

Literature Review

The role of UK unions in the civic integration of immigrant workers

Professor Jane Holgate

Professor of Work and Employment Relations

Centre for Employment Relations, Innovation and Change, University of Leeds Business School, University of Leeds, LS2 9HT

j.holgate@leeds.ac.uk

Written in February 2009 as a research contribution for the book *Mobilizing against Inequality: Unions, Immigrant Workers, and the Crisis of Capitalism*, Lee Adler, Maite Tapia and Lowell Turner (eds.), Ithaca: ILR Press, 2014.

The role of UK unions in the civic integration of immigrant workers

Introduction	3
I- A brief history of the trade union movement's reaction to immigration.....	5
II- The first period: 1945-1990.....	5
<i>A- Mansfield Hosiery: National Union of Hosiery and Knitwear Workers.....</i>	<i>7</i>
<i>B- Imperial Typewriter: Transport and General Workers Union.....</i>	<i>7</i>
<i>C- Grunwick: APEX.....</i>	<i>8</i>
<i>D- The development of anti-racist policies and practices</i>	<i>10</i>
III- The second period: 1990s-2009	11
<i>A- Recent strands of research on migrant workers and unions in the contemporary period</i>	<i>12</i>
• <i>New forms of individualised employment, Union decline and migrant divisions of labour</i>	<i>12</i>
• <i>Community unionism</i>	<i>14</i>
• <i>Migrant workers and union education</i>	<i>16</i>
• <i>Union Modernisation Fund and the Vulnerable Workers Project.....</i>	<i>18</i>
• <i>Organising campaigns among migrants workers</i>	<i>20</i>
IV- Issues for consideration	22
Bibliography	24-26

Introduction

The aim of this literature review is to examine what has been published on UK unions and their role in integrating migrant workers both into unions and in wider society. The paper will begin by contextualising the UK trade union movement's response to migrant workers and will move on review recent research that has been carried out in this area.

To begin, a general academic search was conducted across the disciplines and fields of geography, sociology, ethnic and racial studies and industrial relations. There are a number of highly ranked journals in these areas including the British Journal of Industrial Relations, the Industrial Relations Journal, Work, Employment and Society, Ethnic and Racial Studies, Antipode, Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers, Sociology. A global search was conducted using Ebscohost (gateway to thousands of academic journals and millions of articles). This confirmed a working assumption that, compared to the US, migrant workers and trade unions has not been a significant area of research in the UK. And, the literature that does exist is relatively recent and reveals a growing interest in the new waves of migration that have occurred over the last few years, particularly since European Union enlargement. Indeed, the lack of focus on migrant workers by industrial relations academics is an issue that has recently begun to receive comment. A number of authors (McGovern 2007; Perrett and Martínez Lucio 2006) have noted the 'strange neglect' of the study of immigration, migrant workers and trade unionism by industrial relations scholars, and this is particularly surprising as McGovern points out that most migrants move in order to find work and as such it ought to be a central topic for researchers interested in the labour process and industrial relations. There has, however, been *some* recent work in this area over the last few years, most of it originating from outside the field of IR and this is largely concerned with trying to understand the relationship of employment with 'other actors' as well as the social and spatial dynamics affecting migrant worker behaviour (Datta et al. 2006; Evans et al. 2005; Holgate 2004a; 2004c; 2005a; 2005b; Holgate and Wills 2007; Mellwaine et al. 2006; Wills 2004b; Wills 2005). Other literature has noted, but not investigated or analysed, the importance of trade unions engaging with and organising migrant workers (Anderson 2002; 2005; Kalayaan 2001; TUC 2002; TUC 2004)

Note on terminology

In a most of the literature in this area, there is a constant switch between the use of migrant workers and black (or black and minority ethnic) worker, however the two are not always the same – although in terms of more recent migration they sometimes are. Although (black) migrant workers in the post-war period were clearly migrants, they were more commonly referred to in trade union terminology as black and Asian workers. Clearly second and third generations of these communities are not migrants and they are also referred to as

black and Asian workers (more recently black and minority ethnic, BME) workers. However, sometimes this also applies to new (black) migrant workers who have arrived in the UK in the last few years. Union in general are more likely to refer to non-black migrants as migrants and black migrants as black workers.

I-A brief history of the trade union movement's reaction to immigration

The pattern of post war immigration to the UK can largely be divided into two periods: the first from 1945 to around 1990, and the second from 1990 to the present day and these represent very different migratory patterns from various parts of the world and very different trade union responses to the recruitment and integration of migrant workers.

II-The first period: 1945-1990

During the 1945 post-war boom, many New Commonwealth residents were encouraged to come to the UK to fill the jobs that indigenous workers were reluctant to take (Castles and Kosack 1973), particularly in hospitals and transport. The British government actively recruited workers in India, Pakistan and the West Indies to come to the UK to help rebuild the economy after the war. From the start of this period of 'large'-scale immigration, these new migrant workers (who were economically and geographically segregated in the labour market) were divided from the majority of white workers because of their ethnicity. This unevenness in the distribution of these new migrant workers and their racialisation, resulted in a 'socially constructed disadvantage', whereby migrant workers lived and worked in spaces largely vacated by the white population (Lee 1987: 144). As today, immigrants from this period of migration, obtained low-paid jobs with poor working conditions that had been deserted by white workers who took advantage of an expanding labour market to 'trade up' to better paid employment. Even within the new immigrant population, however, workers of various ethnic groups were concentrated in specific regions. Although members of all the main minority ethnic groups were to be found in the larger cities of the UK, many south Asian workers moved to manufacturing jobs in the north and the midlands, whereas African-Caribbean workers were largely located in the service sector and the public utilities in London and other large metropolitan areas.

Despite the reality of full employment at this time, the Trades Union Congress (TUC) was opposed to immigration, particularly, immigration from New Commonwealth countries. This was partly as a result of the alleged refusal of new migrant workers to 'integrate' with white workers (Phizacklea and Miles 1987), but also reflected general protectionism. Yet considering the level of hostility that many (black) migrant workers received upon arrival in the UK, 'integration' was not an option for many as a result of discrimination and disadvantage in both economic and social spheres. The TUC's calls for immigration control and their implicit categorisation of non-white workers as a 'problem' played into the hands of racists and helped to stereotype black migrant workers and categorise them as 'other' in the minds of white workers.

However, as Phizakalea and Miles (1987) report, the first challenge to immigration controls in the trade union movement came from rank-and-file trade union members at the 1969 TUC Congress. Some delegates called for positive action by trade unions to combat discrimination and to support the government's plans to strengthen the law to prevent discrimination, but the TUC General Council prevented the motion receiving majority support and once again demonstrated their lack of practical commitment to challenging racism (TUC 1969).

By the early 1970s, due to increasing organisational pressure by black and white trade union activists, the TUC was forced to adopt policies against racism and discrimination and to take action to ensure that its policies were turned into practical action. It was not until 1973, however, again from the floor of Congress, that a motion was finally carried requesting that the next Labour government repeal the 1971 Immigration Act: legislation which Congress had not opposed during its passage onto the statute book.¹ Following the 1971 Act various pieces of legislation were introduced (British Nationality Act 1981 and Asylum and Immigration Appeals Act 1993), which further restricted the rights of migrants and made it increasingly difficult to arrive or remain in the UK.

