying and concentration on winning over unusual allies. Now the fight turns to the further concessions we can secure in the implementation of the Act, and what the implications of the new legislation are for unions' day-to-day work.

Alongside these challenges, the UK trade union movement has set out its determination to grow stronger, bigger and more effective at representing its members. A key part of that is meeting the challenge of engaging young workers. The latest figures (from late 2015) suggest that only 16.2 per cent of young employees aged 21-30 are members of a trade union or staff association, relative to 24.6 per cent of all employees. This is in part a consequence of the increasing casualisation of young people's employment and the lack of trade union presence in sectors and workplaces where most young people are employed (for example retail, hospitality and the outsourced private sector). Raising the quality of our movement's response to this challenge is now urgent - and a priority for 2016-17.

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## THE UNIQUE ROLE AND CONTRIBUTION OF THE TUC

As the national centre for the UK's trade union movement, the TUC is in a unique position. We can bring together real information and first-hand accounts from the shopfloor, the office, the warehouse and the factory and put it with world-class economic and social policy analysis and lessons from trade unions abroad to produce a strong and evidenced case for the changes that working people need. We are here to represent trade unionists, and all working people.

We complement the work of our member trade unions by:

- setting out a compelling case on the national and international stage for trade unionism and trade union policies in the modern workplace and the wider economy
- championing wider coverage of collective bargaining to improve pay and conditions at work
- helping unions be stronger and more effective.

The TUC's acknowledged area of expertise is factors affecting the workplace and the wider economy, and the experience of people when they are at work. We are at our most authoritative and credible when we are talking about work – in the UK or internationally. Some cross-cutting themes should run through all of the TUC's work. As we approach our 150th anniversary in 2018, we should always be a showcase for a modern confident trade unionism that is in touch with the concerns of trade union members and their communities - and we should seek to put trade unions back at the heart of British civil society and public life. In everything we do, we should always promote the benefits of joining a trade union and of members becoming more active in the union movement. Our commitment to equality, to anti-racism and to fairness should run through all our work. We are internationalists, and act with trade unionists around the world in defence of and in solidarity with working people. And we should harness the potential of digital to transform our operations, campaigning and ability to serve our members better.

We should seek to put trade unions back at the heart of British civil society and public life.

- 1 NHS workers take strike action for fair pay, Manchester.
- 2 Campaigning against the Trade Union Bill, Mount Pleasant Mail Centre, London.
- 3 Unions need to reach young workers in the hospitality sector.
- 4 Protesting outside Byron Hamburgers after an immigration raid, London.
- 5 Sadiq Khan and Frances O'Grady before *The Great Debate* on the EU referendum, BBC One.
- 6 Governor of the Bank of England Mark Carney with Frances at Congress, Liverpool.

BARGAINING FOR RACE EQUALITY

7 Delegates at the TUC Black Workers Conference, London.

#### PRIORITY 1 WORKING PEOPLE MUST NOT PAY THE PRICE OF THE VOTE TO LEAVE THE EU

The referendum campaign was passionately fought on both sides. But now that the British people have made their decision, the trade union movement stands as one in demanding that working people do not pay the price of leaving the EU.

Our job now is to make sure that the referendum vote is not followed by a prolonged recession or assault on those rights at work that are guaranteed by the EU. We will put forward an alternative plan to stave off a Brexit recession, focusing on how we create good jobs and invest in Britain's infrastructure. We will demand a programme to invest in transport, energy, communications and council housebuilding.

Our work for a strong industrial and manufacturing policy, for a skills strategy for Britain and to meet the productivity shortfall will be ever more important. Britain must not become the cheap labour capital of Europe. We will campaign for all EUderived workplace rights to be retained in their Our job now is to make sure that the referendum vote is not followed by a prolonged recession or assault on those rights at work that are guaranteed by the EU.

entirety. And we will push for access to the single market to be conditional on compliance with EU rules on workers' rights, including those yet to be implemented such as the principle of equal pay for equal work in the same company regardless of nationality.

In the referendum, voters showed their support for proper funding for our public services. We will hold the government to account for these promises, pressing the case for investment in world-class public services, from the NHS to local government and for fair pay for those providing our services. And we will evidence the impact of the vote to leave the EU on jobs, wages, industry and investment. We will speak up for trade union concerns in planning for life after the EU and in determining the trading arrangements pursued.