The literature on unions and their response to migrant workers in this period is limited and that which does exist is mainly around a number of high profile industrial disputes. Nevertheless, this material is illuminating in revealing union policy and practice in relation to the recruitment, organisation and inclusion of migrant workers. Much of the discussion around immigration is framed through the discourse of 'race' as it was only non-white migrants that were considered problematic and 'othered'. Further, given the race politics of the 1970s/1980s the discourse was around the notion of 'black' and racism and as this period of immigration extended and migrants became settled, there was less discussion of 'migrant worker' and more debate in unions about black² workers.

The 1970s saw a number of high-profile industrial disputes that highlighted trade union racism despite statements to the contrary and concerns about the issue of immigration. These events, combined with the growth of the far right National Front, pushed the trade union movement into action to oppose racism and to reconsider its almost universal 'colour-blind' approach to the organisation of migrant workers. As Phizacklea and Miles (1987: 117) point out, 'these disputes clearly demonstrated even to the most short-sighted and

¹ The 1971 Act was explicitly racist and further restricted immigration from New Commonwealth countries (the earlier 1968 Immigration Act was designed to specifically reduce Asian immigrants from Kenya) by only allowing immigration to those with a parent or grandparent born in Britain.

reactionary trade union leader that racism was rife within its own ranks.’ A number of these key disputes are detailed below.

A-Mansfield Hosiery: National Union of Hosiery and Knitwear Workers

In one notable industrial dispute, 500 south Asian workers who were employed at Mansfield Hosiery in Loughborough in the Midlands went on strike. These workers were excluded from promotion and confined to the lowest paid jobs in contrast to their white counterparts and, in 1972, they went on strike for higher wages and for the right to promotion to those jobs preserved for white workers. At first, their union, the National Union of Hosiery and Knitwear Workers, refused to support the strike until they found their offices occupied by angry Asian workers. Even then, when officially supporting the strike, the union failed to call out the white factory workers in their support. The strike was protracted and bitter, but was eventually successful but only because of the ‘support of local community organisations and political groups, and Asian workers from other factories’ (Wrench 1986: 7). The Asian workers instinctively looked outside of their own workplace to their communities for support, rather than relying on solidarity from their union or fellow white workers.

B-Imperial Typewriter: Transport and General Workers Union

Similarly, in 1974, Asian workers, mainly women, were forced to look to their community for assistance when the Transport and General Workers Union (TGWU) refused to support them in a dispute at the Imperial Typewriter factory in Leicester. Ostensibly, the strike was about a range of grievances ranging from productivity bonuses to the preferential treatment of white workers. Asian workers were being paid bonuses on productivity targets of 200, whereas white workers were paid bonuses on rates of 168. However, the strike was also concerned with the right of the Asian women to elect their own shop stewards to represent their particular interests.

Most of the workers at the plant were Asian, yet the shop stewards committee was overwhelmingly white (only one steward was Asian). The TGWU negotiator responsible for these members made the following comment about the Asian workers’ grievances during the strike:

The workers have not followed the proper disputes procedure. They have no legitimate grievances and it’s difficult to know what they want. I think there are racial tensions, but they are not between the whites and coloureds. The tensions are between those Asians from the sub-continent and those from Africa. This is not an isolated incident, these things

² The term ‘black’ has been adopted by UK trade unionists as a generic descriptor of minority ethnic groups. It is used in a political sense as opposed to a descriptive sense in an attempt to unite all racialised ethnic groups. It is however claimed that the term is losing its currency among some groups whose political consciousness is disconnected from the struggles that gave rise to the use of ‘black’.

will continue for many years to come. But in a civilised society, the majority view will prevail. Some people must learn how things are done. (Quoted in Ramdin 1987: 272)

This quote illustrates the racist attitudes held by some trade unionists at the time. This white union official dismissed the grievances of the workers as being without legitimacy and suggested that the only ‘racial tension’ was to be found amongst the migrant workers themselves. After 12 weeks the dispute was over and the strikers returned to work having won few concessions. Within a short time, Imperial Typewriters took the decision to close the factory rather than concede to the Asian workers’ demands. This was a dispute that clearly demonstrated unwillingness by the trade union to represent its black members. The failure of the TGWU to address the discrimination faced by the largely Asian workforce gave rise to the dispute. The union’s inaction consequently contributed to the loss of jobs for black *and* white workers while at the same time it managed to elevate ‘race’ as a divisive issue within the British working class (Ramdin 1987).

C-Grunwick: APEX

In stark contrast to the two disputes mentioned earlier (and a wave of similar strikes that took place at this time), a third strike by predominantly Asian women from East Africa demonstrates the sometime contradictory nature of working-class attitudes to racism. The 1976 Grunwick strike is one of the most infamous strikes in British working-class history, noted for its duration, its militancy and for the fact that more workers were arrested during this strike than during the 1926 General Strike.³ It was as much a political strike as it was an economic one and, as one prominent black writer at the time noted: ‘the whole force of the unions and of government appeared to be gathered at least (sic) on behalf of black workers’ (Sivanandan 1982: 42).

This photo-processing factory in north-west London was owned by a virulently anti-union employer who enjoyed the support of a right-wing anti-union organisation called the Freedom Association. The strike centred on a demand for union recognition, but the initial issues were around low wages, working conditions and a lack of grievance procedures, although issues around the social contract later came to the fore.⁴ The militancy of the workers, combined with an economic climate where workers’ wages were being held in check

³ Five hundred and fifty-five workers were arrested during the year-long Grunwick strike.

⁴ The social contract – an agreement by government and trade unions – was introduced by the 1974 Labour government in an attempt to contain rising unemployment and inflation, which appeared out of control. Changes in labour laws were enacted to give workers employment rights in exchange for their co-operation in the project of revitalising British industry (primarily by dismantling demarcation), but more controversially, by abandoning free collective bargaining in return for a ‘voluntary’ incomes policy. The TUC was not in a position to prevent the imposition of the social contract and reluctantly agreed to its various stages until it could no longer contain the demands of its members and it collapsed in the 1978–1979 ‘Winter of Discontent’. Of particular relevance to the Grunwick’s dispute was the introduction of the Employment Relations Act 1975 as part of the social contract, which was intended to give trade unions the right to statutory recognition. Despite its intent, the legislation was not equipped to deal with a recalcitrant anti-union employer like Grunwick and therefore could not be used to impose recognition.

by the government's incomes policy despite an inflationary economy, together with interference from the Freedom Association, led to an explosive industrial dispute.