#### The referendum

campaign has seen racism and xenophobia rise to the surface of our society again. As always, the trade union movement will be at the forefront of opposing racism, xenophobia and all forms of prejudice in our workplaces and our communities, and banishing them from our public discourse. And we will defend the rights of EU migrants who have made the UK their home but feel the vote to leave the EU has put their right to live and work here in doubt.

Throughout, we will demand for working people a seat at the table as decisions are made, and for trade unions to play a full role in negotiations around the UK's exit from the EU. Amid all the political turbulence following this referendum, our job remains the same: standing up for working people.





### PRIORITY 2 | STANDING UP FOR ABANDONED COMMUNITIES

The referendum

campaign gave a voice to communities who feel left behind by globalisation, deindustrialisation and the pace of change. They demanded control back in their lives. We cannot stop globalisation, but we can demand that politicians shape it to work for working people, their families and communities.

In many of those communities - often, but not always, outside London and the southeast - good skilled, unionised jobs that pay enough to raise a family have gone. Deindustrialisation and the hollowing out of local labour markets has been decades in the making, and has only got worse since the financial crash in 2008. The average wage is still £40 per week lower than it was before the crisis. During the referendum campaign, many voters cited the pressure that they feel uncontrolled immigration has put on wages (especially in some industries), on housing and on public services. The trade union movement is clear: blame for underinvestment in public services and an

economy where wages are stagnant and good jobs scarce lies with government policy.

Trade unionists are the natural spokespeople for these communities – and it is vital that we acknowledge their concerns, renew the ties that bind us and together demand accountability from a political and business class that for too long has failed them.

Standing up for leftbehind communities requires a dual approach. Firstly, the TUC will relaunch our campaign for practical solutions to deal with pressures caused by migration. We will campaign to make sure that cash gets to areas of high pressure on public services through a new migration impacts fund. We will redouble our efforts to ensure that bad bosses can't use migrant labour to undercut local workers, by calling for action on poor employment practices and bogus self-employment, demanding equal pay for workers doing the same job in the same company and extending sectorwide collective bargaining

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to support the aspirations of all workers for a secure job.

The TUC will lead the trade union movement in reasserting British trade union values: hard work, respect for one another, an acceptance of difference, a profound opposition to racism and extremism. Trade unions have always been a bridge between communities and a support for new arrivals - and we are now needed to play that role more than ever. And, once again, we will play our historic role in helping working people fulfil their aspirations: we will help more workers than ever before learn

English, so they can play a full part in the life of their communities and in their workplaces, and we will push for the government to restore ESOL funding.

Secondly, the TUC will demand that the government set up a proper industrial strategy to bring back pride, good jobs and opportunities across the country, and revitalise manufacturing. Young people should have options to build a life the communities they grew up in – rather than having to move far from home to find work or be stuck with a life of insecurity and lowquality jobs. This means a proper regional policy built to deliver power, investment, strong public services and economic growth to towns and cities around the UK, increasing access to skills and decent work. And we will defend fiercely those good jobs that remain – not least our vital steel industry, and those industries threatened by the UK vote to leave the EU. We will make the case for trade agreements that create wealth and distribute it fairly, opposing those deals which would undermine good jobs and good wages.



lobs

- 1 The TUC NHS Safer in the EU rally, London.
- 2 TUC ad vans hit the road in London in support of staying in the EU.
- 3 Protesting against Islamophobia and incitement to racial hatred.
- 4 Defending good jobs in our vital industries: workers from Tata Steel in Corby.
- 5 The Better Jobs Closer to Home campaign run by Wales TUC.

### PRIORITY 3 | GREAT JOBS FOR EVERYONE

New forms of organising work continue to pose a challenge for the ability of workers to secure a permanent position, with decent wages and terms and conditions. The advent of zero-hours or very short hours contracts, the continued increase in agency contracts, worker surveillance, and the rise of low income, bogus self-employment all threaten our goal of great jobs for everyone. So does the so-called "uberisation" of work, a labour-on-demand model which sees hundreds of thousands of workers making a living through freelancing, contracting, temping or outsourcing, organised through technological innovation in a modern revival of piecework. Whilst uberisation currently affects a limited number of workers, the methods of organising the allocation of work that digital innovation has enabled, will in time spread across the economy.