This dispute was very different from the two previous cases in the support it received from all sections of the labour movement. Lasting over a year, the Grunwick strike was supported by national and local unions, trade councils, political organisations and MPs (including a cabinet minister who appeared on the picket lines). At the start of the strike the unions acted in an exemplary manner: the Association of Professional, Executive and Clerical and Computer Staff (APEX) accepted the non-unionised strikers into the union and, within a matter of days, had begun to pay strike pay. On the picket lines, where there were many violent confrontations between pickets and the police, strikers were joined by postal workers, transport workers, bank workers and the Yorkshire miners, led by Arthur Scargill. Of greatest significance in this re-configuration of the relationship between white and black workers was, however, the solidarity shown by the London dockworkers. The dockers marched in support of the mainly Asian strikers, in stark contrast to their actions a decade previously when they demonstrated their support for the racist MP Enoch Powell and his campaign to halt 'black' immigration. Up to 20,000 workers joined a mass picket at Grunwick 11 months into the strike demonstrating the support of many white workers for the Asian workers' demands.

Based on these examples, there thus appears to have been a qualitative shift in the support that trade unions and their members gave to black migrant workers as the 1970s progressed, yet some writers dispute the fact that the Grunwick dispute signalled a growing anti-racism among the white working class. Ramdin (1987: 308), for example, believed that there was not a 'change of heart' by the trade unions following the Grunwick strike. He challenges the motivation behind the support, claiming that white workers were primarily there to stop an attack on the trade union movement as a whole rather than through any particular desire to challenge racism. Similarly, while Sivanandan (1982: 127) acknowledged the widespread union support, which he describes as 'unique in the history of British trade unionism', he did not believe this support was a result of trade unions becoming aware that 'racism was a bad thing'. To many trade unionists, the strike was *primarily* about the right to trade union recognition and it has to be seen in the context of the Employment Relations Act 1975 which had just been introduced. And, as Sivanandan (1982: 29) argued, 'the inordinate anxiety to unionise the [Grunwick] workers must be seen in the larger context of government–trade union collaboration in the social contract' rather than as evidence of support for a group of Asian workers.

Despite the TUC's endorsement of the social contract, some of its affiliates and many trade unionists were less than enthusiastic about the constraints placed upon them. The late 1970s saw a rise in trade union militancy whereby the TUC was unable to police growing opposition to the social contract and a developing strike wave saw the social contract eventually collapse. In this climate, the Grunwick strike received far greater support

than it may have done even a couple of years earlier. And, in this context, Ramdin's (1987) and Sivanandan's (1982) claim that this was primarily a dispute about defending trade unionism has considerable currency. Yet it is undeniable that many white trade unionists did throw their support behind the strike and this was the first time that full support had been given to a group of black migrant workers.

The Grunwick strike thus demonstrated that trade union *practice* had changed from that witnessed in previous strikes involving black migrant workers. Indeed, in this regard, Virdee (2000) has argued that the response of unions towards racialised labour needs to be analysed within a wider context: racism has to be seen in the context of the economic, political and ideological conditions of the period. During this period, there was a growing realisation by many trade union activists that 'racism could no longer be ignored if the militant class action being pursued was to achieve its aims of defending working class interests against the state and employer intervention' (Virdee 2000: 559). The trade union movement could not simply support black workers in struggle without at the same time beginning to change its own consciousness and that of the black workers with whom it was engaging. The relationship was dialectical: the fact that, in the process of fighting for a basic trade union right, trade unionists were forced to begin to confront their past failures in relation to the organising and integration of migrant workers was an important step forward in the development of anti-racist strategies.

In the final analysis, what actually happened on the ground at Grunwick, and why it happened, may not be the most important issue. What was perceived to have happened may be of more significance. A generation of black migrant workers saw the British trade union movement support a group of Asian women workers in what would appear to be a small and strategically relatively unimportant industry. A generation of white workers also saw a group of Asian women at the forefront of a ferocious industrial dispute. The events at Grunwick marked a significant change in the consciousness and perceptions of both black and white workers, and as Virdee suggests, this event was a very 'visible manifestation of rank and file inter-racial working class solidarity (Virdee 2000: 555).

D-The development of anti-racist policies and practices

A combination of bitter industrial disputes, the increased activity of the right wing neo-Nazi National Front and the anti-racist activity by a number of black and white trade unionists forced the trade union movement to re-evaluate its previous failure to combat race discrimination. As the 1970s progressed, the TUC began to adopt policies against racism and to produce educational and training materials on the subject. Racism had now become an issue that the movement could not afford to ignore; its divisiveness affected all workers. Nevertheless, trade unions by their nature are organisations that are slow to respond to change, and the 1980s

saw only gradual improvement. The Workers Educational Association held a conference for black union members in 1980 where during a discussion on ‘the trade union movement and racism’ delegates concluded:

It was strongly felt that there was a lot of work to be done before black workers could feel confident that the trade union movement was representing them and acting in their interest...the trade union movement could not simply expect black workers to take part in activities without acting on their terms too. This meant both action inside the workplace, and around issues affecting black people in society in general. (WEA 1980: 5)

The reports from the workshops at the conference provide interesting reading some 29 years later, as many of the suggestions made in them are similar to the TUC organising agenda being adopted today. Moreover, they reflect the developments in community unionism currently being advanced in the United States. Some of these suggestions were:

- Organisers should take up the problems faced by black workers a) as workers and b) in society and outside of the workplace.
- People from ethnic communities should be invited to talk to shop stewards, both on training courses and in workplaces.
- The general problem of involvement of new members in trade unions are especially relevant for black workers, i.e. lack of information for new members; lack of confidence/knowledge about how trade unions work.
- Trade unions have been slow to understand the needs of a ‘green’ workforce, i.e. workers from rural backgrounds with little or no trade union experience, with different cultural backgrounds and often speaking a different language (WEA 1980: 5).

Most of these suggestions were not picked up by trade unions at the time, and it is only now that UK trade unions, infused with a new enthusiasm for organising, are beginning to take an interest in these ideas, particularly in relation to migrant workers (Heery et al. 2001; 2003; 2000).

III-The second period: 1990s-2009

The second main period of immigration occurred after the 1990s. Since then there has been as been a strong upward trend in net immigration from Europe, particularly from the European Union. This increased considerably after 1 May 2004 when the UK opened its borders to nationals of the eight central and eastern European accession countries (A8). The UK was one of the few EU nations to open its labour market to the A8 countries when they joined in 2004, causing a heavy influx of immigration to the country. In response, the

UK placed restrictions on Bulgarian and Romanian nationals when their countries joined the EU on in January 2007. Today, A8 immigrants account for one in three of new immigrants to the UK and in 2006 the Home Office estimated that 600,000 people have come to the UK since 2004, two-thirds of these from Poland. A large percentage of these workers are in relatively low-paid jobs, working in such jobs as catering, cleaning, food processing and construction, although there are also highly skilled migrants who are working in well-paid sectors of the economy. The Audit Commission estimates that migrant workers make up 13 per cent of the UK's social care workforce and 18 per cent of the health care workforce (Audit Commission 2007). A recent report from Unison notes that 'most A8 nationals earned between £4.50 and £5.99 in 2007, when the National Minimum Wage was £5.35. While rates may be somewhat higher in 2009, this still leaves A8 nationals in the bottom decile of income earners' (Littman 2009: 2). Working predominantly in the private sector, many of these new migrants are working in non-unionised jobs and as many are employed through agencies, it means they have few employment rights and are easily dismissed. Further, many migrants coming from post-communist countries are suspicious about involvement in trade unions due to unions at home being an extension of political parties or being seen as having greater loyalty to the system rather than effectively representing workers' interests. These circumstances, plus the introduction of anti-trade union laws in the 1980s/1990s, the economic climate and language difficulties, have created much greater difficulties for trade union organising than the previous wave of migration in the post-war period.