The trade union movement needs to develop a clear agenda to push for decent pay and conditions, security, skills training and an appropriate employment status for workers across the outsourced and nontraditional employment sector. This must include redoubling our efforts to secure union influence and grow union membership and recognition, and working with allies to achieve concrete policy change and greater enforcement of the rules that exist.

We must continue to advocate to retain, enhance and extend to more workers the UK's package of employment rights, protections and benefits. This will include arguing for fair wages for all, a real living wage wherever possible and calling for a lifting of the pay cap in the public sector. It New forms of organising work continue to pose a challenge for the ability of workers to secure a permanent position, with decent wages and terms and conditions.

will include defending pension entitlements and speaking out for policies and practices to increase equality at work

DELIVEROO

and build worker voice at every level, including on company boards. We will also support thousands of workers into high quality apprenticeships.

And alongside it, as we approach our 150th year, we must set out anew our vision for how we create an economy that delivers decent jobs for everyone, including how we use new advances in technology to create better jobs and raise productivity, and to make sure working people get the skills so they can benefit.

- 1 Union campaigning won concessions from Sports Direct.
- 2 Labour on demand: uber and Deliveroo typify modern-day casual work for many.
- 3 Jacci Woodcock, the inspiration behind the Dying to Work campaign, seeking dignity, choice and control for all workers with a terminal illness.
- 4 Good digital communications are key to reaching young workers.
- 5 A young worker on a pre-Apprenticeship training course in construction, environment and personal development, Margate.
- 6 Unions must appeal to young families, too.

### PRIORITY 4 | REACHING YOUNG WORKERS

Many young people have a poor experience of work - certainly compared to the expectations of their parents when they started out in the labour market. Young workers are more likely than older workers to be poorly paid, work parttime or be unemployed or underemployed. This partly reflects the fact that the vast majority of young workers (88 per cent) are employed in the private sector, and within that, primarily in hospitality and retail, as well as in smaller workplaces.

The key way to improve the experience of work for young workers is to increase union Young workers are more likely than older workers to be poorlypaid, work part-time or be unemployed or underemployed.

influence, grow trade union membership, density and the coverage of collective bargaining. The TUC's new Reaching Young Workers initiative, launched last year and continuing in 2016–17, aims to raise the profile and appeal of trade unionism amongst young people, and make sure that trade unionism works for young people. In the coming year, we will launch a range of high-profile campaigns about workplace issues that matter to young people. We will signpost young workers to help with the problems they face at work, to show that trade unions understand young people's concerns. We will work with unions to develop and test a set of new models of collective organisation that are attractive for young workers, scaling up those which show promise. We will build organising

capacity amongst the next generation of union reps, enhance the involvement of young people in the TUC and showcase the work that unions are doing to recruit young members. And we will work with member unions to deliver a stepchange in unions' digital communications, to help unions meet members' expectations and be fit for the future.



#### PRIORITY 5 | BUILDING A STRONGER MOVEMENT AFTER THE TRADE UNION ACT

Much of the last year was spent fighting the government's unnecessary and undemocratic Trade Union Act. Together, the union movement and our friends – and some unusual allies – in both Houses of Parliament were able to secure significant concessions, which mean that the impact of the legislation is less far-reaching than we expected. But the implications of the Act remain significant – and the work on the detailed implementation of the proposals is still to come.

In the coming year, the TUC will lead the trade union movement in opposing any moves to allow agency workers to break strikes – a proposal announced but not yet brought forward. We will also make sure the union movement makes a strong case for allowing unions to use electronic balloting for industrial action when the government announces the review they conceded during the Bill's passage. It must be set up by November; we

#### We will argue for the next government to repeal the Trade Union Act in its entirety.

will seek to ensure that the government cannot hide behind bogus concerns about security that limit unions' ability to engage our members through modern means in their homes and workplaces. We will also continue with our forensic scrutiny and detailed lobbying on the regulations that accompany the Act, alongside our member unions, taking every opportunity to minimise the impact of these changes. And throughout, we will argue for the next government to repeal the Trade Union Act in its entirety.