A-Recent strands of research on migrant workers and unions in the contemporary period

As noted early, research in this area is relatively limited and that which exists can tend to fall into one of three main categories; community unionism, migrant workers and union education, organising campaigns among migrant workers. There is virtually nothing on the integration of migrant workers into trade unions.

• New forms of individualised employment, Union decline and migrant divisions of labour

Work has been transformed in ways unimaginable half a century ago. There has been a revolution in the relationship between work, home life and community and for many workers, particularly those at the low paid end of the labour market, these changes have not been positive (see for example, Datta et al. 2007; Evans et al. 2007; May et al. 2007). While change is the very essence of the capitalist system from the industrial revolution to the present day, the rapidity of change in the last 20 years ago has fundamentally altered previous forms of employment practice and particularly, the relationship between capital and labour (Herod 2007). The so-called rise of the 'new economy' is popularly characterised as the rise and dominance of the service economy in developed economies, the development of ICT and its consequent ability to transform the world of work particularly with regards financial markets and new media, and new and flexible production methods where the 'networked firm' replaces once highly vertically integrated businesses (Castells 1996; Daniels et al. 2007).

The world's global cities perhaps exemplify the 'new economy' at its most stark, the vast inequalities demonstrated by the growing income gap between the rich and the poor, the replacement of a mixed economy with that of a financial and service economy and new migrant divisions of labour based on ethnicity and nationality replacing sectors of employment once occupied by 'native' workers (May et al. 2007; McDowell et al. 2007; Sassen 2000). Datta et al (2007) in their 'global cities at work' research, argue that there has been little attention afforded to the experiences of working and living in global cities – particularly the connections between work and community and how spaces outside of employment are used for help and support and as a means of coping. The body of work emanating from this research focuses on the lives of low paid migrant workers in London and on ethnic based networks that operate at community level. Findings show how social networks are the main ways of obtaining work and how faith communities provide not only 'moral and spiritual sustenance but also material help for those who have recently arrived in London' (Datta et al. 2007: 21). But what is also evident is that few migrants have access to advice on work-related matters, as they tend to be working in sections of the labour market that are not unionised.

One of the consequences of neo-liberalism is the drastic decline in union membership and influence in advanced capitalist economies (for a range of views see Clawson and Clawson 1999; Heery and Abbott 2000; Hyman 1997; Machin 2000; Pollert 2005). In the UK, trade union density has declined from 55.4 per cent in 1970 to 27.4 per cent in 2008. The majority of unionised workers are to be found in the public sector (57.1%) leaving large sections of the private sector as non-unionised wasteland (Barratt 2009), with just 15.5 per cent private sector density and most of this in the declining sectors of the 'old economy', such as manufacturing, engineering and the privatised utilities (the latter showing a 14.5 per cent decline in the last 10 years, Barratt 2009). London, the South East and the East of England – the areas that might be considered to be at the centre of the 'new economy' – fare the worst in terms of union density. Workers in employment in these three regions have a union density of only 23.5, 21.5 and 22 per cent respectively. The restructuring of the economy and the labour process has created serious challenges for organised labour. The subdivision of companies and the contracting out of what were once integral parts of companies' operations has blurred boundaries, particularly with regards to the employment relationship. Consequently, unions are finding it increasingly difficult to identify companies that are responsible for decisions affecting workers' lives. Further, the geographical fragmentation of much of the service sector into discrete units makes it extremely difficult for unions to organise (Herod 2007). Recent research on contract cleaners in London has demonstrated how union structures and traditional ways of organising are often ill-suited to the recruitment of this group of workers. For example, cleaners are often transferred from workplace to workplace, many are working for multiple subcontracted employers, some are undocumented and most are migrant workers often employed in national and ethnic work groups (Wills 2004b; Wills 2006). Together these factors provide particular challenges to union organising, not least the greater resources and skills needed to engage these workers in

unionisation campaigns and ‘models that move beyond a focus upon the worksite to organise service and even manufacturing workers’ (Herod 2007:136-7). Other writers have used empirical studies, like the London living wage campaign to highlight how community-based organising can overcome some of the spatial barriers that can militate against workers organising collectively (Holgate and Wills 2007; Wills 2004a).

• *Community unionism*

The work of Jane Wills and colleagues has been influential in attempting to shift the theoretical and practical understandings of contemporary trade unionism in a neo-liberal economy and how this affects the employment and organisation of migrant labour (Holgate and Wills 2007; Jamoul and Wills 2007; Wills 2001; 2002; 2004b; 2004). Much of this body of work has centred on the work of a broad-based community organisation, London Citizens, and its campaigning work around the living wage. London Citizens’ mobilisation of thousands of migrant workers – mainly overlooked by unions when the campaign began 8 years ago – exposed the fact that unions were ill-equipped to recruit and organise among these groups of workers, many of whom were working at the margins of the economy. As a civil society organisation, without a history of labour organising, it has often come into conflict with unions who have objected to the ‘occupation’ of their ‘turf’ (see Holgate 2009 for a detailed discussion on this).

In her work *Union Futures: building networked trade unionism*, Wills’ main contention is that much of the activity around union renewal in the UK has been designed to reinforce existing union structural and organisational arrangements rather than develop anything new. She argues that union structures and strategies are ‘wholly inadequate as a foundation on which to build a movement capable of responding to the structural injustices of the contemporary economy’ (Wills 2002: 4). The argument that unions need to act as a force for progressive change is developed such that worker issues need to become community concerns and this can only be done by taking unions out of the workplace and into the wider community – something that has been largely lost in the UK over the last half century. The organising principles of London Citizens are designed to foster an engagement with civil society, bringing together people who have a common stake in their local communities. As Wills explains, the idea is to ‘reignite local democracy and call politicians to account’, but also to build networks beyond the community which will allow unions to exert greater pressure on behalf of their members and disenfranchised workers. The model adopted by London Citizens is to organise people where they are already organised – in their churches, community centres, schools and trade unions – thereby broadening the base from which to build strength. The majority of people who have become members of London Citizens are migrant workers – many of which have formed tight communities that are used as social and cultural support networks.

The benefits of this type of broad-based organising have been outlined in the literature. Both Wills and Holgate have reported the success of unions working alongside London Citizens to bring new migrant workers into union membership (Holgate 2009; Holgate and Wills 2007; Wills 2004a). Early successes in the Living Wage campaign saw hundreds of migrant hospital workers organised into Unison, the public sector union. At the beginning of the campaign in 2001, seven local Unison branches were involved and by 2003 the campaign had succeeded following a number of strikes and demonstration in increasing pay and conditions for these workers. Despite, these early successes, union involvement with London Citizens has been limited to that of a few local branches from different unions. On the whole, writers have reported on the reluctance of unions to work in conjunction with London Citizens in organising migrant workers in this way. Holgate (2009) interviewed community organisers and trade unionists about the lack of joint working and found that unions were suspicious of working with an organisation that was made up of faith organisations from which they had differences of opinion. The use of ‘moral authority’ as a campaign tactic, whereby faith leaders will stand up to pronounce the lack of social justice and morality in companies who exploit their employees has been used to great effect, but this troubles many unionists who are more used to dealing with more ‘rational’ economic arguments. As Holgate (2009) noted:

The belief that UK trade unions should be secular in nature is strongly held by many in today’s union movement despite the many religious antecedents to the labour movement. Trade unionists are rightly concerned about the damaging attitudes of some religious leaders towards women’s reproductive rights, issues of sexuality and the upholding of patriarchal values. As one trade union interviewee observed: ‘There’s obviously an hostility to faith organisations because a large proportion of [union] activists, including full-time officials, are fairly militantly atheists’.

Further, there is also criticism from unions that London Citizens is undemocratic. Decision-making in this community-based organisation differs from unions in that it is based around a process of negotiation, consensus, compromise and on-going reflection. Trade unions, however, are unused to working in this way and instead have different idea of democratic process that is based around that of formal representative democracy. In Holgate and Wills (2007: 222) report on London Citizens’ living wage campaign in East London, they conclude that unions ‘remain less than convinced of the benefits of working in broad-based organisations’.

Other than this literature on the Living Wage campaign, there are few other examples of community/trade union joint working. As Perrett and Martinez Lucio have noted (2006: 2) ‘the role of community groups is a missing factor in much of mainstream industrial relations and race and ethnicity debates.’ In their research, these authors assessed the potential for linkages between traditional and new industrial relations actors. Although their focus was on black and minority ethnic communities rather than migrants *per se*, there is

inevitable a cross-over between these groups. In their research in Yorkshire and the Humber (North East England) Perrett and Martínez Lucio found that there was little contact between community organisations and trade unions: ‘despite the presence of a large number of BME organisation and networks based within BRM communities, trade unions appear to have done very little in terms of forging alliances or building partnerships although there are exceptions’ (Perrett and Martínez Lucio 2006: 14). Fitzgerald and Stirling (2004) conducted some similar research in Northumbria (north east England), in order to gauge the extent of community engagement with unions. The main findings from this research were that there were a number of obstacles for black and minority groups in engaging with trade unions. Firstly, there was a lack of knowledge about trade unions (from the community groups) and lack of knowledge about BME groups (from trade unions). Secondly, there were issues around language and culture where BME groups felt that unions do not do enough to engage with BME communities or in fact understand the different culture and language of different communities.

• *Migrant workers and union education*

An area of study that has been creating interest among IR academic is around union learning. In 1998 the UK government established the Union Learning Fund in 1998, which has disbursed £81.5m to trade unions to engage workers in training and education. Union-led projects have involved recruiting union learning representatives (ULRs) and establishing workplace learning centres. In 2002, ULRs were given statutory recognition (like shop stewards and health and safety reps) making it easier for them to carry out their activities. The Union Learn Fund (ULF) is considered by the TUC to have had a significant positive affect on trade unions as it has allowed a new layer of activists to become involved in their unions and many unions have been successful in making the link between union learning and union organising (Unionlearn 2007). There is now a growing body of literature assessing the result of union learn activity on union membership growth and activity, particularly as English for speakers of other language (ESOL) courses have attracted new migrant workers into union membership (Martínez Lucio et al. 2007b). These authors report on the use of community channels within the Polish community in Bradford to promote union learning initiatives. By building alliances with local Polish groups, unions were able to reach Polish workers through the Catholic churches and able to bring them into membership. In some other research for the Communication Workers Union (CWU), union learning was found to have increased union activity, created new activists, and demonstrated that unions have a role beyond that of the traditional industrial relations and collective bargaining agenda – indeed the research showed that negotiating over education and training is in fact a fundamental collective bargaining issue (Holgate et al. 2007). This research also specifically identified pockets within the CWU where union learning is directly leading to membership growth. One area is in Royal Mail in some of the delivery offices where membership density is not as high as in other places, particularly in those

sites that seen an increase in large numbers of migrant workers in recent years. In these places there is considerable demand for ESOL training and this is being organised by ULRs and project workers. One UL project worker described a Royal Mail workplace where there are 76 nationalities among the 1100 workers, and of these 800, did not have English as their first language. As a result of providing courses in these workplaces, ULRs have been able to talk to people about the benefits of union membership and draw them into membership.

While there is a growing body of research into union learning, not much of this focuses specifically on the learning agenda and migrant labour. An exception is the work of Perrett, Martínez Lucio and colleagues (2006; 2007a; 2008) where they have conducted some case study research in the relationship between local migrant labour forces and workplaces and communities. This work attempts to discuss the meaning and significance of community-based strategies in relation to black and minority ethnic issues. Although this research is quite small scale and there is no claim to representativeness, it attempts to engage readers in a debate about the significance and relevance of the notion of ‘community unionism’: ‘the current debate mistakenly uses the notion of community unionism as a structural, organisational phenomena when in fact it is a strategic one – and not a very enhanced one at that’ (Martínez Lucio and Perrett 2006: 6). Another piece of research has compared the recruitment and organising of migrant workers through education and training in two union branches in different unions (Hayes 2009). Again the focus is on ESOL training, this time for Polish workers in the GMB’s southern region and the union, Community, also in the south-west of England. Hayes reports on the decision by the local GMB branch to establish a ‘sub’ branch for Polish workers as a transitional process that will eventually lead to these workers becoming fully integrated into the union. However, the decision to allow Polish workers to self-organise before full integration, has caused controversy within the union, leading to accusations of reverse racism against the Southern region from another GMB region (Smith 2008). Notwithstanding this internal union argument, the approach appears to have been successful. Hayes notes that although ESOL classes are not conditional on union membership, more than 500 of the 600-700 migrant workers who have taken ESOL classes have joined the union. Further, the GMB sub-branch appears to have lead to a much higher attendance than is usual in union meetings and a greater number of activists. Hayes’ other union study in Community, reveals the difference between national and local policy with regards to organising migrant workers, but this time it is the local branch, rather than national office that has the more progressive policy. Despite the fierce opposition from HQ, a union staffer worked on organising migrant workers in Southampton (influenced by the GMB) with a degree of success. However, although Hayes does not claim these cases are representative of their union’s activity, he does point out that they are important examples of trade union engagement with migrant workers organising.

There is also a growing body of evidence that suggests that ULRs are a new form of activist, they are on the whole, younger and more diverse in term of gender and ethnicity than established shop stewards or industrial relations reps (Cassell and Lee 2005; Moore and Wood 2007). ULRs are also creating new engagement with union members who previously had little contact or negative perceptions of trade unions.