The Trade Union Act was a massive attack on our movement's right to exist, and on the right to strike. But as always, when attacked, we must respond by growing stronger and getting bigger.

The right response now to the new restrictions placed on unions is to refocus on membership growth, extending collective bargaining and getting closer than ever to our members' industrial concerns. That will put us in the best possible position to win ballots (including in those sectors now subject to the double threshold), to raise turnout at elections and ballots, and ensure union income cannot be threatened by government interference. The TUC will assist member unions to meet this huge challenge, and will not hesitate to support member unions as they chart their path into a post-Trade Union Act future.

At the heart of our movement are our reps – a vital resource for our members. We will find better ways to support them through a modern education offer that uses digital and sharing good practice to build the skills, knowledge and confidence reps need to be as effective as they can be at work.

- 1 The TUC rally and lobby against the Trade Union Bill, Westminster.
- 2 A unionlearn Apprenticeships workshop, Warrington.
- 3 Coming back stronger: in the wake of the Trade Union Act unions will refocus on building membership.

### MEMBERS OF THE TUC GENERAL COUNCIL 2015-16

(As at August 2016)

**Sheila Bearcroft MBE** GMB

Christine Blower National Union of Teachers

Mary Bousted Association of Teachers and Lecturers

Joanna Brown Society of Chiropodists and Podiatrists

**Tony Burke** Unite

**Jane Carolan** UNISON

**Gail Cartmail** Unite

**Mick Cash** National Union of Rail, Maritime and Transport Workers

Mike Clancy Prospect

Brian Cookson NASUWT

**Manuel Cortes** Transport Salaried Staffs' Association

**Tony Dale** Union of Shop, Distributive and Allied Workers

**Neil Derrick** GMB

Mark Dickinson Nautilus International

Maria Exall Communication Workers Union **Sue Ferns** Prospect

Larry Flanagan Educational Institute of Scotland

**Steve Gillan** POA

**Janice Godrich** Public and Commercial Services Union

**John Hannett** Union of Shop, Distributive and Allied Workers

**Dave Harvey** National Union of Teachers

**Sally Hunt** University and College Union

Chris Keates NASUWT

Sue Mather Community

Fern McCaffrey GMB

**Len McCluskey** Unite

Seán McGovern Unite

Roger McKenzie

UNISON Gloria Mills CBE

UNISON

**Micky Nicholas** Fire Brigades' Union

Ged Nichols Accord Christine Payne Equity

**Dave Penman** FDA

**Tim Poil** Nationwide Group Staff Union

**Dave Prentis** UNISON

Roy Rickhuss Community

**Tim Roache** GMB

**Linda Rolph** Advance

**Maggie Ryan** Unite

**Brian Rye** Union of Construction, Allied Trades and Technicians

Malcolm Sage GMB

**Eddie Saville** Hospital Consultants and Specialists Association

Mark Serwotka Public and Commercial Services Union

**Jon Skewes** Royal College of Midwives

**Eleanor Smith** UNISON

John Smith Musicians' Union

**Liz Snape MBE** UNISON **Jane Stewart** Unite

**Claire Sullivan** Chartered Society of Physiotherapy

Niamh Sweeney Association of Teachers and Lecturers

**Mohammad Taj** Unite

Chris Tansley UNISON

**Steve Turner** Unite

**Dave Ward** Communication Workers Union

Simon Weller Associated Society of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen

**Fiona Wilson** Union of Shop, Distributive and Allied Workers

**Tony Woodhouse** Unite

Matt Wrack Fire Brigades' Union

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#### THE TUC'S CAMPAIGN PRIORITIES, 2016–17

- Working people must not pay the price of the vote to leave the EU
- 2 Standing up for abandoned communities
- **3** Great jobs for everyone
- 4 Reaching out to young workers
- **5** Building a stronger movement after the trade union act

www.tuc.org.uk/campaigns



Published by Trades Union Congress Congress House Great Russell Street London WC1B 3LS

#### tuc.org.uk

ISBN 978 1 85006 994 2 August 2016 Design: TUC Print: College Hill Press