• ***Union Modernisation Fund and the Vulnerable Workers Project***

Government money has also been provided to unions through the Union Modernisation Fund (UMF). The UMF is a grant scheme that provides financial assistance to unions in support of innovative modernisation projects that contribute to a transformational change in the organisational effectiveness of a union. Established in 2005, the 2009 call for applications to the UMF is focused on ‘the delivery of new ideas for improving the support that unions *and others* [emphasis added] can provide to vulnerable workers. The new focus will allow unions to tackle a range of serious challenges faced by vulnerable workers and will enable partnerships to be developed with voluntary and community organisations which have specific expertise in this area’ (BERR 2009). The UMF has resulted in a number of union projects aimed at the recruitment and organisation of migrant workers and while these have not yet been subject to research and write up in academic journals, they are an important indicator that unions are taking more interests in issues around migrant workers:

- The Bakers Food and Allied Workers Union (BFAWU) which represents approximately 30000 members at work in the food and allied industries and trades was given a grant to research the needs and attitudes of workers for whom English is a foreign language as well as providing diversity awareness training for union staff and members.
- The Transport and General Workers Union (now Unite) received money to establish a Migrant Workers Support Unit offering services such as translation, advice on employment rights, and signposting to community support services. The Unit has focused much of its work on organising cleaners in London (Justice for Cleaners campaign) and has established a lively branch where migrant workers from many different backgrounds meet together to discuss issues, share experiences and hold social and cultural events. A Unite leaflet entitled ‘Learning for Justice’ states: ‘The MWSU is also there to ensure the union is able to represent and assist its increasingly diverse membership. The promotion, integration and inclusion of migrant workers into the union is central to its organising strategy.’
- The GMB applied to the UMF to undertake a project that aimed to implement the findings of its internal race equality audit. This particular project has been developing a membership strategy to

encourage greater participation of black and minority ethnic members and provide diversity training for all GMB staff.

- Unison – Migrant Workers Participation project. Unison established this small unit in 2008 at its national office. Receiving funding from the UMF the aim of the 2-year project is to assess best practice within the union for the organisation of migrant workers. Part of the project has been to conduct some research with academics from the Working Lives Research Institute at London Metropolitan University to look at the relationship of newly recruited migrant workers to their union branches (Moore et al. 2009). The findings from survey and focus groups suggest that although Unison is having some success in recruiting members into the union, branches are less successful at integrating migrant workers into branches or union activity. For example in discussions with care workers, the authors report ‘none of the migrant worker members knew which branch they belonged to or had ever been contacted by a local branch – their relationship with Unison had come through the friend of a regional organiser’ (Moore et al. 2009: 10). This highlights the problem of recruiting new members, but also the failure to develop a union culture or identity to which these members feel part. In part, this is due to union structures in Unison that are based around the public sector. In Unison, branches have traditionally been based around local government or local hospitals – as these have been the main employer, but since sub-contracting and the use of agency workers has increased over the last 10-20 years, more and more ‘public sector’ workers find themselves working for private contractors which are more difficult to organise. It is also these areas where the bulk of the increase in migrant workers is to be found. As Moore et al (2009: 9) explain; ‘privatisation and contracting out has raised structural issues for the union movement in the UK and is having an impact on the representation and organisation of migrant workers’. One case study reported in this research, which has been particularly successful, has been the organisation of Filipino migrant nurses and care workers in Scotland. Interestingly, much of the organisation of the Filipino migrant workers network has been conducted within with community rather than the workplace – again demonstrating the importance of allowing migrant workers the space to self organise their way into the union.

A further source of government funding for unions to address the exploitation of migrant workers has been through a 2-year TUC/Department of Business Enterprise and Regulatory Reform (BERR), which ends in 2009. The ‘Vulnerable Workers Project’ – although aimed at all ‘vulnerable workers’ has inevitably paid much attention to the needs of low paid migrant workers. In addition to this largely ‘fact finding’ project, the VWP has also funded a locally based ‘on the ground’ project in Newham, east London, helping to link community

organisations with migrant workers in order that they can benefit from the advice provided by unions and voluntary community organisations.

While all these are important initiatives, they are very small scale and it is unclear if the work around migrant workers will continue when the funding runs out. They do, however, provide some useful examples of unions seeking to engage with workers beyond the workplace using different approaches to organising and recruiting. The Unionlearn initiative has been particularly beneficial in allowing unions to reach out to migrant workers, using ESOL as a means to talk to workers about the benefits of union membership.

• *Organising campaigns among migrants workers*

In 2002, the TUC published a booklet entitled *Migrant workers a TUC guide* (TUC 2002). The aim of this publication was to assist trade unions 'at all levels' to meet the challenge of bringing migrant workers into union membership. Prompted by the enlargement of the EU and new government initiatives aimed at easing access to the British labour market, the TUC was concerned that unions were not equipped to challenge the negative perceptions of migrant workers as portrayed in the national press. But as McKay (2007) has pointed out, although many UK unions have now adopted policies on the recruitment and organisation of migrant workers, and there have been some membership gains as a result, these are much fewer than might be anticipated. The reason for this, argues McKay, is that while it is relatively easy to agree national policy in this regard, there appears 'an inability of unions to engage with migrant workers at the local level'. This research in interviews with 300 migrant workers, however, found that there was no evidence that migrants were hostile to joining trade unions – more that lack of membership was due to the precarious nature of employment and agency working. An added factor of the more recent wave of migration is that it differs from the post-war period in that a lot of migrants are now to be found in the UK's rural areas as well as the urban areas, and past migration was mainly about settlement, whereas a lot of recent migration is short term where workers return regularly to their countries of origin. These factors create allsorts of dilemmas for unions in terms of their strategies for recruitment and organisation of migrant workers. There is inevitably a 'cost-benefit' analysis in the consideration of time spent organising what could turn out to be migrant workers who are only in the UK a short while. There is, however, a small, but growing body of literature in this area – much of it from research funded by trade unions who attempting to develop policy and learn from good practice in this area.

In 2001, the Southern and Eastern Region Trades Union Congress (SERTCU) funding a three-year project into union organising of black and minority ethnic workers, in order to assess best practice in the region. This work focused mainly on new migrant workers in manufacturing, retail and food processing (Holgate 2004b). One of the main findings, reported in a number of publications (Holgate 2004a; 2005a; 2005b) was the need

for unions to adapt their structures and change their methods of organising in order to meet the differing needs of different groups of workers. This work has attempted to show the importance of culture, identity, place and social networks in the geographies of migrant workers, which unions need to consider when attempting to recruit, organise and *include* workers in unions. Holgate explains how migrant workers often form strong social networks in order to provide help, support and advice and these could be important links in the development of organising strategies, but there is as yet little research into (or union understanding of) how these factors relates to worker mobilisation (Holgate 2005a). This paper argues that the absence of a community-based approach, which has been also highlighted by Wills (Wills 2001; 2004b), limits the reach of unions into migrant communities. Unlike the US, UK unions seldom forge sustainable links with community organisations and are very much wedded to the traditional industrial relations structures of mirroring industry or workplace structures. Those links that are made are often very short-term and have tended to focus on anti-racists/anti- fascist activity.

Other union funded research has taken place in the North West and the North East of England, particularly around the construction industry, which has seen a growth in migrant workers, particularly from Eastern Europe. Ian Fitzgerald's work (Fitzgerald 2006; 2008) has mapped migrant workers in these areas in order to provide unions with data for recruitment and organising campaigns. Working alongside UCATT, the construction union, Fitzgerald, described how having a Polish organiser seconded from Solidarnosc, was essential in gaining the trust of Polish workers, but he noted there was much more that unions needed to do. In his conclusion, Fitzgerald said that this initiative was 'one of the first engagements of unions in the North East with migrant workers', which only goes to demonstrate how little work union have done toward engaging with migrant workers. A recommendation from this research is that UCATT should 'look to open links with the Newcastle Polish Club and other migrant worker community centre in the region' (p18) in order to assist with future migrant worker campaigns. Other unions have begun to do this in a piecemeal way, often at the initiation of one or two union officers acting on their own initiative. A GMB organiser in the Midlands, reported how he has been working with Polish community organisers in Worcester, where the union, working with the Federation of Poles in Great Britain, have organised meetings following the main Sunday Catholic Mass at the Polish church (Day nd). He described how the priest distributed GMB leaflets at the church the previous week and local advice agencies as well as the union, held stalls where workers could attend to discuss their issues at work.

Meardi (2007), another scholar writing on recent attempts at the unionisation of Polish workers in the Midlands, has also described the involvement of Polish community organisations and the Catholic Church's involvement, but notes that it was the community that approached the local TUC after getting so many enquires from new Polish migrants about work-related matters. He also notes that in interviews respondents

seemed to put more trust in Polish organisations than in the local trade union. Indeed, although initial joint union advice sessions were held with Pole translating for union officials, after a short time, the translators also became the employment advisors and said that they no longer needed the union officials in attendance. A consequence of this was the advice was not identified with the union and there was no opportunity for union organising. In part, this may have been that when the project began the main aim was to provide advice and guidance, and recruitment and organisation was only secondary. As Meardi explained, the advice sessions were popular, but recruitment to the union was ‘meagre’. It is unclear from this research why this was the case in this case study – particularly as he reports on the ‘apparent propensity of Polish workers in the UK and Ireland to join trade unions and mobilise for the defence of their rights. This contrasts with the frequently held...assumption of a difficult relationship between migrants and trade unions’ (Meardi 2007: 41). However, a possible reason maybe that given by the President of the Federation of Poles, who, while not talking about this case specifically, has said: ‘UK union cannot treat Polish workers, like those from the UK who have a trade union ethos. It is a different ethos in Poland and they must make an effort to bring Polish people in’ (Fitzgerald 2008: 11). The history of trade unionism in Poland and its link to the state have made many Polish workers mistrustful of trade unions and understand trade union activism as a means into other political structures – activism therefore has a different meaning in Poland than it does in the UK. As was noted in the GMB case earlier, the setting up of a special subsection of the local GMB branch was fantastically important in the organisation and integration of Polish workers – they were being treated differently precisely because their issues and concerns and lack of English language skills made their needs different to those of British workers. Yet, as we saw, ‘special treatment’ or self-organisation of migrant workers is a contentious issue for some trade unionists who perceive it as ‘reverse racism’ or that it will not lead to migrants becoming fully integrated into their unions (despite the fact that it is designed to do so).

IV-Issues for consideration

This paper has gone beyond a traditional literature review in that it has tried to highlight current research *and* current trade union practice that has not yet been written up in scholarly journals or trade union magazines. The review has tried to capture the range of activity taking place across the UK in terms of trade union engagement with migrant workers – particularly in relation to working with community based organisations. As has been noted, trade unions in the UK are much more cautious, indeed wary, of working outside their own structures and have been actively opposed to organisations setting up ‘alternative’ worker organisations for migrants like the US’s workers centres. It will also be evident from this paper that union learning initiatives have been the primary means for approaching migrants as a means of drawing them into the union.

While there is clear evidence that the UK union movement is much more geared up to working with migrant workers than it has been in the recent past, most activity is still at an early stage and is very piecemeal. Some unions, notably, the GMB and Unite (T&G section), have been actively using their organising campaigns to bring in migrant workers, focusing on those sections of the labour market that have seen the largest rise in migrant workers over the last decade. Yet, integration into the wider union is as yet only tentative. The GMB has faced bitter internal debate around the decision to organise Polish workers into a Southampton sub-branch on the basis that they need this self-organising space in order to get used to the workings of a union branch before joining with the mainstream branch. Unite (T&G) have faced less opposition, perhaps because there has been a long established 'international catering branch' (established in 1972 for migrant workers) and the internal branch structures work differently in this union – less geographical and more industrially based (Turnbull 2005).

Bibliography

- Anderson, B (2002) 'The hand that rocks the cradle – challenges to the trade union movement by migrant domestic workers': University of Warwick.
- Audit Commission (2007) 'The Economic Impact of Immigration, Audit Commission submission to the House of Lords Select Committee on Economic Affairs.'. www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/ld200708/ldselect/ldeconaf/82/82.pdf Last accessed 17 December 2009.
- BERR (2009) 'Union Modernisation Fund. Round three opens'. www.berr.gov.uk/whatwedo/employment/trade-union-rights/modernisation/page16097.html. Last accessed 20 February 2009.
- Cassell, C and Lee, B (2005) 'The Trade Union View of the Union Learning Rep Initiative: A research report'. Management School University of Sheffield.
- Castles, S and Kosack, G (1973) *Immigrant Workers and Class Structure*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Datta, K, Mcllwaine, C, Evans, Y, Herbert, J, May, J and Wills, J (2006) 'Work and survival strategies among low-paid migrants in London'. Department of Geography: Queen Mary, University of London.
- Day, D (nd) 'Migrant GMB at work'. Report by regional organisers: GMB.
- Evans, Y, Herbert, J, Datta, K, May, J, Mcllwaine, C and Wills, J (2005) 'Making the City Work: Low Paid Employment in London'. Department of Geography: University of London.
- Fitzgerald, I (2006) 'Organising migrant workers in construction. Experience from the north east of England'. Newcastle: TUC.
- Fitzgerald, I (2008) 'Working in the UK. Polish migrant worker routes into employment in the North East and North West construction and food processing sectors'. Newcastle: TUC.
- Fitzgerald, I and Stirling, J (2004) 'Black Minority Ethnic Groups Views of Trade Unions'. Newcastle: TUC: Northern Region.
- Hardy, J and Clark, N (2005) 'EU enlargement, workers and migration: implications for trade unions in the UK and Poland' Global Unions Research Network international workshop on trade unions, globalisation and development - strengthening rights and capabilities of workers. Novo Hamburgo, Brazil, January 2005.
- Hayes, J (2009) 'Recruiting and organising migrant workers through education and training: a comparison of Community and the GMB'. *Industrial Relations Journal* 40: 3.
- Heery, E, Delbridge, R, Salmon, M, Simms, M and Simpson, D (2001) 'Global Labour? The Transfer of the Organising Model to the United Kingdom' in Debrah, Y and Smith, I (eds.) *Globalisation, Employment and the Workplace*. London: Routledge.
- Heery, E, Delbridge, R, Simms, M, Salmon, J and Simpson, D (2003) 'Organising for renewal: a case study of the U.K.'s organising academy'. *Research in the sociology of work* Vol.11. 79-110.
- Heery, E, Simms, M, Simpson, D, Delbridge, R and Salmon, J (2000) 'Organising unionism comes to the UK'. *Employee Relations* 22: 1. 33-57.
- Holgate, J (2004a) 'Black and Minority Ethnic Worker and Trade Unions. Strategies for organisation, recruitment and inclusion'. London: Trades Union Congress.
- Holgate, J (2004b) 'Organising Black and Minority Ethnic Workers: trade union strategies for recruitment and inclusion'. University of London. Unpublished PhD thesis.
- Holgate, J (2004c) 'The influence of race, identity and community in union organising in west London' Paper presented to 54th British Universities Industrial Relations Annual Conference. University of Nottingham 1-3 July.
- Holgate, J (2005a) 'Organising migrant workers: a case study of working conditions and unionisation at a sandwich factory in London'. *Work, Employment and Society* 19: 3. 463–480.
- Holgate, J (2005b) 'Trade union recognition in Asian workplaces: a springboard to further union organising/recognition campaigns' in Gall, G (ed.) *Union Recognition: Organising and Bargaining Outcomes*. London: Routledge.

- Holgate, J (2009) 'Contested terrain: London's living wage campaign and the tension between community and union organising' in McBride, J and Greenwood, I (eds.) *The Complexity of Community Unionism: a Comparative Analysis of Concepts and Contexts*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Holgate, J, Moore, S and Davis, M (2007) 'Union learning in the CWU. An examination of the educational needs and learning aspirations of CWU members and proposals for future provision.' London: Working Lives Research Institute.
- Holgate, J and Wills, J (2007) 'Organising Labor in London: lessons from the living wage campaign' in Turner, L and Cornfield, D (eds.) *Labor in the New Urban Battlefields: local solidarity in a global economy*. Cornell: Cornell University Press.
- Jamoul, L and Wills, J (2007) 'Civil society, faith organisations and political engagement'. London: Queen Mary, University of London (paper from authors).
- Kalayaan (2001) 'Possibilities for reciprocal relationships between trade unions and community groups (particularly migrant workers groups).'
- Lee, G (1987) 'Black members and their unions' in Lee, G and Loveridge, R (eds.) *The Manufacture of Disadvantage*. Milton Keynes: Open University Press.
- Littman, D (2009) 'The impact of migration on wages in the UK'. Presentation to Migration and the Impact of Wages, Ver.di, Berlin September 2009.
- Martínez Lucio, M and Perrett, R (2006) 'Linking up? The different realities of community unionism' *Working Paper Series*. Bradford: Bradford School of Management.
- Martínez Lucio, M, Perrett, R and Craig, S (2007a) 'Trade unions and black and minority workers: organising through learning and inclusion strategies. Cases from the North West of England'. Liverpool: Unionlearn.
- Martínez Lucio, M, Perrett, R, McBride, J and Craig, S (2007b) 'Migrant workers in the labour market. The role of unions in the recognition of skills and qualifications'. London: Unionlearn, Research paper 7.
- McGovern, P (2007) 'Immigration, labour markets and employment relations: problems and prospects'. *British Journal of Industrial Relations* 45: 2.
- McKay, S (2007) 'Trade unions and recent migration - organising challenges in an enlarged EU'. London: Working Lives Research Institute. Paper from author.
- Mellwaine, C, Datta, K, Evans, Y, Herbert, J, May, J and Wills, J (2006) 'Gender and ethnic identities among low-paid workers in London'. Department of Geography: Queen Mary, University of London.
- Meardi, G (2007) 'The Polish plumber in the West Midlands: theoretical and empirical issues'. *Review of Sociology* 13: 2. 39-56.
- Moore, S, Thomson, G and Watson, M (2009) 'Migrant worker activism. Unison's migrant worker participation project'. London: Working Lives Research Institute. Paper from authors.
- Moore, S and Wood, H (2007) 'Union Learning, Union Recruitment and Organising' *Research paper 1*. London: Unionlearn.
- Perrett, R and Martínez Lucio, M (2006) 'Networks, communities and the representation of BME workers in employment relations. The realities of community politics and trade unions'. Working Paper. No 06/16: Bradford University School of Management.
- Perrett, R and Martínez Lucio, M (2008) 'The challenge of connecting and co-ordinating the learning agenda, A case study of a trade union learning centre in the UK'. *Employee Relations* 30: 6. 623-639.
- Phizacklea, A and Miles, R (1987) 'The British Trade Union Movement and Racism' in Lee, G and Loveridge, R (eds.) *The Manufacture of Disadvantage*. Milton Keynes: Open University Press.
- Ramdin, R (1987) *The Making of the Black Working Class*. London: Pluto Press.
- Sivanandan, A (1982) *A Different Hunger*. London: Pluto.
- Smith, M (2008) 'Personal email communication with Jane Holgate 7 December 2008' in Holgate, J (ed.). TUC (1969) *Congress Report*. London: Trades Union Congress.
- TUC (2002) *Migrant workers - A TUC guide*.
- TUC (2004) 'Migrant workers - overworked, underpaid and over here'. London: Trades Union Congress.

- Turnbull, D (2005) 'Organising migrant workers. The experience of the TGWU international catering workers' branch' in Gibbons, S (ed.) *Organising Migrant Workers in Trade Unions*. London: International Centre for Trade Union Rights.
- Unionlearn (2007) 'Interview with TUC General Secretary, Brendan Barber': www.unionlearn.org.uk/about/learn-1366-f0.cfm. Last accessed 4 April 2007.
- Virdee, S (2000) 'A Marxist critique of black radical theories of trade union racism.'. *Sociology*. Vol.34. No.3. pp.545-565.
- WEA (1980) 'A report of a conference held in October 1980. Black Workers and trade unions'. London: Workers Educational Association.
- Wills, J (2001) 'Community unionism and trade union renewal in the UK: moving beyond the fragments at last.'. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geography*. No. 26: 4.pp.465-483.
- Wills, J (2002) *Union Futures. Building Networked Trade Unionism in the UK*. London: Fabian Society.
- Wills, J (2004a) 'Organising the low paid: East London's living wage campaign as a vehicle for change' in Healy, G, Heery, E, Taylor, P and Brown, W (eds.) *The Future of Worker Representation*. Oxford: OUP.
- Wills, J (2004b) 'The geography of union organising in low paid service industries in the UK: lessons from the T&G's campaign to unionise the Dorchester hotel in London'. *Antipode* 37: 1. 139–159.
- Wills, J (2005) 'Work, Identity and new rhetorics of mobilisation' ESRC seminar series: Working Class Lives: sociologies and Geographies.
- Wills, J and Simms, M (2004) 'Building Reciprocal Community Unionism in the UK'. *Capital and Class* 82: Spring. 59–84.
- Wrench, J (1986) 'Unequal Comrades: Trade Unions, Equal Opportunity and Racism.' *University of Warwick: Centre for Research in Ethnic Relations*.